Emmaus as a Transnational Imagined Community

Language, Interdiscursivity and Stratification in a Social Movement

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PhD Dissertation

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September 2014

Per a la Rosa i el José, per crear una família bilingüe i oberta als altres

Per a la Núria, per tots els jocs amb paraules inventades

Per a l'Andy, per totes les converses durant aquest camí

Per als drapaires d'Emmaús, per ser una inspiració amb diferents veus

Acknowledgements

Les meves primeres paraules d'agraïment són per a totes les persones anònimes que m'han permès compartir les seves vides diàries en l'òrbita d'Emmaús i que, de manera desinteressada, m'han ajudat a entendre aquest moviment social des de la seva experiència personal. No tinc prou paraules d'agraïment per l'acollida amb els braços oberts, els materials que m'heu proporcionat i les converses que hem mantingut al llarg del temps. Moltíssimes gràcies a totes i a tots! My first expression of gratitude goes to all the anonymous people who have allowed me to share their everyday lives in the orbit of Emmaus and who selflessly have helped me to understand this unique social movement from their personal experiences. I cannot thank you enough for the warm welcome and on-going conversations during and after my fieldwork in London. Thank you very much, companions, staff and volunteers!

També vull agrair el suport incondicional de la meva directora de tesi, l'Eva Codó. No tinc prou paraules d'agraïment pel teu entusiasme per aquest projecte, per tots els ànims que m'has donat quan més els necessitava i per la confiança plena que has dipositat en la meva feina. T'agraeixo la supervisió constant, els teus comentaris detallats i argumentats, així com el diàleg obert sobre les idees que anava desenvolupant al llarg de tot el procés. Gràcies per ajudar-me a entendre el món d'Emmaús amb una mirada sociolingüística crítica i reflexiva. I would also like to thank all the members of the CIEN Research team, where I have grown as a researcher and where I worked as a research assistant from 2008 to 2012. Special thanks go to Melissa G. Moyer, the leader of this research team, who has believed in me since I was a third year undergraduate in her sociolinguistics class and whose encouragement and support has been unfailing throughout the years. Thank you for all the research discussions, sound advice and great opportunities that you have shared with me. I am also thankful for Maria Sabaté i Dalmau's radiant smiles and unconditional support. I am also indebted to Gabriele Budach, Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller for their comments, insights and suggestions since the early stages of my research. Of course, a big thank you goes to my fellow research assistants Massimiliano Sassi and Katia Yago for sharing so many conversations over cups of coffee. I feel privileged to form part of this group of people.

Abstract

This thesis is a critical sociolinguistic ethnography of a transnational social movement. It investigates the situated discursive and linguistic construction of a common identity as well as social difference within the Emmaus movement from the viewpoint of two communities of practice. Emmaus is a post-war transnational movement of solidarity founded by the Abbé Pierre that (re)inserts formerly marginalised people who live and work with other privileged people in live-in "communities" dedicated to recycling and social projects. My multi-sited ethnography mainly explores two Emmaus communities, one located in the Barcelona metropolitan area and another one in Greater London. This study contributes to the fields of the sociolinguistics of globalisation (Blommaert, 2010) and linguistic anthropology from a critical ethnographic perspective (Heller, 2011). The methodological design combines traditional ethnography, retaining participant-observation as the core, with narrative inquiry emerging from observed interactions and discursive genealogy of the two focal sites. The analysis draws on fieldnotes, interview data, assembly recordings, institutional texts and audiovisual materials. Departing from the concept of a transnational imagined community (Anderson, 1983), this thesis explores sociolinguistic processes beyond, in tension and within different nation-states. In particular, it investigates (a) the transnational articulation of the Emmaus movement through narrative, semiotic, discursive and communicative resources, (b) the localisation of common texts, symbols and narratives in different discursive and socioeconomic regimes, and (c) the situated practices of socialisation through and into language resulting in social stratification.

My first finding is that the two Emmaus communities investigated were articulated through the movement's founding story (Linde, 2009). This common story shaped not only the stories told, with recognisable intertextual and chronotopic elements (Bakhtin, 1981), but also the members' dispositions to re-enact this narrative in the local communities daily (Agha, 2007). The two communities shared the person-types marked by self-transformation, the moral worth of solidarity, and finding "reasons to live" in the encounter with others. These chronotopic elements had different weight in local constructions of the movement. When the shared Emmaus founding story gets transposed across time and space, it is recontextualised, recycled and *clasped* (Gal, 2007) with other situated discourses in local communities in

different nation-states. My second finding is that Emmaus allows for a wide range of discursive practices (Foucault, 1972) in multiple communities of practice. Emmaus Barcelona centered on the encounter with others in the community epitomised by the Abbé Pierre icon, clasped with politicised *altermondialiste* and Liberationist Christian discourses. Emmaus London, by contrast, emphasised the value of solidarity with others in connection to individualist work ethics, which promoted voluntary work in top-down charities in the British state. The two Emmaus communities (re)produced centrifugal and centripetal discursive trends within Emmaus (Brodiez-Dolino, 2008) that have localised the shared transnational mission of solidarity differently for decades. My third main finding is a denaturalisation of the commonsensical connection between transnational social movements and multilingualism, on the one hand, and horizontal participation, on the other. Socialisation into the Emmaus movement in communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) encompassed shared discourses and narratives to craft legitimate communicative identities that stratified members. In addition, modernist language ideologies positioned English in London, and Catalan and Spanish in Barcelona, as requisites for full participation in local communities. In contrast with the nationalist erasure of multilingualism in Emmaus London, Emmaus Barcelona accepted Catalan-Spanish hybrid practices in daily interactions and the use of Spanish, French and, to a lesser extent, English as linguae francae.

In conclusion, the everyday fabric of social movements is intertextuality between local appropriations that have different discursive clasps with other social arenas and linguistic practices, which simultaneously creates grassroots heterogeneity and a common transnational belonging within a stratified community of practice.

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Chapter 1

Emmaus as a window onto transnational sociolinguistic processes: Rationale, goals, critical approach and ethnographic context

1.1.   Why Emmaus? Ethnographic rationale for a sociolinguistic study

My first contact with Emmaus dates back to 2008 at a communal lunch in a refectory-style dining room in Barcelona bustling with chatter in different languages among over thirty people from different social backgrounds, geographical origins and age groups. I could not help but wonder: what brings all these diverse people together at this table? Unbeknownst to me, the answer lay in the painting of the Abbé Pierre presiding over us. This image symbolises the origins of the solidarity movement that this French working priest founded in a similar community of ragpickers on the outskirts of post-war Paris. Right underneath the Abbé, there was also an aerial picture of the massive Barcelona demonstrations against the Iraq war in 2002. I imagined that the local *drapaires d'Emmaús* had participated in these massive mobilisations as many other Leftist civil society organisations in Catalonia had.

Figure 1. Dining room in Emmaus Barcelona, 2012. Pictures by Maria Rosa Garrido with permission of the community.

In June 2009, I was sitting in a similar dining room in the first ever Emmaus community in Neuilly-Plaisance, located in the Parisian *banlieue*. Everything looked familiar there, not only because of the Abbé Pierre pictures and quotes but also because of the spatial layout, communal routines and social diversity in this community. In this case, the main language of interaction at the table was French. My subsequent visits to four other communities in the UK for the purposes of this study further revealed symbolic and organisational commonalities that met some of my expectations as an Emmaus neophyte. So I wondered what united all these people in similar dining rooms across borders. Clearly, the figure of the Abbé Pierre seemed to give meaning, structure and legitimacy to the Emmaus collective life project as part of a transnational imaginary shared by many other similar local groups around the world.

Despite the many commonalities among communities, my ethnography also foregrounds the differences among local communities in different nation-state contexts. Contrary to my expectations from what I knew about Emmaus Barcelona, I did not come across politicised images such as the anti-war demonstration above (Figure 1) in the British Emmaus groups that I visited. To my surprise, I saw pictures of Queen Elizabeth II dressing shop windows during the Diamond Jubilee and of the Royal Patron of Emmaus UK, the Duchess of Cornwall in Emmaus UK newsletters. One would never see the pictures of royalty in the Progressive Barcelona community, vested in alter-globalist discourses and Leftist trends against hereditary privilege.

Slowly, I came to realise that a social movement is as much about creating transnational sameness as it is about producing social difference. What differentiates the local Emmaus communities? How do they construct sameness and difference at the same time? Soon enough, I became conscious that one of the key discursive tropes in this faith-based movement, that of "solidarity with others", is interpreted and appropriated differently by each local Emmaus group. Which discourses and social arenas is "solidarity" connected to in local contexts? Who defines "the others"? How do the local Emmaus members talk about them?

Back to my very first encounter with the Emmaus movement in Barcelona, the question of what unites people at that table, and at many other similar tables all over the world, boiled down to what was going on right there, right then: affective labour in everyday communication; that is, showing concern for others and creating feelings of well-being and connectedness. In every single community I have visited, I have invariably been invited to lunch to share food and conversation with the local

members. As a matter of fact, a magazine article on Emmaus Barcelona was entitled *"Qui vulgui conèixer Emmaús que vingui a dinar"* [Whoever wants to get to know Emmaus, come have lunch] (2006) with a picture of the community members at the table. This is how visitors and newcomers first hear the (well-rehearsed) stories about the Abbé Pierre and the origins of the movement from old-timers. How do diverse social actors get socialised into Emmaus stories, discourses and ways of communicating in situated practices, such as communal meals? Which social positionings and boundaries get locally constructed in situated practices? How is the community organised? How are decisions made? These are questions that intrigued me as I came to know a local group formed by people from different social backgrounds, age generations, religious faiths and linguistic groups.

Gradually, I became fascinated by this unique social movement characterised by a transnational network and shared imaginary formed by local Emmaus communities working in different nation-state contexts (see section 1.4 below). Emmaus cannot be conceptualised as a single nongovernmental organisation, and in addition, it resembles very few initiatives, among which we can find *Taizé*, *L'Arche* or *Comunità di Sant'Egidio.* [1] This social movement articulates face-to-face communities, which have long been the object of ethnography, with a transnational imaginary and network that illuminate current anthropological and sociological debates about globalisation. Emmaus is a transnational network of heterogeneous

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[1] The most similar organisation to Emmaus is *L'Arche* (http://www.larche.org/). It is an international federation of live-in communities, the first of which was founded by Jean Vanier, a disciple of Ghandi, in the French Catholic tradition. At the heart of L'Arche communities are relationships between people with and without intellectual disabilities. The mission is to provide community-based services for people with disabilities. Since 1964, it has grown to 145 communities in more than 40 states on five continents and it has become interfaith, too.

The Community of Sant'Egidio (http://www.santegidio.org/) shares an ecumenical orientation to the poor with Emmaus. It was founded in 1968 in the eponymous Roman parish inspired by Franciscan communities, just as the early Emmaus was. It is now a transnational, *single* community recognised by the Roman Catholic Church and present in over 70 states on four continents. Its mission is based on prayer, spreading the Gospels, a commitment to Ecumenism and free, voluntary service to the poor.

The Community of *Taizé* (http://www.taize.fr/) is often invoked in relation to Emmaus. Its mission has always been reconciliation among the various Christian denominations - Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant. It was founded by Roger Schutz to house war victims in 1940, similarly to the Abbé Pierre's later opening of an international youth hostel called Emmaus for post-war reconciliation. It is a single Christian monastic community in France which attracts numerous people for a retreat. Local committees in a number of Christian parishes organise annual youth encounters around Europe.

local communities that share a stock of texts, notably the founding story, and engage in similar socio-communicative events, such as community assemblies, across borders. It brings to the fore the socio-political import of communication, language and discourse in the articulation and functioning of social movements, which policymakers, social scientists and even activists themselves might sometimes overlook. This thesis aims to place language, interdiscursivity and narrative at the core of our understandings of social movements in our globalising world at the turn of the 21st century.

1.2. Aims and research questions

As stated, this thesis is a sociolinguistic ethnography of a transnational social movement. My study investigates the situated discursive and linguistic construction of a common identity as well as social difference within the Emmaus social movement from the viewpoint of two specific communities of practice. Emmaus is a post-war movement of solidarity that was founded in Paris by the Abbé Pierre (1912-2007) and now transnationally formed by hundreds of local "communities" situated in over 37 nation-states. It (re)inserts formerly marginalised people who live and work with more "privileged" people in local "communities" dedicated to recycling work for self-maintenance and solidarity projects, both abroad and locally. My multi-sited ethnography (see section 2.2 for a discussion) centred on two Emmaus communities, one located in the Barcelona metropolitan area and another one in Greater London, explores transnational processes through language, discourse and narrative beyond, in tension and within different nation-states. This critical sociolinguistic ethnography (Heller, 2011) explores socio-political issues of transnational formations located in post-welfare nation-states at a historical juncture of neoliberal economic crisis.

Transnational social movements are lesser-studied sites that are key to investigate communicative, linguistic, semiotic and interdiscursive aspects of contemporary interconnection between arenas of action (Gal, 2003). On the one hand, there have been few ethnographic studies on language and the way it shapes transnational social movements, which allow the circulation of ideas, discourses, narratives and to a lesser extent, people (but see Martín-Rojo, forthcoming). On the other hand, McElhinny (2010) calls for more detailed studies that explore civil society organisations from a linguistic anthropological perspective (but see Gal, 2007; Kahn

and Heller, 2006; Muehlmann and Duchêne, 2007; Pujolar, 2007a). My thesis unites the transnational with the local, and situated interactions with flows. It is an original critical sociolinguistic ethnography that is informed by a historicising perspective on discourse circulation meshed with thick description of communities of practice as nodes in a transnational imagined community, Emmaus. The majority of participants are not mobile people *per se* but transnationally-informed activists working locally for a transnational mission.

This study contributes to both anthropological inquiry into transnationalism and the sociolinguistics of globalisation, in what could be called the sociolinguistics of transnationalism, along the lines of Schneider's transnational communities of salsa (2014). My contribution is a novel conceptualisation of transnational social movements and networks as *imagined communities*, hence revisiting and expanding Anderson's idea (1983) for national formations. Social movements are understood as multilingual interdiscursive communities of belonging devoted to linguistic and discursive labour in post-social Western states. In my ethnography, I set out to analyse how transnational networks are based on relations of communication among heterogeneous localities that share new forms of (late modern) allegiances. Transnational tropes do not exist in a vacuum but are localised in specific historical, discursive and socio-political nation-state contexts that become the first source of difference among Emmaus communities.

Another methodological contribution is the multi-sited design of my study, complemented with discourse analysis and a historicising perspective. The study is mainly based on data that I collected in two Emmaus communities, a primary research site located in a post-industrial city in the outskirts of Barcelona and a secondary site in Greater London, during one year of ethnographic fieldwork (2011-2012). The two Emmaus communities studied are embedded in two different post-social welfare states and urban sociolinguistic contexts that shape the localisation of transnational texts, the situated construction of multilingualism and the nature of intergroup and intragroup communication. I have also used illuminating data from visits to other Emmaus sites and interviews with key social actors not directly related to the two main sites, outside the intensive fieldwork period. These data shed light on the transnational articulation and discursive localisation of Emmaus (see research questions below). The different types of data analysed include indexed field narratives, Emmaus documents and press reports, transcripts of audio-recorded

community assemblies, in-depth interviews with residents, volunteers and staff as well as audiovisual materials produced by both the researcher and the informants (see section 2.3. for data collection methods).

As discussed in my ethnographic rationale above (section 1.1.), this thesis explores the ways in which a transnational social movement gets configured at the beginning of the 21st century. Emmaus communities provide a privileged vantage point to grasp how situated linguistic, narrative and discursive practices both produce and reproduce a transnational imaginary across spaces and over time. Thanks to the vast geographical expansion since its foundation in 1949 (see section 1.5. below), I can trace discursive genealogies from different communities of practice that belong to distinct ideological orientations and activist generations in the Emmaus movement. More specifically, I was curious to understand, first, how similar semiotic, communicative and discursive practices in the local communities I visited created sameness across multiple, heterogeneous groups. The figure of the founder, the Abbé Pierre and the movement-wide solidarity mission seemed to be pervasive in stories and symbols present in all communities. Second, I was intrigued to grasp the other side of the coin, namely, how difference was produced locally because each and every Emmaus community was unique and not an exact copy of the others. The appropriations of the "solidarity" mission interacted with a bundle of local discourses in Emmaus groups situated in different nation-states. Third, the wide diversity among people living and working in a local community made me wonder about its internal organisation and social processes. My participation as an outsider/newcomer in collective events, such as participatory assemblies and communal meals, directed my gaze towards the (re)production of social positioning and boundaries through situated talk. Therefore, the three main research questions that this thesis investigates are the following.

1. How is sameness created in multiple communities of practice belonging to the transnational Emmaus movement? Which discursive, narrative, semiotic and communicative resources bind the different Emmaus communities together across borders?

2. How does the Emmaus movement get configured in each local Emmaus community? In what ways does the Emmaus imaginary intersect with local bundles of discourses, in particular nation-state discourses?

3. How is social structuration within a local Emmaus community constructed through situated linguistic, affective and discursive practices? What are the social consequences for access and participation in the movement?

My first research question investigates the discursive articulation of Emmaus as a transnational imagined community formed by hundreds of local groups all over the globe. The role of the imagination seems to bring together multiple, heterogeneous localities under the same transnational community of sentiment and readership which is capable of shared action (Anderson, 1983; Appadurai, 1996, p.8,). More specifically, this ethnography seeks to shed light on how hundreds of Emmaus communities embedded in different geopolitical, nation-state and local contexts discursively construct themselves as part of a transnational movement. It looks into the textual, semiotic and communicative practices that bind together different communities under a common Emmaus identity across borders. As we shall see, the main elements are the (re)tellings of the founding story, the uptake of the Universal Manifesto, the (re)creation of semiotic representations of the Abbé Pierre and engagement in community assemblies. Paradigmatic narratives in particular "link the arenas of those who narrate with the arenas of action of those about whom the stories of origin, essence or moral worth are told" (Gal, 2007, p. 3), namely, the founding members.

My second research question explores the intersection between the transnational Emmaus imaginary and specific nation-state regimes and different discursive arenas, including other social movements, resulting in local genealogies of discursive justification. The transnational interdiscursive devices in any locality interact with a set of sedimented traditions, terms and discourses (Gal, 2003). The echoes of different discursive formations in each and every local community depend on geopolitical space and on people's life trajectories. For example, Emmaus Barcelona members have been active in Catalan Progressive Catholicism since the 1970s, whereas in Emmaus London younger generations are committed to the neoliberal activation of passive populations. This thesis investigates which transnational discourses (on language, religion, migration and economy, among others) link local Emmaus communities with other social formations, both nationally and transnationally.

My third research question looks into the crafting of subject positions in situated interactions and the consequences for participation in Emmaus. It is concerned with identities and social categorisations, which are constructed, negotiated and contested in everyday practices. As pointed out above, this movement socialises very diverse people from different socioeconomic, ethnic, linguistic and gender backgrounds into collective and personal identities. These localised subjectivities shape and evaluate their way of acting and speaking for social inclusion and exclusion in the Emmaus movement. Despite the celebratory discourses on social movements as democratic and horizontal, socialisation into Emmaus creates specific legitimate selves and stratifies members by virtue of their trajectories and active participation as legitimate members. For Foucault (1972), discourse is a medium for power that produces subjects, particularly "speaking subjects" who adhere to the "rules of exclusion" that regulate discourse in a given social arena, in this case a local community of practice belonging to the Emmaus transnational movement.

1.3. Theoretical perspective on language, society and globalisation: Critical sociolinguistic ethnography

To address the three research questions posed in relation to this transnational movement, the story that I tell draws on the ontological assumptions and epistemological decisions of critical sociolinguistic ethnography (see Heller 1999, 2011). In this section, I will provide an overview of the ontological basis for this thesis, which rests on the poststructuralist, interpretive approaches of linguistic anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics. Chapters 3-7 will provide a specific conceptual framework for the analysis presented therein. Given that I have devoted Chapter 2 to ethnographic epistemology, this section will only delve into general considerations related to the ontology of language and society presented.

Dell Hymes' *ethnography of speaking* (1962) called for anthropology to place language practices in social life at its centre. This approach studied how people used language in their daily lives and the culturally distinctive meanings that it had for them in specific communicative events. Culture shapes language in the conduct of everyday life. Thus, the goal of ethnography is to discover cultural rules for the social uses and meanings of language; namely, situations, uses, patterns and functions of

speaking as an activity in its own right. This programmatic work developed into the tradition of *interactional sociolinguistics* with John Gumperz's (1982) seminal work that accounted for the role of linguistic processes in intercultural encounters, especially when they involved the construction of social inequalities and stereotypes through interaction. Gumperz demonstrated that culturally-specific ways of using and interpreting language at an airport cafeteria had an impact on relationships and social discrimination against South Asian workers. In this study, falling pitch and intonation in the question "Gravy?" caused Indian and Pakistani employees to be perceived as uncooperative and impolite by speakers of British English.

There is a tradition of studies on gatekeeping encounters where a member of a social minority requires the approval of a majority-community member to receive a social benefit or advance professionally, such as job interviews, medical diagnostic encounters or trials. Interviewers' judgements on the applicants' capacities and qualification depend largely on their assessment of tiny features of language (e.g. Gumperz and Roberts, 1991; Roberts and Sarangi, 1999; Roberts and Campbell, 2007). Gumperz's major contributions shaped the current fields of critical sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (see Gal, 2014; Heller, 2014). It remains unquestioned that language and discursive difference is the basis of social inequalities which are constructed through face-to-face interaction in speech communities. Gumperz's *speech communities* prefigured the concept of communities of practice and placed multilingual interaction, especially codeswitching and hybrid modes, at the core of his research programme.

Some critiques of Gumperz's work highlight the limitations of cultural explanations and propose to take into account the social positions of speakers in terms of power and capital (Heller, 2001a). Additionally, Gumperzian analysis of recorded interactions does not reveal the forms of inequality relevant to the participants. With this objective, interactions must be located within networks or fields across space and time (Giddens, 1984) that move beyond the immediate context of regular and frequent interaction. Analysts must identify which forms of symbolic capital are at stake for the participants in a given linguistic interaction (Bourdieu, 1982; see below). It is now generally accepted that social reality is discursively constructed by people (including the researcher, see Chapter 2) who interact in an uneven field where material, cultural and linguistic resources are unequally distributed. This assumption opens

sociolinguistics to fundamentally social questions and theory in order to account for the ways in which social difference is constructed (Heller, 2001b, p. 49).

Linguistic practices are actually constitutive of broader social practices that construct social reality. According to Blommaert, "sociolinguistics should be the study of language in order to gain an understanding of society, not a reduction of society into linguistic structure" (2007, p. 3). Therefore, we need to move beyond purely linguistic analyses with a focus on language structures in situated interactions. Likewise, we should not analyse macro social issues such as gender or ethnicity in correlation to language as if they were separate phenomena. The empirical goal of critical sociolinguistics is to track the distribution and circulation of resources to reveal the consequences for individuals' life trajectories and for the construction of legitimacy. This approach requires poststructuralist concepts that do not construct language, culture and identity as bounded, fixed and abstract entities. Instead, these are conceptualised as "fields" (Bourdieu, 1982) or "discursive spaces", defined as "assemblages of interconnected sites, some more easily observable than others, (...) traversed by the trajectories of participants and of resources regulated there" (Heller, 2011, p. 11).

This critical approach to language should explain how situated linguistic, semiotic and cultural resources are constitutive of unfolding political economic processes (see Gal, 1989 for a seminal definition of the political economy of language). In response to Hymes' early call for the ethnography of speaking to account for the origins and foundations of inequality among speakers, there emerged a concern with symbolic and linguistic aspects of power, domination and global political economy, partly informed by Marxist ideas. In other words, scholars turned their attention to the construction of power in everyday talk as well as linguistic and semiotic constitutive aspects of global socio-political processes such as colonisation, migration and nation-building. Linguistic practices in a situated context provide access to material resources, so they become resources in a marketplace in their own right. Bourdieu (1977a) conceptualises language as a form of symbolic capital convertible to social and economic capital in a unified exchange system.

Regarding how to approach this social reality empirically, the answer lies in critical sociolinguistic ethnography that combines, among others, participant-observation and interactional analysis with discourse analysis. In this thesis, the exploration of social discourses and narratives allows me to grasp the ideological

basis that informs and legitimises the localisation of the Emmaus mission (see Chapters 3-5), with a focus on multilingual ideologies and practices in situated appropriations (see Chapter 6). Following Duchêne, I understand discourses as "the place of emergence, crystallization and materialization of the positioning of actors and institutions" (2008, p.30). At a given socio-historical moment, circulating social discourses define the situated, everyday actions and decisions of members. Heller and Duchêne call for an articulation of genealogy, defined as "the linkages of discourses across time, or how discursive elements are taken up, circulated, reframed and resemiotised" and history, that is, "accounts of the political economic, situated, material development of practices" (2012, p. 15). In my ethnography, I have tried to bring together a genealogy of discourses documented through participant observation and archival work with the broader political economy of language that shapes situated appropriations of discourses (see Chapters 4 and 5).

One of the research strands in contemporary critical sociolinguistics concerns the role of language, discourse and semiotics in globalisation and mobilities in late modernity. My first research question on the transnational articulation of the Emmaus movement (see section 1.2 above) addresses broader questions about the (re)production of a social movement through ideas, texts and discourses that get taken up locally. Today, transnational social movements such as Emmaus and Occupy are key sites for discursive production in the new global economy and the shifting socio-political landscape (Gal, 2003; Heller and Duchêne, 2012). The current phase of late modernity is characterised by increased interconnection between spatially and temporally dispersed phenomena against the current economic crisis, which reconfigures old connections and gives rise to new social formations, such as social movements. Social theorists agree that globalisation is characterised by increased interconnection and space-time compression (Harvey, 1990), mainly owing to flexibilised production and the expansion of ICT. In the face of rapid social change, critical sociolinguistics has focused its lens on the mobilities of people, objects, images and ideas in the past decade, in the line of the mobilities turn in sociology (Urry, 2007, p.47).

My ethnography investigates an "old" transnational social movement founded in 1949. What is new about social movements today? Globalisation is an intensification of social relations across space and time but it was by no means a novelty in the late 20th century. There has been an academic erasure of historical

precedents of transnational mobilities, super-diversity and hybridity since the 15th century and especially in the World War periods (see Antrosio, 2013; Wallerstein, 2004). Catholic missionary networks, one of the earliest Western transnational ventures, facilitated the expansion of the Emmaus movement through Church-led local initiatives inspired by the Abbé Pierre (see section 1.5.1 below). Within these Catholic networks, former colonies of France that were Francophone, a product of pre-War imperialism and transnational contacts, became one of the main geopolitical areas for the development of Emmaus. Nowadays, French remains a strong lingua franca in Emmaus despite the global hegemony of English.

In popular discourse, the trendy term "globalisation" has often become shorthand for economic imperialism and cultural homogenisation. As a case in point, English has been constructed as the international language of upward social mobility and global citizenship in rather broad and simplistic terms, whether celebrated as a democratising lingua franca (Crystal, 1998) or criticised as imperialism (Phillipson, 1992). Niño-Murcia (2003, p. 139) calls this "the overgeneralised globalist analysis" which "projects the world English phenomenon as if it were a unitary universal, audible from one speaking position". Mobilities and multiplicity are now the baseline for a "sociolinguistics of mobility" which centres on "language-in-motion" across geographical, sociocultural, historical and political spaces (Blommaert, 2010). These spaces are highly stratified, so the mobile linguistic, discursive and semiotic resources are reterritorialised into new forms of social stratification.

Contemporary critical sociolinguistics has mainly centred on the mobility of people, and to a lesser extent objects, with their associated language and literacy practices. The new patterns of migration to Western societies have resulted in what Vertovec (2006) describes as a "transformative 'diversification of diversity'", not only regarding countries of origin and ethnicities but also with respect to other variables (e.g. place of residence, immigration status, year of arrival) that affect people's social interaction and material conditions. The notion of "super-diversity" encompasses

> a differentiation in immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, labour market experiences, gender and age profiles, spatial factors, and local area responses by service providers and residents (2006, p.1).

My intention here is not to analyse the current buzzword in sociolinguistics. I want to show how super-diversity intensifies the research interest in diverse people who communicate as labourers for the new economy, as dwellers of "global cities" (Sassen, 2001) and as mobile citizens who follow transnational circuits (Rouse, 1991) of leisure, activism, study and work.

The transnational mobility of people, products and organisations across social and geographical spaces implies the circulation, appropriation and resemiotisation of ideas and discourses in localities across borders. My thesis examines a case of mobility in a transnational social movement beyond and in tension with the regulation of nation-states. Contemporary discourses are the product of socio-political trajectories over time and global processes that are imbricated in the construction of localities. A multi-sited ethnographic analysis of text-as-practice will illuminate the social relations and the sets of local discourses that shape the appropriation of "travelling" texts (Gal, 2003). Local activists appropriate transnational discourses, communicative practices, socio-political subjectivities and semiotic symbols. These interact with their local counterparts and clasp the social actors' life-worlds with those of other activists around the world (Gal, 2007). Furthermore, the discursive genealogies in localities will reveal the struggles for discursive legitimation and echoes of other discursive formations.

Another research area in contemporary critical sociolinguistics regards the role of the nation-state, and its modernist ideologies of linguistic nationalism, in the changing globalising world. My second research question on the localisation of the shared Emmaus discursive repertoire is inscribed in this research into the vitality of nation-state discourses under late modernity. The Emmaus founding story and the key trope of solidarity, to name the most relevant here, become embedded in nation-state regimes where they interact with sedimented discourses in a given locality. In this context, nationalism and its linguistic ideologies are still alive and well. Late capitalism destabilises the nation-state's abilities to regulate markets, including the circulation of goods, services and information in different languages as part of the global tertiary economy. Neoliberal tenets of privatisation, self-regulating market rule and individual liberties have impacted state institutions, policies and discourses, which are under international free market rule enforced by supranational bodies such as OECD and IMF.

The neoliberal reduction of public budgets has eroded Keynesian welfare

states moving to a *mixed economy of welfare* (Gilbert, 2004), with public institutions, private companies and non-profit organisations as partners in the provision of welfare services (Codó, 2013). The crisis of the welfare state gave way to the enabling state, which is no longer responsible for the protection of the population against the vicissitudes of the market. The neoliberal organisation of social welfare increasingly enables "people to work and the voluntary sector to assume an expanded role in providing social protection" (Gilbert, 2004, p.16). This model is market-oriented in that it promotes labour force participation and individual responsibility instead of income support. This phase of capitalism opens up new discursive spaces in civil society as a centre of opposition, but not necessarily as an alternative to the nation-state system (Harvey, 2005, p. 78). NGOs, social movements and grassroots groups are believed to be separate entities of social transformation when in fact they also participate in the governmentality of populations, by crafting responsible citizens who speak legitimate languages for national citizenship and globalised labour.

The crisis of the nation-state is observable through processes of institutional communication (see contributions in Duchêne, Moyer and Roberts, 2013) that reveal new economic activities based on *parole d'oeuvre* (Boutet, 2001) and changing bases of linguistic authority for "national" languages. Language has become increasingly central for capitalist expansion that casts language and culture in economic terms (see Heller and Duchêne, 2012). In the neoliberal process of distinction, language is a source of symbolic added value as a natural possession, especially evident in the market of minorities. In the tertiary sector based on information, services and symbolic goods, language emerges as a product of work (Heller and Boutet, 2006) and as a technical, measurable skill in the profit discourse of multilingualism. The outcomes of work are immaterial, linguistic and even affective services in the case of privatised welfare in non-profits. Further, the flexibilisation of labour entails a Foucauldian self-governing attitude to actualise oneself with legitimate modes of work and communication (Allan, 2013).

The globalised, tertiary new economy, with language industries as its hallmarks, is in tension with the national markets that still construct homogeneity and boundaries through official languages. The contemporary emergence of transnational markets, networks and mobilities is challenging and transforming modernist discourses of language (see Pujolar, 2007b). Today, multilingual skills have come to be viewed as necessary skills for participation in the new economy, whilst at the same

time the official language(s) are used in social selection processes in state institutions (Moyer and Martín-Rojo, 2007), such as schools or immigration offices. Emmaus as a transnational formation is at the crossroads of nationalist and post-national discourses on language, citizenship and welfare. This social movement *de facto* participates in the mixed economy of welfare in different nation-state contexts and shapes late modern identities that are in some respects consonant with affective communicative workers under neoliberalism.

In addition to the transformation of modernist nation-state ideologies, the current economic recession calls for a critical sociolinguistics that explores the emergent forms of social stratification in situated local spaces to counteract globalist analyses. My third research question regarding unequal access and stratified participation in an Emmaus community offers a spatial and historical perspective to debates about the role of transnational social movements vis-à-vis the nation-state and neoliberal hegemony. All situated activities shape and are shaped by broader constraints on the mobilities of people, the distribution of resources and the type of activities in a given social space. The current phase of socioeconomic transformations becomes a window onto new discursive tropes and articulations that justify the ongoing changes in a locality.

This critical approach tries to grasp how social stratification and categorisation unfolds in real time and (re)produces more durable, institutionalised constraints. I adopt Anthony Giddens' theory of *social structuration* to overcome the dichotomy between "micro" and "macro" processes. Distant events and global trends have an impact on the local lives of people, while situated experiences and chains of events come to have global effects, too. Giddens (1984) claims that social life is more than people's individual acts but these are not completely pre-determined by social structures. Instead, he proposes that people's agency and social structure are in a dialogical relationship. The repetition of people's everyday activities reproduces the structure, which can be defined as an institution or an established way of doing things, as for instance an Emmaus community. People can also ignore, replace or reproduce the social constraints differently under given socioeconomic and discursive regimes.

Critical sociolinguistics investigates highly complex forms of transnational mobilities of ideas, languages and signs that create social inequality and transform localities. Ethnographies must heed situated social categorisation processes as ways to make sense of the globalising world in/from a particular space. This spatialising

perspective (Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2010; Niño-Murcia, 2003) examines the complexities of the situated appropriation of circulating resources in localities. For instance, English as the "hyperglobalist" lingua franca is actually used on the ground alongside other multilingual resources and embedded in local indexicalities of language. Social and geographical spaces ascribe different values to circulating resources such as English varieties and hence construct social inequalities among linguistic resources and most importantly, people who mobilise them. In Emmaus, the value accorded to the English language differs according to the locality and the socio-historical moment in the movement. Emmaus London constructs it as a required language for participation, in line with modernist discourses in Britain, whereas Emmaus Barcelona is more oriented to French as a lingua franca and only African newcomers use it in hybrid practices.

Social stratification and categorisation processes are exposed and made explicit, even verbalised, in times of social change (Heller, 2011). That is why it is interesting to study Emmaus at this particular historical moment. The transnational movement must respond to local realities resulting from a global economic recession that diminishes the size and role of welfare states, among other social consequences (see Chapters 4 and 5). In addition, I have documented an internal identity crisis following the death of the founder in 2007 and the opening of a wider gap between the historical trends in the movement (see Chapter 4). In light of these developments under way, the two communities investigated are reflexive about their construction of Emmaus collective identity under late modern conditions (Giddens, 1991) and their discursive legitimation in their local discursive regimes. Assemblies become a focal site in my fieldwork to document this reflexivity and negotiation of identities at this socio-historical juncture.

This thesis is presented in an English studies department as an interdisciplinary contribution to the areas of language and culture. To date, there has been an overall lack of integration of the sociolinguistics of globalisation into mainstream English studies, which tend to compartmentalise language, literature and culture/society as distinct fields of study. Blommaert (2012) calls for an integration of ethnographic sociolinguistics and cultural studies on globalisation in the broader field of English studies. In the area of culture, my ethnographic research into a British charity draws on the history of British philanthropy (see section 5.1.), especially since Victorian times, to trace the discursive genealogy of current discourses of (Protestant)

work ethics, voluntarism in the community and secularisation in a specific research site. From a contemporary viewpoint, the study offers a grounded account of the practices and discourses that configure the London charity landscape under the Big Society, a hallmark scheme of the conservative neoliberal government in power (see Chapter 5). Further, the study provides an account of how an originally French and Francophone movement, Emmaus, becomes transnational and extends to contexts with a marked Protestant tradition and a different history of welfare, homelessness and civil society. This implies strategic discursive transformations across contexts and an ideological erasure of French as a lingua franca, as we shall see (see Chapters 5 and 6).

In the language camp, Blommaert argues for ethnographically documenting English among the multilingual uses and repertoires in a given space. These might include mobile varieties of English in *languaging* practices that mobilise any available communicative resource (see section 6.2.).

> We address 'English' from within the wider perspective of multilingual and multiliteracy repertoires, which compels us to adopt a dynamic and contextualised perspective on language and language use. (Blommaert, 2012, p. 12).

My thesis contributes an account of the role of English in a multilingual community of practice, Emmaus Barcelona, where it becomes one of the linguae francae (with French) tied to transnational mobilities. On the other hand, it also makes a contribution to British sociolinguistics, in particular about the strong role of modernist language ideologies that construct English as the national language in the understudied field of charities (see Chapter 6). British linguistic nationalism overrides multilingual uses and competences in super-diverse London boroughs. Similarly, it ideologically erases the movement's French origins, as well as French as a major lingua franca in Emmaus, in the local construction of Emmaus as a London charity with very limited transnational contacts. In this line, my thesis contributes to sociolinguistic ethnography that aims to understand English as a commodified yet localised resource under globalisation. Several studies show that "English" is actually pluri-centric and leads to situated social stratification of varieties and their speakers (Codó, 2008a; Maryns, 2006; Moyer, 2011; Park and Wee, 2012; Pennycook, 2007; Pérez-Milans, 2013; Sabaté i Dalmau, 2012a, 2014, among others).

1.4. Conceptualisation of my unit of analysis: Emmaus as a transnational imagined community

In the literature, the concept of *transnational communities* often refers to diasporas and transmigrant circuits (Vertovec, 2009), largely based on ethnic belonging and communication beyond the confines of the nation. This thesis offers a novel conceptualisation of social movements as transnational imagined communities that are heterogeneous, multilingual and localised. My study revisits and expands Anderson's national formations (1983) in the era of global mobilities, super-diversity and neoliberalism. In this section, I will analyse each of the three elements in my thesis title, namely *community*, *imagined* and *transnational*, in this reverse order, to define my construction of the main unit of analysis for this ethnography. My adoption of this conceptual unit is ethnographically warranted; as it did not pre-date ethnographic engagement in Emmaus sites but emerged out of my preliminary fieldwork in connection to relevant scholarly literature. When I re-read Anderson's seminal work, it dawned on me that what I had been exploring in Emmaus was a sort of imagined community at a different scale.

"Community" is used in different ways in this thesis. On the one hand, it is an emic concept that my informants use to refer to face-to-face groups of people working for the Emmaus mission locally. The Universal Manifesto of the Emmaus movement (see Appendix 1) entextualises this term in the Preamble to refer to the basic local structure, in "To this end, the Communities were set up, working to live and give". On the other, I draw upon it as an etic construct to grasp how the transnationally-informed repertoire of individual members constructs their belonging to a wider social movement, which is at the same time constituted by a network of multiple local groups with transnational activists. First of all, the local "community" is ethnographically analysed as a *community of practice* that develops "a shared repertoire of resources: experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems—in short a shared practice. This takes time and sustained interaction" (Wenger, 2006). According to Wenger (1998), the emergence and maintenance of a community of practice is based on (1) mutual engagement with other members in a range of activities, (2) accountability to the shared mission and taking responsibility for it, and (3) the negotiation of a common repertoire which makes history newly meaningful in the here-and-now. Such a community cannot be narrowly defined in

relation to single events and interactions, nor broadly defined as a social aggregate reified by its name.

In fact, a transnational social movement such as Emmaus is a constellation of communities of practice that may not be particularly close to one another, of the same kind, or of the same size (Wenger, 1998, p. 127). All the local communities in the Emmaus constellation seem to share, by and large, historical roots and a founding story, a common solidarity mission, a repertoire of texts and practices, similar economic activities in waste recovery and overlapping discourses and styles. However, the transnational discourses and practices might find realisations in the local communities that may or may not be coherent among themselves, owing to discursive localisations in sociohistorical nation-state and municipal contexts.

> Focusing on the level of communities of practice is not to glorify the local, but to see these processes- negotiation of meaning, learning, the development of practices, and the formation of identities and social configurations- as involving complex interactions between the local and the global (Wenger, 1998, p. 133).

Emmaus as a transnational community intersects with other social formations in specific localities and in my informants' life trajectories. Participation in one social formation might interact with, and even lead to, participation in others. Local Emmaus "communities", i.e. social groups that function as communities of practice, intersect, not without ideological tensions, with Anderson's national formations. The strength of modernist discourses of language differs according to the research context and to the socio-communicative space (see Chapter 6). Besides this, many of my Emmaus informants participate in other types of transnational "imagined community" that Anderson also accounts for. Religious imaginaries and transmigrant circuits are central to the discursive legitimations and transnational connections in my two research sites. Some informants participate in religious congregations, especially the Catholic Church and the Islamic Ummah, which are amongst the oldest transnational communities. Islam is practiced in a single religious language (Classical Arabic), much as Catholicism used to be practiced in Latin. Emmaus localities are crisscrossed by the recent mobilities of people across borders, which have created transnational circuits on the basis of a common language/culture and geographical origins. These transnational networks are exemplified by companion Massin's participation in

Amazigh networks in Catalonia, or companion Vince's involvement with Londoners of African descent.

Albeit in different ways, each Emmaus group investigated is deeply involved in their local municipalities on the outskirts of large cities. There, Emmaus communities are networked with other communities of practice such as pro-migrant umbrella organisations, prayer groups or time banks. Emmaus Barcelona members Massin and Marc participate in virtual activist communities. Clive of Emmaus London participates in virtual business communities selling Emmaus second-hand clothes on Ebay. I argue that each and every Emmaus local "community" is a community of practice which incorporates a bricolage of interdiscursive connections, social practices and communication patterns from not only the transitional imaginary of the movement but also intersecting transnational formations and neighbouring communities of practice, often in the same local area.

Not-for-profits and social movements are often imagined as reactions to heartless neoliberal individualism, instead emphasising communication, personal relationships and gift-exchange (Joseph, 2002). As a key concept for my informants, "community" is a social category whose discursive construction and uptake has material consequences. The community myth is shaped by pervasive affective labour and serves to articulate situated subject positions with imagined lives produced within the Emmaus imaginary. All participants engage in affective labour, as every person has to "serve those who suffer most" through relationality produced in cooperative voluntary work, communal living and service provision. However, Anderson's community of "deep, horizontal comradeship" (1983, p. 16) hides social stratification on the basis of legitimate subjectivities emanating from shared texts and negotiated in social interaction (see Chapter 7).

In Emmaus, there is an imagined consciousness of a transnational "family" of unseen others. The power of the *imagination* in the fabrication of transnational social spaces and people's biographies inescapably draws on images, ideas and languages that come from elsewhere (Appadurai, 1996). Anderson (1983) suggests that all communities larger than small villages (and I would argue that even those) are, to some extent, sustained by notions of imagined, understood others. Members of a social formation, such as Emmaus, will never know most of their fellow members, yet in their minds there is an image of communion and shared belonging. Anderson's main argument is that national consciousness arises from the shared readership of

printed texts in a standard language, as well as later communication forms such as television viewership. Tarrow (2011) offers a reading of the emergence of transnational social movements in the 18th century, such as abolitionism, as linked to the printed press, which created shared readership across local associations or reading circles. My appropriation of the concept of imagined community as applied to Emmaus retains this imagined consciousness of fellow readers of a stock of common texts and discourses.

However, this transnational imagined movement challenges the monolingual ideology in national formations, that is, "primordial fatality of particular languages and their association with particular territorial units" (Anderson, 1983, p. 43). Emmaus is inherently heterogeneous and multilingual by virtue of its cross-border nature and multi-locale network. The monolingual bias in Anderson stems from the interaction among a system of relations of production (Fordist-Keynesian capitalism), a technology of communications (print and TV) and unified linguistic markets in a nation-state (see Bourdieu, 1991). In late modernity, the advent of neoliberal capitalism and digital technologies, as well as the increase in super-diversity, has stretched boundaries beyond the sovereign nation-state and has flexibilised the transnational mobility of resources, including images, narratives and discourses across borders. But what happens when we encounter a transnational imaginary that extends beyond and across nation-states? To what extent is the national a component of such formations?

In the literature, the closest account of a corporate or activist imagined community is an analysis of the collective imagination of belonging through readership in an insurance company (Linde, 2009). This so-called textual community is organised around the story of the founder and the paradigmatic stories of the ideal agent, in other words, a set of valued texts that produce identities and shape practices for members. Becoming a part of such a community requires telling and performing one's own story as part of an ongoing discursive community. Rather than having a common language, as in this American insurance company, the Emmaus transnational community is based on common communicative and relational practices in different languages, depending on the locality and members. Transnational imaginaries such as Emmaus might face tensions between heterogeneity among member groups located in different nation-states and their integration through a sense of belonging and obligation to a larger imagined community. Paradigmatic narratives about the origins

and the founder become the glue of the movement (see Chapter 3), just as in Linde's study.

Anderson's seminal work discusses the evolution of religious communities into dynastic realms and then nations throughout history. This thesis takes this historical account a step further towards the growing importance of *transnational* formations across borders. In the era of globalisation, Emmaus exemplifies the shift from the homogeneising nation-state apparatus to a post-national global order based on a system of relations between heterogeneous units (Appadurai, 1996, p. 23) that express new forms of allegiance and identity (Beck, 1998) across, beyond and in tension with nation-states. These diverse political units encompass (a) multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations, (b) multinational corporations such as McDonalds and Apple, (c) social movements such as the Olympic movement and Occupy and (d) NGOs such as Greenpeace and Oxfam. In the social sciences, "no idiom has yet emerged to capture the collective interests of many groups in translocal solidarities, cross-border mobile and post-national identities" (Appadurai, 1996, p.166).

Emmaus is a transnational social movement in this emerging post-national system. It is a "dense, stable, pluri-local and institutionalised framework composed of material artefacts, the social practices of everyday life, as well as systems of symbolic representation that are structured by and structure human life" (Pries, 1996, p. 8). My adoption of "transnational" space draws from Portes' (2001) three-way distinction between social actors and scales of activity across national borders. According to him, the term "international" refers to relations between nation-states, whereas "multinational" is reserved for large-scale corporations, NGOs or religions whose activities take place in various nation-states. "Transnational activities would be those initiated and sustained by non-institutional actors, be they organised groups or networks of individuals across borders" (Portes, 2001, p. 186). The Emmaus social movement is a loose network of local groups that are both autonomous and dependent on the transnational network and may simultaneously be a part of other networks with different goals (Castells, 1996, p. 171). The transnational interest in social movements rests on activist networks that connect a range of localities and actors that appropriate common values, discourse, practices and information (Vertovec, 2001).

Given the increasing socio-political relevance of transnational social movements made of connected grassroots groups and activists, I conceptualise

Emmaus as a transnational social space in (global) civil society rather than a nongovernmental organisation (NGO) operating top-down in different nation-states. My (frustrating) literature review on NGOs revealed that Emmaus' holistic and multifaceted mission does not fit the discrete categorisations of NGOs in the social science literature. The term NGO encapsulates an enormous diversity of organisational structures and sizes, social functions, ideologies, juridical forms as well as duration, scope and range of activities. In fact, this type of organisation has been defined in terms of what it is not, namely, non-governmental and non-profit, rather than what it actually is. Furthermore, the classification of NGOs into separate "boxes" is problematic since different generations (Korten, 1990), activities and domains might co-exist within one single organ and thus makes it difficult to categorise. Emmaus as a transnational formation, for instance, merges assistentialism with empowerment, pursues both advocacy and service activities, and it could be classified in the environmental, human rights, and development domains. I propose four main characteristics that define NGOs and set them apart from other types of organisations commonly collapsed with them: (1) Voluntary organisation of citizens for a public purpose, (2) Non-distribution of benefits, (3) Moral authority and (4) Transnational character, which covers both "global risks" and composition.

In addition to the different forms, missions and activities that NGOs might adopt, their legal status and obligations vary across nation-states. In fact, local Emmaus communities must register with nation-states as associations, charities or social cooperatives to carry out their community, recycling and solidarity activities in a given locality. For example, Emmaus Barcelona is registered as a non-profit association, as a social reinsertion cooperative and as a foundation in order to fulfil the transnational movement's mission locally in accordance with Spanish laws. It is hard to grasp the Emmaus imaginary by studying a single individual locale or comparing Emmaus in multiple nation-state contexts (see Chapter 2 for more). Had I conceptualised Emmaus as an NGO, I would have stumbled upon the puzzle of the partial institutionalisation of the movement as an international NGO, Emmaus International, which acts as a "multi-national of the heart" (Pech and Padis, 2004).

Emmaus International tries to organise the local initiatives that follow the Emmaus lifestyle and principles into a "Benetton-like network" (Castells, 1996, p.174) that licenses local chapters around the world. These chapters must provide information to a core that controls them ideologically and financially. However,

Emmaus is best conceptualised as a transnational network and imaginary which is formed by multiple local groups organised from below across different state contexts. Crucially, Emmaus International is a powerful player in the discursive construction of Emmaus but it does not represent the movement at large, which includes networks of dissident and critical groups across borders including Emmaus Barcelona. Emmaus International adopts a business-like multi-national structure whereby groups in the same nation-state constitute "national federations", but this structure falls short of capturing the actual transnational connections on the basis of shared sociopolitical orientations. Besides, this international NGO seems to have relatively little impact on the everyday running of Emmaus London, compared to other national and local arenas.

The significance of Emmaus as a social movement resides in its hybrid form of transnational activism that combines, not without tensions, top-down NGO-centred advocacy for homelessness with sprawling networks of grassroots activism that frame multiple issues and domestic appeals within a framework of global justice (Della Porta and Tarrow, 2005). Earlier activist networks (see Keck and Sikkink, 1998) were based on NGO-led single-issue networks (e.g. environmentalism, labour rights or feminism) that ran top-down central campaigns targeting governments and supranational bodies to reform policies. The second wave of transnational activism at the turn of the century is, by and large, characterised by the following trends (Bennet, 2005; Della Porta and Tarrow, 2005).

1. Loose, polycentric and distributed network based on affinity ties around global justice. Nation-state policies are interpreted through the lens of broader global problems. For example, migration to the North is embedded in the neocolonial relations and international neoliberal policies in African states.

2. Collective agenda setting from below. This entails more direct involvement of people in civil disobedience and action, as well as decision-making processes in horizontal assemblies (Flesher Fominaya, 2010).

3. Multi-issue organisations (the prototype being ATTAC) and permanent campaigns instead of the single-issue specialisations of NGOs in the 1980s and 1990s.

4. Moving away from single-movement identities, late modern social movements integrate different social, political and generational backgrounds. This gives rise to "tolerant identities" (Della Porta, 2005), which celebrate heterogeneous, multiply faceted identities, with respect for both diverse subjectivities and limited identification with the movement.

The origins of Emmaus, both in France and in Catholic networks worldwide, attest to a grassroots, decentralised and unplanned development. The creation of Emmaus International, in 1971, was an attempt to structure and centralise the movement through the NGO-led advocacy model. However, Emmaus has been largely polycentric and heterogeneous since the early days, with two historical orientations that continue to coexist in the transnational movement. This thesis on Emmaus sheds light on the current tensions, imbrications and trends between the top-down NGO-like and the second rhizomatic generation of social movements. Now we turn to an overview of the Emmaus movement that will trace the history behind its current configuration at this socio-historical moment, illustrated by two very different communities in my ethnography.

1.5. Description of research context

In this section, I will describe my research context, the Emmaus movement, and my two ethnographic sites to ground subsequent analyses. First, I will provide an overview of the main events and milestones of the Emmaus movement, which was founded in 1949. Second, I will describe the three aspects of the Emmaus mission, namely, welcoming newcomers into the community, working collectively as ragpickers and engaging in solidarity projects with those less fortunate. Last, I will provide a detailed description of each of my main research sites, that is, Emmaus Barcelona and Emmaus London, given the uniqueness of the movement and the local heterogeneity.

1.5.1. Overview of Emmaus: History, expansion and mission

As it is told (Coutaz, 1989; Lefèvre, 2001 among others), the creation of the Emmaus movement was not planned in any way. It emerged out of post-war circumstances and a fortuitous encounter that would symbolically mark its foundation. Henri Grouès (1912-2007), known as the Abbé Pierre after his nickname in the War Resistance, was a Catholic priest and MPR (*Mouvement républicain populaire)* deputy of the Fourth Republic who founded the Emmaus movement together with Georges Legay and Lucie Coutaz in 1949. In 1999, he wondered at how the first encounter with Georges has evolved into the transnational movement, which constitutes the object of research of this thesis.

Comment aurions-nous pu imaginer que cette rencontre avec Georges, le premier compagnon, allait aboutir, cinquante ans après, à un movement de trois cent cinquatre groups à travers le monde, quatre mille compagnons en France et combien de dizaines de millions de francs de services aux plus souffrants, de tous les continents? C'est incroyable. (In Lefèvre, 2001, p. 9).

[How could have we imagined that this encounter with Georges, the first companion, would result, fifty years on, in a movement of three hundred and fifty groups across the globe, four thousand companions in France and tens of millions of Francs in services for those who suffer the most, from all continents?] (My translation)

Henri Grouès was born to a Catholic upper-middle-class family in Lyon, the cradle of social Catholicism. When he was twelve, his father took him along to his Sunday charity work. Henri was profoundly marked by the experience of his affluent father shaving a destitute elderly man. This was his first encounter with poverty. In 1931, Henri decided to give up his share of the family legacy and worldly possessions to enter the Order of the Capuchins. Shortly after his ordination in 1938, he left the convent due to poor health and became a secular priest. Assigned to Grenoble, he was mobilised in WWII. During the war, he hid Jews and helped them cross to Switzerland. Later, he managed to escape from the Gestapo across Spain to Algiers and eventually became a war hero. In the post-war, he became a Christian Democrat

(MPR) deputy between 1945 and 1951 in order to improve the housing conditions of the veterans and working classes.

In 1947, Henri Grouès bought a house in Neuilly-Plaisance that was "too big" (Boris, 1954, p. 39) and opened a youth hostel for all nationalities in pursuit of an ideal of European reconciliation (like the Taizé community). He named it "Emmaus" after the Palestinian village where two Disciples of Christ found hope again when they recognised him after resurrection. Owing to his war experiences, he showed an interest in global problems and participated in internationalist union movements that prefigured alter-globalist issues at the end of the century (Lefèvre, 2001, p.17). Soon enough, and with the help of his friend Lucie Coutaz, he gradually transformed it into a community to shelter and feed men, women and children who were homeless after the war.

In November 1949, the mythical foundation of the movement occurred when the Abbé Pierre encountered Georges Legay, a convicted murderer who had failed in a suicide attempt after finding his wife in cohabitation with another man upon his release. The Abbé Pierre asked him to join him to help others, by building accommodation for homeless families. Georges is thus considered the first ever Emmaus companion, finding a purpose in life through his work with the Abbé Pierre. On his deathbed he told the Abbé: "*N'importe quoi que vous m'auriez donné, j'aurais recommencé à me tuer parce que ce qu'il me manquait ce n'était pas seulement de quoi vivre, mais des raisons de vivre!!!* " [No matter what you would have given me, I would have gone back to killing myself because what I lacked was not only a way to make a living but also reasons to live!!!] (1981) (Lefèvre, 2001, p.17; see Abbé Pierre, 1981).

The so-called "epic period" of Emmaus ranging from 1949 to 1954 (see Boris, 1954 and the homonymous film) was spontaneous and grassroots and lacked formal institutionalisation. Other desperate men such as former prisoners and legionaries joined the community, and a growing number of families in need of accommodation flocked to Emmaus. The companions built emergency accommodations first in the house garden and then on unoccupied plots. Faced with administrative norms, the Abbé Pierre called for the "Permis de vivre" and adopted the *fait accompli* strategy. Up to 1951, his parliamentarian allowance could support the developing community and the ongoing construction work. However, the Abbé Pierre was not re-elected for Parliament and the desperate lack of funds for subsistence sent the Abbé begging in

the streets of Paris. The companions asked him to stop, and Auguste Le Gall came up with a solution: ragpicking the waste to recuperate objects for sale and raw materials for recycling. To avoid competition with dustmen, the *chiffoniers* specialised in appalling landfill sites and door-to-door collections. As a ground rule still observed today, the *chiffoniers* would never again agree to subsist on anything other than their own labour.

Figure 2. The Abbé Pierre during his visit to the Barcelona community in 1992. Reproduced with permission from Emmaus Barcelona.

The second turning point in the history of Emmaus was the "Insurrection of Goodness" [*l'insurrection de la bonté*], which gave rise to an incipient grassroots, decentralised expansion across the Hexagon. In the winter of 1954, the harsh below-zero temperatures killed many homeless people. On 1st February, 1954, the Abbé Pierre appealed for solidarity from *Radio Luxembourg*. This memorable appeal moved the whole country and Emmaus received an unprecedented flow of donations that surpassed their expectations. It took weeks to sort and distribute the blankets, furniture and clothes throughout France. The money was used to build two emergency housing estates on the outskirts of Paris. The creation of *l'Association Emmaüs* marks the first institutionalisation of the movement in order to manage the funds and the newly-created Emmaus communities throughout France following the appeal.

Since the early days, the Emmaus movement has had internal tensions regarding how it should be organised and the types of relationships within and among communities. The development of new activities and the diversification of the movement in France in the 1950s (see Brodiez-Dolino, 2008[2]) gave rise to tensions between two emerging trends, which Lefèvre rightly calls "*les gestionnaires*" and "*les aventuriers*" (2001, p. 36). The former created the *Union central des communautés Emmaüs* (UCC) in 1958 with a focus on professionalisation, education and transparent financial management. The founder's illness in 1958 kept him away from the movement, and Emmaüs underwent a process of professionalisation and organisation into autonomous branches. Faced with this incipient institutionalisation, the "*aventuriers*", with the support of the Abbé Pierre, preferred spontaneity, emotion and a simple lifestyle among companions. They ran itinerant communities in France since 1956, created the *Union des amis et compagnons de'Emmaüs* (UACE) in 1962 and organised summer camps for the youth in the 1970s. Later on, there were new divisions within UACE that would result in seven different families of communities until the reorganisation at the turn of the century.

The popularity of the Abbé Pierre and the *chiffoniers* grew among social Catholic circles around the world. From 1956 onwards, the Abbé Pierre was invited to give conferences and join forces with similar grassroots initiatives in Canada, the USA, Chile, Sweden, Lebanon, Japan, and South Korea, among others. The creation of Emmaus groups overseas was possible thanks to Catholic missionary networks in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Brodiez-Dolino, 2008). Many of the initiatives were created and run by Catholic priests who heeded the call of the Abbé Pierre. In Latin America, many early groups pre-existed the appeal of the Abbé Pierre and later became Emmaus communities.

In Santiago de Chile, by way of example, the *Urracas* youth group was created in 1957. Together with other Catholic action groups, it soon became involved in plots occupied by homeless people in *Población la Victoria*, through dwelling construction, support to self-organisation and health provision. In June 1959, a group of Urracas members formed the first community on site in solidarity with the plot dwellers. There, they learned about the Emmaus experience thanks to Boris' novelette (1954). In August 1959, they attended the Abbé Pierre's conferences organised by

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[2] This author signs some publications as Brodiez-Dolino and others as Brodiez (see References).

Caritas and the Emmaus founder visited *Población la Victoria* and shared the experiences of Emmaus in France. The impact was so great that in their September reflection days, it was decided that two members would travel to France to learn about the *traperos* (ragpickers) first-hand. In May 1961, the first community *trapería* Urracas Emaús was founded. I was lucky enough to meet these two historical activists through my fieldwork.

By the 1960s, the *ad-hoc* transnational expansion of Emmaus had resulted in the emergence of very diverse, disconnected local initiatives linked through the founder. This early Emmaus development beyond France followed the founder's conference tours outside Europe in the 1950-1960s and the later organisation of summer camps for youth in Europe, organised by UACE. The Abbé Pierre's message and the *"aventuriers'"* example inspired many grassroots appropriations of the Emmaus movement across space, which prompted. In 1963, the Abbé Pierre was in a shipwreck in Río de la Plata and the press mistakenly pronounced him dead. At that point, the Abbé Pierre was the only link among all the Emmaus groups all over the globe. Thus, he decided to call for a World Assembly and spent six years visiting all Emmaus groups in the world.

The third turning point for the Emmaus movement was the first World Assembly, where the central text of the movement was adopted (see Chapter 3 for a discursive and ethnographic analysis). At this meeting held in Berne (Switzerland) in 1969, over 70 groups from 20 nation-states adopted the *Universal Manifesto of the Emmaus Movement* (1971, see Appendix 1), which lays down its mission to "serve first those who suffer most", and defines its major principles, method and economic means. It entextualises the main principles, aims and values that members had hitherto been socialised into through situated practices in communities. This manifesto links Emmaus to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the United Nations and stresses its independence from any public or religious authorities. In other words, Emmaus is defined as nonpartisan and nondenominational. Today all members of the Emmaus movement must adhere to this text, which is the textual and ideological glue that unites heterogeneous groups worldwide.

In July 1971, the second World Assembly, celebrated in Montréal (Canada), officially created an overarching coordination body, the international secretariat called Emmaus International (EI onwards). EI was created "to bind together the

Emmaus movement" (Emmaus Europe webpage, 2010), namely, to monitor existing initiatives under the name of "Emmaus" to ensure ideological consistency. Article 55 in the first Statutes made French, Spanish and English the official languages in which all documents would be published. The fact that the Emmaus International headquarters are located in Paris points to the French origins and the weight of France both in the international NGO and in the movement at large. The local groups licensed by EI have a vote in World Assemblies to elect their regional representatives and to decide on priority programmes. The recognised member groups finance global priority programmes and the international secretariat that coordinates their implementation. However, not all "Emmaus" groups form part of this International NGO, even if they do follow Abbé Pierre's principles, for example, Emmaus Barcelona and French dissident groups. This thesis will focus on the Emmaus movement with specific references to the partially overlapping Emmaus International NGO.

By and large, the 65-year old movement has evolved from a Western model of religious charity to reappropriations of Latin American Liberation Theology and transnational participation in alter-globalist networks, which connect up with current trends in transnational social movements. The transnational movement has different trends that accord different weights to religion and politics, as we shall see later on (Chapters 4 and 5). In fact, each and every community has different discursive justifications linked to religion and politics. On the whole, the movement whose founding principles are to "serve first those who suffer most" and "fight against the causes of poverty" (Universal Manifesto, 1971) seems to have become increasingly politicised towards the latter (Brodiez-Dolino, 2008). The Catholic inspiration that unites many Emmaus groups has given way to ideological tensions over the movement's political engagement, counterposing European depoliticised assistentialism to Latin American political conscientiation. Although these historical tensions are still present on the ground (Bergier, 1992; Brodiez, 2009a), the 1988 Emmaus International World Assembly in Verona (Italy) ratified a political praxis with the marginalised in local groups in order to transform the neoliberal order that creates inequalities between the Global North and South (Lefèvre, 2001). Emmaus as a movement has since invested in French *altermondialisme,* the counter-discourse against neoliberal globalisation, which brings together heterogeneous civil society

groups in anti-debt campaigns, counter-summits and sustainable development projects (Agrikoliansky *et al.,* 2005; see Chapter 4).

Emmaus is a consolidated but constantly evolving social movement bound currently in a two-fold crisis. The death of the founder in 2007 has resulted in a struggle for discursive authority. As the Abbé Pierre's sole legatee, Emmaus International seems to have reified the institutional texts such as the Universal Manifesto, which cannot be altered, and used the image of the Abbé Pierre as its distinctive NGO brand. Moreover, the historical discursive cleavage between "*les gestionnaires*" and "*les aventuriers*" within Emmaus has continued and perhaps even widened. The former largely correspond to newer groups that present themselves as secular and apolitical NGOs that efficiently tackle poverty as part of Emmaus UK. The latter trend is formed by faith-based politicised groups, often led and inspired by historical activists who were close to the Abbé Pierre, as is the case in Emmaus Barcelona. This ongoing internal crisis has overlapped with the global neoliberal crisis, which has prompted Emmaus and other similar social movements to position themselves with respect to emerging protest movements, such as Occupy and the Arab springs. Both developments are central in the documented discursive justifications for local activities (Chapters 4 and 5).

Today, Emmaus International as a federation is comprised of over 330 Emmaus groups in 37 nation-states divided into the "regions" of Europe, Asia, Africa and America (Emmaus International webpage, January 2014). As discussed above, this NGO adopts a multi-national structure whereby nation-states are represented as members (see Figure 3 below). Since the early days, the vast majority of Emmaus groups have been created in Europe, especially in France and the UK, the latter of whose growth since the 1990s has been characterised as "spectacular" (Brodiez-Dolino, 2008, p.328). Emmaus' African presence is concentrated in Francophone countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, DR Congo, Benin, Togo, Cameroon, Burundi, Madagascar) because of postcolonial cultural, religious and linguistic links. The only exception is South Africa. Emmaus Africa traditionally focuses on supporting young people and women in rural areas.

In America, the *traperos* and *traperas* emerged in Catholic liberationist bastions in Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Peru and Brazil. Historically there have been very few Emmaus groups in North America. In 2013, there were two Emmaus International members in the United States, but there had

been some in Canada and New York City which who had left Emmaus International. Emmaus Asia developed out of early development projects and presently centre on women's rights, micro-lending, healthcare access and organic farming in India, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Lebanon.

Figure 3. World map of Emmaus International member states, June 2013. Reproduced with due permission from © Emmaus International.

1.5.2.   The three "legs" of Emmaus: *Accueil*, work and solidarity

Following Bergier (1992), I conceptualise Emmaus as a holistic movement that merges unconditional shelter (*accueil, acollida*), cooperative work and social service (or "solidarity"). Companions who live together in an Emmaus "community" collectively engage in voluntary recycling work, prioritised by the Universal Manifesto as "primary means" for the Emmaus mission. On the one hand, this economic activity makes communities self-sustainable because it covers the companions' basic needs. On the other, ragpicking work also allows Emmaus groups to offer local social services for third parties and/or to cooperate with Southern Emmaus groups and external co-development projects. The three pillars are interrelated both discursively and in the actual running of an Emmaus group.

The basic principle of welcome (*acollida*) materialises in local "communities" of companions. An Emmaus community is above all a social environment where people from different social backgrounds share, interact and work for the solidarity mission. The encounter between the haves and the have-nots is not meant to be patronising but collaborative. No newly arrived companion is judged by community members as "deserving" or "undeserving" by virtue of his or her past (see section 3.4.2.). According to the Universal Manifesto, any person is welcome regardless of religion, nationality or language. The Emmaus philosophy is contrary to charity and undoes the "aidant/aidé" dichotomy as the companions provide support and affect for those who are even worse off. The Abbé Pierre's initially adopted this collectivist, fraternal perspective as part of his plan to create a religious-like order concerned with the urban poor (Lefèvre, 2001, p.18) or as Alwyn, the founder of Emmaus in the UK, puts it "all this living together à la Saint Francis of acorns" (interview, 05-09-2013). However, Emmaus is not a religious but rather a secular movement where believers and non-believers lead a collective, simple lifestyle together to help "those less fortunate".

Emmaus moves away from the traditional therapeutic model or "shelterisation" (Wasserman and Clair, 2010) that medicalises the "homeless" condition. Communities are based on a feeling of belonging constructed through mutual care and manual labour. Unremunerated labour in Emmaus (re)creates social belonging as part of a community that unites people through co-suffering and collective toil. Work is central to the rehabilitation of the marginalised in society. To

recover their dignity and self-esteem, each person contributes to the recycling process no matter their qualifications, skills and preferences. According to Alberto, longstanding community leader in Barcelona, "*la vida familiar está unida al mundo laboral*" [family life is tied to the work sphere] in their reinsertion process (interview, 27-03-2012). Unlike in private capitalist companies, companions are asked to work at their pace according to their possibilities. In Emmaus as a social cooperative, productivity is measured by a collective yardstick and not individual performance (interview with Alberto, see above).

For companions, "recycling becomes […] a broad project to recover and celebrate the routines, productivity and solidarity of blue-collar work" (Gowan, 2000, p.78). Working at Emmaus gives companions the opportunity to learn and use skills, occupy their time and most importantly, have contact with other people. Ideologically, waste recovery and recycling are conceived as sustainable economic activities within the alter-globalist project that reduce environmental costs and capitalist consumerism. Emmaus gives each companion "a bed and a reason to get out of bed" following Catholic traditions of self-sacrifice (Muehlebach, 2011) and, paradoxically, also neoliberal workfare (Gilbert, 2004) (see Chapters 4 and 5). The ultimate solidarity mission in Emmaus justifies collective work and community life. Serving others through collective, voluntary work becomes a life project, like Georges Legay's, which produces bonds among social actors, locally and across borders.

The obligation to "serve first those who suffer most" is not just mere charity to minimise extreme poverty and homelessness, but also social protest to address the structural causes (see Article 6 in the Universal Manifesto). The Abbé Pierre opposed bourgeois charity, which he had seen as a child, because it maintains the status quo. In late modernity, affective and recycling labour recreates social belonging in the Fordist period in an altered context in which the nation-state offloads care services to voluntary associations (Muehlebach, 2011). On the other hand, the Abbé Pierre disagreed with the Leftist tendency to bypass immediate suffering in order to hasten revolution. His vision was for the privileged and the underprivileged to join forces in their social fight through Emmaus. The Rule of Emmaus captures this double mission: "In the face of any human suffering, as far as you can, work not only to provide relief without delay but to destroy its causes. Work not only to destroy its causes, but to provide relief without delay" (English version taken from Brodiez-Dolino, 2013).

1.5.3.   Research sites: Socio-political, legal and historical description of two
Emmaus communities

This study is based on multi-sited fieldwork (July 2011- July 2012) in two Emmaus communities, one in the Barcelona area and another one in Greater London. These sites are very different nodes in the transnational Emmaus network. The choice of these two communities as research sites (see methodological justification in section 2.2.) was initially motivated by the lack of social studies on Emmaus outside France (but see Murdock *et al.,* 2010 on the Emmaus social economy in European contexts; see Six, 2003 on the historical expansion of Emmaus in Asia). The existing literature on Emmaus in France (Bergier, 1992; Boris, 1954; Brodiez-Dolino, 2008; Coutaz, 1988; Le Boursicaud, 1979; Lefèvre, 2001 among others; see bibliography on Emmaus in Brodiez-Dolino, 2008, p. 364-365) proved invaluable in designing my study and learning about the Emmaus movement.

My goal was to understand how this transnational movement with French origins had diversified linguistically, discursively and semiotically outside the Hexagon. Catalonia, located in the periphery of the Spanish state, and England, as the core of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, represent very different traditions of social welfare in the last two centuries. Majority faiths have played a major role in shaping welfare provision for the underprivileged, as well as in the formation of social movements united through religiously-inspired values across borders. The Protestant worldview in Britain and the Catholic faith configure different discursive— and even linguistic—traditions that have found continuity in the local appropriations of the Emmaus movement investigated.

My primary field site is the Barcelona community, where I did fieldwork for my MA thesis on their residential project for migrants (2007-2009). This previous ethnography facilitated access for my intensive fieldwork *within* the Emmaus community for the present thesis. The secondary research site in London, where I conducted intensive fieldwork between April and July 2012, has proved key to investigating the articulation of the transnational imagined community through discourses, narratives, language and signs, as well as the discursive localisation of this transnational formation within specific nation-states. It illuminates findings from the Barcelona site and contributes another perspective on Emmaus from a different geopolitical position.

The data gathered includes detailed field narratives, institutional documents, recordings of community assemblies, and in-depth interviews with community members, volunteers and staff, as well as audiovisual materials produced by both the researcher and the informants. Chapter 2 will discuss my methodological decisions, ethnographic toolkit and fieldwork ethics in more detail.

1.5.3.1.   Emmaus Barcelona

The Emmaus community in the Barcelona metropolitan area opened in November 1980 out of the international work camps organised by the UACE, the "aventuriers" (see section 1.5.1, and see also Chapter 4 for the group's history and discursive genealogy). I am fully aware of the partiality of the ethical measures to maintain the informants' anonymity, since there is only one Emmaus community in Catalonia (see section 2.4.3.1 for a discussion).

During my fieldwork, there were 14 companions and a secular monk acting as a live-in social worker for their residential project for homeless migrants. The founder's elderly father lived in the community half the week and he also volunteered in the bric-à-brac shop. All but three were autochthonous people over 50 years old with the exception of Massin, an Amazigh man in his 30s, Esther, a Galician woman in her early 20s and Vladimir, a 30-year old companion from Ukraine who entered the community in February 2012. There were two married couples living there during my fieldwork. This community is deeply embedded in the tradition of Social Catholicism (Casañas, 1988). Some companions were secular members and working priests of the Catholic Church and/or had been involved in base communities in Latin America. In addition, this 30-year old community had an entourage of over 15 longstanding, committed volunteers from the same *soixantehuitarde* Catholic generation that participated in decision-making and volunteered in the recycling business. Two volunteers were professional psychologists who saw patients linked to the community and external people who could not afford a private office. This voluntary, professionalised psychology office was called the "*Espai Terapèutic*" [Therapeutic Space].

The community led an alternative lifestyle thanks to their two second-hand shops and a few collaboration agreements with the administration. The surplus was destined to co-development projects in Central and South America, mainly, as well as

to a three-month residential project for homeless migrants (see Garrido, 2010 and Chapter 4), who became temporary, peripheral members of the local "community", since they lived in the same house. Within this project, a group of Emmaus volunteers organised Catalan classes for newcomers in the local migrant-support NGO and since 2008, they had expanded to community centres all over the city. Another successful initiative for these migrants was the Emmaus "*amics lingüístics*", a voluntary partnership scheme between autochthonous volunteers and migrants for social mentoring and local language practice. Many former participants have continued to participate in this language partnership. Since 2008, the community had run a self-funded small-scale housing project for ten former participants in external social housing and run by a committee of volunteers and companions. At the time of fieldwork, five of these migrants worked as volunteers alongside companions in the recycling cooperative.

The *Drapaires d'Emmaús* lived in a four-storey house that belonged to a religious order that had let them use this building for 15 years. At the entrance, the reception area opened onto a hall with a staircase and a small sitting room for visits. The ground floor was divided into two areas: to the right of the hall, the five elderly nuns had their private quarters and to the left, we found the Emmaus common area (or in my view, the agora). The refectory-style dining room (see Figure 1) led onto a dishwashing area and then to a large industrial kitchen. From the kitchen, there was a back door to the garage for two vehicles, another one to a small dining room and a third one opening to the central courtyard, where the community tended a garden with a seating area. As we shall see, the palm tree in the middle of the garden (see Figure 8) became a symbol for this Emmaus as an "oasis". The companions slept on the first and second floors in individual or double rooms. Migrant participants in the residential project and the two social workers (one was the secular monk and the other one a former participant) stayed on the second floor. Some established companions had small work studios next to their rooms. Both the first and second floors had a common living room with couches and TV. There was also a library with a computer on the first floor and a business office with the group's (invaluable) archives on the second floor. The top floor had an interfaith prayer room (see Figure 6), a laundry room and a vast terrace.

A typical day in the life of a companion started at seven-ish. In the small dining room, the companions had breakfast together, typically donated pastries and

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coffee. They organised last-minute changes and vehicles for the day. At half past seven the companions went to their workplaces on foot or by car. From Monday to Friday, they worked from 8 to 2 with a half-hour pause for breakfast. Most of them went to a café for coffee and a sandwich. This was a time to discuss personal topics and news. When they got back, the cook and the volunteers were preparing lunch and they had time for a shower. At half past two, the cooking team rang the bell in the hall and the companions all ate together. As mentioned above, lunchtime was an opportunity to get to know Emmaus for outsiders and for companions to discuss socio-political events, projects or personal matters with volunteers and friends. The *sobretaula* [after-lunch conversation] was dedicated to volunteer meetings every first Tuesday of the month, birthday celebrations every second and also occasional invited talks. After lunch, committees for the different projects also met regularly. The four community *responsables* (Rita, Alberto, Anna and Miquel Àngel) met every Wednesday and the whole community had an assembly every Friday afternoon. The shops were run by two employees from 5 to 8 in the afternoon.

The afternoons were full of cultural events, social actions, voluntary work or talks. Emmaus was very active in the vibrant civil society of this post-industrial town. In fact, they participated in an umbrella organisation for migrants support and sat on social welfare boards with other associations. They also ran their own exhibitions and talks monthly at the Abbé Pierre Gallery. As Esther put it, "*no tengo ni media hora para mear, hay un montón [de responsabilidades] a nivel social, manifestación aquí, reunión de voluntarios, exposición de nosecuantos*" [I don't even have half an hour to pee. There are a lot of social responsibilities: a demonstration here, a volunteer meeting, an exhibit on whatever] (interview, 01-03-2012). At half past eight, dinner was served. There was a rotation of companions who prepared dinner for the community. As an ethnographer, I shared all these moments except for dinnertime, but I attended a post-dinner meeting on a Sunday night.

As far as business was concerned, the *drapaires* honoured their name because their main line was clothing and recycling. Emmaus had a leased warehouse in the outskirts where they sorted, classified and distributed donated clothes for the two shops. There was also a carpentry workshop where the eldest companion, Ramon, worked. Another group of companions worked at the *bric-à-brac* superstore in the centre of the city, known as the "*rastre*". They sorted, repaired, priced and sold donated objects. Another person tended the small clothes shop in the same district

near the community. One or two people collected clothes from collection points all over the city, such as community centres, schools and recycling points. They also transported and sold unusable rags to local companies. The small truck collected old furniture from the streets three days a week, as part of a collaboration agreement with the city hall. On a much bigger truck, Alberto and another companion collected paper and plastic from dumpsters in nearby towns as part of another collaboration agreement. Miquel Àngel was in charge of maintenance, which included shopping for food and repairing the facilities. Finally Rita was the coordinator for the residential project and worked closely with the migrant-support NGO that Emmaus formed part of. Every Saturday a group of companions put up a clothes stall in a street market.

Following the Emmaus principles, the *drapaires* lived off their own work and they financed the running of the community through the second-hand shops and collaboration agreements with local administrations. They only received a public grant for the residential project for homeless migrants, which was a service that the city hall is legally obliged to provide (see Chapter 4 for more information). All the companions were employees of the social cooperative or the twin reinsertion cooperative. They voluntarily donated their minimum wage to the community for common expenses. Their worker status ensured healthcare, pensions and unemployment benefits. Each worker, including the five migrant volunteers, received 40 euros per week for personal expenses. The early community was initially registered as an *associació sense ànim de lucre* [non-profit association], then the *drapaires* created a social cooperative to legally hire companions and later, they formed the Abbé Pierre Foundation mainly for their development projects abroad. Rita told me that each legal body corresponds to the three pillars of Emmaus: *acollida*, work and solidarity.

The community and shops were always located in the dominant Catalan-speaking centre of a city in the metropolitan area of Barcelona. This multicultural city that we will call *Sarrona* has 200,000 inhabitants, 12% of whom are foreign-born. During the 19th and the early 20th centuries, this city was an important industrial centre specialising in the textile and metallurgy industries. Its great industrial activity attracted migrants from rural areas of southern Spain during the second half of the 50s and the 60s. As a result of mass migration, the city grew without order or organisation and new poorly-equipped *barrios* [neighbourhoods] transformed the shape of the city. The economic crisis of the 1970s affected many companies in the city, which ended

up closing their doors, and resulted in a tertiarisation of the local economy. Nowadays, the three main activities are retail, wholesale, and finance. The global recession, debt crisis and austerity measures have weakened the city's economy and left many people unemployed, homeless and indebted. Sarrona's unemployment rates reached 19% in mid-2012, but these figures do not account for undocumented migrants and former residents who have left the city or the country.

This Emmaus group formed part of *Traperos de Emaús en el estado español*[3] but no longer formed part of Emmaus International, which pressed legal charges against this group for using Abbé Pierre's name without its authorisation in 2009. Today there are eight Emmaus groups in the Spanish State: Bilbao, Álava, Barcelona, Donostia, Navarra, Múrcia, Santander and Granada. The first Emmaus groups in Northern Spain and Catalonia (Barcelona) emerged out of the organisation of summer work camps in the 1970s. Both *Traper@s de Emaús de la Región de Múrcia* (1995) and *Traperas de Emaús Granada* (1997) belong to an alter-globalist younger generation. Most are social insertion cooperatives dedicated to recycling and waste recovery, with the exception of the communities in Murcia, Barcelona, Santander and Iruña. Three Emmaus groups, Barcelona, Santander and Granada, do not form part of the international NGO as of January 2014. During the 2006 Spanish state assembly, the seven groups wrote a "declaration of common identity" which centres on transnational social justice under the rule of Emmaus (see Excerpt 1, also Appendix 2 for Spanish version). Their common identity stems from the founder of Emmaus and the main principle to serve those who suffer most. The text is *abbé-pierriste* because it locates discursive authority in his initiative and not under any organisation. There are also intertextual echoes of the Universal Manifesto about unconditional welcome and recycling work as the primary economic means.

Excerpt 1. Common identity declaration, *Traperos de Emaús en el Estado Español*, Murcia 2006. My translation into English from Spanish. Appendix 2 contains the Spanish original version.

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[3] Note the formulation that locates a transnational movement in a specific state, which is not naturalised as the essentialised, homogeneous entity "Spain" perhaps because the oldest communities are located in the historical nations Euskadi and Catalonia. Compare with "Emmaüs France", "Emmaus UK" and "Emmaus Italia".

DECLARATION OF COMMON IDENTITY

The groups of female and male ragpickers of Emmaus (Bilbao, Granada, Murcia, Navarra, Barcelona, San Sebastián and Vitoria) gathered in Granada and Murcia, after expressing our different convictions and ideological bases that drive our commitments and tasks, we conclude and agree that:

1.- Our name comes from the initiative in France of the Abbé Pierre (the founder of the Emmaus movement), which has been developed all over the world and which has as its foundation for action "the priority to serve those who suffer most" under the formulation:

"In the face of any human suffering, as far as you can,

work not only to provide relief without delay

but also to destroy its causes.

Work not only to destroy its causes,

but to provide relief without delay."

2.- This is why in our groups we mainly take in those people who are more unprotected and excluded and who make common cause with these principles.

3.- We recognise ourselves in equality as people with different peculiarities without distinction of origin, race, sex, culture or religion and with diversity as a value.

4.- We defend a humane relationship that prioritises communitarianism over individualism: in spaces of mutual aid, through working "side by side" and social mentoring that promotes active participation, where each person is the protagonist of his/her own process and the resolution of difficulties.

5.- From these convictions and commitments we unite our task, our fights and aspirations to those of other collectives that work in Networks and fight against exclusion or environmental damage by proposing political, economic, social and environmental alternatives.

6.- We ensure that our practice and proposals are coherent with an economic, environmental and altruistic sustainability that makes possible a fairer world without exclusion.

7.- We seek economic independence through work (especially in waste recovery, reuse and recycling) that allows us to cover our needs and share our resources with other people who are more disadvantaged.

8.-From our local realities we promote internacionalism and solidarity relations with other collectives and peoples with whom we share resources, fights, denunciations and aspirations.

In Murcia, on the beautiful day of the 6th of October, 2006

This is a good illustration of the second wave of transnational movements with alter-globalist echoes (see 1.3. above). The *traperas* and *traperos* conceptualise local solutions in terms of transnational sustainability and social inclusion. The last point in this declaration refers to transnational networks of solidarity beyond the nation-state that materialise in global socio-political activism and flows of resources. This politicised orientation is typical of the "*aventuriers*" strand in the transnational movement since the early days, as we shall see (Chapter 4). Their socio-political engagement has impacted mainstream discourses of Emmaus International (Verona

Assembly, 1988) and has spread across many local groups as a result. However, not all Emmaus communities share this alter-globalist orientation, since the historical "*gestionnaires*" trend has developed into professionalised, top-down welfarist structures distant from this kind of grassroots activism, as in the community investigated in London. Let us turn to the description of this secondary research site now.

1.5.3.2. Emmaus London

Emmaus London is an independent charity that opened in 2007 after a ten-year fundraising campaign under the auspices of Emmaus UK (see Chapter 5 for more on its history). This federation adopted the top-down, professionalised model from the French UCC (see 1.5.1). In March 2012, the community housed 27 companions who were formerly homeless people sleeping rough in the London area. Most residents were British, with the exception of a South African man, a Romanian man, a German man and an Irishman, the two latter being well-established companions. There were only three female companions, one of whom was Black British. Although there was a dominant profile of white British men, the ages of companions ranged from early 20s to the late 60s. At the time of fieldwork, there were nine members of staff: general manager, community leader and deputy community leader, training officer, business manager, retail manager, driver, book keeper and volunteer coordinator. In November 2013, it had grown to 16 staff members because they had expanded the business and wanted to open a satellite community. When the staff members were gone at 5 o'clock, one of the three companion assistants (CA), who were elected by companions, took responsibility for the community overnight. I also documented 14 external volunteers during my three-month fieldwork.

This Emmaus community seemed to couple market logics with moral values as "the homeless charity that works". Unlike the Barcelona chapter, their stated goal was for companions to re-insert themselves into the labour market. The turnover was much higher since companions often moved to other communities in the UK, got promoted within Emmaus or found external work to support themselves. This local group formed part of a network of small and medium-sized civil society organisations that provide emergency housing, residential projects, outreach and day centres for the homeless in London (Currie and Irwin, 2009). Like the vast majority of UK non-

profits, Emmaus London did not depend on public funds. As a young community, they were self-sufficient but they did not obtain a surplus for supporting solidarity projects. As a member of Emmaus International and Emmaus UK, Emmaus London contributed financially to their solidarity programmes in Asia and Africa. They capitalised on voluntary labour for the Emmaus solidarity mission locally. On the one hand, companions volunteered for other charities and on the other, marginalised people became volunteers for Emmaus.

The Emmaus main site was on a high street one block from an Overground train station. The two-storey building was newly built to house an Emmaus community. The ground floor had an open communal area with a dining room with four tables, a computer area and a lounge area with couches and TVs. To the left, there was an industrial kitchen with a serving hatch and a small office for deputies. To the right there were laundry rooms and toilets, as well as one companion room. The staircase led up to a small flat that held the offices for the community leader, the General Manager and an open (kitchen) space that the accountant and volunteer coordinator shared. The first and second floors were dedicated to companion rooms, which were single with ensuite bathrooms. The top floor had a terrace where some morning meetings were held. The community was a private space that was not open to the general public and access was protected by a password. External visitors had to sign in at the entrance, where a large picture of Abbé Pierre greeted them (see Opening Vignette, Chapter 2). Under no circumstances were visitors allowed in the companions' rooms.

The second-hand business was expanding and it was mainly based on furniture collections and donations. The main shopping outlet was a warehouse that had two floors. The ground floor was a bric-à-brac with housewares, books, toys antiques and small furniture. It connected with the community building through the small office and the main entrance door opened to a car park in front of both buildings. The lower, and bigger, floor was dedicated to furniture and electrics. It also contained the business office, where the manager worked, and the telephone orders desk. The lower floor opened onto the garage where vans were loaded and unloaded in the back street. A second workplace for companions was on the high street. Emmaus also had two smaller outlets there: one that sold clothes and another one that offered smaller furniture. They were connected through the basement, which served as a storage and sorting area. During my fieldwork Emmaus opened a furniture shop a few yards from

these two retail outlets. The companions, however, called a traditional pub next to the small furniture shop on the high street "shop 3", since the two connected shops were known as shop 1 and 2. At the beginning of my fieldwork, the community also secured a collaboration agreement with the borough to provide catering services in a new emergency shelter run by another charity.

A typical day in the life of a companion started with a short morning meeting at nine led by a member of staff. During my fieldwork they did motivational activities or "energisers", as well as going over the allocated tasks for companions and volunteers. On Tuesdays, the whole community sat down in the warehouse for a one-hour community meeting led by the community leader and community assistants. From Monday to Saturday, companions voluntarily worked a 40-hour week with one day off. The shops were open from 10 to 5, and companions covered for each other during their thirty-minute lunch. Many of them took breaks to have a brew or a cigarette during working hours. I had the feeling of perpetually holding a cup of tea/coffee. Every month the community staff called on each companion for a formal follow-up interview but in fact they interacted regularly to discuss incidents. Dinner was served at half past five by two companions who were previously assigned to the kitchen for the day. After dinner, companions socialised in the lounge, went out drinking or took courses in community colleges. The middle-class volunteers sometimes organised quizzes, nights out and courses, such as the Spanish classes that I taught.

Emmaus London was a registered charity in England, governed by a board of trustees to whom the General Manager reported. New companions had to sign off all primary benefits, but they were asked to claim Housing Benefit. Unlike the in the Barcelona community, companions are not legally hired but were considered as welfare users and volunteers in this charity. Companion allowance was £34 per week and an additional £7 was saved every week as leaving money (as of July 2013). Staff members were paid employees of the charity who were legally responsible for the clients. The community was financially self-sufficient thanks to the business revenue and to the Housing Benefit that 25 companions claimed, which covered their living expenses. There existed two "solidarity places" for people who could not claim the Housing Benefit because they were foreign or had not worked in the UK. There was only one staff position—that of volunteer coordinator—funded by the borough to strengthen ties amongst local charities. In a nutshell, the management structure of an

English charity was combined with a social enterprise run with volunteers, both companions and local residents (see Chapter 5).

Emmaus London was located in a super-diverse London borough. This multicultural Borough has over 300,000 inhabitants and is currently one of the most densely populated in London. According to the 2011 census (Office for National Statistics), this was an ethnically diverse local authority, comprised of 40% of White British, around 25% of Black Africans and Afro Caribbeans, and an additional percentage of people of "mixed" backgrounds[4]. There was also a sizable population of Europeans, especially Portuguese. The foreign population in 2001 accounted for 39% but it may have fluctuated since. As for "main language", 76% of residents reported English, but these discrete categorisations do not account for hybrid uses. For instance, Portuguese only accounted for 4%, but it was a highly visible language in the neighbourhood where Emmaus was located. This borough was known for its high poverty rates and in 2011, there was a 30% unemployment rate. According to the *Guardian* homeless map of England (2012), this local authority had 1.25 households per 1,000 recognised as unintentionally homeless in the period October-December 2011. It had over 1,100 households on temporary accommodation, which equals almost 9.50 per 1,000. These were some of the highest rates in the country, only comparable to other London boroughs, Brighton and Hove, Luton, Sheffield and Birmingham.

Within the borough, the local neighbourhood where Emmaus companions lived, socialised and worked looked to me like a typical British working-class neighbourhood with a high street with shops and other back streets with run-down terraced houses. Downhill from the community site, past the station, there was an Anglican church and a beautiful Victorian cemetery. I also found some small convenience stores and food shops, including two fishmongers and a bakery, which could not be found in central London. There were no big chains except for Sainsbury's Local. It was odd not to find the pervasive Costa café, a Nero's or EAT among others. This was what made me think that this was a working-class area where people cannot spend 3 pounds on a cappuccino. Besides, I found three charity shops that sold bric-à-brac and clothing for both large charities (British Heart Foundation) and local ones. The local feel was punctuated with shawarma places, ethnic shops

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[4] There are no available statistical data for language and ethnicity backgrounds in the city where Emmaus Barcelona is located.

(there was an "Afghan shop" and an Iranian one) and Illy coffee notices on cafés. I wrote fieldnotes and drank coffee at a Portuguese *xarcuteria*/bakery with imported products (even the sugar packets) and where I could watch Portuguese TV.

Besides their participation within the borough network for services, Emmaus London was a federated member of Emmaus UK and this was instrumental to its rapid development in the past two decades. In the UK, the movement has spread mostly in England, with only one community in Scotland (Glasgow). The first community opened in Cambridge in 1992 (see Chapter 5 for more) and since then, Emmaus has grown quickly on the basis of the French UCC professionalised model. In January 2014, across the UK there were 24 communities having at least one shop or social enterprise. An additional eight groups are working to open new communities (Emmaus UK webpage, January 2014). A latecomer to the transnational movement, Emmaus UK has grown to the second largest nation-state federation outside France. As we shall see, the focus of this federation is on providing a solution to local homelessness on behalf of the local administration.

Figure 4. Map of Emmaus groups federated under Emmaus UK, 2013. Reproduced with permission from Emmaus UK Federation Office.

Emmaus in the UK

Development Overview: Summer 2013
Currently 590 companion rooms

emmaus

Burnley
- Opened in 2011
- 24 companion rooms, six move on flats
- Two shops, second within Solidarity Centre

Emmaus Preston
- Opened in 2008
- 26 companion rooms
- Two shops, additional sites: storage, training facility and workshop

Emmaus Salford
- Affiliated in 2006
- One shop
- Property identified for community, 25 rooms planned
- First six rooms to open end 2013

Emmaus Bolton
- Opened in 2005
- 19 companion rooms, planning three more in 2013
- Two shops

Emmaus Mossley
- Opened in 1997
- 24 companion rooms
- One shop on site and one small boutique: Uppermill

Emmaus Merseyside
- Affiliated in 2003
- Formerly known as Emmaus Liverpool
- Formal partnership with local authority
- Site proposed in Sefton

Emmaus Leicestershire and Rutland
- Opened in 2012
- 12 companion rooms
- One superstore and café
- Plans to expand shop and number of companion rooms

Emmaus Coventry and Warwickshire
- Opened in 1994
- 15 companion rooms, three move on rooms in separate house
- Two shops, one in Nuneaton to replace Leamington Spa location
- Property identified for expansion

West Midlands
- New textiles reuse centre project
- Providing move on opportunities for companions

Emmaus Gloucestershire
- Opened in 2001
- 23 companion rooms, planning four more
- Four shops: Nailsworth, Gloucester, Cheltenham, Stroud

Emmaus South Wales
- Affiliated in 2006
- Two shops: Porthcawl and Bridgend
- Community with 22 companion rooms planned with local housing authority

Emmaus Bristol
- Opened in 2003
- 20 companion rooms, three shops
- Looking at business enterprise schemes for companions

Emmaus Cornwall
- Affiliated in 2011
- Plans to open a shop in Truro

Emmaus Exeter
- Affiliated in 2006
- Developing shop and work opportunities with Emmaus Bristol

Emmaus Oxford
- Opened in 2009
- 24 companion rooms, 4 move on rooms
- Additional retail space planned for completion 2014

Emmaus Hampshire
- Opened in 2009
- 24 companion rooms, possible extension under discussion
- Two shops: large superstore and second site in Eastleigh

Emmaus St Albans
- Opened in 2001
- 33 companion rooms, including 'couple room'
- Three shops: St Albans, Batford and Hemel Hempstead

Emmaus Lambeth
- Opened in 2007
- 27 companion rooms
- Five shops
- New relationship with local authority to provide white goods

Emmaus Brighton and Hove
- Opened in 1997
- 42 companion rooms, planning four more and new shop
- 'Goodwill co-op', superstore, café, the Greenhouse @Emmaus and Community Garden

Emmaus Glasgow
- Opened in 2006
- 24 companion rooms
- Three shops, one with a café in Ellesmere

Emmaus Bradford
- Affiliated in 2010
- Site donated by Catholic diocese
- £1.5m needed to convert property

Emmaus Gateshead
- Affiliated in 2008
- Seeking site to meet need for 26 companion rooms
- One shop

Emmaus Leeds
- Opened in 2003
- 26 companion rooms, shop, café and woodwork shop on site
- 'Revive' shop on waste management site with other local charities
- Two regular stalls at Leeds market

Emmaus Sheffield
- Opened in 2008
- 14 companion rooms, ten more planned
- Vintage area and café within large shop
- Contracts for house and garden maintenance

Emmaus Hull
- Affiliated in 2006
- Chevin Housing Associated secured funding for Group via Homes & Communities Agency and will invest further
- 30 companion rooms planned
- One shop

Emmaus Village Carlton
- Opened in 2002
- 35 companion rooms, three move on flats
- Bistro and multiple shops on site
- Destination location

Emmaus Cambridge
- Opened in 1991
- First UK Emmaus community
- 28 companion rooms
- Large retail area and café, new 'vintage' shop in Cambridge

Emmaus Norwich
- Opened in 2011
- Seven companion rooms, plans to expand to 25
- One shop

Emmaus Ipswich
- Affiliated in 2008
- In negotiation for retail site

Emmaus Colchester
- Opened in 2006
- 27 companion rooms, seven move on flats
- Three shops
- Free warehouse space until 2017

Emmaus Greenwich
- Opened in 1996
- 29 companion rooms, four move on rooms
- Two shops, planning third in 2013

Emmaus Medway
- Opened in 2011
- 24 companion rooms
- One shop

Emmaus St Martins (Dover)
- Opened in 1995
- 21 companion rooms
- Two shops: Dover and Canterbury

East London
- New project to develop a non-residential reuse social enterprise

Emmaus Hastings and Rother
- Opened in 2011
- 15 companion rooms, eight more planned
- Shop on site

1.6.   Organisation of this thesis

This thesis is divided into three parts. Part 1 contains chapters 1 and 2. These are devoted to situating Emmaus as a transnational social movement. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the rationale, the research goals, the theoretical framework for analysis and the research context. Most of the chapter provides background information on Emmaus as a social movement and the two chosen field sites. This information will be useful to fully understand the analysis in Parts 2 and 3. Chapter 2 explores my methodological decisions and positioning in my ethnographic fieldwork. I discuss my construction of the multi-sited research field, as well as the research tools and methods that I used to gather data. I analyse my positioning as an ethnographer in the field, with regard to access, collaboration and ethics.

Part 2 contains chapters 3, 4 and 5. This part is concerned with the discursive (re)production of sameness and difference within the social movement. Chapter 3 mainly addresses the articulation of Emmaus communities within the transnational movement through narrative, signs and practices. It centres on the creation of sameness across borders through the founding story of the Emmaus movement. It analyses retellings and re-enactments in everyday life from the perspective of Bakhtinian chronotope analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the localisation of the shared transnational imaginary of Emmaus in different socio-political contexts. Chapter 4 explores the discursive genealogy of Emmaus Barcelona marked by *soixantehuitarde* alter-globalisation, Liberationist Christianity and Progressive Catholicism. Chapter 5, in turn, analyses the discursive clasps with neoliberal activation policies, British nationalism and the protestant work ethics in the charity sector where Emmaus London is embedded.

Part 3 contains chapters 6 and 7. These are devoted to the analysis of situated language practices in the communities as windows onto broader sociolinguistic processes. Chapter 6 is an account of the construction of multilingualism, understood not only as practice but also ideology and the political economy of language in each research site. On the one hand, it analyses multilingualism in connection to the transnational articulation of the movement through linguae francae, especially French and English. On the other, it explores the local management of language diversity in two urban contexts characterised by super-diversity. Chapter 7 analyses the social stratification and socialisation processes through communicative events and

discursive categorisations in only one community of practice (Wenger, 1998), namely, Emmaus Barcelona. In the physical and symbolic space of the community, I analyse power dynamics and tensions that arise in seating arrangements and social participation in communal meals and assemblies. Regarding social categorisation, I mainly draw on interview data to make sense of the social stratification of participants in Emmaus Barcelona. In my conclusions, I will offer a summary of the key findings within the history of the Emmaus movement; then I will draw some broader conclusions and implications for the sociolinguistics of transnationalism, for the study of social movements and for ethnographic methodologies; and last I will reflect on the concept of utopia, as it relates both to my own work and to that of the social actors of Emmaus.

Chapter 2

"Emmaús no s'explica, es viu" [1] **: Multi-sitedness, collaboration and reflexivity in a sociolinguistic ethnography**

My own reflection on the Abbé Pierre's wall portrait. Emmaus London, June 2012.

Picture taken by Maria Rosa Garrido with permission of the community.

2.1. Introduction: Reflection and reflexivity about my role as an ethnographer

The still picture above captures my reflection on a semiotic representation, the Abbé Pierre portrait in the entrance, which I photographed for my research. To me, the

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[1] The English translation would be **"**You can't explain Emmaus, you live it". Source: Local publication to disseminate key ideas about the movement on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Emmaus Barcelona.

existence of similar portraits in other Emmaus communities pointed towards the transnational articulation of the movement around the figure and iconography of the founder. Unbeknownst to me, I was also capturing my own reflection against the backlight, which symbolises my own ethnographic gaze that tends to be underreported in critical sociolinguistics (but see e.g. Heller, 2011; Pérez-Milans, 2013). The ethnographer is the main interpreter of a social world she is studying. She decides which research tools to use, who to interact with, which threads to follow and which spaces to explore, in order to answer her research questions. As a professional outsider, she negotiates her positioning and often inadvertently violates the local social order. These actions become invaluable ethnographic data for understanding how decision making and social interactions work in a specific research site.

My multi-sited ethnographic design for this dissertation included two key sites, one Emmaus community in the Barcelona metropolitan area and another one in Greater London. I did intensive fieldwork from July 2011 to July 2012, dedicating April-June 2012 to Emmaus London, my secondary site. My understanding of Emmaus as a transnational social movement owes much to my previous fieldwork in a residential project run by Emmaus Barcelona (2007-2010), as well as my visits to other Emmaus sites in Paris and Southern England before and after the main fieldwork period. Therefore, my trajectory as an ethnographer shapes the way in which I have constructed my transnational field, Emmaus, which is a geographically discontinuous social movement with sociolinguistic processes crosscutting multiple localities and (re)produced over time. Multi-sitedness allows different points of entry to the social movement through local nodes in the transnational network, where I was able to gather ethnographic data that illuminate the situated construction of Emmaus as a movement.

Engaging in situated practices with informants called for a negotiation of access, positioning and collaboration as an ethnographer. My experience in the two main sites was very different, owing to the different ideological agendas and local organisation in the communities, as well as the incommensurate length and depth of my work in each site. Tensions emerged between my pre-planned academic procedures and the socially appropriate practices in sites. Implementing university-approved informed consent was a challenging endeavour in local communities with their own trust mechanisms. My desire to give back to the informants has led me to adopt a socio-political stance regarding collaboration with the informants, whose agendas I have tried to integrate as much as possible. Their reactions to my pre-planned methods made me question my

own epistemologies of what it means to do critical ethnography, especially with regard to collaborative approaches for disseminating this research on Emmaus in the future.

The data analysed in this thesis bear the imprint of my ethnographic journey over time and the situated co-construction of my researcher identity with informants. This was visible in interviews at different moments and with people with whom I had established more or less rapport. For instance, my first interview with the head of *Association Emmaüs* in 2009 was exploratory and naïvely factual, whereas the last one with the founder of Emmaus Cambridge in late 2013 was sharply informed by years of fieldwork, readings and data analysis behind me. The types of data collected include field narratives of my participant observation, transcripts of recorded assemblies, semi-structured and unstructured interviews with key actors, still pictures that I took with permission, institutional documents and audiovisual materials produced by the informants in both research sites.

This chapter is organised as follows. After this critical introduction to the role of the ethnographer, the ensuing section revises the current theoretical debates on multi-sited ethnography, which informed my own construction of Emmaus as a transnational, multi-local field site. Third, I will explain how I have used different research tools to gather data in my fieldwork and how I indexed my participant observation, interactions, interviews and documents. Fourth, I will trace my ethnographic journey with an emphasis on the on-going negotiation of positioning throughout the fieldwork and in different sites. Within this section, I will first discuss access and gatekeeping at Emmaus Barcelona and Emmaus London, followed by a reflective analysis of collaboration with the informants and the public dissemination of findings. Third, I will discuss my decisions regarding confidentiality and voluntary informed consent in my study. Last, I will conclude this chapter with some remarks on multi-sited, collaborative and reflexive sociolinguistic ethnography.

2.2. Multi-sited ethnography: Delimiting the Emmaus field in current debates

The growing anthropological interest in transnationalism and globalisation in the last two decades has challenged the Malinowskian bounded field site and given rise to alternative conceptualisations of "the field" (see Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). The complexities and tensions involved in the fashioning of transnational imagined lives and

communities through language and discourse in a deterritorialised field "surely cannot be captured by the localising strategies of traditional ethnography alone" (Appadurai, 1996, p.52). Current ethnographies have moved from the traditional anthropological paradigm of intensive dwelling in a bounded village to "deep hanging out" involving repeated visiting and collaborative work (Rosaldo in Clifford 1997, p.188) and crucially, to "a travelling paradigm" which takes into account the multiple and asymmetrical connections among sites (Burawoy, 2001).

Emmaus is geographically-discontinuous transnational social space and it cannot be conceptualised as a bounded field site in the Malinowskian tradition. It is best described as a transnational field (Sinatti, 2008), which articulates unknown, imagined others through the circulation and local appropriation of discourses and narratives, in other words, a transnational *ideoscape* (Appadurai, 1996). Heterogeneous Emmaus groups and people are glued together by a founding story that shapes similar communicative, narrative and affective practices, rather than by a single, top-down organisational structure such as an international NGO. My thesis seeks to investigate the connections and disconnections in this shifting, distributed ideoscape in which shared discourses, identities and narratives have different local meanings that give rise to larger trends and tensions (see Hovland, 2009). My analysis of data from two very different nodes in the Emmaus movement allows me to illuminate transnational discursive processes.

Accordingly, my research questions call for *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) of the connections and relationships both between and within localities (Hannerz, 2003). The transnational field is not a mere collection of juxtaposed local communities but a network of sites. Hannerz claims that, "One must establish the translocal linkages and the interconnections between those and whatever local bundles of relationships which are also part of the study" (2003, p. 206). As far as the "travelling paradigm" is concerned, I have adopted a multi-sited design (Marcus, 1995) to grasp the circulation and appropriation of a transnational phenomenon across settings that cannot be accounted for ethnographically from one single (bounded) site. Marcus posits "strategies of quite literally following connections, associations, and putative relationships" (1995, p.97), and I have constructed my multi-sited research following the Emmaus founding story as "a rich source of connections, associations and suggested relationships" (1995, p.109).

This research project also draws on network ethnography (Howard, 2002) to "follow the story" through "deep hanging out" in the networked sites. Emmaus as an ideoscape is considered as a "perceived community" network with nodal organisational structures, events and people that I have identified through participant observation. Thinking of Emmaus as a social field "having constituent parts forces researchers to be aware of the shared and unique features of different organisations that are home to members of an extended ideational family" (Howard, 2002, p. 561). Consequently, my delimitation of the Emmaus networked sites has followed the scope of the observed nodes across different physical sites and socio-communicative events in the ideoscape. Compared to selecting a single field site, intensive participant observation in two sites has allowed me to relate the trajectories of dialogic texts, local communities and social actors to the transnational (dis)connections in the Emmaus movement.

Field sites as spaces (or Appadurai's *scapes*) are always socially constructed by both the researcher and the researched. However, the "following" strategies (Howard, 2002; Marcus, 1995) seem to assume a pre-existing field formed by sets of trajectories that the researcher has to "discover". Candea (2007) asks, "But if "the field" is a framing cut of seamless reality, how does one make the cut?" (p.171). He advocates that researchers are responsible for delimiting their sites, understood as *arbitrary locations* which are necessarily incomplete, messy and heterogeneous spaces. My two sites - and especially the primary one in Barcelona - are arbitrary to the extent that they are the product of my "following" trajectories and my positioning as an ethnographer. Nevertheless, the ethnographic cut is guided by the scholarly literature on the topic, my unfolding insights on the ground, current methodologies and institutional constraints such as grants and deadlines (Falzon, 2009; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997).

My multi-sited ethnography investigates two urban Emmaus communities carrying different weight in my study, namely, one primary site in the Barcelona area and another secondary one located in Greater London. Far from the mechanical usage of multi-sitedness to any study with multiple locations (see Hage, 2005), my research fulfils Marcus' call for multi-sited and multilingual studies (1995, p.101) within the sociolinguistics of globalisation paradigm (Blommaert, 2010). On the one hand, Emmaus Barcelona inspired this research on the basis of my two-year fieldwork at a residential project for migrants (Garrido, 2010) and the action research project I developed with participants (Garrido and Oliva, forthcoming). My sustained engagement in this community serves as a window onto the issues of transnational

discursive articulations, local appropriations of the transnational imaginary and face-to-face (re)production of subjectivities and boundaries through language.

From different sites emerge divergent visions of globalisation processes (Burawoy, 2001). My secondary site in Greater London has been key to gaining a better understanding of the transnational (dis)connections and different local/national appropriations of the Emmaus imaginary, in ways that a single-sited ethnography in Barcelona could not have shown, in spite of its transnational connections and discursive clasps. Fieldwork at Emmaus London (April-June 2012) focused on the discursive articulation of very different nodes within the same transnational field and the appropriation of a transnational formation in the UK charity context. I chose Emmaus London because this community reflects the recent Emmaus International expansion in the UK, which runs counter to the historical tendency of Emmaus to spread in Catholic and/or Francophone contexts, and the concentration of charities in London, a super-diverse environment. The inclusion of this site also responds to my own language skills and to the requirements of my university department.

This formulation of my ethnography on Emmaus addresses current debates about the trade-off between ethnographic depth and breadth in carrying out fieldwork in different locations. Hannerz asks "Is it possible to meet normal ethnographic standards and to have the expected sense of deep involvement if (assuming that only the normal amount of time is at one's disposal) one has to scatter one's attention over many sites?" (1998, p. 248). We might have to accept a compromise between depth and breadth since we cannot learn about the local everyday relationships to the same extent in every site. My thesis combines long-term semiotic approaches in the primary site with network approaches that address relationships between the different nodes (Wittel, 2000). In his original formulation, Marcus posits that not all sites have to be treated with the same fieldwork practices and research foci, thus the differing weight accorded to my two sites. In fact, "multi-sited ethnographies inevitably are the product of knowledge bases of varying intensities and qualities" (Marcus, 1995, p.100).

Time for long-term participant observation is key for depth, but so is following translocal and transnational connections that make the multi-site cohere within the social field (Hannerz, 1998, 2003). An entirely local thick description of two Emmaus communities would not be a satisfactory ethnography. The multi-sited approach does not set out to compare two independent sites (Marcus, 1995) but to investigate discursive phenomena that are transnationally distributed through mobilities, interaction

and interconnectedness. In other words, the object of study is mobile and multiply situated so it will involve implicit or explicit comparisons that interrelate sites or phenomena that appeared to be conceptually and physically separate (Hannerz, 1998; Marcus, 1995). This research examines the local contextualisations of mobile narratives and discourses, so comparisons between the two main sites might be used as a means to illuminate the larger question about the transnational articulation through language.

A related debate about multi-sited ethnography is that of partial understandings of the social field investigated to the detriment of purported holistic ambitions to study "world systems" from multiple sites (see Candea, 2007 for a critique). Falzon (2009) reinterprets this ambition for holism as a device for contextualising people's actions in multiple sites that are characterised by spatialised (cultural) difference rather than a comprehensive study of wholes. My two sites are not pieces of a jigsaw puzzle that are forced into perfect connections with each other in the Emmaus ideoscape (Hovland, 2009). On the contrary, they are aspects of an incomplete whole that ethnographically produce a shifting, distributed transnational ideoscape. Richardson's "crystallization" (as cited in Hovland, 2009) recognises that "the research topic -like a crystal- has many sides, a complex web of reflections from any light that hits it, and is difficult, if not impossible, to pin down one accurate description" (Hovland, 2009, p.145). When "following the story", the outcome is a partial and complex understanding of a shifting, transnational ideoscape.

In relation to the inherent partiality of any ethnography, the multi-sited approach privileges the spatiality of social phenomena over their temporality (see Gille and Ó Riain, 2002 for a critique). I claim that it is not possible to understand transnational discursive mobilities, local Emmaus constructions and activist subjectivities from a synchronic perspective but rather against the background of social processes unfolding over time and space in the Emmaus movement. The two Emmaus communities are constructed out of particular historical, economic and political conditions that are constantly reconfigured and produce certain discursive (dis)connections with other sites, as well as legitimate moral selves at particular historical points (Heller, 2011). Following Heller and Duchêne (2012, p.15), I have tried to establish genealogies of discourses and narratives across time as well as a grounded history of the situated socio-political development of practices. With this goal, I have searched local Emmaus archives, read main historical texts in the movement and consulted with Catalan contemporary historians to locate the discursive trajectories temporally.

Another major challenge in the multi-sited research design is to make methodological choices to explore certain threads in a vast social network such as Emmaus. First, I initially tried to delimit my field by following trajectories of people, local communities and stories whose "size and reach sometimes became unreachable" (Sabaté i Dalmau, 2012b, p. 201). Consequently, I spent over three months trying to map the elusive transnational, local and personal networks in Emmaus Barcelona. My (unrealistic) holistic goal was to "represent everything" in the networked field through thick description. Candea captures my feeling of constant indeterminacy: "How many leads to follow? How much context to seek? How much information is enough information?" (2007, p.173). To tackle this challenge, I decided to identify the key nodes through the available ethnographic information to inform my decisions on data collection. However, I still felt that my choices meant that I could not be elsewhere. Candea is right: after all, we are not ubiquitous beings! In the end, I had to accept my agentive construction and incomplete understanding of the research field.

Some other challenges emerged in my fieldwork in London, which was conceived as a secondary site to illuminate transnational aspects identified in Barcelona. My clear ethnographic focus on transnational (dis)connections and local/national reappropriations in the UK meant a certain loss of details about face-to-face interactions in the community. Time was limited to 12 weeks and I had to make compromises between traditional face-to-face fieldwork in the community and following the story across translocal links in the charity landscape and Emmaus UK. Another challenge was the steep learning curve associated with language varieties and institutional landscapes which I had to navigate daily during my fieldwork. On the one hand, I had to become used to London English and Celtic English accents in a super-diverse borough. On the other, I had to learn about the conservative mixed economy of welfare, the workings of Emmaus UK and the problem of homelessness in London, in order to make sense of my participant observation.

2.3. An ethnographer's toolbox: Fieldwork strategies and data collection

We have established that Emmaus is a deterritorialised social field conceived as an ideoscape. Accordingly, I researched it by means of multi-sited fieldwork based on thick description of the relationships within and between the two local Emmaus

communities studied. This section will describe my research practices in the field that I have delimited. Fieldwork, now being reworked in multi-sited approaches, remains the essential research practice predicated on interactive depth and spatialised difference (Clifford, 1997). But which activities and techniques does fieldwork entail? Clifford claims that, "One must do more than conduct interviews, make surveys, or compose journalistic reports" (1997, p.191). In fact, sustained participant observation – ranging from co-residence to collaboration and advocacy – is an individualistic rite of passage for would-be anthropologists and key to the academic evaluation of ethnographic work (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997).

During my one-year intensive fieldwork at Emmaus (July 2011-July 2012) I drew on a toolbox of methods to gather ethnographic data. The goal of my data collection was to describe and explain the processes and relationships in my field through multiple points of entry – the different sites– and types of data. The various types of data collected have allowed me to triangulate my unfolding analysis. These are the following: (a) the cornerstone of my thesis is an extensive body of field narratives and fieldwork indexes, which constitutes the departure point for my analysis; (b) audio-recordings of assemblies and meetings as key events for the interactional negotiation and reappropriation of subject positions, narratives and discourses; (c) semi-structured and unstructured interviews with key social actors identified through fieldwork, some of which were group interviews; (d) (audio)visual documents produced by Emmaus activists, communities and federations as well as media reports and books about the Emmaus movement; and (e) still pictures taken by myself as part of the research process.

The cornerstone of my ethnography, participant observation, produced nuanced field narratives that illuminate emic categories, social relations and socioeconomic activities in which language and discourse play a constitutive role. My *intensive* fieldwork in Emmaus Barcelona comprised the period between July 2011 and March 2012 and my three-month fieldwork in London ran from April to June 2012. It was a time-consuming and exhausting yet very satisfying and intellectually challenging task for an ethnographer. Intensive interaction in the field was inextricably tied to writing fieldnotes. In Geertz's words, "What does an ethnographer do?- he (sic) writes" (1973, p.19). After all, ethno-graphy etymologically means writing culture. As key data for the researcher's professional identity (Jackson, 1990), field narratives are scientifically on par with interactive, declarative and textual data in this thesis rather than "raw data".

Fieldnotes are typically a log written by an individual ethnographer at the end of the day. They transform observed interaction into coherent narratives. They are a subjective, partial description of recent past events mediated by the ethnographer's social positioning (Duneier, 1999, p.352 ff.), cultural dispositions, research interests and her emotional reactions (Jackson, 1990). In my *field narratives* (Gregory and Lytra, 2012), I did not separate the ethnographic accounts from my personal emotions, broader social contextualisations and other types of data such as pictures or emails connected to the vignettes. Social complexity is always socially-mediated. In fact, if two ethnographers (or an ethnographer and an informant, as in Duneier, 1999) entextualise the same events, they will probably pay attention to different aspects. Field narratives serve as a mnemonic device to reconstruct an event. They create meaning out of the interaction with our "headnotes", which evolve over fieldwork unlike our writings, produced at one point in time (Sanjek, 1990).

Writing fieldnotes should not be taken for granted, especially in the light of the centrality accorded to them in cultural and linguistic anthropology. First-level "scratch notes" are keywords, incomplete notes and diagrams produced while doing fieldwork (Sanjek, 1990). We can choose not to write in front of our participants because it interferes with our participation or is socially inappropriate. The "two-hat problem" (Jackson, 1990, p.18) of simultaneously interacting with and studying participants appeared in my fieldwork when I was torn apart between being a "friend" interacting with my participants or an "anthropologist" writing about them. Since writing notes was generally socially inappropriate and intrusive, I chose to write my scratch notes by hand while travelling from the site, on a public bench/café nearby or even locked in the toilets during breaks. I only wrote scratch notes in assemblies where other people also had notebooks and in which members were more aware of my "hat" as a researcher due to the on-going recordings. My smartphone was indispensable to capture images, write short notes on Evernote, consult previous fieldnotes on Dropbox and schedule future field visits.

Despite their name derived from dwelling practices, fieldnotes are not written exclusively in the field. Second-level fieldnotes are an enhanced and expanded set of fieldnotes usually written in an office. These notes build on the researcher's scratch notes and headnotes. Although most evenings I was exhausted from fieldwork, I decided against tape-recording fieldnotes because they would sit unanalysed in my office. I chose to type all second-level fieldnotes since they would be more accessible

than a hand-written notebook. To index my growing body of field narratives, I simultaneously produced a fieldnote record (Sanjek, 1990), which compiles daily entries with the spaces/activities and companions I worked with, as well as keywords devised in the light of my three research questions. This third stage greatly facilitated my analysis and triangulation with other types of data. These second-level field narratives actually make difficult reading if they are not taken together with other data.

Intensive fieldwork enabled me to identify key collective events, which I singled out for audio recording. Linguistic anthropology and critical sociolinguistics privilege interactional data for exploring social processes mediated by language (see section 1.4 about this approach). In my thesis, the goal is to analyse the interactional negotiation of community identities and social difference, as well as the reappropriation of transnational discursive tropes, narratives and subject positions. In both sites, the key events were regular community assemblies where central members participated. I also observed public events and external meetings where the communities constructed their local Emmaus identities. In addition, collective meals and after-lunch conversations in Barcelona proved to be key discursive sites. I audio recorded community assemblies in both sites as well as some external meetings (see Appendix 3). However, I could not record collective meals because of background noise and social inappropriateness. Besides a digital audio recorder, I used Livescribe to link my written notes to audio.

I also conducted interviews on a continuum between unstructured and semi-structured with key participants in the social networks associated with the two Emmaus communities (see Appendix 3). The goal of one-to-one interviews was to gather declarative data on practices, attitudes and values that illuminate collective identity construction; as well as life trajectories that provide discursive links with other civil society associations and intersections with the Emmaus imagined community. Most interviews were conducted in later fieldwork stages so as to identify the key actors and relevant questions through observations and of course, to establish rapport with interviewees (Codó, 2008b). I planned some broad discussion topics that had emerged from my fieldwork without a given order to allow interviewees to introduce their own agendas. When they agreed to an interview, I allowed them to choose a time and location for the event.

Interviews provide accounts that are situated performances indexical of the social context in which they are produced: "what a certain kind of person tells another certain kind of person, in certain ways, under certain conditions" (Heller 2008, p. 256).

In Barcelona, my sustained engagement allowed me to carry out one-to-one unstructured, informal interviews out of earshot from other study participants. Interviews with companions, volunteers and workers lasted an average of 2 hours and were carried out mostly in vacant spaces in the house, such as the dining room, the terrace or the library, but some volunteers invited me to their homes or preferred public spaces such as cafés. The few broad questions that I asked participants gave rise to lengthy narratives and ramifications following participants' own agendas. I started out by asking how they got to know the Emmaus movement and that particular community. Then, interviewees shaped their own interviews and I co-constructed their accounts by asking related questions from my list of topics.

In London, my temporary fieldwork did not afford the same depth of understanding and rapport with participants. I decided to interview key participants among staff, companions and volunteers both informally during fieldwork and in audio recorded interviews averaging 45 minutes. The interviews were semi-structured with a question-and-answer structure. The higher formality was due to the top-down community hierarchies and the fact that most interviews were carried out in shared spaces according to the community rules. Their perception of the interview as a formal, public situation resulted in the performance of *institutional selves* (Bourdieu 1987, p.5) for the recorder. In fact, the declarative information contradicts or silences what they had previously told me in informal conversations, mainly criticisms or loopholes in the rules. The staff congratulated me on having secured permission for these interviews with companions because the companions did not think that they would accept. These interviews are very interesting sites for analysis of power relations and ideological conflicts in this local group.

There were some drawbacks, too. Asking sensitive questions about interviewees' personal trajectories is at odds with the traditional Emmausian practice of not asking new companions about their past (Bergier, 1992, p.11; Le Boursicaud, 1979; see section 3.4.2). This was true of the Barcelona community, so I never directly asked why they entered this community. Rather, I asked factual questions, such as how long they had been members of it, which often triggered such narratives. To alleviate the potential tensions with participants in the residential project, I decided to have a group interview so that they felt freer and more forthcoming among their peers (Codó, 2008b). This successfully resulted in code-switching and arguments. Another reassuring practice was not to audio record interviews with those peripheral participants who felt recorder-shy,

mainly volunteers in the two sites. Furthermore, my experience in Barcelona socialised me into the pedagogical practices of senior leaders (see Briggs, 1986), epitomised in my interview with Ramon who sat in an armchair while I listened to his pedagogical stories as I sat on a lower stool.

Given the institutional and fieldwork constraints of my London interviews, a later 2013 interview with two key informants to discuss my unfolding analysis enlightened my understanding of Emmaus in the UK. Thanks to the Emmaus London community leader, I was able to interview Alwyn, the man who had imported the Emmaus idea to Cambridge, and Jeanne, the main Emmaus UK employee in the early days. My two interviews with them, as well as the walk-along in Emmaus Cambridge, were a way to discuss and validate my unfolding analysis of transnational articulation and localisation in September 2013. As Pujolar suggests (2001, p. 22), I encouraged them to participate in the analysis of their own practices and I discussed some of my preliminary findings with them. In fact, I felt as if I was throwing my analyses at them to find out if they were congruent with their lived experiences. To my surprise, they agreed with my unfolding story of Emmaus and supplied further information on facets unclear to me, such as the religious inspiration and the history of Emmaus in the UK.

The spoken data in this thesis have been transcribed following a slightly adapted version of LIDES (Language Interaction Data Exchange System, LIPPS Group 2000) that was proposed by Codó (2008a). This notation is exclusively used for audio-recorded interactions and interviews (see Appendix 4). Owing to the large amount of recorded data collected, I have broadly transcribed the recorded assemblies and most interviews according to their relevance for my research questions and to the existing time constraints. In bilingual Catalan/Spanish interactions, I have decided not to mark which language is spoken in the main tiers due to *bivalency*, segments that could belong equally, descriptively and even prescriptively, to both codes (Woolard, 1998a). In Emmaus Barcelona, speakers tend to use one main language of interaction, which is indicated in the excerpt description, but it tends to be largely hybridised with the other one in terms of pronunciation, lexical choices and ambivalent forms. All translations into English are mine unless indicated otherwise.

Lastly, I collected textual and audiovisual materials that participants engaged with or which were linked discursively in looser ways to the interactions being observed or recorded (Heller, 2008). The goals were to historicise the local communities within the movement and to complement my analysis based on observations. First, I analysed

institutional documents which had been produced and/or used by the local participants spontaneously and which had circulated across the transnational network. These are internal representations within the transnational movement that include institutional leaflets and webpages, community webpages, Emmaus UK newsletters and Emmaus International posters among others. Given the vast size of the library-cum-archive in Emmaus Barcelona, I selected relevant materials for my research thanks to close collaboration with the local founder, Rita. Second, I gathered media reports in local press, documentaries and publications about the movement, which are external representations by third parties that co-construct the Emmaus ideoscape.

I also produced still photographs as part of the research process to complement my textual descriptions with visual records of materiality (Rose, 2007). These pictures are an artifact of my own ethnographic gaze, rather than objective representations of reality (Murdock and Pink, 2005). I took pictures of spatial relations to capture "the feel of places" (Rose, 2007, p.247), such as the inter-faith prayer space, and to describe communal arrangements. Moreover, photography was the only mode for capturing non-textual semiotic symbols that have escaped from textual accounts. These include Abbé Pierre's portraits, a decaying palm tree and a protest nativity scene. Semiotic symbols circulate between sites and have effects on identity construction (Rose, 2007). Since I could not take pictures of participants, my photo documentation was guided by people's observed interactions with semiotic devices. The photo shooting of the literally and symbolically decaying palm tree was actually co-produced with participants and became a way of giving back to the community (see section 4.3.5).

2.4. Tracing my ethnographic journey: Negotiation of positioning across sites and over time

The formulation of this thesis and the types of data collected result from my ethnographic journey across space and over time. During my four PhD years (2010-2014), I have often been asked questions about my trajectory as an ethnographer that led me to embark on this research project. According to Pérez-Milans (2012, p.2), the research field is delimited by the ethnographer as a mobile social actor who renegotiates research questions, social identities and linguistic norms across multiple sites and over time. In fact, the researcher's negotiation of access, positioning and collaboration shapes

the conditions for data collection and sheds light on the epistemological limitations. In this section, I will reflect on my changing trajectory as an ethnographer throughout my journey into Emmaus and the impact on my research practices.

Ethnographic research is not a linear process with clear-cut stages and spaces. The traditional concept of the field as an exotic and distant bounded space has shaped entry and exit tropes in ethnographic work (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Nowadays, colonial-type heroic tales of arrival into another cultural universe are out of favour. However, ethnographers still have to account reflexively for gatekeeping processes and socialisation into the field. Furthermore, the taken-for-granted contrast between home and field separates the writing of ethnographic fieldnotes during participant observation and "writing up" the thesis afterwards. In my experience, the research stages were not clear-cut because sustained contact with my participants, data analysis, (re)reading bibliography and writing my thesis/papers intermingle. This type of research involves a circular process, especially if you are investigating people near "home". In my study, exit tropes should be replaced by less intensive forms of communication. In Barcelona, I have continued to attend monthly volunteer assemblies whenever possible and in 2014 I started volunteering to sort donated books. In London, I have kept in touch with the community leader by e-mail and I follow some former companions on Facebook. Post-fieldwork communication has proved key for following people's trajectories and new developments, as well as for obtaining further information on the communities.

The boundaries between the Emmaus transnational field, the primary site and the home are blurred in our interconnected world and in my everyday life. Where is "the field" if it is a deterritorialised ideoscape? Thanks to new technologies, I am never out of the field as long as I have an internet connection to contact distant people by email or social media and to follow the latest news on Emmaus worldwide. As far as my primary site is concerned, I can walk or take a five-minute bus ride to the community from home. My participants form part of everyday life and I often run into them, browse in their second-hand shops or meet them for coffee. Perhaps the travelling to and from the site draws the boundaries, but what happens to these boundaries when an informant calls you for a favour or comes home for dinner? I feel that this is part of reciprocating the acts of generosity of people who opened their homes to me. However, the epistemology of geographical distance and social otherness raises questions about whether the ethnographer is "distant enough", but not about whether she is "close enough" (Passaro, 1997).

As in much ethnographic research, my encounter with Emmaus was a coincidence, and I gradually moved up from a local context to a transnational field. During August 2006, I volunteered to teach Spanish to transnational migrants in a migrant-support umbrella NGO that I had never visited. Soon, I found out that the students participated in two residential projects run by civil society organisations in town. My preliminary research in the Spanish-language class in early 2007 developed into my two-year sociolinguistic research (2007-2009) on the residential project for homeless migrants, run by the local Emmaus in conjunction with a trade union. This research gave me the chance to establish a relationship with the community founder who was in charge of this residential project and to get to know the community first-hand through occasional visits. Rita, the founder, was happy to answer my questions about Emmaus and lent me some local publications about Emmaus, as well as translated books and films to enable me to learn more about the movement.

The turning point in my ethnographic understanding was the two Abbé Pierre prizes (January 2008 and 2009) organised by the local Emmaus as part of their solidarity contribution. They served as a window onto the transnational imaginary, the tensions with Emmaus International and the connections with grassroots groups in America and Africa. I also understood that the local residential project formed part of the Emmaus transnational mission and that this community shared discourses with other initiatives worldwide. In June 2009, I visited key discursive sites in the transnational network. The annual Emmaus Salon in Paris brings together Emmaus groups from different countries for a large solidarity sale. There, I gathered relevant documents, talked to people with different roles and recorded speeches. I also visited the first Emmaus community in Neuilly-Plaisance, the French association and the Emmaus Europe headquarters. The exploratory interviews and fieldwork helped me formulate my PhD research questions, but I would certainly conduct them differently now due to the knowledge I have gained since then.

My sustained contact with Emmaus Barcelona evolved into coordinating an on-going action research project together with Xavier Oliva in the context of the Catalan classes for the residential project (Garrido and Oliva, forthcoming). Our shared goal is collaboratively to design and implement Catalan language teaching materials appropriate for adult learners. The action research sets out to include migrants in the project's top-down decision-making. In 2010 and 2011, we regularly interacted with peripheral members of Emmaus, such as volunteers and (former) participants in the

residential project. This contact greatly nurtured my unfolding ideas for the thesis proposal. By then, many Emmaus members knew me as the university student who helps out with the Catalan language classes at the NGO. At the same time, my unfolding thesis proposal benefited from constant interaction with some Emmaus members. In July 2011, I also visited an Emmaus community and different shops in London to locate a potential secondary site. This preliminary fieldwork showed me the heterogeneous expressions of the movement and the centrality of homeless charities in this context.

Eventually, my ethnographic lens zoomed out of the Spanish language classes (early 2007), to the larger residential project run by two associations offering services in connected spaces (2007-2009) and to an incipient understanding of the Emmaus transnational imaginary through sustained collaboration, preliminary fieldwork and bibliographic sources (2010-2011). When I officially started my fieldwork in July 2011, I had already been investigating the transnational articulation of Emmaus for two years and had a sound understanding of the movement. Despite this, I had scant ethnographic data on the local community and the transnational imaginary appropriations due to my previous focus on the residential project. At the onset of my fieldwork, I had to concentrate on completely different research questions from those in my MA thesis. Thus, I had to renegotiate my identity as an ethnographer and my research practices. Many participants, especially the gatekeepers, associated me with the residential project and specifically, with my research interests in multilingualism and language teaching.

2.4.1. Access and gatekeeping in the two communities

Given the nature of this research field, I had to negotiate access to my two research sites separately because they only have weak discursive ties with each other and do not belong to the same organisation. Emmaus communities are independent local groups that have decision-making power over their everyday running. As a consequence, I had to deal with different gatekeeping processes and key gatekeepers for each research site. Although it is time-consuming to negotiate access to multiple sites (Wittel, 2000), it reveals a great deal about local discursive regimes and social processes in the different localities (Pérez-Milans, 2012). In Barcelona, my identity as a committed volunteer and researcher-activist weighed in the bottom-up communitarian decision to grant me access. I still had to renegotiate my research interests with the individual participants. In London, the top-down decision by the staff responded to my academic credentials and

my suitability as an "outsider" volunteer. Interestingly, both communities had had experiences with social science researchers, which greatly facilitated my entry.

My full access as a researcher to the Barcelona community involved a bottom-up decision-making process and my identity renegotiation. During July 2011, I visited the community to work with volunteers for our action research project and I had meetings with Rita, who was the residential project coordinator, to follow up the students in our Catalan lessons. We also presented our collaborative materials in a volunteer meeting and I started meeting some future participants. At the end of the month, I requested permission from Rita to carry out an ethnographic project, as she had been my interlocutor for years. To ground my request, I went through my trajectory as a researcher and my longstanding interest in Emmaus. I told her that I had decided to do my thesis on the Emmaus movement during my stay at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago (January-March 2011). Then, I made an explicit request: *"el que et volia demanar avui és si podria treballar amb vosaltres per entendre com funciona Emmaús des de dintre"* [What I would like to ask you today is whether I could work with you to understand how Emmaus works from the inside] (fieldnotes, 26-07-2011). She asked me for how long I would be with them and if I could work in the mornings. She thought that it would be fine, but she would get back to me after discussing it with the community.

Far from my expectations, my access request illuminates the inner workings of this community. I mistakenly constructed Rita as *the* gatekeeper by virtue of her manager position in the residential project. However, Rita could not make the decision on her own. The whole community (that is, all the companions who work and live together) made the decision in their weekly Friday assembly. She was, however, my contact person. It took me several phone calls to determine my start date, which was not not up to her. Their decision was not unprecedented because the community often took in people who wanted to live and work with them for a short period in order to learn about their alternative lifestyle and social economy. Therefore, Rita was very excited about my ethnographic methodology, close to their preferred model of first-hand experience. She added that those who researched Emmaus only attended their meetings or interviewed people. This was true of other companions and volunteers, too. Below is a field narrative where a companion, Dolo, criticises "superficial" data collection research.

Excerpt 2. Critique of "superficial" interview-based research. Field narrative, Emmaus Barcelona, 15-09-2011.

> She says that many people have come to Emmaus to do projects and they only ask for a copy of the results so that it can help others who come after them ("*a los que vengan después*"). The research she is familiar with is just interviews. I tell her that my research includes different types of data to have a more complex picture of social reality but that I would like to do interviews, too. She seems wary of interviews with people who do not know Emmaus from the inside (so to speak). She remembers a young man who went everywhere with his dad who could not tell her what days he could come so she was blunt and told him that she'd be here until 1 and that's it. She does not want to spend any of her free time being interviewed. He finally came one day, asked if he could take pictures, she agreed and then he took pictures and left. She seems very unhappy about his superficial contact and lack of interest. She also says that she hates it when they ask her "*¿y qué te trajo a Emmaús?*" [what brough you to Emmaus?], because she hasn't figured out herself in 13 years so she has "*un discursito preparado de la solidaridad de ayudar bla bla*" [a little speech about solidarity and helping bla bla] and she tells them "*lo que quieren oir*" [what they want to hear]. Besides, she hates it when they ask her "what is Emmaús" because she then asks them "*¿hasta dónde te has informado antes de venir?*" [to what extent have you informed yourself before coming?], because she does not want to waste her time. In addition, she does not like to be asked to talk about other members' personal lives- if they asked her about me, she'd tell them that she knows my size and that I have a boyfriend, period. By contrast, she fondly remembers Pol, a volunteer, who wrote a paper on Emmaús and gave them a copy.

The fact that Dolo fondly remembers a current volunteer who had done research on Emmaus speaks volumes to gaining bottom-up access through personal credentials and/or volunteer work in their social network (Hannerz, 2003; Howard, 2002). As far as I know, those who have conducted studies on Emmaus or enjoyed temporary stays have been people who are connected to their social networks, mainly personal contacts, Emmaus volunteers and social activists from other associations. My credentials as a volunteer teacher and my collaborative research with the residential project participants definitely opened doors for me. Nonetheless, I had to reposition myself as a researcher in linguistic anthropology as a strategic detachment from my previous research on multilingualism and migration in the residential project. My affiliation with the English department raised many questions about my current study. I quickly succeeded in positioning myself as an ethnographer who is interested in communication, discourses and language use in a local community that is part of a transnational movement.

On the other hand, my access to Emmaus London involved a top-down decision, which did not include companions and foregrounded my role as a researcher and volunteer. In February 2012, I contacted the community through their Facebook page because their email address was not available on their webpage. I addressed the contact

people on their webpage, namely the community leader and the general manager. I explained my research interests and my trajectory as a researcher in Barcelona. Then, I formally requested to visit their community and have an interview to negotiate access for fieldwork during my three-month stay in London. The community leader made an appointment with me in early March. When I arrived, her deputy welcomed me because she was ill and the General Manager was away. After I explained my research project, the deputy community leader told me "I am not your decision man" because the general manager was away at a meeting and the community leader was ill (fieldnotes, 08-03-2012).

Therefore, the gatekeepers to negotiate access with were the community leader and the general manager. In my first visit, I had my gatekeeping interview with the community leader, Laura, over the phone. I requested to work with them twice or three days a week "to get to know the people and understand everyday life first-hand" (fieldnotes, 08-03-2012). I gave her examples of my participant observation in Barcelona. She granted me access without further consultations because of my social role as an academic outsider. Laura was happy to have me because she though that my presence (as an outsider) would help companions "widen horizons" socially. Besides, she found it important to bring researchers into charities, to link up with universities "to make known what we do" (same as above). Bearing in mind the importance of bottom-up acceptance among companions, I requested permission to present my PhD project to all companions and tell them about confidentiality issues. She accepted my request without hesitation.

The top-down decision-making hindered my intention to negotiate access with the participants and categorised me with "the other students". On my first day of fieldwork, I briefly explained my broad research questions, my ethnographic approach, my collaboration as volunteer and my ethical commitments in the companions' meeting. To my disappointment, companions did not ask any questions about my research. However, they intensely discussed my favourite football team, Barça, after the General Manager asked me the "most important question": which team I support. My second gatekeeping interview was with the General Manager and the Volunteer Coordinator to set up my fieldwork and collaboration according to my research interests. This community was also familiar with research and in fact, they had recently had a PhD student in anthropology. The staff promoted collaboration among "the students", so I

often worked with a psychology undergraduate and I also interacted with French undergraduates who volunteered as part of their exchange programme.

2.4.2. Fieldwork collaboration and public dissemination

My negotiation of access was inextricably linked to collaboration in exchange for the data collected, which anthropology regards as a gift from participants (Falzon, 2005). Access is "negotiated within an economic frame, on the basis of exchange, it depends on what the ethnographer has to offer" (Wittel, 2000, p.4). This requires becoming familiar with the valuable resources circulated in the field and offering something that is going to benefit the participants. In Barcelona, I asked Rita about potential collaboration, but she told me not to worry, as we would eventually find "something". I was struggling to come up with counter-gifts, but I failed to understand that my ethnographic engagement was sufficient. In London, I offered to teach Spanish since some companions had asked me for classes. The institutional gatekeepers there found my study important for disseminating their social work with the homeless and positioned me as an affective volunteer (Hardt, 1999; see section 1.1) who would socialise with marginalised people.

Unbeknownst to me, participant observation in the daily companions' activities at Emmaus Barcelona simultaneously constituted, paradoxically, my way of giving back to the community. My goals as an ethnographer, namely intensive participation for thick description, (partially) overlapped with those of my participants. This community wanted to demonstrate an alternative lifestyle and economic model by example, so my role as an ethnographer suited their mission. All the companions categorised me as a "*amiga de la casa*" [one of us] who enjoyed the same rights as an insider, such as using their private bathrooms (fieldnotes, 13-09-2011). When I left some Catalan teaching books at the *rastre*, Àngels asked me to say "*que ets com de la casa i ja està*" [you tell her that you are like from the house and that's it] to collect them in the afternoon (fieldnotes, 30-09-2012). Ramon, who was my early "acid test" according to Alberto (fieldnotes, 22-09-2011), asked me not to wait outside the house because "this is your home, too" (fieldnotes, 20-09-2012) and thought that I knew more about Emmaus than regular volunteers did (interview, 13-01-2012).

Nevertheless, I insisted on finding another way to contribute to and even collaborate with this Emmaus community as part of my research. When discussing my

collaboration with the community, we constructed a shared understanding of what it means, both during and after fieldwork. Collaboration could be at the participants' initiative or mine, and ranged from general recycling work to jointly designed ethnographic projects. In the excerpt from a volunteer assembly reproduced below, Rita and Àngels, two of the *responsables*, had just expressed that they wanted me to continue collaborating with their recycling cooperative - recall that Àngels runs the *rastre* - after fieldwork because they were happy with my current contributions. During the writing-up stage, this actually materialised in book sorting and classification at the *rastre*, as a way of giving back and also keeping in touch. It becomes clear that to the *drapaires*, my contribution was sharing everyday life and work with them. When I mention having a collaborative project out of (and after) my thesis (lines 1-3), Rita responds that we might be already doing it during fieldwork (line 4). Furthermore, when I call for suggestions to the audience, Laura replies that I might come up with ideas myself (lines 6 and 8) and Miquel Àngel jokingly suggests that they have "rooms" (line 11), implying that I could live with them and become a companion (?). In fact, his wife Dolo asked me if I would like to become a companion, when I voiced my opinions on mortgages during a meal in early 2014. We even discussed under which conditions I would and would not join such a community.

Excerpt 3. Collaboration as sharing everyday life in the community. Assembly recording, Emmaus Barcelona. 13-12-2011.

@Begin
@Date: 13th December 2011
@Situation: I have just explained what data I am currently collecting to report on how my fieldwork is going. The monthly volunteer assembly lasts around one-and-a-half hours and includes a total of twenty-five participants sitting in a circle.
@Participants: RIT is the Emmaus Barcelona founder who chairs volunteer assemblies, MRG is the author of this thesis, LAU is a middle-aged voluntary psychologist and MIQ is a middle-aged companion and the newest *responsable*.

1	*MRG:	no # però també és el que parlàvem al juliol Rita # quan vaig venir a demanar-t'ho
2		que # tant de bo d'això surti algun projecte col·laboratiu alguna cosa puguem fer
3		plegats no ho sé # jo ara mateix no sé ni on va això!
	%tra:	no # but it is also what we were talking about in July Rita # when I came to request it [access] to you # if only some collaborative project came out of this something that we can do together dunno # right now I don't quite know where this is going!

| 4 | *RIT: | potser ja ho estem fent eh-? plegats. |
| | %tra: | perhaps we are already doing it huh-? together. |

| 5 | *MRG: | sí-! però no sé alguna cosa si se us acut jo estic oberta a: suggeriments. |
| | %tra: | yes-! but I don't know anything you might come up with I am open to suggestions. |

| 6 | *LAU: | també pot ser que se't passi a tu pel cap. |

%tra: perhaps you could also come up with it.

7   *MRG: també:!
     %tra: also:!

8   *LAU: de vegades és més fàcil que tu diguis aquí puc fer alguna cosa.
     %tra: sometimes it is easier for you to say here I can do something.

9   *MRG: i ta:nt sí sí per això: que # a veure on em porta # és lo maco de fer etnografia no-?
10   que vas fent i pel camí et trobe:s no sé llavors no sé # si teniu idees jo: +…
     %tra: of cou:rse yes yes that's why # let's see where this takes me # that's the beauty of
              doing ethnography isn't it-? you keep going and then on the way you find dunno
              dunno # if you have ideas I: +…

11   *MIQ: i habitacions.
     %tra: and rooms.

12   *MRG: idees i habitacions.
     %tra: ideas and rooms.
     %act: MRG laughs.
@End

In the excerpt above, I am thinking of collaborative ethnography after my thesis (see below), while companions want me to share their everyday activities as I did during fieldwork. Regarding whose initiative, I insist that the project should be something that interests the participants (lines 1-3 and 5), but Laura tells me that I could suggest a collaborative project on a particular issue out of my ethnography. Miquel Àngel stresses the point about the importance of everyday sharing as an "insider" with his joking suggestion of "rooms". Now I fully realise the divergent meanings of "collaboration", but I do not think I did at this particular assembly.

My co-constructed identity as a committed ethnographer fit this community's socio-political subjectivities, which discursively set out to give voice to the underprivileged (see Chapter 4). Along these ideological lines, Alberto, who has been a community leader for 31 years, wants me to "put our experiences into words" because they lack the literacy skills or the time to do so. On our first day together on the recycling collection truck (fieldnotes, 13-09-2011), Alberto claimed that he was very happy that I had chosen to study Emmaus because "*los académicos no suelen venir a las trincheras*" [academics do not usually come to the trenches] and he said that he was interested in my work to "*apalabrar nuestras vivencias porque nosotros no podemos o no sabemos*" [put our experiences into words because we cannot or do not know how]. We discussed how I regard research as something that should give back to the participants and to society, giving him the example of the collaborative project in the Catalan classes, so we basically agreed that my thesis should be research on, with and

for the community. I warned him that I needed to do my ethnography first and then we would figure out potential ways of collaborating later on, as I had already told Rita in the access interview. Alberto wanted me to write about them so that the poor ("*los desgraciados*") have a voice.

This conversation proved to be key to reinforcing my critical stance, which involves doing *research on, for and with* (Cameron *et al.*, 1992), that is to say, incorporating the participants' agendas and perspectives into my research. My collaboration to give back to the community should integrate their agenda to produce written and visual representations of Emmaus. During my fieldwork, I collaborated with Rita to take photos of the emblematic palm tree in process of decay as a symbol of the crisis and the end of the residential project (see section 4.3.5). Many Emmaus members currently follow the writing-up process and would like me to present my thesis in the Abbé Pierre Gallery. The question of whether academic writing like this thesis is appropriate for a broader public has pointed me towards public ethnography, as I will discuss below.

Nevertheless, their categorisation of me as an insider activist sometimes interfered with my participant observation. It was inappropriate or even impossible to write fieldnotes while doing participant observation; that is, while working as a *drapaire* and interacting with community members. There were some tensions between my research focus and my assigned work, especially in the *rastre*. Àngels recognised this and told me that "*ja sé que estàs fent una tesi però ens ajudes molt*" [I know that you're doing a thesis but you help us a lot] (fieldnotes, 20-10-2011). I had to renegotiate the fit between my participation in their work and my research. Alberto, who was in charge of the work schedule, put my research interests before my collaboration. By virtue of my trajectory, we also informally developed another type of collaboration that satisfied my ethnographic expectations: acting as a mediator with the migrant participants. I was asked to interpret in English, to become a "language friend" in their scheme, and to contribute to a social insertion project for longstanding migrant participants. This role allowed me access to the residential project, but also reinforced social distances between the two groups, because I was acting as a mediator between them and thereby reducing their direct interactions (Pérez-Milans, 2012, p. 222).

My collaboration with Emmaus London consisted in teaching weekly Spanish lessons upon the companions' request and in interacting with (formerly) homeless people during working hours, at the staff's request. Interestingly, all social actors

categorised me as an outsider to the community, as a foreigner who was not British and as a middle-class volunteer. In my first visit, the companions who approached me were those who had had or wanted to have a transnational trajectory. My identity as a multilingual speaker who had visited other countries (Pérez-Milans, 2012, p.228) was appealing to a group of multilingual and mobile companions who would later become my key participants. They told me about their language learning experiences and their transnational trajectories and practised Spanish and French with me. One of them, Iancu, who hoped to travel to Latin America, asked me if I could teach him Spanish and some others were interested too (see section 6.3.2). Moreover, my identity as "a Catalan" was salient for a Scotsman and two Irish people who did not engage in English nationalism during the Queen's Diamond Jubilee (see section 6.3.2.1).

In addition, the staff members were interested in recruiting middle-class volunteers, such as university students or retired professionals who would engage in affective labour, mainly talk, with companions and homeless volunteers who came from day centres or shelters. I embodied this person-type for them and the General Manager asked me to negotiate my fieldwork with the Volunteer Coordinator who would assign me the jobs. In our first meeting (fieldnotes, 03-04-2012), they explicitly told me that my fieldwork involved collaboration in terms of affective labour rather than manual work. Mike and John warned me that sometimes I would think that they had assigned me to a workplace where I did not do anything, but I would later realise that I was actually contributing something because I was keeping that person company and chatting with her/him. Otherwise, they might have been lonely all day. Later on, the Volunteer Coordinator asked a psychology undergraduate student and me to become facilitators in a non-smoking group. I problematised this identity as a middle-class volunteer who had been given institutional authority. Instead, I decided to collaborate with the companion whose idea it was to create this group, Markie, who actually became the main facilitator. In fact, he knew better because I had never smoked and he was trying to quit.

This "volunteer" positioning suited my research purposes because affective labour involved hours of talk with companions, which allowed me to learn about their trajectories and concerns while I worked with them. My interaction with Mike, the volunteer coordinator, allowed me to visit connected charities as a volunteer and to sit in institutional meetings as a researcher. This was perfect for understanding the local context in which this Emmaus reappropriated discursive tropes such as "voluntarism" or

"community". Nevertheless, this middle-class, femininised identity as a volunteer meant that I was not allowed to engage masculinised manual labour in the truck. Luckily, my research questions were geared towards the transnational articulation and local reappropriation of the Emmaus movement, so these limitations were not a major obstacle to data collection for my questions.

My access negotiations and the different types of participant observation show the co-construction of my identity as an ethnographer in intersection with local discourses and practices in the two communities. In Barcelona, my ethnographic epistemology overlaps with the "insider" categorisation and the collective practices that I participated in. It was interesting that my scientific terms, discourses and models overlapped with those of my participants (see Cunningham, 2001), who also spoke of neoliberal economy, social class and NGO independence for instance. This coincidence facilitated adopting a model of research on, for and with that has extended after fieldwork. In London, my engagement revealed top-down management processes in which I was a professional outsider and an affective/linguistic worker with companions by virtue of my social class positioning. My presence interacted with discourses of mobility and multilingualism as well as discourses of voluntarism in a super-diverse borough. In the two sites, my positioning as an ethnographer involved different reactions to pre-planned ethics procedures and required making informed ethical decisions during fieldwork (see 2.4.3 below).

Despite my collaborative stance, this ethnography is my own situated account of social processes for which I am solely responsible (Heller, 2011). According to Sabaté i Dalmau (2012b, p. 210), the researcher is at the centre of ethnographic praxis since she is one more node in the social networks of (mis)trust in which she chooses to follow some threads. My ethnography is not intended as a collage of multiple narratives that "gives voice" to participants, but rather as a piece of academic work that critically accounts for social processes in which language and discourse is constitutive. However, I bear in mind the multiple interpretations that this research might have for different stakeholders and in different academic traditions. The ethnographer's job is to "describe and to explain, and only then to decide how I feel about what I understand to be going on and what, if anything, I should do about it" (Heller, 2011, p.11). In any event, an ethnographer's positioning can never be neutral because she has to adopt a socio-political stance towards the social events in which she participates for her study.

Publishing ethnographic work is part of a researcher's scientific responsibility. Today, the political economy of language within linguistic anthropology is dominated by English-speaking publications, conferences and impact factors (see Jourdan, 2013 for a discussion). In my view, it is important to make our results accessible not only within one's academic discipline but also to the broader public in the localities where research has been conducted. Disseminating findings in the language of fieldwork and informants is driven by political conviction, especially in the case of language minority contexts where it is a marked choice (Jaffe, 2013). I intend to present my research in Catalan and Spanish for local academic and non-academic audiences in Catalonia, as part of my broader socio-political agenda (see above). In addition to English as my main academic language, I will also report on this research in French in order to participate in the Francophone academic circles where most research on Emmaus has been carried out and which tends to erase English-language literature (Jaffe, 2013). Alwyn, the founder of Emmaus in the UK, suggested publishing my thesis because it would be of interest to the movement in Britain. Jourdan (2013) voices my concerns that Emmaus members might not be interested in reading something that they already know about, if not out of curiosity or to see how I represented their life worlds.

Social critique and advocacy, then, is a personal choice which goes hand in hand with the dissemination of results and requires sustained discussion with other stakeholders to counteract paternalist practices. "There are other ways of thinking and acting ethically – and responsibly- that require positive action, whether community consultation, dissemination, or choosing at the beginning to address questions of concern to those with whom we plan to work" (Brenneis, 2006, p.539). My "advocacy commitment" (Cameron *et al.*, 1992) is to denounce and call attention to the social issues of homelessness and marginalisation, undocumented migration and insufficient welfare services that Emmaus deals with. I agree with Sabaté i Dalmau's call for the social responsibility of the ethnographer (2010, p. 334) to make public what goes on in this social movement, Emmaus, for different segments of the local populations and institutions. The transnational Emmaus movement raises socio-political questions and offers local alternatives at a time of political, economic and social crisis. I believe that this academic work could potentially be of interest to grassroots activists in social movements. In crisis-stricken Barcelona, I have witnessed an increasing interest in the Emmaus community lifestyle, their social economy based on recycling and the transnational discourses of alter-globalisation.

My Emmaus informants largely positioned me as the ethnographer, literally a person who writes about their culture, as evident in Alberto's request to voice their experiences (see above). This thesis is a single-authored manuscript for a narrow academic audience that is not the result of collaborative ethnography, even though it was a dialogical process in which the informants' rapport and my social activism were essential for the venture. Breakthrough, "original" findings in academia are often little news for people being studied, whereas co-producing analyses relevant to informants and collectives is simply a secondary bonus in academia (Benson and Nagar, 2006). Alberto's request, shared by central Emmaus members in Barcelona and the founder of Emmaus Cambridge, would benefit from a public, collaborative dissemination that treats *drapaires* as equal partners. This means that the textual authority should not remain solely in the hands of the ethnographer, but should be forged through consensus and constructive disagreements with the informants (Benson and Nagar, 2006).

Collaborative ethnography involves the cooperation of academic researchers and principal consultants (not necessarily all the informants) in the production of ethnographic texts, both through fieldwork and writing processes (Lassiter, 2005). It goes a step beyond the ethnographer's advocacy and attention to social issues in/through her single-authored text. It is a way to engage the public with anthropology and to enhance the symbolic or material status for the researched population (Lassiter, 2005). Such collaboration is not limited to co-writing and co-authorship, especially for less literate consultants. Professional ethnographers tend to compile, translate and write the collaborative text whereas field consultants might act as narrators, as well as readers and editors. Collaborative research might involve collaborative narrating, reading, and editing a text though focus groups composed of fieldwork consultants (see Lassiter, 2005 for an overview of strategies). This is not an easy process since the researcher's and the consultants' agendas might be very different and in some cases even contradictory. However, I still find some value in collaborating with those informants whose interests coincide with mine and who have the inclination/time to participate in a collaborative ethnographic project. Even then, collaboration might be a complex enterprise fraught with power relations, divergent expectations and competing interests.

My intended collaboration with local informants would involve coproducing a multimodal representation of Emmaus (in languages that they can read) in ways that incorporate their interests to jointly work for social justice. I would like to produce a "public ethnography" out of a collaborative process with participants so that it reaches

the broader public through different media (Beaver and Vannini, 2013). This constitutes a collaboration that would transform the stances in this academic work, for which I am ultimately responsible, through dialogue with my participants' perspectives in a participatory creative process. I would like to work with principal consultants as co-authors or at least as narrators that contribute semiotic representations and to organise broader focus groups in the context of regular voluntary assemblies to discuss the emerging ethnographic product. My strength is, of course, ethnographic writing but hopefully, we could collaborate to integrate different media – photography exhibitions, graphic novels and even film– to reach the wider public. Local members in Barcelona have used film, photography and illustrations to represent different aspects of the movement. An inspiring example is the graphic novel *"La Communauté"* based on interviews with a former member of a post-68 French community which integrates the researcher's and the informant's perspectives, as well as the past narrated events and the narrative events, i.e. the dialogical process (Tanquerelle and Benoît, 2010).

2.4.3. Ethical decisions

Ethics in the social sciences involves the proactive handling of potential methodological issues when researching people as social actors. In ethnography, there are guidelines for the research process, from initial design, to writing proposals, through actual fieldwork and to eventual dissemination (Brenneis, 2006; Fluehr-Loban, 1998). The American Anthropology Association Statement of Ethics (2012) identifies professional ethical responsibilities to participants, which include (1) to ensure transparency of research goals, methods, applications and sponsors; (2) to obtain voluntary informed consent to participate; (3) not to harm your participants and to put their interests before competing ones; and (4) to make your results accessible while preserving confidentiality. This code grounds ethics as situated social practices negotiated with participants in our research. "Ethical reflection and choice are clearly located in social relationships and, further, viewed as part of on-going processes of negotiation and reciprocity" (Brenneis, 2006, p. 540).

This section discusses my ethical decisions in two different social environments and reflects upon the difficulties in implementing contractual ethics within my intended collaborative ethnographic practice. I applied the AAA guidelines to inform participants fully in an appropriate way, to adapt my institutionally-approved consent forms to the

contexts and to disseminate the research results in a confidential way to the communities and a broader public. The *Comissió d'Ètica en Experimentació Animal i Humana* (CEEAH) of Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) approved my ethnographic methodology as well as the information sheets and informed consent documents (see Appendix 5). I entered the field with some pre-planned standard procedures that created tensions between bureaucratic and ethnographic practices. My ethical decisions in this respect were grounded on my rapport and collaboration with participants in the two Emmaus communities. Ethics then becomes an ethnographic window onto the different ecologies for the collection of data rather than just a bureaucratic hurdle.

2.4.3.1. Protecting confidentiality

A first essential ethnographic responsibility is to disseminate the results in ways that maintain the participants' confidentiality and which do not harm, and which perhaps even promote, their wellbeing (AAA, 2012). Regarding confidentiality, I commit to preserving the confidentiality of all the people who participated in this study. Real names will not appear in any of the publications derived from this research and I will use pseudonyms in the same language instead. In addition, I will anonymise the authors of the documents and publications produced in the local communities if they are also participants in this study. I have decided not to reveal the municipality/borough where the Emmaus communities are located because they facilitate identification. However, these are all partial measures because naming the social movement will probably allow insiders and maybe local residents to identify communities and some people in spite of pseudonyms and disguises (Akeroyd, 1984, p. 151). This is especially true of Barcelona, where there is only one Emmaus community. The senior companions in Barcelona initially wanted me to disclose the town and their full name to differentiate themselves from other communities. However, we negotiated this in favour of a foremost commitment to protecting individuals' identities.

The biggest ethical decision was whether to disclose the name of the transnational movement, its founder and the international NGO. After consulting IRB representatives at King's College London and the University of Chicago, I decided to reveal the name Emmaus in my publications just as has been done in other social science studies about this movement (Bergier, 1992; Brodiez-Dolino, 2008 among

many others) with the informed consent from participants and communities. I made this decision for several reasons. First, disguising the name would only offer limited protection to participants, since a description of the movement suffices for Western readers, and especially Francophone ones, to discover what social movement this ethnography is about. Second, the decision to use the name of the movement makes it possible for me to use the existing French bibliography about the movement to situate my analysis in a wider picture. Finally, this determination allows me to use institutional documents and my pictures of semiotic symbols as ethnographic data.

2.4.3.2. Obtaining voluntary informed consent

When working with living groups of people, it is indispensable to obtain their voluntary and fully-informed consent to participate in one´s ethnographic study (AAA, 2012, p. 6-7). In order to obtain voluntary informed consent, ethnographers must negotiate with potential informants the terms of their participation in the study in a culturally- and socially-appropriate manner. Ideally, participants' consent should be negotiated throughout the research process as fieldwork conditions change. However, we must anticipate research procedures in our proposals before entering the field. This means that researchers set the terms of research, which informants can either accept or not, often by means of institutionally-approved consent forms. The pre-made procedures and documents might not be appropriate in a given context and require negotiation for adaptations. Bearing in mind the Western academic bias involved in consent, we must maintain "the spirit of consent" in an open discussion of research goals, ethnographic methods and likely outcomes with participants (Fluehr-Lobban, 1998).

The intersection between ethnographic fieldwork and Institutional Review Board (IRB) bureaucratic procedures is a productive site to explore the situated meaning of procedures in different contexts and their impact on social relations (Shannon, 2007). This is especially true of written consent forms, which are based on biomedical research with human beings. There is an open debate about the problems of using signed consent forms in ethnographic work (see Fluehr-Loban, 1994), which encompass their obtrusive nature in fieldwork, the difficulty in obtaining them, and especially, the different interpretations that they have for different social groups, which might undermine trust and rapport. Ideologically, these forms introduce a formal, institutional dimension to the relationship between the researcher and the participants. Additionally, top-down

bureaucratic consent has been questioned as a paternalist approach that constructs participants as vulnerable and powerless (Salinas *et al.*, 2000). In my opinion, these forms mainly protect the researcher from participants' complaints regarding future uses of data.

As far as my university requirements and my own practices are concerned, I tried to combine institutional information and consent forms with an on-going dialogue with participants regarding my thesis. At the beginning of my intensive fieldwork in both sites, I informally discussed the research goals, methods, ethics and dissemination with Emmaus members in assemblies. I also explained and discussed my research with individuals who asked or when introducing myself in a new workspace. As the London companions did not engage much with all this, I posted institutional information sheets and my contact details in the living areas. However, one companion in London told me that my information sheet had some "big words" and I had to rephrase it in plain language to her (fieldnotes, 05-04-2012). It was clear that academic language did not get my message across to many members, so my informal oral explanations and their questions were much more effective.

After the first stage of participation observation, in which I became familiar with the contexts, I renegotiated consent and the terms for recording assemblies and one-to-one interviews. I obtained signed consent from all the people whom I interviewed, with the exception of oral consent from residential project participants (fieldnotes, 03-12-2011). Assemblies posed a challenge because it would have been extremely disruptive to obtain signed consent from groups of over 20 people for every single recording. However, I asked participants if they would allow me to record before each assembly and reminded them about their right to stop the recorder or to erase parts of my recording. In Barcelona, regular assembly participants signed a single consent form to participate in my study. During my three-month fieldwork in London, the Emmaus London staff asked me not to record short meetings. My mentor at King's College London, Celia Roberts, advised me that consent need not imply written forms but has to be obtained orally, which the AAA guidelines contemplate as well (2012, p.7). In applying this procedure, I decided not to record assemblies in London whenever I could not make a public request beforehand. The only exception to obtaining prior informed consent was when I recorded public events in which Emmaus participated in accordance with AAA guidelines (2012, p. 7).

As discussed above, bureaucratic procedures that were transported to ethnographic contexts constructed my research and my identity in very different ways. The top-down and bottom-up access to Emmaus London and Barcelona respectively had consequences for negotiating consent with individual participants. My contextual decisions to overcome the tensions between IRB and ethnographic ethics had an impact on my personal relationships in the field and the data I gathered. Crucially, institutional forms were incorporated into systems of trust and mistrust in which I had become one more actor. This evidences the "two-hat problem", in which my institutional role as a university researcher had consequences on my personal rapport with people and vice versa.

My experience at Emmaus Barcelona exemplifies Shannon´s claim that "what is key to fieldwork relations - rapport and trust - is antagonised by the need for signed, written documents that are often part of IRB procedure" (Shannon, 2007, p. 229). This was a setting where the participation of everyone is not only a value (Salinas *et al.*, 2000) but also a collective decision. Furthermore, Barcelona participants regarded IRB *individual* consent procedures as contrary to their collective ethos and my categorisation as an "insider" who had been socialised into the group. Standard consent procedures foregrounded our official contractual relationship over the personal collaborative rapport that we had constructed during fieldwork. This sense of formality was at odds with my categorisation as an "insider" and "amiga de la casa" [one of us]. In the field narrative reproduced below, the founder refuses to "play this game" with me and tells me not to worry because voluntary *collective* consent was granted for all assemblies last week.

Excerpt 4. Refusal to play the ethics "game" by academic rules. Field narrative, Emmaus Barcelona, Assembly. 15-11-2011.

> When I tell Rita that I would need to obtain formal consent to record meetings, she conclusively claims that "*nosaltres no juguem a aquest joc*" [we don't play this game] and that I shouldn't worry about this. I kindly explain that this is a requirement for my thesis and she offers to write a letter in the name of Emmaus saying that I can record *all* meetings. I request to ask the participants in the meeting if they mind if I record this event, and Rita does not seem to understand why I do this and tells me that *they* agreed to this last week. I explain that this should be done every time I intend to record. She seems bothered but nonetheless, jokingly tells everyone that "*la noia de la gravadora*" ["the recorder girl"] (i.e. me) requests to record this meeting.

This institutional procedure, which I insisted on following as an academic researcher, is mere "paperwork" that makes the institution, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, a mediating actor in the relationship between the participants and the ethnographer. Passive "subjects" in my consent forms are actually agentive social actors who renegotiate the rules of the game. A volunteer psychologist complains about the term "subject" in my standard forms and tells me that they are "participants" (07-02-2012). In the face of this tension, Rita and I draft an institutional letter signed by Emmaus Barcelona for the Ethics Committee to authorise collection of different types of data (see Appendix 4). It includes explicit *collective* permission to record all meetings from November 2011 and an obligation to obtain *individual* consent from all regular participants in my study. However, my request for oral consent to record at the beginning of each assembly met their general (sometimes joking) disapproval of this institutional procedure every time.

These unresolved tensions of individual consent for collective assembly recordings illustrate the notion of "unethical ethics" (Salinas *et al*., 2000), in which our benevolent interventions are often resisted by participants as inappropriate or potentially harmful to the local system of trust. I tried to reach a compromise between standard academic practices, which I have to observe as a novice ethnographer who has to be evaluated, and my participants' collective practices to ensure collaborative research practices. The excerpt above shows my two hats as "Maria Rosa", the insider who forms part of this collective that has already granted her request, and "superagent 88" (as they nicknamed me in an assembly [13-12-2011]), the ethnographer who carries a recorder. Nevertheless, I believe that the collective consent did not coerce individual people to participate. A good measure of the success of individual voluntary consent is that some people actually negotiated their terms of participation and refuse to have their interviews recorded or even to be interviewed. Francisco is case in point. He always had breakfast alone but to everyone's surprise, he invited me along twice. However, he openly refused to have an interview with me about Emmaus and referred me to Rita twice. When I asked him if I could interview him about the history of Emmaus, because he was very knowledgeable by virtue of his 23 years here, Francisco replied that he did not want to be held responsible if the study "*no sale bien*" [doesn't turn out well] and that also that he feared I would come to take his help for granted: "*luego te acostumbras*" [then you'll get used to it] (fieldnotes, 01-03-2012).

As we shall see, peripheral participants in the Emmaus community such as Francisco did not participate in assemblies and social interactions as much as the more central companions did (see Chapter 7). As a matter of fact, some migrants and external volunteers, frequently from lower socioeconomic classes, were hesitant to be interviewed. Some of these community members refused to be interviewed altogether, while others agreed to be interviewed but asked me not to audio-record our interview. Owing to the self-recruitment process, there might be an underrepresentation of less central participants in my interviews. A related interpretation would be that of self-exclusion from an academic study perceived to be too formal and disconnected from their concerns. In my networked ethnography, this might also be due to my interest in people who acted as nodes in the Emmaus network. In any case, I have tried to include these people through my ethnographic observations, which are the core of my ethnographic data.

On the other hand, my top-down access to Emmaus London made it difficult to obtain individual voluntary consent from companions in different ways. My intended collaborative approach to ethics failed due to the existing power inequalities and system of (dis)trust in which I was a newcomer. The three-month timeframe of my fieldwork in London was undoubtedly a factor, since negotiation requires establishing rapport over time. Therefore, I largely applied my pre-established methodology and the institutionally approved ethics forms. The biggest challenge was to obtain consent to record assemblies because it was difficult - almost impossible - to obtain individual consent in a room with over thirty people who kept entering and leaving. The staff members, who chair these meetings, asked me not to obtain consent from every single person because it would be very disruptive. I would always approach the chairperson beforehand to ask them if I could make my request at the start.

The top-down organisation in Emmaus London positions staff members as the ultimate decision makers instead of companions, as shown in my access as a researcher (see section 2.4.1 above). Their powerful role also explained my peripheral voice as an ethnographer and how the companions reacted to my research. In morning meetings, companions (and I) oriented towards the chairperson sitting at the central table. Over the weeks, I asked staff members to request permission on my behalf, which they often did at their own initiative because companions already knew their rights. Unconsciously, this reinforced the staff's positioning and diluted my own voice as a researcher. In the

excerpt below, I describe how the Business Manager imposes participation on companions who are reluctant and I unsuccessfully try to discuss their rights with them.

Excerpt 5. Silenced researcher voice in institutional communication. Field narrative, Emmaus London, Morning meeting. 15-05-2012.

> When Rebecca [staff member] arrives, I ask her to let everybody know that I'd like to record this meeting to see if they agree to it and I remind her that I can always stop the recorder or even erase some contributions afterwards. She tells people that I am going to record the meeting and asks if anybody has got a problem with that. Of course this was a statement rather than a permission request. However, a young man standing up behind the column (I can't see him) says something to her (I can't hear it) and Rebecca jokingly replies that "You never speak anyway". I try to say that they can ask me to stop the recorder or even to listen to the recording afterwards and then erase parts if they're unhappy - but nobody pays attention to me, they look at the staff and esp Rebecca. I am unheard - a non-legitimate speaker, not the voice of authority. She asks if anybody has anything to say about this and some core participants nod their heads in agreement. I am still worried about ethics but as Celia [Roberts] told me, there are things I can't control and I am trying very hard to be ethical in everything I do. Rebecca warns people that she wants "No swearing" in my recording but I think she is (half?) joking. Young men say that they will and Markie, sitting next to me, says that they should be themselves. I agree and say that people should be natural. Again, nobody listens to my contribution.

Rebecca even tells companions how to behave linguistically for the recorder. My positioning as an illegitimate source of authority made me speechless. At the same time, because of the importance of rapport and trust, I did not want the companions to identify me with the staff. Initially, I decided to sit among companions and I remained there throughout my time in London.

The relationships of mistrust in this community affected the quality of voluntary consent and the interview data gathered in some cases. Generally, there were tensions among some companions, and also between staff members who enforced the rules and the companions who interpreted them differently. Where was I located in this system of trust and mistrust? As mentioned above, I established good rapport with a group of companions thanks to my collaboration as a Spanish teacher and affective volunteer. The first consequence of the top-down organisation was that the key informants who agreed to be interviewed withheld sensitive information (Fluehr-Lobban, 1998, p. 187) that staff members would not approve of and which contradicted their own practices, which I had observed as an ethnographer. The fact that interviews were recorded in living areas after work might have also produced *institutional selves* for the (potential)

overhearers and especially the staff, even though I promised to keep the data confidential and not to allow access to other study participants, including staff.

The second consequence deriving from mistrust relations in this local community was that some companions did not dare directly refuse participation in my study. I want to make clear that to my knowledge, the staff members did not ask companions to participate in my study and were actually pleasantly surprised that many had agreed to be interviewed. Their surprise might be due to my lack of rapport with some companions with whom I interacted very little, especially the young men on the van, and who might have regarded me as a middle-class "outsider". Power inequalities also positioned me as a privileged researcher who asked questions to formerly homeless people. Ron was a young man aged 29 who had lived in different Emmaus communities in the UK. He agreed to talk to me as long as I did not record the conversation. I agreed, but he kept giving me excuses not to meet me. In the end, there were visible tensions with Ron and he even confronted another companion during my interview with this person because, according to Ron, the interviewee neglected his duties after work (which he vehemently denied). I never talked to Ron about Emmaus during my three-month fieldwork.

Excerpt 6. Companion's confrontations with the external researcher. Field narrative, Emmaus London, 19-06-2012.

> After lunch, I thank Ron for the food and he replies that it is "utter shit", in disbelief of my compliment. I am at a loss and Anne tells me that they were not supposed to be in here today (as a justification for the bad food or Ryan's response?), but Michael is still drunk in his room. Ron tells me the ins and outs, that it is actually Clive's fault because he encouraged Michael to drink. Anne tells me that we could do the same for our Spanish class this week and I am confused, so I ask her what day it is today because I am sure that the lesson is tomorrow. Before Anne can answer, Ron says that I don't even remember about the lesson. I could have told him that it is actually prepared and that I have never been late, but I let it go, because I don't want to be on his level. When Anne and Ron are sitting outside he completely ignores me. I don't know what to make of Ron.

2.5. Concluding remarks: Towards collaborative and reflexive ethnography

By and large, the methodological choices and ethnographic challenges that shape data collection and research outcomes tend to be underreported in favour of conceptual

frameworks and context description. In this chapter on ethnographic methodology, I have tried to position myself in the current debates about epistemologies of transnationalism and I have also engaged in a reflexive appraisal of my fieldwork decisions. The goal is to ground critically the collection of ethnographic, declarative, interactional, textual and (audio)visual data in multiple sites that form part of a transnational discursive field. This reflexive exercise has revolved around three crosscutting themes in the research process: multi-sitedness in a transnational field, collaborative ethnography with and for participants, and the centrality of the researcher's trajectory in shaping the study.

In the light of current debates on multi-sitedness and transnationalism, I have constructed Emmaus as a deterritorialised field, which is a distributed, multilingual *ideoscape* based on a circulating founding story. My research sites, namely two local Emmaus communities, are networked nodes with weak discursive ties to each other. The choice of these sites allows me two points of entry to understand the discursive (dis)connections within and between nodes in the Emmaus transnational ideoscape. The compromise between breadth in the transnational network and depth of semiotic description results in varying intensities of fieldwork and different research strategies in the two sites. Contrary to mechanistic usage of multi-sitedness, this multi-sited ethnography looks into mobile and multiply situated processes rather than compare two independent sites. Besides the well-developed spatial dimension, I introduce a historicising perspective to social processes through discourse genealogies and socio-historical constructions in each community.

The ethical responsibility to fully inform and negotiate consent for the ethnography, as well as collaboration, requires constant dialogue with participants in the study. My positioning as a socially-committed ethnographer has motivated the adoption of a collaborative research paradigm that integrates participants' agendas in the data collection, types of collaboration and the (future) public dissemination. In Barcelona, this has given rise to fieldwork tensions with contractual IRB forms, which clash with the Emmaus collectivist ethos and practicalities in assemblies. In London, the top-down management and my short period of fieldwork frustrated my collaborative stance to a great extent. In spite of the difficulties, these ethnographic challenges and the ensuing negotiations are ethnographic windows onto the local ecologies for data collection

which intersect with the transnational Emmaus imaginary, local discursive regimes and social stucturation processes within these particular communities.

The ethnographer as a social actor is the centre of this methodology because his/her trajectory across spaces and over time shapes the construction of research questions, the research field and fieldwork practices. Therefore, an ethnographer's social skills and sensitivity are his/her main tools for carrying out fieldwork successfully. S/he has to adapt flexible guidelines, tools and identities to different local contexts through negotiation with social actors. Reflection on these agentive decisions provides ethnographic insights into the different sociolinguistic processes, discursive regimes and (mis)trust relationships in which the ethnographer has to position him/herself. The partial and complex understanding of this distributed social field is a situated account mediated by my academic interests, social positioning and relationships with social actors. According to Sabaté i Dalmau (2012b), we should "anthropologise the researcher" and it is a task I hope to have completed in this ethnographic story.

Chapter 3

"The Emmaus family": Transnational circulation and local appropriations of the Emmaus founding story

| 1 | *MRG: | perquè no se saben expressar prou bé # és això? |
| | | because they don't how to express themselves well enough # is that it? |

2	*RIT:	exacte-! és això lo que diuen # el Francisco ell enraona quan li dóna la gana # que li
3		pots preguntar el que vulguis i si no vol contestar # a les reunions no sol participar
4		fàcilment ## el mateix fet d'Emmaús, encara que ens hàgim barallat amb Emmaús
5		Internacional i amb Emmaús nacional en el seu temps # nosaltres no ens hem inventat
6		res a www # formem part d'una gran família que es diu Emmaús # tant si pertanyem a
7		Emmaús Internacional com que no # per tant no podem pensar que això és nostre i
8		només nostre # no podem pensar que que només hi ha una comunitat d'Emmaús al
9		món que és la nostra # per lo tant les les trobades amb altres d'Emmaús # que a mi em
10		fan mo:lt pal em costa molt # vés quina cosa! # però bueno # jo fa anys que estic
11		ficada en això # uh els hi costa de volguer-se trobar i d'altra banda els hi va de conya
12		perquè és que han de saber que no estem sols en el món.
	%tra:	exactly-! this is what they say # Francisco speaks whenever he feels like it # you can ask him whatever and if he doesn't wanna answer # he doesn't easily participate in meetings # the mere fact of Emmaus # even though we had a fight with Emmaus International and with national Emmaus back in the day # we have not made up anything here in www# we form part of a big family called Emmaus # whether we belong to Emmaus International or not # so we can't think that this is ours and ours alone # we can't think that there is only an Emmaus community in the world which is ours # so the meetings with others from Emmaus # to me they are a pain I find it hard # amazing! # but anyway # I've been in this for years # uh they don't really want to meet and on the other hand it's great for them because they have to know that we aren't alone in the world.

| 13 | *MRG: | clar. |
| | %tra: | sure. |

14	*RIT:	i que hi ha més gent que lluita per aquests objectius que nosaltres també lluitem # ho
15		tinguem present o no # ho tinguem clar o no.
	%tra:	and that there are more people who fight for these objectives that we also fight for # whether or not we keep it in mind # whether or not we realise it.

| 16 | *MRG: | clar és que és com que hi ha altres persones que no veus. |
| | %tra: | sure it's like there are other people that you can't see. |

| 17 | *RIT: | sí sí! |
| | %tra: | yes yes! |

| 18 | *MRG: | que estan fent una feina similar [>] <amb uns objectius similars>. |
| | %tra: | who are doing a similar job [>] <with similar objectives>. |

19	*RIT:	<lo mateix> [<] que són els nostres germans
20		diguéssim # entre cometes.
	%tra:	<the same> [<] who are our siblings let's say # quote unquote.

| 21 | *MRG: | sí sí # és com una gran comunitat [>] <a nivell mundial>. |
| | %tra: | yes yes # it's like a big community [>] <worldwide> . |

| 22 | *RIT: | <és que és aixins> [<] és que és aixins # al marge |

23		de pertànyer a Emmaús Internacional.
	%tra:	<that's the way it is> [<] that's the way it is # regardless of whether you belong to Emmaus International.
24	*MRG:	que això és una cosa més institucional diguem-ne però hi ha un:-?
	%tra:	which is a more institutional thing let's say but there's a: -?
25	*RIT:	no ens podem instalar aquí a casa i pensar que som el: no sé.
	%tra:	we can't settle down here at home and think that we are the: dunno.
26	*MRG:	sí sí sí # no # t'entenc perfectament.
	%tra:	yes yes yes # no # I understand completely.
27	*RIT:	però però costa de treballar això amb la gent # i només ho pots treballar a partir d'anar
28		fent petites reflexions i ojalá cada vegada les puguem fer més grosses més estona.
	%tra:	but but it is hard to work on this with people # and you can only work on it through small discussions and if only we could make them bigger and longer every time.

Interview with Rita, Emmaus Barcelona founder and community leader, 21-03-2012.

My translation from Catalan.

3.1. Introduction: Narrative articulation of a transnational imagined community

In this opening extract, the lifelong Emmaus activist Rita discusses in lay terms the transnational articulation of Emmaus as a social movement. Her spontaneous contribution follows from our discussion of people's unequal participation in assemblies, especially those who come from an underprivileged background, such as Francisco. She describes Emmaus as a "big family" (line 6) that crosses borders and provides a sense of belonging for companions. As I discussed in Chapter 1, Rita draws boundaries between being a part of Emmaus International, "a more institutional thing" (line 24), namely an NGO, and being part of a transnational social movement based on shared objectives and family-like belonging. This social activist foregrounds the transnational identity as the bottom-up essence of the movement, rather than just a top-down characteristic of an international NGO. In her view, this local group is not original and unique, because it forms part of a network of similar communities. For my Barcelona informants, participation in the Emmaus imagined community requires members to (re)produce a shared mission through situated interactions.

In order to (re)create this transnational identity, Rita emphasises the centrality of face-to-face communication both among Emmaus groups in international encounters (line 9) and within the local community through collective "reflections" (line 28). Oral interaction is at the heart of the articulation and (re)production of this imagined community of social activism. My own experience as an ethnographer and

Emmaus newcomer confirmed this. In fact, I learned more about the movement through assemblies, *sobretaula* conversations, interviews and invited talks than from the organisation's impressive archive. In lines 14-15, Rita refers to people who fight for the same objectives and whom they might not have in mind in their day-to-day work. As an interviewer, I co-construct Emmaus as an imagined community by reformulating Rita's contributions into Anderson's terms of "unseen others" (line 16) and "a worldwide community" (line 21). The idea of sharing the same objectives and activities by unseen "siblings" (line 19), following the family metaphor, echoes the concept of the imagined community, in this case across geographical, linguistic and sociocultural borders.

Where do these "objectives" come from? How is this transnational "family" discursively constructed in local interactions? Ganz rightly observes that "A social movement tells a 'new story'" (2010, p.7). For this reason, this chapter centres on the Emmaus founding story (Linde, 2009) of the first encounter between Abbé Pierre, the privileged French parliamentarian who chose this alternative option to work for social justice and Georges Legay, a former prisoner who tried to commit suicide and decided to help the Abbé build houses for unprivileged families. This gave Legay a "new reason to live" until his natural death. This story is the key interdiscursive device that articulates diverse people and localities across borders. Morality, personhood and exchange types emerging from this "origins" story crosscut the collective ethos narratives, the members' biographical stories and the everyday communicative practices in the two communities of practice. In Ganz's words, "social movement participants make moral claims based on renewed personal identities, collective identities, and public action" (2010, p.1).

My ethnography has documented the situated semiotic appropriations that this founding story takes, ranging from texts and artifacts, like the Manifesto, or ubiquitous Abbé Pierre posters to intangible oral literature (Bauman, 1986, p.2) in assemblies and public events. The Emmaus founding story was entextualised and institutionalised for circulation in the *Universal Manifesto of the Emmaus movement* (1969, see Appendix 1). The story's moral describes the types of persons involved in the shared solidarity mission as well as the movement's principles, to which all member groups must adhere. This founding story inspired early semiotic forms such as Boris Simon's novelette *Les Chiffonniers d'Emmaüs* (1954) or the eponymous cinematographic version (1955), both translated into English and Spanish. Back in

2009, Rita lent me the dubbed black-and-white film to learn about the movement by understanding the origins that inform the principles applied today. A more recent French film, *Hiver 54: L'abbé Pierre* (1989)*,* depicts the early days of Emmaus with a focus on the second founding event: the Abbé's radio call for help for the homeless (see section 1.5.1 for history).

According to Appadurai, "no idiom has yet emerged to capture the collective interests of many groups in translocal solidarities, cross-border mobilisations and postcolonial identities" (1996, p.159). This third chapter investigates this idiom, that is to say, the discursive (re)production of the shared imaginary of Emmaus in textual, semiotic and communicative practices in the two communities investigated. Local practices aim to produce a degree of "sameness" (Pennycook, 2010) that aligns the communities where they occur with the Emmaus transnational movement. We need to consider what social actors accomplish with these circulating discursive practices, how they understand them in relation to their own identities and what new/local meanings emerge from their use. Therefore, the challenge of writing an ethnography of a transnational social movement lies in "producing a narrative which connects and reveals the distantiated and yet intimate relations between settings and their activities" (Garsten, 1994, p.40).

In Anderson's terms (1983), the transnational articulation of Emmaus localities hinges on the discursive (re)production of an imagined community of readership formed by a network of local communities and imagined, unseen others that share a stock of narratives, linguae francae and communicative practices. Therefore, the new power of the imagination in the fabrication of transnational social spaces and people's biographies is inescapably tied up with images, ideas and languages that come from elsewhere (Appadurai, 1996). Anderson's main argument is that national consciousness arises from the shared readership of printed texts in a standard language, as well as later communication forms such as television viewership. In this chapter, my application of the imagined community concept to Emmaus retains this consciousness of imagined fellow readers who participate in communal fora. By virtue of its transnational nature, the circulating discursive practices interact with local and national discursive and sociolinguistic regimes in ways that reflect the socio-political environments of each group.

I analyse the Emmaus founding story through its retellings and embodiments as a social practice that provides a window onto transnational (re)imaginations of

Emmaus and the discursive articulation of local communities within the transnational social movement. This chapter addresses my first research question, which investigates which textual artifacts, collective and personal narratives, semiotic signs, and communicative practices articulate the multiple communities located in different socio-political contexts. The founding story's space, time, personhood and moral message carries across a variety of discursive, linguistic and semiotic forms with a different focus and socio-political goal. In the process of social dissemination, the Emmaus founding story undergoes different forms of revalorisation, change and institutionalisation that creates new interdiscursive meanings.

This chapter will be organised as follows. The next section will provide the theoretical concepts that have shaped my data analysis. Departing from Foucault's *discourse* (1972), I conceptualise narrative as a context-shaping social practice that is based on spacetime and personhood (chronotope) constructions (Bakhtin, 1981a). The third section will be devoted to a chronotope analysis of founding story entextualisations drawing on intertextuality with Biblical parables. The fourth section will examine the collective narrative constructions of Emmaus to achieve local goals in the two communities in my study. The ensuing section will analyse companions' personal narratives, which are oriented towards the founding story voices. The sixth section will zoom into the actual practices in the communities, which include companions' storytelling encounters and affective embodiment of chronotopic person types. Last, I will draw some conclusions on the situated construction of (discursive) sameness through narrated and narrative events (or storyworld and performance events) in the two Emmaus communities investigated.

3.2. Conceptual framework: A Bakhtinian chronotopic analysis of narratives as constituting the social movement

My conceptual framework for analysing the first research question is framed in the Foucauldian tradition of discourse as social practice that constitutes social reality and power relationships. Within this broader tradition, this chapter centres on narrative as a particular type of discursive practice whose historical and spatial localisations can be documented ethnographically. In particular, my narrative analysis will draw on Bakhtin's concept of chronotope, applied to not only the storyworld events, but also to the storytelling or interactional events in the two communities investigated. This

multi-layered framework facilitates an ethnographic analysis of the narrative orientations to the founding story in everyday practices that actually constitute and articulate the Emmaus movement.

This analysis departs from Michel Foucault's broader framework of discourse (1972, 1984) as socially-constitutive and defined by intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Foucauldian *discourse* refers to the forms of language and semiotic representation that produce specific fields of historically- and culturally-situated meanings. This definition includes narratives as a socially constitutive practice. Discourse constitutes the object of knowledge, social subjectivities, relationships and even conceptual regimes, rather than simply referring to independently preexisting ones. In his genealogical work (1984), Foucault theorises the power of discourse, since discourse constructs knowledge, what can and cannot be talked about, and, most importantly, who can speak and act. Power struggles occur in and over discourse throughout society. Discourse is not a limitless space for creativity, but is rather socially limited and conditioned by power relations (Fairclough, 1992, p.103).

Discursive practices in a given locality or institution always draw upon and transform other historically prior texts, which means that "there can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualize others" (Foucault, 1972, p.98). Intertextual chains emerge in re-entextualisation practices which copy-and-paste discursive elements, whereas interdiscursive clasps depend on contextualisation. The Foucauldian theory of discourse is not based on actual semiotic and linguistic instances and so it remains difficult to grasp discursive production, circulation and (re)interpretation in a given context (Fairclough, 1992, p.56). Ethnography is ideal for understanding actual practices of people saying or doing something and its real-life consequences. We can document discursive practices where social agency and even resistance transform hegemonic narratives, but always within the rules of formation of objects and concepts in a given field. My thesis points to the Foucauldian discourse construction at a collective level "such that it is a social and/or cultural resource for organizing communal ideologies and socializing members of a community" (Schiffrin, 2009, p. 422).

Second, this chapter adopts a dialogical concept of narrative as a social process which is (re)produced, appropriated and circulated through situated discursive practices, such as assemblies. This processual view of texts requires an ethnographic

approach to semiosis across encounters, which involves not only relations among texts, but also social relations among people and institutions that create and support those textual relations (Gal, 2003; Linde, 2009). We need to establish empirically which texts are relevant for the social process that we want to investigate and the purposes and conditions under which social actors appropriate them in everyday activities (Bauman, 1986; Heller and Pujolar, 2009; Pennycook, 2010). Appadurai (1996) rightly calls for a theory of intercontextual relations that incorporates linkages among texts encompassing both *intertextual chains*, the repetition of discursive elements in an event-to-event or text-to-text chain (see Stasch, 2011), and *interdiscursive clasps* (Gal, 2007), elements that link the social arena of the readers with other social fields.

The focus is on different semiotic forms of the Emmaus founding story, a narrative retold narrative through time and across borders by tellers who were not participants in the narrated events (Linde, 2009). The main purpose of (re)telling the story is to bring the idealised collective past into the here-and-now (Linde, 2009, p.12) for different socio-political ends. This shared "origins" story is not a canonical Labovian narrative (Labov and Waletzky, 1967; see DeFina, 2013 for a critique) - a well-formed story with all the components (abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda) that recapitulates past personal experiences in a monological mode. Rather, the founding story is a non-canonical, dialogical narrative of shared events whose protagonists are long gone and which fits within the small story framework (Georgakopoulou, 2006), that is, non-canonical retellings of shared narratives in everyday activities (mostly fragments of the shared founding events), allusions to previous tellings and even moments of narrative orientation. As shown in the opening extract, I consider interviews as interactions between the researcher and the informant (DeFina and Perrino, 2011; Wortham *et al.,* 2011) in which narratives are co-constructed in the here-and-now of the interaction.

Instead of Labov's decontextualised text-based analysis, I use narrative as a method "to elicit people's local knowledge and understandings of social phenomena and of narrative analysis as an instrument for analyzing them" (DeFina and Georgakopoulou, 2012, p.18). The Emmaus founding story is a window onto the larger research question of the discursive construction and articulation of Emmaus as a transnational movement from two communities of practice as viewpoints. The story gets transposed across time and space, which (re)produces the transnational collective

identity and at the same time, recontextualises, recycles and clasps it with other situated discourses (Gal, 2007). In other words, narrative has contextualised and contextualising aspects (DeFina and Georgakopoulou, 2008b). Local practices allow for the possibility of simultaneously creating sameness and difference because what might appear as mere repetitions of textual elements from the shared story are forms of change and social differentiation locally (Pennycook, 2010). Emmaus identities are situated social constructions that are relational. (Re)telling the founding story is a symbolic practice for legitimation and recognition of local communities and people in a given socio-historical context.

Ethnography is necessary for understanding the everyday negotiation of Emmaus as a transnational movement in (re)tellings of the abstract founding story - the shared source for crafting identities - rather than assuming a "frozen" mimesis of the origins story. It would be a mistake to define collective identity as merely public actions or representations (as in the media) or the sum of people's biographical narratives in interviews. Discourse and particularly storytelling are transposable practices that have a historical and spatial trajectory and which are used as a resource for social processes, such as identity building, in specific communities of practice (DeFina, 2013).

> The analyst's interpretation of identity construction in discourse depended on a close analysis of interaction data, but it also went beyond them to the wider context of social relationships, ideologies and stances that may be shared by members of a particular community […]. Making these connections necessitates some form of ethnographic work. (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012, p.189).

Third, my analysis will mainly draw on Bakhtin's concept of *chronotope* (1981a), the different ways in which time (*chrono*) and space (*topos*) are captured by language in the novel and how this time-space construct allows certain subject positions for the characters. In order to grasp Emmaus collective and personal identities, it is key that "the image of man (sic) is intrinsically chronotopic" (Bakhtin, 1981a, p.85) since different scales of geographical space and historical time are linked to particular person-types in the storyworld. Narrative does not simply evoke and represent past experiences but it actually evokes and shapes wider cultural chronotopes that construct both place and personal identities (Schiffrin, 2009; Woolard 2013). In my

ethnography, social actors also align themselves with social types of persons, real or imagined, in the founding story's chronotope or nexus of time, space and identity.

Chronotopes can also be applied for theorising not only the storyworld but also the interactional world[1] (Agha, 2007; Schiffrin, 2009; Stasch, 2011). Bakhtin himself (1981a) claims that the concept of chronotope applies to "other areas of culture" (p.85) even though he does not discuss them thoroughly. He considers relations between the literary world and "the world of listeners and readers" (p.252) to be chronotopic like the narrated one. Agha (2007) theorises this gap in Bakhtinian theory in his work on the impact of the chronotope on the interactional world in which stories are told. *Cultural chronotopes* refer to "depictions of place-time-and-personhood to which social interactants orient when they engage each other through discursive signs of any kind" (Agha, 2007, p.320). Participation frameworks and smaller-scale communicative encounters in communities of practice orient towards a shared chronotope and interrelate with each other through local semiotic practices (see Chapter 7 about participation in local practices). Therefore, chronotopic situations are frames of reference for forms of life and (re)create larger sociohistorical trends such as the Emmaus movement.

All in all, narratives are chronotopic frames of reference for simultaneous ideologically-saturated forms of life, namely social practices, in the Emmaus communities (Agha, 2007). The place-time-and-personhood in the Emmaus founding story engenders subject positions and affective as well as communicative practices within the local communities in order to constantly reenact the narrated events and person types elsewhere over time. Bakhtin emphasised relationality and multivocality in his concept of intertextuality, because (Foucauldian) discourse is essentially dialogic and multivocal (1981b). A person's voice is linked to that of others. In Agha's words:

> Chronotopic representations enlarge the "historical present" of their audiences by creating chronotopic displacements and cross-chronotope alignments between persons here-and-now and persons altogether elsewhere, transposing selves across

---

[1] The storyworld and interactional world correspond to Silverstein's *denotational* and *interactional texts* (2005), Stasch's *narrated chronotope* and *chronotope of performance* (2011) and Bauman's (1986) *narrated and narrative events*.

discrete zones of cultural spacetime through communicative practices that have immediate consequences for how social actors in the public sphere are mobilized to think, feel and act (2007, p.324).

In Emmaus, chronotopic representations of the founding narrative link communicative encounters across sites and over time, orienting interlocutors to the shared *emmausien* cultural chronotope. This situated production of sameness is coupled with that of social differentiation owing to different chronotope alignments. The same storyworld (or narrated events) is (re)told in multiple interactional worlds so the chronotope is transformed in every representation. In particular, different orientations to person types are constructed through local participation frameworks and social actors align with real/imagined voices in the constructed spacetime (Agha, 2005, 2007). Storytelling brings images of narrated personae into dialogic interaction with images of current participants. Interestingly, role alignment plays a part in discourse circulation across spatiotemporal removes, well beyond face-to-face interactions (Agha, 2005).

The analysis section of this chapter will be divided into an analysis of the storyworld or narrated events in the Emmaus founding story and an analysis the storytelling or narrative events in which it is appropriated locally. This distinction for the sake of analysis will allow me first to trace intertextual chains, spacetime and person-types in the canonical Emmaus story in order to later explore how it is retold and embodied in the two local communities investigated. The primary goal of this analysis is to reveal how sameness is created in multiple communities of practice that belong to the same imagined community. At the same time, the ethnographic analysis of the local appropriations and situated socialisation into this story will reveal interdiscursive clasps with other social arenas in each group, which will be the focus of Chapters 4 and 5.

3.3. Analysis of the founding narrative storyworld: Zooming into a secularised parable of self transformation in Emmaus

The Emmaus founding narrative, which narrates Abbé Pierre and Georges Legay's life-changing first meeting, gives sense, structure and legitimacy to the local communities as part of a transnational imaginary shared by many other similar local

groups around the world. This story draws on the Bakhtinian chronotopes of *encounter* and *threshold* (1981a) that shape person types in a modern secularised parable with intertextual chains connecting them to Biblical parables. Participants regard the common "origins" as the articulating element among multiple and differentiated Emmaus groups all over the world. In all of the communities I have visited, there are visible semiotic representations of the Abbé Pierre. Abbé Pierre, the founding story protagonist, is a collective, narrated persona in the movement. Moreover, my ethnography has revealed the context-shaping power of the founding story parable for anonymous companions. In particular, the story's entextualisation in the Universal Manifesto (1971) has become the legitimate version that sets out the principles that authentic Emmaus members have to follow in their daily comportment.

This section provides a discourse analysis of the story, which will ground the subsequent ethnographic analysis of its retellings, embodiments and orientations in everyday practices in the two Emmaus communities investigated. The first sub-section will examine the intertextual construction of the founding story as a secularised parable that is entextualised in the Universal Manifesto. The second sub-section will analyse the storyworld events in the founding story as a mixture of the Bakhtinian chronotopes of encounter and threshold. The third sub-section will zoom into the narrative and semiotic construction of the Abbé Pierre as an icon for the movement to the detriment of Lucie Coutaz, one of the co-founders (see section 1.5.1).

3.3.1.   Official entextualisation in the Universal Manifesto as a parable

The vast majority of my informants viewed common origins – as entextualised in the shared Manifesto – as the basis of the movement's transnational articulation. Àngels, one of the four community leaders in Barcelona, visited the Cambridge community while she attended an academic event there in September 2011. When I asked her what could possibly unite all the people who form part of the Emmaus movement worldwide, she replied that she did not know the answer but exemplified it with Emmaus Cambridge, described as a group that has "the same name" as and "a common origin" (line 4) with her local community.

Excerpt 7. Common name and origins for transnational articulation. Interview with Àngels, community *responsable* in Emmaus Barcelona. 09-02-2012. My translation from Catalan.

1	*ANG:	jo per exemple vaig estar a Cambridge i vaig anar a Emmaus de Cambridge.
	%tra:	for example I went to Cambridge and I went to Emmaus Cambridge.
2	*MRG:	aham.
3	*ANG:	i bueno vaig la rebu:da doncs sí bé tal # clar # no deixa de ser una cosa que porta el
4		mateix nom que nosaltres i que té un origen comú.
	%tra:	and well I the welcome was ok well alright # of course # it is still something that has the same name as us and has a common origin.
5	*MRG:	potser és l'origen comú llavors?
	%tra:	perhaps it is the common origin then?
6	*ANG:	jo crec que és l'origen comú i el fet doncs de sapiguer que hi ha un Abbé Pierre #
7		que:: en fi # i això doncs va començar d'una determinada manera i i crec que és
8		aquest origen comú.
	%tra:	I think that it is the common origin and the fact that we know that there's an Abbé Pierre # who::: anyway # and then it started in a specific way and I think it's this common origin.

In her narrative orientation to "origins", Àngels foregrounds the figure of Abbé Pierre in the shared narrated events of the Emmaus foundation. Rather than focusing on "common origins", London companion assistant Michael locates the nexus of articulation in the Universal Manifesto and in particular, "the principles" in this text that unite different Emmaus groups around the world. In other words, this companion foregrounds the shared ideas over the (narrativised) person of the Abbé Pierre.

Excerpt 8. Universal Manifesto principles for transnational articulation. Interview with Michael, companion assistant in Emmaus London. 06-06-2012.

1	*MRG:	what about ideas-? what ideas do the people in Emmaus Bangladesh share with
2		here, with Paris with Cologne with the places you've known -? what is it that they
3		all share-? what ideas do they share? what ideas or principles or? what is it that ?
4	*MIC:	you know the principles obviously are everywhere the same # in Emmaus # so
5		Abbé Pierre when he had the first Emmaus International Assembly he came up
6		with a Emmaus Manifesto # which is what the title is #it was I think it was in the
7		late sixties and uh- # or in the early seventies when this was written down # if you
8		read that thing it sounds a little bit like Marxist or Socialist xxx # it reminded me
9		of my childhood in East what I got teached in school in East Germany.

Àngels' "common origins" circulate through this "official" text that gets taken up in local groups such as Emmaus London. As we shall see, the Manifesto starts out from an anonymised version of the founding story with many intertextual elements.

Interestingly, Michael also orients to the Abbé Pierre as the principal of this text, in Goffmanian terms (1974), but, unlike Àngels, he also he refers to the Emmaus International NGO. Later on, I will show how the myth of the Abbé Pierre saturates semiotic representations and personhood models in Emmaus.

The Universal Manifesto Preamble (Excerpt 9 below) contains an intertextual chain that links the Biblical story of Emmaus, Luke 24: 13-35 (New International Version), which narrates Jesus Christ's anonymous apparition to two dispirited disciples on the road to the village of Emmaus, to the first anonymised encounter between Abbé Pierre and Georges in November 1949. In fact, this chronotopic continuity with a passage from the New Testament explicitly clasps Emmaus with the Bible and thus, the Catholic faith. Let us recall that the Abbé Pierre was a Capuchin monk turned into a working priest.

Excerpt 9. Anonymised founding story parable. Preamble, Universal Manifesto of the Emmaus movement, official English translation (Source: emmaus-international.org). August 2012.

> Our name, "Emmaus", comes from the name of a village in Palestine where despair was transformed into hope. For all, believers and non-believers alike, this name evokes our shared conviction that only love can unite us and allow us to move forward together. The Emmaus Movement was created in November 1949 when men who had become aware of their privileged situation and social responsibilities in the face of injustice and men who no longer had any reason to live crossed paths and decided to combine forces and take action together to help each other and come to the aid of those who were suffering, in the belief that it is by saving others that you yourself are saved. To this end, the Communities were set up, working to live and give. Groups of friends and volunteers were also set up to continue the struggle in the private and public arena.

Both narratives, the Emmaus founding story and the Emmaus Bible passage, are parables that teach moral values through a story of ordinary characters – who remain unnamed in the two entextualisations – embodying hope and solidarity in their spontaneous, yet extraordinary, meetings. In fact, "parables are stories about ordinary men and women who find in the midst of their everyday lives surprising things happening. They are not about 'giants of the faith' who have religious visions" (McFague TeSelle, 1974, p.630). According to Agha (2007), parables transmit universal truths that are "the affairs of generic social types from whom facts of individuality must be effaced" (p.330), especially when they (re)produce current

participation frameworks in the communities. Ramon, a working priest and Emmaus companion, told me Luke's Biblical parable in his own words and pointed out that "*no crec que sigui res històric, simplement són maneres d'explicar experiències fortes de la vida*" [I don't think it is anything historical; it's just a way to explain important experiences in life] (interview, 18-01-2012). Parables are stories that illustrate a moral that moves us to action rather than historical facts.

The interdiscursive clasps between Abbé Pierre and Jesus Christ as narrated personae shape people's subjectivities in situated Emmaus communities. Abbé Pierre's idealised biography has (re)created a transnational community, largely interdiscursive in nature, which unites groups and people whose daily activities and ideological foundations follow the founder's principles and morality. Apart from the Emmaus passage, the parable of the Samaritan woman also constructs person types in the founding story that correspond to the Abbé Pierre, as Jesus, and Georges, as the Samaritan woman.

> *Cette rencontre de l'Abbé Pierre avec le primer compagnon d'Emmaüs renvoie en effet à celle de Jésus avec la samaritaine (Jn. 4, 1-42). Comme Georges, la samaritaine se trouve isolée. [...] Par ailleurs, face à cette prostituée, Jésus ne sermonne pas, ne se proclame pas bienfaiteur. Il ne lui donne rien mais lui demande à boire. De la même façon, face à Georges, l'Abbé Pierre ne le juge pas, ne le secourt pas. Il lui demande au contraire de venir l'aider.* (Bergier 1992, p.11)

[This encounter of Abbé Pierre with the first Emmaus companion actually echoes that of Jesus with the Samaritan woman (John 4, 1-42). Like Georges, the Samaritan woman finds herself isolated. […] In addition, faced with this prostitute, Jesus does not lecture, does not proclaim himself benefactor. He does not give her anything, but asks her for something to drink. In the same manner, faced with Georges, Abbé Pierre does not judge him, does not help him. He asks him on the contrary to come help him.] (My translation from French)

These person types also carry over to the interactional worlds of the present-day communities. Like the Samaritan woman, homeless people entering Emmaus take on new identities as companions, which background their pasts and foreground their belonging to the collective. Despite what Michael terms "socialist" echoes (line 8,

Excerpt 8 above), the romanticised myth of the horizontal community is in reality stratified as we shall see in Chapter 7.

In spite of the religious echoes, the shared Emmaus imaginary relies on secular interpretations of "everyman" stories that emphasise the shared value of solidarity with others as embodied subject positions. Indeed, the two local communities discursively construct an institutional front that foregrounds solidarity (however defined locally) and downplays the existing religious discursive clasps. As Emmaus London is commonly mistaken for a religious charity because of intertextual chains, the staff presents Emmaus as non-religious to partners and prospective members (see Chapter 5). Often, they locate the religious interdiscursive clasps in the distant post-war France and especially in the figure of Abbé Pierre. By contrast, Emmaus Barcelona is home to many members who at a personal level are vested in Progressive Catholicism, which views religion as social action (see Chapter 4). However, the local community is not presented as religious. In fact, Ramon counterposes the secular construction of Emmaus Barcelona, where Jesus is never mentioned, to the public religious character of the Mexican base community where he lived for half a year (interview, 18-01-2012).

3.3.2. Fused chronotopes of *encounter* and *threshold*

The name "Emmaus" points to the founding story's exemplary moral worth embodied in the repeated encounter between anonymous people. Emmaus "communities" are the places for future encounters among ordinary people who come from different backgrounds to live, work, give and fight (but not necessarily pray) together. According to Bakthin, the motif of the meeting is one of the most universal ones, not only in literature, especially in religious writings such as the Bible, but also in spheres of public and everyday life, where organised social meetings are ubiquitous (1981, p. 98-99). The Emmaus founding narrative combines both storytelling and interactional aspects of the meeting chronotope because it brings together stories about the idealised past and regular community assemblies where it is told. This narrative chronotope has brought about the creation of live-in communities, and in particular, assemblies and meals, as spaces of exchange and encounter where people's subjectivities are transformed through affective labour and narrative appropriations.

As we have seen, this intertextual story is epitomised by the motif of the meeting and thus, firmly located in the Bakhtinian chronotope of encounter, which is characterised by a dominance of temporality over space and a higher degree of intensity in emotions and values (1981a, p.243). The Preface above narrates the encounter between heterogeneous people from different social backgrounds who "crossed paths", hereby evoking the literary image as the path of life, in an undefined geographical space. They jointly set up "communities" and groups that function as Bakhtinian "parlors" where more encounters occur and "dialogues" happen to reveal subjectivities, discourses and sentiments (1981a, p. 246). In fact, this founding text is often appropriated, evoked and quoted in informal conversations, official representations and institutional communication in Emmaus. As we shall see, it forms part of intertextual chains, which include expressions such as "reasons to live", "despair" and "privileged situation".

The storyworld and real life encounters in Emmaus occur between people who are at a breaking point in their lives. The main chronotope of encounter is in dialogue with that of threshold. Emmaus members tend to present their encounter with Emmaus as "the breaking point of a life, the moment of crisis, the decision that changes a life" (Bakhtin, 1981a, p. 248), regardless of their social backgrounds. There is an intersection between personal and collective narratives at Emmaus through intertextuality and chronotopic alignments. The typical companion narrative is that of a "desperate" person, like the travellers in Palestine, who finds a "reason to live" in the collective action to help suffering others. Their personal stories revolve around the character development, which emerges out of the life crisis and/or decisions that brought them to Emmaus. In fact, their life crisis is narratively overcome by means of becoming part of Emmaus and often indexed by the intertextual chain "reasons to live".

The founding narrative incorporates personal narratives about/by pioneer companions, such as Georges' as depicted by Simon (1954), who told the Abbé Pierre that he had given them "reasons to live" instead of mere assistance or a job. According to the Abbé Pierre, Georges' deathbed words were: *"N'importe quoi que vous m'auriez donné, j'aurais recommencé à me tuer parce que ce qu'il me manquait ce n'était pas seulement de quoi vivre, mais des raisons de vivre!!!"* [No matter what you would have given me, I would have gone back to killing myself because what I lacked was not only what to live on but also reasons to live!!!] (1981). As in the

Samaritan woman parable (see above), Emmaus provides meaningful activity and a new discursive identity as a companion. These personal stories are examples of an extreme life crisis, typically homelessness and suicide, because their tellers lack reasons to continue living.

Language seems to be the main vehicle for voicing and constructing the founding story's moral, personhood and spacetime in local representations that (re)produce the common imaginary in Emmaus. Bergier (1992) discusses how situated language practices construct the movement's "common rhetoric", which is doubly embodied in the lived experiences of founders and current leaders, such as Alberto and Rita. How people speak locally has an impact on their inscription into the Emmaus movement. At the same time, the so-called common rhetoric constructs and represents shared lived experiences and action within an Emmaus community.

La logique intentionelle du fondateur d'Emmaüs, reprise dans les Manifeste Universel du Mouvement, est ce qui construit les sens vécu de l'Abbé Pierre et des dirigents, ce à partir de quoi ils se mobilisent, donnent sens et valorisent non seulment leurs actions mais encore celles des communautaires. La logique intentionelle met donc en relief la rhétorique commune produite par le Mouvement. C'est en faisant echo à cette rhétorique que la reconnaissance d'une communauté Emmaüs se confirme et s'étend, et par elle que le langage local – du responsable aux communautaires- participle et s'inscrit dans la langue commune de tout le Mouvement. (Bergier, 1992, p.13)

[The Emmaus founder's intentional logic, taken up in the Universal Manifesto of the Movement, is what construes the lived meaning of the Abbé Pierre and the leaders, through which they become mobilised, give sense and add value to not only their own actions but also those of community members. The intentional logic then emphasises the common rhetoric produced by the Movement. It is in echoing this rhetoric that the recognition of an Emmaus community is achieved and expanded, and through it the local language - from the community leader to the companions - participates and inscribes itself in the common language of the whole Movement.] (My translation from French)

Notice the link between the Abbé Pierre's intentional logic and the entextualised common rhetoric that circulates across multiple communities with leaders whose lives and values emulate the founding companions' in the narrative.

3.3.3.   Construction of the Abbé Pierre as the Emmaus icon

The anonymised, "everyman" founding story that ideally gets reenacted in daily encounters is in fact personalised in the Abbé Pierre (rather than Legay or Coutaz, who were co-founders, see Chapter 1). The semiotic artifacts, such as paintings and posters (see Figure 1 and Opening Vignette in Chapter 2), in the communities attest to the centrality of his figure. These signs construct the place as an Emmaus site and simultaneously act as narrative orientations to the shared founding story (see section 3.4.3 below). All representations of the Abbé Pierre (re)produce his "iconography of apostleship" with his missionary beard, Franciscan haircut, working priest's cape, black beret and Pilgrim's cane (Barthes, 1957, p.54-56). In fact, the Abbé Pierre has become an icon in Emmaus and in Francophone areas. For example, his silhouette with the iconic cape, beret and cane is the logo for the Fondation Abbé Pierre in France. In Barcelona, this iconography was made explicit in the 1st Abbé Pierre Prize Award Ceremony in early 2008, as shown in Excerpt 10. The winner received a black beret as a symbol of the founder's "dream". The real artifact is a "symbol-beret", in their words, since it is an actual garment that stands as a symbol of the Abbé Pierre figure. It characterises "the figure and person" of the founder on the one hand and it also symbolises his "proposals, denunciations, thoughts and projects" on the other (lines 3-5 in Excerpt 10 below). Therefore, we see that the founder's physiognomy, symbolised by an actual beret, acts as an icon for social projects.

Excerpt 10. A symbol-beret for the Abbé Pierre's message. Transcription from the 1st Abbé Pierre Prize Award, Emmaus Barcelona. 22-01-2008. My translation from Catalan and Spanish.

@Begin
@Date: 22nd January 2008
@Situation: This is the award giving ceremony of the First Abbé Pierre International Prize held in a municipal community centre and open to the public.
@Participants: OCT is Rita's father, who has been involved in Emmaus since the early days and who lives in the community half the week and JOS is a working priest and longstanding Emmaus volunteer in charge of weekly prayer and local publications about the movement.

1   *OCT: […] compartim uns diners # però més encara compartim el somni que l'Abbé
2   Pierre va tenir # com un senyal del que va més enllà dels diners # el membre que
3   darrerament ha arribat a la comunitat # lliurarà una boina # que és una peça de
4   vestir que caracteritza la figura i la persona de l'Abbé Pierre # desitgem que sota
5   aquesta boina les propostes # les denúncies # els pensaments i projectes de
6   l'Abbé Pierre xxx a Colòmbia # a www vint-i-dos de gener del dos mil vuit.
        %tra: […] we share money # but beyond this we share the dream that the Abbé Pierre
                 had # as a sign that goes well beyond money # the member who has most recently
                 arrived to the community # will present a beret # which is a piece of clothing that
                 characterises the figure and the person of the Abbé Pierre # we hope that under
                 this beret the proposals # the denunciations # the thoughts and the projects of the
                 Abbé Pierre xxx to Colombia # in www on the twenty-second of January two
                 thousand and eight.
        %act: audience applauds.

7   *JOS: en las comunidades de Emaús ya desde el origen # en la primera comunidad con
8   el Abbé Pierre # la última persona que llega a la comunidad #tiene co:mo un peso
9   especial # que supone que trae: # interrogantes nuevos de lo que pasa fuera
10   porque siempre hay un fuera con gente más necesitada o más maltratada # que al
11   mismo tiempo trae iniciativas nuevas # se supone claro # en nuestro caso la
12   última persona que es www # que ella hará entrega del símbolo# no es una boina
13   simbólica sino que una boina símbolo # porque es real.
        %tra: in the Emmaus communities since the beginning # in the first community with the
                 Abbé Pierre # the last person who arrives in the community has like a special
                 position # which supposedly brings new questions from what is happening
                 outside because there is always an outside with people who are more needy or
                 more mistreated # who at the same time bring new initiatives # in our case this
                 last person is www # she will hand over the symbol # it's not a symbolic beret but
                 a symbol beret # because it is real.

@End

Additionally, the weight accorded to the newest member is legitimised with the Abbé Pierre's authority and that of the first community, which is actually a moment of narrative orientation that presupposes that the audience shares the "historical" facts narrated in the founding stories.

The Abbé Pierre is a public figure whose iconography lives on after Henri Grouès's passing on January 22nd, 2007. The religious inspiration of the Emmaus movement is (re)produced in the founder's Franciscan iconography, which echoes his biographical and ideological trajectory. Barthes (1957) shows that the media construct myths such as the Abbé Pierre, which become collective representations. The public knows the Abbé Pierre, not Henri Grouès, as a "fictional character" constructed by circulating narratives. Echoing Barthes, we risk mistaking the signs that represent a reality for the reality represented, which is infinitely more complex and nuanced. In the following excerpt, Alberto, who knew the founder personally in his last years, criticises the commodification of his figure (his photograph, more specifically) at Emmaus International in order to attract (charity) donations. Instead, he believes that the Abbé's legacy is not the legitimising iconography of charity (lines 13-15

especially) but his politicised message to move away from charity towards working together with the others (lines 15-22). His critique echoes Barthes' much earlier observation that the Abbé's moving iconography acts as an alibi for the public to replace (social) justice with the signs of charity.

Excerpt 11. Commodification of the Abbé Pierre iconography. Interview with Alberto, community *responsable* in Emmaus Barcelona. 27-03-2012. My translation from Spanish.

1	*MRG:	y otra cosa te quería preguntar que va un poco encaminado en esto # cuál crees que es-
2		? ahora que hace ya cuatro años que murió el Abbé Pierre-. # cuál crees que es su: su
3		herencia-? hoy en día tanto aquí y ahora en esta comunidad aquí en Barcelona-?como
4		en el mundo-? cómo crees que: se va a entender su mensaje: -? # cómo que va a
5		evolucionar la cosa?
	%tra:	and something else I wanted to ask you which is in line with this # what do you think
		is-? now that it's been four years since the Abbé Pierre died-. # what do you think is
		his his legacy-? nowadays both here and now in this community here in Barcelona -?
		and in the world-? how do you think tha:t his message is going to be understood-? #
		how is this going to evolve?

6	*ALB:	bueno # yo creo que los: # Emaús Emaús Internacional se consideran los herederos
7		del Abbé Pierre # yo creo que herederos <nada> [!] # o sea es decir en todo caso ellos
8		buscan sacar un rédito económico a la figura del Abbé Pierre o sea es decir ## al final
9		la: la institución intenta cargarse el carisma como: sea: +…
	%tra:	well # I think that the: # Emmaus Emmaus International consider themselves to be the
		heirs of the Abbé Pierre # I believe that they're not heirs <at all> [!] # that is to say in
		any case they want to get an economic benefit from the figure of the Abbé Pierre so
		let's say ## in the end the: the institution tries to wipe out the charisma: so: +…

10	*MRG:	hmm?

11	*ALB:	lo lo comercializa
	%tra:	it it comercialises it.

12	*MRG:	+^ sí:.
	%tra:	+^ yeah:.

13	*ALB:	y ahora coges la página web de Emaús Internacional y debajo de la figura o de la foto
14		del Abbé Pierre te pone <donativos> [!] # aceptamos donativos xx bancarias es: es eso
15		no-? # yo el recuerdo del Abbé Pierre es: es: # para mí es: # es lo que decíamos antes
16		o sea es la posibilidad # no ya de hacer ese: de hacernos planteamientos caritativos
17		hacia el otro: +…
	%tra:	and now you enter the Emmaus International webpage and below the figure or the
		picture of the Abbé Pierre it says <donations> [!] # we accept donations xx bank it's:
		it's: that isn't it-? # my: my memory of the Abbé Pierre is: is: # for me it's: # it's what
		we were saying before that's the possibility # not of doing tha:t of adopting charity
		approaches towards the other: +…

18	*MRG:	aham.

19	*ALB:	que sería una forma: tradicional # sinó de hacer cosas con el otro es decir # para mí el
20		descubrimiento del Abbé Pierre o la aportación para mí sería ésa.
	%tra:	which would be a traditional way # but of doing things with other people I mean # for
		me the discovery by the Abbé Pierre or his contribution would be that.

21   *MRG: aham.

22   *ALB: ya no hacer cosas <para> [!] sino hacer cosas [>]<con> [!].
     %tra: not doing things <for> [!] but doing things [>]<with> [!].

23   *MRG: <con>[<]
     %tra: <with>[<]

In the same interview, Alberto echoed Barthes since in his view, Abbé Pierre is a "nickname" that represents a "collective person", a whole movement, rather than Henri as an individual.

Every told story is necessarily a construction that shadows an untold story and has some gaps and ruptures (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012). The centrality of the Abbé Pierre in circulating narratives and semiotic representations stands in contrast to the invisibility of the other two founders, Lucie Coutaz and Georges Legay. I have repeatedly encountered the same portrait of Legay always in reference to the first encounter, whereas Coutaz is not usually represented. Lucie Coutaz (1899-1982) was instrumental in the foundation and maintenance of the Emmaus movement. According to the Abbé Pierre, "without her there would not exist anything of what is attributed to me" (1994). However, she is not part of the romanticised first encounter narrative. A fervent Catholic and decorated Resistance fighter, she had met and helped Henri Grouès during the Resistance and later became his secretary during his period as Parlamentarian. She was instrumental in the growth of Emmaus and especially in managing donations resulting from the 1954 radio appeal.

Coutaz is unromantically known as the Abbé Pierre's secretary who diligently took care of everyday responsibilities in the movement from 1949 to her death. During Henri's illnesses, trips abroad and conflicts with the Emmaus *gestionnaires* (see Brodiez-Dolino, 2008, Chapter 1), Coutaz was the actual driving force behind the icon's shadow (and the person's real absence), the person who tended the burgeoning movement in France. She was so respected and feared among the first (male) companions that she was known as "Lucie, la Terreur" and "Mademoiselle Coutaz". She was buried next to Georges Legay in Esteville, where the Abbé Pierre and other early companions have also been buried since. How can such an influential figure have been erased from the circulating "everyman" (not every*woman*) narratives, even that of *Hiver 54*, when she was instrumental in organising donations?

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Josep, one of the longstanding volunteers in this community (see section 4.3.3 for his trajectory), refers to the "underground story" of Lucie Coutaz as the co-founder whose story has been silenced by the broader masculine, patriarchal and sexist dimensions (re)produced in the movement. In his ethnographic book about his experiences among the *drapaires*, Josep writes that *"También en la historia del Movimiento Emaús, ya desde los orígenes, hay una historia soterrada, que no aparece, o solo débilmente, en los textos y presentaciones del Movimiento. Es la referente a Lucie Coutaz."* (p.92) [Also in the history of the Emmaus Movement, since the origins, there has been an underground story, which does not appear, or just weakly, in the texts and presentations of the Movement. It is the one concerning Lucie Coutaz]. He regards Coutaz as the "mother" of Emmaus who took care of interpersonal relationships and managed the accounts in the community. She was overshadowed by the Abbé Pierre and she is absent in most accounts, except those of the early (male) companions. Even her own account of the early Emmaus years (Coutaz, 1989) effaces her own significance in the events.

In fact, the Barcelona community critically questions and tries to revert the traditional division of labour and the dominance of men in many Emmaus communities. Josep discards the idea that Lucie Coutaz submissively accepted the traditional gendered division of labour and took care of "the home", because she was a professional secretary and demonstrated leadership skills over the men. He also disregards Abbé Pierre's reasons that explain why Emmmaus failed to cater for women companions. These are, on the one hand, homeless women's better abilities to provide for themselves; and on the other, the masculine, aggressive and open environment in early Emmaus communities. In fact, the Barcelona community was founded by a woman and has been home to women of all ages. I first heard of "Mademoiselle Coutaz" from Rita in 2008. Today, Rita is the visible leader who acts as an "interpersonal hub", takes care of public relations, and receives new recruits. Her authority is highly esteemed by everybody in the community (see Chapter 7 for more). In our interview, Esther told me that she was proud because she had proved to herself that she was equal to men, because she had done the same types of manual labour (and so did I at Emmaus Barcelona).

3.4. Analysis of founding story appropriations in the two Emmaus communities

Following a discursive analysis of the founding story of the Emmaus movement, I will now move on to an ethnographic analysis of situated story appropriations in two communities of practice: Emmaus Barcelona and Emmaus London. First of all, we will look into (re)tellings of this story that foreground given discursive and chronotopic elements to construct the local Emmaus community in a specific socio-political context and for particular purposes. Secondly, we shall analyse some companions' personal stories of transformation in line with the fused chronotope of the Emmaus founding story. These biographical narratives construct shared *emmausien* subjectivities through intertextual chains with the founding story. Last but not least, we will look at the socialisation of new members into the story chronotopes (spacetime, personhood and moral) through not only storytelling but also embodied practices in my informants' daily activities. This illustrates Agha's application of the chronotope to actual social practices that (re)produce a broader cultural chronotope (2007) within the Emmaus social movement.

3.4.1. Legitimising each Emmaus group: Community in Barcelona versus solidarity in London

Local communities, often through their leaders/*responsables*, differently appropriate the Emmaus founding story to represent positioning, purposes and current circumstances of both teller and audience. The story retellings feature central discursive elements pertaining to the Bakhtinian encounter chronotope, namely, "logics of personhood, morality and causation" (Stasch, 2011, p.4). The following snapshots from the main ethnographic sites explore the discursive construction of the Emmaus ethos through intertextual chains and interdiscursive clasps with the founding texts. The resulting appropriations are different interpretations of the shared Emmaus mission to legitimise my informants' here-and-now; that is, to justify their actions in the present on the basis of shared values and experiences (Ganz, 2010). Thus, the tellers construct continuity between the founding story's chronotope and the time of storytelling. These intertextual chains are in fact persuasive forces in mobilising social actors into local practices.

In the radio interview below, the Barcelona community founder's response to the question "how did the Emmaus movement emerge?" is a founding story retelling

which is a fully-fledged narrative with named characters, the Abbé Pierre, a "normal" person who had chosen to devote himself to the homeless (lines 9-12) and Georges Legay, a marginalised person who found "*raons per viure*" [reasons to live] in their joint work to help others (lines 12-14). This intertextual chain with the founding story (and in particular the Universal Manifesto, see Appendix 1) justifies one's engagement in the social movement and in this research site. It is actually appropriated into one of the alterglobalist mottos in Emmaus Barcelona, "*junts cap a altres raons de viure*" [together towards other reasons to live].

Excerpt 12. Fully-fledged founding story. Interview with Rita, founder of Emmaus Barcelona, on a local radio station. 02-11-2011. My translation from Catalan.

1	*PRE:	ehh explica'm una una mica ehh com com va sorgir el moviment Emmaús #
2		d'on va sorgir-? va ser fundat a França:-?
	%tra:	uhh tell me a bit about how the Emmaus movement emerged # where did it emerge from-? was it founded in France-?

3	*RIT:	+^sí.
	%tra:	+^yes.

4	*PRE:	per Abbé Pierre.
	%tra:	by Abbé Pierre.

5	*RIT:	als anys cinquanta.
	%tra:	in the fifties.

6	*PRE:	aham.

7	*RIT:	i: i va se:r una una trobada espontània o sigui # Emaús no: no és una cosa que
8		vagi de- després de trenta mil reunions i pressupostos i: històries sino que va
9		sorgir # de la trobada de dues persones molt diferents # una era l'Abbé Pierre
10		que era una persona normal # que en aquell temps era diputat al parlament
11		francès #0_1 i una persona que havia viscut una vida no:rmal que havia pogut
12		optar que havia sigut estimat no? # i despues es va trobar amb una altra
13		persona que venia doncs del món de la marginació estava: en un estava tancat a
14		la presó amb cadena perpetua.
	%tra:	a:n and it was a spontaneous encounter that is # Emmaus is no:t not a thing that comes af- after thrity thousand meetings and budgets a:nd stories but it emerged # out of the meeting between two very different people # one was the Abbé Pierre who was an average person # who at that time was an MP at the French Parliament #0_1 and and a person who had lived a no:rmal life who had been able to choose who had been loved right? # and then he ran into another person who came from the world of social marginalisation who wa:s in a who was locked up in prison with a life sentence.

15	*PRE:	que era Georges Legay.
	%tra:	who was Georges Legay.

16	*RIT:	el Georges.
	%tra:	Georges.

17	*PRE:	aham.

18	*RIT:	no? # i és clar ell va va veure que li havien donat la llibertat però què fer-ne
19		no? # llavors va intentar suicidar-se i a la: al li van dir a l'Abbé Pierre que
20		l'anés a: a visitar # i l'Abbé Pierre li va dir que: que no podia: fer gran cosa per
21		ell però que si l'ajudava # en aquella època l'Abbé Pierre feia cases per gent
22		que no en tenia en terrenys més o menys legals # més més il·legals que altra
23		cosa i amb materials de segona mà: buenu de reciclatge # a l'espera de que
24		sortís una política d'habitatge social # i li va dir doncs si m'ajudes ehh ehh a la
25		gent més aviat tindrà la casa no? i podrà: viure: més més decentment # i el
26		Georges eh eh realment va va triar això perquè tampoc podia triar massa no? o
27		sigui es va comprometre amb ell i al llarg de la seva vida en comú li va dir
28		moltes vegades que li havia di- donat lo que necessitava que eren **raons per**
29		**viure** # que si li hagués donat treball o # o diners que ell es hagués tornat a a
30		suicidar #0_1 **i d'alguna manera encara que hagin passat els anys # sempre**
31		**que hi ha aquesta trobada entre una persona que: # que: buenu que que la**
32		**vida l'ha permès triar i d'altres doncs que tenen dificultats doncs és és com**
33		**repetir una miqueta aquesta de dir junts podem # podem fer més coses**
34		**no?** i podem ajudar més als altres.
	%tra:	right? # and of course he saw that he had been given his freedom but what to do with it? # then he tried to commit suicide and wh:en they asked Abbé Pierre to go visit him # and the Abbé Pierre told him that he couldn't do much for him but if he [Georges] helped him # at that time the Abbé Pierre built houses for people who didn't have one on more or less legal plots # more more illegal than anything else and with second-hand materials # well recycled ones # while waiting for a social housing law # and then told him [Georges] if you help me uhh uhh people will have their house earlier right? and will be able to live more more decently # and Georges uh uh really chose this because beggars can't be choosers, right? So he committed to him and throughout their life in common he told him [Abbé P] many times that he had given him what he needed which was **reasons to live** # that if he would have given him work or money he would have committed suicide again #0_**1 and in a way # although years have gone by, every time there is this encounter between a person who # well whose life has allowed him to choose # and others who have experienced difficulties it is like somehow repeating this one that says that together we can # we can do more things can't we?** and we can help others more.

The story's purpose is to bring the past and the storyworld into the here-and-now and the teller's reality, the local Emmaus where such encounters still take place as in the original formulation. In Gal's words, "the stories/theories link the arenas of action of those who narrate with the arenas of action of those whom the stories of origin, essence and moral worth are told" (2007, p.3). When asked about what unites different Emmaus communities worldwide, a transnational Emmaus activist from Peru living in Iruña answered that "*pienso que nos une el hecho de que nuestra vida se siga repitiendo aquel primer encuentro entre el Abbé Pierre y Georges*" [I think that what unites us, the fact that our life continues to repeat that first encounter between the Abbé Pierre and Georges] (interview, 15-11-2011).

Rita links the chronotopic encounter in the founding Abbé Pierre's story to the pre-eminence of encounters between privileged and marginalised people in the local Emmaus community (lines 30-33 in the preceding excerpt). In fact, the founding story

legitimises the local community's structure, ethos and activities, which might seem odd and isolated locally. The collective construction of Emmaus in Barcelona brings to the fore the community as the distinctive feature representing an alternative lifestyle, which is based on the motif of the encounter with others. Rita, like most Barcelona companions, regards this communitarian lifestyle as the "primary essence" (line 2) rather than ragpicking work, which they viewed as an economic means to carry out their social objectives.

Excerpt 13. Community as the Emmaus primary essence. Interview with Rita, community founder and *responsable* in Emmaus Barcelona. 23-03-2012. My translation from Catalan.

1	*RIT:	per a mi la primera és la comunitat i després és el treball de drapaires # però
2		l'essència primera d'Emmaús és la comunitat # podríem canviar de treball # no
3		ho hauríem de fer # el treball al servei de la comunitat pot ser el que vulguis a
4		última hora # però la comunitat és insustituïble # per a mi.
	%tra:	for me the community comes first and then there's the ragpicking work # but the first essence of Emmaus is the community # we could change our work # we shouldn't # work in service of the community can be anything in the end # but the community is unreplaceable # for me.

In the book about his lived experiences among the *drapaires*, Josep claims that "*El eje central de Emaús Barcelona es, pues, esa comunidad viva, variante, donde se comparte techo, trabajo, economía, cuidados personales, atención a los que llaman a la puerta, el plato en la mesa que en la práctica nunca falta para nadie, búsqueda de razones para vivir,...*" (italics on "community" in the original) [the central axis in Emmaus Barcelona is, then, that living, changing *community,* where we share a roof, work, economy, personal care, attention to those who knock on the door, a dish on the table which in practice nobody lacks, the search for reasons to live etc.]. We can see that he puts the pillar of the community at the centre of the local Emmaus, which covers not only basic needs but also affective care and motivations for living. Regarding the latter, Josep draws on the intertextual chain "*razones para vivir*" [reasons to live] as a shared chronotopic motif in the actual storytelling world.

Emmaus London rarely appropriates the fully blown narrative of the first encounter between the two historical activists in the movement. Instead, their ethos narrative ("why we do what we do") relies on the moral worth of solidarity in the encounter with suffering (unnamed) others. In numerous ethnographic observations, staff members or senior companions who welcome new recruits or present Emmaus to other charities do not tell the founding story spontaneously. When people ask about it

(see section 3.4.3 for more), staff members and senior companions tell it as a historical fact in the distant past with few links to the present activities and mission in London. In Excerpt 14 below, the volunteer coordinator Mike tells a new volunteer the founding story with a detailed spatial and historical background of post war Paris *banlieue* where the two protagonists met. Mike relegates the religious inspiration to this distant story spacetime and detaches the present community from the founder.

Excerpt 14. Origins story as a distant, unrelated background. Fieldnotes from Emmaus London, boutique. 24-05-12.

> While I am arranging and cleaning the boutique, Mike [volunteer coordinator] enters with a middle-aged man named Tom who is a new volunteer from Spring House [homeless shelter]. He is a bit nervous when he shakes my hand. Mike tells him about the boutique and Tim asks "how was this set up?". Mike tells a very detailed "official story" about the origins of Emmaus. He describes the context of post-war Paris vividly, with broken families, the devastating effects of the occupation and homeless people who were coming from the war. In this backdrop, a man who wanted to commit suicide after returning to Paris was brought to the Abbé Pierre, a Catholic priest who was also an MP. Abbé Pierre told this man, Georges (pronounced the English way with final s), that he could not help him but that Georges could help him build houses for the poor. Georges accepted and they started the first ever Emmaus community. Georges said that the Abbé had given him a purpose, a reason to live and not just food and shelter. In other words, a bed and a reason to get out of bed. At the moment, there are communities like that one all over the world, in 90 countries. Mike asks me if I have done research into how many, and I reply that it's actually 36 countries and over 300 groups. Tom asks Mike "is it religious?" and Mike answers that "it's not religious", only the founder and its name, Emmaus. It is just that the founder was a Catholic priest and Emmaus is a name taken from the Bible.

The only link with the distant narrated events for the here-and-now is the intertextual chain "reasons to live", which Emmaus UK has appropriated in the nationwide motto "A bed and a reason to get out of it" which the Emmaus London shops have on the boutique front.

As we can see in the previous ethnographic vignette, the narrative founder – the Abbé Pierre – is not discursively as salient as in Barcelona as a justification for their mission, their current activities and subjectivities. As a token of this, many companions and volunteers do not know much about the origins of the movement and the circulating founding story. This came as a shock to me, since I was familiar with an Emmaus community with *abbé-pierriste* leaders who socialised newcomers into the founding story of the Abbé Pierre. In Excerpt 15, when I ask the General Manager

(considered to be a local leader in London) what the legacy of Abbé Pierre is, he answers that his legacy is their mere existence as a group today (lines 3-5 below) rather than Abbé Pierre's "message" (line 8). The reason given for the managers' lack of communication about this shared message is that formerly homeless companions prioritise fulfilling basic needs over learning the Emmaus founding story (lines 8-10 below). Just as companions regard the Abbé Pierre's legacy in terms of a "room and meaningful work" (line 4), John personalises Abbé Pierre's legacy as the fact that he now works in the charity sector instead of the financial one as before (line 6).

Excerpt 15. Abbé Pierre's legacy in London. Interview with John, General Manager. 21-06-2012.

```
 1   *JOH:      I don't know whether his figure is still doing anything for us on a day-to-day
 2              basis and that's a really interesting question that maybe we need to discuss with
 3              companions # because what Abbé Pierre's legacy is doing is certainly
 4              providing a room and meaningful work for 27 people in www [neighbourhood]
 5              # his legacy is huge # without Abbé Pierre y'know we wouldn't be here #
 6              possibly we would work in financial services uhhh I dread that one # his
 7              legacy is huge but again # here's a really important point # how we can
 8              communicate that message to companions # but also what it actually means to
 9              companions #I don't think companions would say I'm so grateful to Abbé
10              Pierre I wanna research his life or whether they think I've got a room that's my
11              number one priority.
```

Above, John conveys a message that Emmaus London would not exist without the founder's legacy but in general, there is little interest in communicating and researching the (hi)story among both staff and companions. This view contrasts with that of Alwyn, the person who imported the idea of Emmaus to England, who regarded the Abbé Pierre as central for the shared belonging of all independent communities under Emmaus UK. He claimed that "they are inspired by a common source by Abbé Pierre is one of the reasons why it is important to at least have a common figure to maintain the illusion of unity" (interview, 05-09-2013). Alwyn pointed to the idea of a collective "illusion" of unity out of the Abbé Pierre myth, just like Barthes (1957) and Alberto (see Excerpt 11 above) did in different contexts.

      The interdiscursive construction of Emmaus London heavily relied on the story's moral of solidarity, entextualised in the Universal Manifesto as "Serve those who are less fortunate before yourself. Serve first those who suffer most" (article 1, see Appendix 1). This first article constitutes an intertextual chain that appeared in

many local interactions. As a case in point, when I asked the community leader about the different forms of "solidarity", a buzzword in this community, she answered that "they are all the same because they refer to Abbé Pierre's principle of helping first those who are most in need" and that this is something that all Emmaus communities do in their local contexts (fieldnotes, 21-05-2012).

An illuminating episode shows how Emmaus London favours emphasising the solidarity moral over knowledge about the founder. Senior companion Victoria had requested permission for a temporarily banned senior companion to return for the whole Easter weekend. The companion had been sleeping outdoors in the cold London nights. My fieldnotes narrate Victoria's reaction when her request was denied due to community rules. Victoria had lived in two different UK communities and been a companion assistant, but she could not remember the founder's name and vaguely remembered Winter 54, which she cast as the founding event. Despite her lack of familiarity with the founder and the narrated events, she retained the moral of solidarity in this minimal narrative to support her request to the community leaders.

Excerpt 16. Lack of knowledge about the founding story among companions. Fieldnotes from Emmaus London, furniture shop. 05-04-2012.

> Then, Victoria tells me that she does not understand how they [staff members] can allow a person to freeze at night in Emmaus when the "Pierre", "something Pierre", the "Pierre guy" - Victoria says that she does not know his name- created Emmaus because a woman and her baby froze to death in Paris. I ask more questions about Abbé Pierre as if I did not know much about him and it is crystal clear that she doesn't know the founding story. This comes as a shock to me!! She adds that she would be interested in learning more about this person.

Interestingly, Victoria did not know the details of the movement's early period, but she foregrounded the intensity of emotions and values, which Bakhtin posits for the encounter chronotope. In other words, the personal stories of the historical founders are lost to the shared moral message of reaching out to others. However, she says that she wants to learn more about Abbé Pierre, in contrast to what the General Manager states in Excerpt 15 above, perhaps due to her seniority in the movement.

The following excerpt from a morning meeting exemplifies the top-down instrumentalisation of the founding narrative's moral to get companions to engage in affective and voluntary labour, not only in this Emmaus community but also in the

borough, as volunteers for other charities. As we shall see, this contributes to the government's promotion of voluntarism and activation policies in the context of budget cuts in public welfare services (see Chapter 5 for more).

Excerpt 17. Solidarity with those less fortunate. Morning meeting at Emmaus London. 16-05-2012.

@Begin
@Date: 16th May 2012
@Situation: This is the opening of a morning meeting at Emmaus London. Every Wednesday, the General Manager runs the meeting. All companions, members of staff and some volunteers who are working that day attend this meeting, where tasks are allocated for the day. Today there are over 25 people in the dining room.
@Participants: GMA is the Emmaus London General Manager, GAR is a middle-aged companion and TOM is a 23-year old companion.

1	*GMA:	**Our ethos is to help those less fortunate** # which isn't you guys which isn't us
2		guys # so what we're trying to do is we're trying to get people to work a little
3		bit mo:re work little bit harder-. this only applies to: # a few people so the old
4		saying <if the cat is weary> [?]# umm because # w- we've been looking
5		through: # at least basically who's pulling their weight and who isn't and- # and
6		I think se- se- about seventy per cent of people pulling their weight and getting
7		involved-. and we've got twenty-five per cent of people that-? aren't really
8		showing [>] <community spirit>
9	*GAR:	<have them packing out> [<]!
10	*GMA:	if if- you think that the right thing to do mate if you think that's right-? because
11		that will be the result.
	%act:	While GMA replies, a group of companions surrounding GAR are laughing at
		his previous suggestion.
12	*GMA:	not for y- not necessarily for you but people that aren't getting involved in the
13		community # people that aren't you know joining in the community:-. #
14		activities # it's probably not the right place for you # it's [>] <probably->
15	*TOM:	<what do you
16		mean> [<] community activities?
	%com:	DAN is away from GM, standing by the computer area. The room is packed
		and there aren't enough seats for everyone at the meeting.
17	*GMA:	community activities as in being part of a group as in: um- being a responsible
18		member of the community treating other people with respect treating other
19		people with dignity: um- being friendly to other companions supporting other
20		companions **trying to do activities in the wider community to help people**
21		**most in nee:d-?** <rather>[!] than the people who are just really selfish and
22		thinking about themselves-. and bear in mind this doesn't apply to many people
23		here-. so please don't think this is only a- a- a wide range of people # cos it's
24		not # it's only a handful # um- people who just think about themselves # um
25		people but you know don't get involved in the work people that don't get
26		involved with helping other people # people that don't try and progress #
27		people that are just happy to- to just not get involved # um everyone has a off
28		day that's fine # everyone has a:: an off way that's fine # but for people that are
29		are sick for long periods of time that don't work for a long period of time-. it's

30		probably not the best place for you: but that's fine because we can find a hostel
31		or a night shelter or a rolling shelter for you to go into um- where you don't
32		have to do all that # and when you are in a better position then you can come
33		back # umm # if you feel that's you: then great-! talk to us right after the
34		meeting and we'll we'll facilitate you moving on somewhere else # 0_2 because
35		we- we have we're here to help people in greatest need and that ain't you-! that
36		ain't us-! you know-? we- we're all having # you know quite a good we're in
37		quite a strong position at the moment-. you know-? you got sky TV and
38		internet and everything else # it ain't that bad here-! umm #0_2 anyway # that's
39		my little moaning.

	%act:	LAU laughs.
40	*GMA:	but you will see people moving on # you will see people moving on that aren't
41		you know aren't joining in the mee:tings for exa:mple # that wanna you know
42		isola:te themselves then you're probably better off going somewhere else # um-
43		# ok? welcome to <talk> [?]

44	*UNK:	xx shower

45	*GMA:	sorry guys you that's- [>] <that's>

46	*TOM:	<can we sit at the table-? because every time I want
47		to sit at the table xxx crazy> [?] [<]

48	*GMA:	yeah yeah that's fine Tom # I think it's time you need to move out since you
49		need to be involved yourself in the community

50	*TOM:	xxx-

51	*GMA:	<anyway> [=! higher volume and emphasis] le- let's move on cos you two
52		aren't part of this meeting sitting out there!

53	*GMA:	um- OK # there's a volunteering opportunity if anyone is interested we're a
		charity called Action for Children

@End

The founding text shapes subject positions and activities for companions, who should "get involved in the community" so as to fulfil the shared (transnational) goal of helping those most in need. This political text - the "ethos" - becomes an overt institutional evaluative and gatekeeping instrument for companions' inclusion/exclusion in Emmaus. In fact, Tom and James (in Excerpt 17 above) were expelled from the community a month after this assembly.

The collective ethos in Emmaus London locates those "less fortunate" outside this community of formerly homeless people and hence the repeated call for their voluntary contribution to other local charities. In addition, the volunteer coordinator says that Emmaus is not just a hostel because their main motivation is "serving those who suffer most" and therefore, not only companions but also external volunteers have to develop this "ethos of reciprocity" (fieldnotes, 19-04-2012). Nevertheless, as

can be seen in Excerpt 18 below, Tom contested the hegemonic interpretation of "those less fortunate" as defined by the staff members. Tom drew on the same intertextual chains and moral of solidarity and recontextualises those less fortunate as the formerly homeless companions.

Excerpt 18. Contestation of collective narrative. Interview with Tom, Emmaus London companion. 30-05-2012.

1	*TOM:	it's pretty much like # when you move in here # you're promised # not promised
2		like told oh yeah we've got your back we'll help you out and everything # 0_1 and
3		then like it's very much like # if someone says to say like oh can you do this and
4		you're already doing something else and you go no # but you've got a job there #
5		and start this, you don't get any recognition for it # they don't really thank you for
6		anything # they expect things of you and like # if if you turn to them and go oh can
7		you help me out with something-? they generally say no.
8	*MRG:	oh really?
9	*TOM:	yeah # is it apparently we're not here to uh- we're not here to be helped ourselves
10		# um but we we're here to help everybody else?

I interpret Tom's words in this self-recruited interview as an act of resistance to the staff's interpretation of those "less fortunate" in the movement. He wanted to contribute an alternative voice to my research and challenge his being categorised as "privileged" after a trajectory of homelessness. At the time of this interview in the clothes shop during working hours, I interpreted his outspoken statements as addressed to the staff, even though I told him that they would not listen to it for confidentiality reasons (see section 2.3 about problems with London interviews).

3.4.2. Companions' personal stories of transformation

Becoming part of the Emmaus imagined community entails taking up subjectivities produced in discourse. Companions' socialisation process (and to a lesser extent, volunteers' and workers') involves learning how to tell one's story, namely to present one's subject position in relation to the accepted collective narrative (Linde 2009, Ganz 2010). According to Agha (2007) a representation of the past is a representation of persons, and its influence on the present depends on "cross-frame interpersonal alignments between characters and participants" (p. 228) in the narrated and narrative events respectively.

Emmaus members tend to present themselves as desperate people who found a reason to live in helping others or as privileged people who made a choice to fight social injustice hand in hand with the underprivileged. In any case, their character is transformed thanks to the encounter with others. In the words of Alberto, *"cuando viene uno de fuera te desestabiliza, viene uno de fuera y tienes que dejar de ser un poco tú para que el otro pueda ser un poco él"* [when someone comes from outside s/he unsettles you, when someone comes from outside and you have to become a little less yourself so that the other person can become a little him/herself] (interview, 27-03-2012). One of the current four community *responsables* in Barcelona, a highly educated, upper-middle-class woman who arrived at Emmaus after a breakup, fits her biography in this frame. She represents her desperation at not knowing where to go and narrates how she found a reason to live, to go on, despite all her previous achievements, which include writing several scholarly books and raising two children.

Excerpt 19. From desperation to finding a reason to live. Volunteers' assembly on the topic "Why do we do what we do?" at Emmaus Barcelona. 08-11-2011. My translation from Catalan.

1	*ANG:	sí # perquè trenco el gel jo per què-? per què estic aquí-? perquè m'he volgut
2		quedar a Emmaús # primer vaig venir per **desesperació** perquè no sabia on
3		posar-me # i després va arribar un moment que vaig di:r però molt aviat eh-
4		? al cap d'uns mesos vaig dir pues #0_1 la meva vida ja passa per Emmaús # i
5		crec que ho vaig dir amb aquestes mateixes paraules i continua passant-hi
6		#0_1 vull dir perquè perquè he trobat **un motiu per viure** # o per seguir
7		vivint # qua:n jo m'he trobat pues que (ha)via fet moltes coses havia: #0_1
8		plantat l'arbre: havia tingut els fi:lls havia escrit el llibre # i: buenu pues són
9		els xxx # això és mig broma.
	%tra:	yes # I'll break the ice, why-? why am I here-? Because I wanted to stay in Emmaus # first I came because of **desperation** because I did not know where to go # and later it got to a point when I said very early on huh-? after a few months I said so #0_1 my life goes through Emmaus # and I think that I said it with these same words and it sill goes through it # 0_1 I mean because I have found **a reason to live** # or to go on living # whe:n I found myself that I I had already done many things I had #0_1 planted a tree: raised my children written the book # well these are the xxx # this is a sort of a joke.

This story connects the teller's own experience to shared, implicit institutional narratives about past events that are indexed by intertextual chains and chronotopic people-types. The participants in this assembly recognised the paradigmatic narrative through intertextual chains, that of desperation in Palestine and reasons to live (in bold), and interdiscursive clasps with the character transformation in the founding narrative. In fact, similar personal stories follow Àngels' opening narrative in ways

that discursively reproduce and co-construct the common transnational imaginary of Emmaus stories and subjectivities.

In our interviews, many companions also referred to the intertextual chain of new/other reasons to live and clasped the social arena of Emmaus with Biblical parables and *altermondialiste* discourses (see Chapter 4 for more). For example, Dolo developed a social justice and environmental awareness through her socialisation into the Emmaus movement, which re-oriented her life trajectory and gave her "reasons to live" (lines 13-14). Dolo's story exemplifies a sociological and politicised reading of one's own experience (Woolard, 2013), with wider social implications for the environment. Coupled with alterglobalist discourses, the idea that one's story makes a social difference is common to many personal stories among my Barcelona informants.

Excerpt 20. Learning about other reasons to live in Emmaus. Interview with Dolo, companion in Emmaus Barcelona. 09-02-2012. My translation from Spanish.

1 2	*DOL:	claro y ya vas poniendo # es que: Rita diría # a ver eso tíralo que decía mi madre # eso tíralo # Rita me mata!
	%tra:	sure and you keep building # it's that Rita would say # c'mon throw that away my mother used to say throw it away # Rita'd kill me!
	%act:	both DOL and MRG laugh.
3 4	*DOL:	eso no se puede tirar se puede aprovechar # vas cogiendo esa # una vez que lo conoces ya # forma parte +…
	%tra:	that you can't throw away it can be reused # you keep picking that up # once you know it then # it already forms part +…
5	*MRG:	de cómo tú actúas y de quién tú eres.
	%tra:	of how you act and who you are.
6 7	*DOL:	sí # sí sí es que es #es cuando por primera vez actúas con responsabilidad # decir no no # esto no es justo esto no es justo y te empiezas a mover en otros sitios.
	%tra:	yes # yes yes it's that # when for the first time you act responsibly # saying no no # this isn't fair this isn't fair and you start moving in other circles.
8 9	*MRG:	ya # o sea que conocer el movimiento Emaús y la manera de pensar cambia un poco: +…
	%tra:	yeah # so getting to know the Emmaus movement and its way of thinking changes a little: +...
10	*DOL:	y tanto!
	%tra:	of course!
11	*MRG:	el rumbo no?
	%tra:	one's way right?
12 13	*DOL:	i tant! sí sí sí# tampoco te le cambia totalmente de dirección pero te lo orienta: #0_3 muchísimo muchísimo # te da razones # es que son las razones claro te da

14   razones para vivir te da razones.
    %tra: of course! yes yes yes # it doesn't totally change your direction but it orients you: #0_3 very much very much # it gives you reasons # it's the reasons sure that it gives you reasons to live it gives you reasons.

15 *MRG: las razones para hacer una cosa y no hacer otra.
    %tra: reasons to do one thing and not another.

16 *DOL: sí sí para: para cambiar # a veces es sólo añadir un poquitín de esfuerzo # 0_2
17   como el reciclar # ese ese pequeño esfuerzo que es el reciclar # pues # Emaús te
18   enseña # te- te lo mete en vena # te lo pone fácil #se aprende y tú te das cuenta que
19   es eso # lo que funciona # que es por ahí.
    %tra: yes yes to: to change # sometimes it's just a matter of adding a little bit of effort # 0_2 like recycling # that that little effort which recycling takes # then # Emmaus teaches you # it it puts in your blood # it makes it easy # it's learned and then you realise that that is # what works # that's the way to go.

Ramon, in turn, connected his own choice to live in the community with the narrative personae of the desperate disciples in Palestine and disenchanted companions who found a new meaning to their lives. Despite his privileged personal background, Ramon emphasised the disillusionment that he felt when he was expelled from the social cooperative that he had created and as a result, lost a house that had belonged to his family. Although he was a working priest, he never talked about religion in public. In our one-to-one interview, I prompt him to tell me the Biblical story of Emmaus and he voices the silenced religious echoes of personhood in Luke's parable in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 21. Retelling of Biblical Emmaus parable. Interview with Ramon, companion in Emmaus Barcelona. 12-01-2012. My translation from Catalan.

1 *RAM: i d'aquí dos deses- desenganyats # dos desenganyats troben tornen a trobar
2   sentit a la vida # 0_2
  %tra: and from here two dis- two disillusioned # two disillusioned [men] find find once more meaning to life # 0_2

3 *MRG: que és una mica el que va passar.
  %tra: which is in a way what happened.

4 *RAM: i això és Emmaús # és un un grup de gent que han tingut motius per estar
5   desenganyats # perquè han tingut fracassos a la vida # bueno jo vaig venir
6   d'alguna manera desenganyat perquè perquè # jo vaig fundar www i em van fer
7   fora!
  %tra: and this is Emmaus # it's a group of people who have had reasons to be disillusioned # because they have had failures in life # well I came here in a way disillusioned because because # I founded www and they kicked me out!

8 *MRG: sí que ja és prou fort!
  %tra: yes it is hard enough!

9 10	*RAM:	és un és un desengany # bueno és una: # una traició o el que li vulguis dir # és sincer.
	%tra:	it's it's a disillusionment # well it's a: # a betrayal or what you want to call it # it's sincere.
11	*MRG:	no no-
	%tra:	no no-
12 13	*RAM:	no no # per tant Déu n'hi do #0_1 des d'un altre àmbit diferent no no jo no estava fracassat com a persona però Déu n'hi do.
	%tra:	no no # so that's quite a lot # 0_1 from a different area no no I hadn't failed as a person but that's quite a lot.

In this community, personal stories are not public domain, with the exceptions of Rita's, the charismatic founder and Ramon's, a well-reputed working priest and transnational activist. In the assembly where Àngels shared her story (see Excerpt 19 above), many participants said that they found it difficult to open up in large assemblies or even in our interviews. This private character of personal stories is partially due to the foregrounding of community over the individuals in this group and to the traditional Emmausian practice of not asking companions about their past (Bergier, 1992; Le Boursicaud, 1979). Like the Samaritan woman (see Bergier, 1992, p.11), recent recruits take on novel identities as "companions" that background their past trajectories and foreground their belonging to the community in their personal narratives. When I ask about companion profiles, Alberto says that, "*en Emaús somos muy respetuosos con el pasado de las personas y no hacemos preguntas*" [In Emmaus we are very respectful of people's pasts and we do not ask questions] (fieldnotes, 18-10-2011). As a researcher, it took me months of intensive field- and affective work to elicit their personal trajectories prior to Emmaus, including Alberto's (see section 2.3).

In the British community studied, the threshold chronotope also appears in personal stories of encounter. As a case in point, Danny's reply to my question "What has Emmaus meant to you in your life?" drew on the intertextual chain of "by saving others that you yourself are saved", since he told me that Emmaus literally saved his life by giving him a motivation to live. Emmaus meant a break with his past self at a time of crisis when Danny lacked a reason to live and abused drugs. In the following excerpt, Danny said that Emmaus "saved me" and like Àngels, he claimed that he could not see his life without it.

Excerpt 22. "Emmaus saved me". Interview with Danny, companion in Emmaus London. 28-05-2012.

1	*MRG:	what has Emmaus uh-meant to you in your life?
3	*DAN:	it saved me # it saved me.
4	*MRG:	it saved you?
5	*DAN:	yeah #0_2 if I didn't- if I didn't come to Emmaus I would've been dead.
6	*MRG:	wo:w # seriously?
7	*DAN:	=yea:h # it's gone that way.
8	*MRG:	do you really think so?
9	*DAN:	yeah.
10	*MRG:	then it's: literally saved you.
11	*DAN:	=yeah # exactly # that's why that's why I need the place you know?
12	*MRG:	aham.
13	*DAN:	I couldn't become I couldn't see my life without it # you know?
14	*MRG:	aham.
15	*DAN:	I bled for Emmaus I have.
16	*MRG:	wow # then it literally changed and saved your life # both.
17	*DAN:	mad innit?
		[...]
18 19	*DAN:	I started taking drinking loads started taking lots of drugs #I didn't wanna live anymore.
20	*MRG:	yeah yeah yeah # I understand #I-
21	*DAN:	that's how I ended up in the day centre in Camden.

As in the vast majority of personal narratives, Danny does not explicitly mention the founding narrative in the Emmaus epic period but, nonetheless, he creates intertextual links and interdiscursive clasps with it. In actual facts, Danny's story immediately recalls that of Georges Legay, the first companion who failed in his suicide attempt and found a new lease of life in Emmaus. Both are examples of an extreme life crisis that threatens to lead to suicide because Georges and Danny had no motivations to continue living.

Contrary to the Barcelona community, some personal narratives are not relegated to the domains of the local community or the sociolinguistic interview but discursively contribute to the Emmaus UK institutional front. Personal "stories" of companions, volunteers and staff circulate in Emmaus UK newsletters and the webpage (2013) as public testimonials to the fact that Emmaus UK is the "homeless charity that works". DeFina and Georgakopoulou (2012, p.138) discuss the fact that storytelling, regarded as an authentic representation of real experience, has become a habitual mode of communication in the media. Emmaus UK makes claims to identity and attracts the public's attention through real people's stories. However, this is at odds with the traditional Emmausian practice of not asking about people's past trajectories. Emmaus UK appropriates and commodifies apoliticised, psychological narratives (Woolard, 2013) like this one to enlarge their local homeless provision thanks to donations, contracts or networking with other charities.

3.4.3. Socialising new members: Storytelling and person-type embodiment

The founding story calls for the creation of communities "working to live and give" (Preamble, Universal Manifesto, see Appendix 1) as spatial and interactional organisations. My ethnographic observations were carried out in community spaces where the founding narrative encounter is both appropriated and reenacted; these spaces which can be conceptualised as Bakhtinian "parlors". In these spaces we can also find visual representations of the founder, the Abbé Pierre, and the narrativised past of Emmaus. This section will mainly, but not exclusively, draw on my ethnographic data in Emmaus Barcelona, my primary site. It is here that I got to investigate the inner workings of the community and people's trajectories in more depth.

In the chapter's opening excerpt, Rita refers to face-to-face encounters and "small reflexions" in the community as a way to socialise people into the larger Emmaus imaginary. In fact, communicative practices including storytelling socialise individuals into the shared belonging to Emmaus. In the (re)production of the shared founding story's *time-space-and-personhood*, we must take into account not only imaginative/narrative spheres but also embodied experiences, such as manual work and affective labour. For example, Alberto claims that Emmaus "*no es una teoría, es lo que le va sucediendo a la gente*" [is not a theory, it is what happens to people]

(interview, 27-03-2012). In order to explain what Emmaus is, Alberto refers newcomers to the embodied experience of meal sharing because most companions lack the communication skills to transmit the idea of Emmaus.

Excerpt 23. Embodied personhood in meal sharing. Interview with Alberto, *responsable* in Emmaus Barcelona. 27-03-2012. My translation from Spanish.

1	*ALB:	cuando a mí me preguntas qué es Emaús # o sea Emaús necesitas una
2		capacidad de comunicación incluso de poesía que no la tenemos # tú dices
3		bueno qué es Emaús-? # pues vienes a comer como es tan complejo explicar
4		todo esto y algo verás.
	%tra:	when you ask me what Emmaus is # that is Emmaus you need communication skills or even poetry skills that we haven't got # you say well what is Emmaus-? # so come have lunch because it is so complex to explain all this and you'll see something.

Although the members' everyday practices and dispositions are grounded in the founding story and the Manifesto, these texts in turn entextualise Emmaus practices and identities that pre-date and coexist with them. Socialisation into Emmaus in Barcelona drew on oral storytelling and local practices, rather than text artifacts that are locally and internationally published. Josep, the volunteer in charge of Emmaus publications in Barcelona, complained that the community did not circulate local publications about Emmaus or related social movements. He claimed that companions "*no són gent de lletres però de cap manera*" [they are not well read people at all] and that Rita almost took pride in not reading books because life is enough for her (interview, 20-02-2012). Most companions got to know the transnational movement after entering their local community. They learned about the Emmaus imaginary as it is discursively constructed in their locality through assemblies, informal conversations, visual representations and, to a lesser extent, text artifacts. Michael, companion assistant in London, told me that, "when you walk into Emmaus you don't need to read the whole story of Emmaus but it's good to" (interview, 06-06-2012).

As an enlightening example, Esther was a woman in her late twenties who was one of the recent arrivals in Emmaus Barcelona. As she narrates in our interview (see Excerpt 24 below), she had been socialised into the movement in the previous year and a half through "legends" (line 6) told by the senior/older members-*cum*-ideologues, namely Rita, Alberto and Ramon (lines 12-13). Esther prefers these oral stories over the widespread texts-as-artifacts, that is, Simon's testimonial and its

cinematographic version (line 20). She discusses the importance of these founding narratives for the older generation who want to maintain the original "spirit" of Emmaus that differentiates it from other social enterprises or charities (lines 42-44).

Excerpt 24. Emmaus socialisation through oral "legends". Interview with Esther, companion in Emmaus Barcelona. 01-03-2012. My translation from Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5	*MRG:	también te quería preguntar un poco la- la- los orígenes no-? ya sé que llevas poco aquí pero bueno # un poco preguntarte cómo: llegaste a comprender un poco mejor el movimiento Emaús-? # dices que primero conociste la comunida:d y después conociste toda la historia que había detrás # cómo lo conociste-? cómo llegaste a saberlo?
	%tra:	I also wanted to ask you about the- the- the origins right-? I know that you've been here for a short time but well # just to ask you ho:w you got to understand the Emmaus movement a bit better-? # you told me that first you entered the community: and then you got to learn the whole history behind it # how did you learn about it-? how did you get to know it?
6 7	*EST:	**bueno: pues se podría comparar con las leyendas estas de: # es que me estuve leyendo un libro de los touaregs.**
	%tra:	we:ll so it could be compared to these legends of # it's that I was reading a book on the Touaregs.
	%act:	laughs.
8	*EST:	**que no tenían libros pero se pasaban las cosas oralmente.**
	%tra:	who did not have books but passed things on orally.
9	*MRG:	sí:
	%tra:	yea:h
10	*EST:	pues pues es algo así.
	%tra:	so so something like that.
11	*MRG:	hmm?
12 13	*EST:	como: cosas que te va contando Rita: # cosas que te cuenta Alberto: # cosas que te cuenta Ramo:n # así # **no hay un libro que te diga: el movimiento Emaús es.**
	%tra:	like: things that Rita: keeps telling you # things that Alberto: tells you # things that Ramo:n tells you # like this # there isn't a book which tells you the Emmaus movement is.
	%act:	we both laugh at her categorical tone.
14	*EST:	sí lo hay.
	%tra:	yes there is.
15	*MRG:	sí lo hay?
	%tra:	is there?
16	*EST:	sí # pero no:: +…
	%tra:	yes # but no::t +…
17	*MRG:	pero no es lo que usas no-? para aprenderlo?
	%tra:	but it's not what you use isn't it-? to learn about it?
18	*EST:	no # en realidad no.

%tra: no # not really.

19 *MRG: aunque exista.
  %tra: even if it exists.

20 *EST: =sí # bueno # ni siquiera me lo he leído o sea # he visto la película eso sí.
  %tra: =yes # well # I haven't even read it so # I've watched the film that I have.

    [...]

21 *EST: son cosas que tienes que saber # no: # está bien no perder e:l el origen no-? #
22   saberlo # eso saberlo # yo no me levanto y lo pienso no sé.
  %tra: these are things that you must know # no:t # it is good not to lose the: the
    origin isn't it-? # knowing about it # that is knowing # I don't get up and I think
    about it dunno.

23 *MRG: no claro, # ya!
  %tra: no of course # gotcha!

24 *EST: supongo que es otra cosa de la edad # ves?
  %tra: I suppose it's got to do with age again # you see?
  %act: she laughs.

25 *EST: porque porque la gente mayor sí que le da más importancia el Ramon por
26   ejemplo u:hh # el movimiento Emaús es la hostia # y la Rita también # pero
27   bueno es que la Rita ya es un punto aparte.
  %tra: because because elderly people do give more importance to it like Ramon for
    example uuu:h # the Emmaus movement is amazing # and Rita as well # but
    well it's that Rita is just something else.

28 *MRG: =sí claro.
  %tra: =yeah sure.

29 *EST: porque la que montó toda la historia.
  %tra: because she put the whole thing together.

30 *MRG: por eso # si para ella ni fuera importante ya +...
  %tra: that's why # if it wasn't important to her then +...

31 *EST: claro!
  %tra: sure!

32 *MRG: apaga y vámonos claro.
  %tra: let's call it a day sure.

33 *EST: pero: a mí pues a nivel personal es esto # sí lo conoces pero como leyendas no?
  %tra: bu:t to me so at a personal level this is it # yes you know about it but as
    legends right?

34 *MRG: sí: me ha gustado esa comparativa con las leyendas orales.
  %tra: ye:ah I have liked the comparison with oral legends.

35 *EST: sí.
  %tra: yes.

36 *MRG: y que realmente te las cuentan las personas que:: se levantan pensando oh el
37   movimiento Emaús no?
  %tra: and who actually tells you are the people who:: get up thinking oh the Emmaus
    movement aren't' they?

38	*EST:	sí:
	%tra:	yea:h.

39	*MRG:	son éstas las personas que te transmiten esto no?
	%tra:	these are the people who transmit this aren't they?

40	*EST:	sí # son las que lo viven no?
	%tra:	yes # they are the ones who live it aren't they?

41	*MRG:	aham.

42	*EST:	**los que lo mantienen vivo en realidad porque # si no te lo contaran llegaría**
43		**un momento que aquí la gente viniera a levantarse para ir al camión # y:**
44		**trabajar para ganar dinero y ya está.**
	%tra:	they are the ones who keep it alive in fact because # if they didn't tell you it would get to a point when people came here to get up in the morning to go on the truck # a:nd to work to make money and that's it.

45	*MRG:	aham.

46	*EST:	acabaría siendo una empresa más.
	%tra:	it would end up as another company.

Storytelling has an affective, pedagogic and socio-political value in Emmaus. Esther's "legends" are oral stories that evoke uncertain, distant past events which tally with the idea of "parables" discussed above. In Barcelona, storytelling was used to socialise new generations of members such as Esther or Massin into the 62-year old transnational social movement. As a case in point, Massin was accepted as a companion in early 2009 after having shown interest in the social movement while he was a rag-picking volunteer and resident in the Emmaus social housing for migrant men. During a weekend trip to Lleida, Massin asked Rita about the transnational movement and told her that he would be interested in exporting Emmaus to South East Morocco. Like Esther, he recognises some companions' "historical legitimacy" - adding Àngels to Esther's list above – based on their experiences and knowledge about how Emmaus is run as well as how Catalan society works (interview, 15-03-2012, see Excerpt 65 in Chapter 7).

Assemblies are collective rituals that (re)produce the Emmaus local community and transnational imaginary. They construct and (re)negotiate the embodied dispositions and identities as *drapaires* by means of social interaction (Melucci, 1995, p.44). The diverse and even contradictory appropriations by companions, like Tom's definition of "those less fortunate" in London, are resolved by the legitimate members in each community of practice. The founding story spacetime, moral and personhood is a discursive resource to manage diversity and

disagreement in communities: Is this "authentic Emmaus"? What would a legitimate *responsable* such as Rita or even the Abbé Pierre do in this present situation? As we shall see in Chapter 7, socialisation in Emmaus involves learning how to align with these chronotopic person types in their everyday actions, opinions and narratives. Members will present different degrees of alignment with this founding story, which imply different degrees of social participation and hence, social inclusion or exclusion in the local community and the broader movement.

Together with oral stories, both communities in my study draw on visual semiotic representations of Abbé Pierre in their shared living and workspaces to socialise newcomers. These photos, paintings and Emmaus International posters index the founding narrative ("the origins") and connect the locality to the transnational imagined community (see Figure 1 and Opening Vignette in Chapter 2). Both communities have similar semiotic signs, but do they play the same role?

In London, new members and visitors react to these visual semiotic artifacts and ask about the represented narrative. In spite of the little discursive weight accorded to the founder, many London interviewees made explicit references to these semiotic representations when asked about the transnational movement and shared dimensions with other Emmaus groups. In fact, I conducted my interviews in the common areas of the community where there were pictures of the Abbé Pierre on the wall. For instance, Danny explained that the Abbé Pierre had a weight for those who knew about him, but not all companions had been socialised in/through the founding story. During our interview, he physically turned to the Abbé Pierre picture in the entrance (see Opening Vignette in Chapter 2) in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 25. Abbé Pierre as the "geezer on the wall". Interview with Danny, London companion. 28-05-2012.

1	*MRG:	so then the volunteers that come that don't rea:lly understand the Emmaus
2		movement and how +/.
3	*DAN:	I don't think so!
4	*MRG:	no?
5	*DAN:	I don't think so # some of them maybe yes.
6	*MRG:	aham.
7	*DAN:	the majority # maybe they should be sat down and told

8	*MRG:	maybe yeah # that would be a- a possibility # you know-? because +/.

9	*DAN:	tie them to the chair!
	%act:	MRG laughs and then DAN joins in.

10	*MRG:	and listen to: the whole story-! you know because for one # once you open the
11		main door

12	*DAN:	yeah.

13	*MRG:	what you see is that big huge picture of Abbé Pierre hanging on the wall.

14	*DAN:	+^yeah

15	*MRG:	that's the first thing I noticed # the very first time I came in here that's what I
16		could see!

17	*DAN:	yeah:

18	*MRG:	so I guess they're wondering [>] <who this person is>

19	*DAN:	<well xx> [<] xxx he's wondering who is the
20	%act:	geezer on the wall-?
		DAN laughs.
21	*MRG:	oh really?
	%act:	MRG giggles.

22	*DAN:	you tell them who he is how it's taken off # and they go like oh yeah # so #

23	*MRG:	yeah.

24	*DAN:	they do get the gist of it as they go along.

25	*MRG:	of course # well as you did # you said that for the first few months you weren't
26		really understanding the place.

27	*DAN:	God no God no every night drinking xxx

28	*MRG:	aha # yeah # and how would you define his figure in the movement here in the
29		UK at the moment?

30	*DAN:	how would I define what?

31	*MRG:	his- his figure # do do you think Abbé Pierre is really important # has weight
32		in how Emmaus is put to practice in the UK?

33	*DAN:	he has got a weight to Emmaus if you know 'im, if you know if you know of
34		him # the new people in the community they don't know 'im, y'know what I
35		mean-?

36	*MRG:	oh-! # really?

37	*DAN:	until they're told until they xxx or if they ask # who is the fella on the wall?

38	*MRG:	oh-! # and who tells them-? that's the interesting part!

39	*DAN:	whoever is sounding about the place at first +…

40   *MRG: aham.

41   *DAN: maybe if they're sitting here and that the day they xx they're still wondering
42   who the fella is on the wall # they go out # who is the geezer on the wall-? and
43   someone tell them-. who he is what's he done.

44   *MRG: aham.

45   *DAN: and then having a bit of information they have to go on the internet nowadays.

Unless they were told, new companions asked, "who is the geezer on the wall?" (line 42) when they saw the Abbé Pierre's picture and then whoever was around told them what they knew about the origins (lines 37-43). Therefore, the (re)tellings of the founding story occurred in informal social interactions with peers, who might have their own versions like Victoria. Danny's odd choice of "geezer" relates to the Abbé Pierre's unusual religious iconography (see above) in a self-fashioned non-religious charity. It is also interesting that he added that those who wanted to know more about the origins searched for information online (line 45), which again suggests that most companions did not know much about the founding narrative.

In Emmaus Barcelona, visual semiotic representations seemed to be an index of an implicit, shared narrative *and* practice in Barcelona. During the early weeks of my fieldwork, I tended to reify artifacts as discursive and semiotic clasps to the transnational imagined community. My fieldnotes below narrate such an instance. One day, I ask about a signed painting of Abbé Pierre in the dining room while we are having breakfast.

Excerpt 26. Abbé Pierre's legacy as lifestyle. Fieldnotes from Emmaus Barcelona, breakfast time. 04-10-2011.

> I ask Rita if the Abbé Pierre poster in the small dining room is dedicated by Abbé Pierre. She says that Iker gave it to them. [...] They have Abbé Pierre's letters, signed books and posters and they could "keep a sanctuary", but his memory is something else: he is present in their daily life, in the ragpickers' lifestyle. This is his legacy, the lifestyle that he conceived and that they follow.

The community founder, Rita, told me that his legacy was the practices that they engaged in (such as collective meals and recycling work) instead of the numerous texts and images on the walls and in their archive. Nevertheless, they still have these semiotic representations of the Abbé Pierre next to pictures of communal events, so as

to link the "local language" to the common language of the movement, the "family" of Emmaus communities worldwide in Rita's opening metaphor.

3.5. Discussion: Founding story (re)tellings in ethnography

Departing from a social perspective on narrative, my ethnography has analysed the transnational articulation of Emmaus through the situated circulation, appropriation and embodiment of the founding story. The Bakhtinian spacetime, personhood and moral corresponding to the chronotopes of encounter and threshold crosscut stories of self, stories of us and stories of now (Ganz, 2010) that construct personal identities, collective identities and public action respectively.

In spite of the non-denominational nature of the social movement, the Emmaus founding story is a secularised parable with Biblical intertextuality and a protagonist, the Abbé Pierre who has distinctive Franciscan iconography. The founding story's entextualisation in the Universal Manifesto brings to the fore the chronotopic link between the narrated events of an idealised past and the storytelling world of the here-and-now. This shared text-artifact defines the chronotopic person-types, the values and the actions that should articulate and (re)produce Emmaus throughout history. My ethnographic analysis contributes a situated account of the constructions of the shared founding story chronotopes in different socio-political contexts.

The two communities investigated share the Emmaus founding story's person-types marked by transformation, the moral worth of solidarity, and causation, namely the "reasons to live" in the encounter with others in the community. Both (re)create intertextual chains with the founding story, such as that of desperation, so as to construct their alignment with the transnational movement and a discursive continuity between the narrative personae and the situated social actors. The founding story is not only appropriated as a retold narrative but also embodied in local communicative and affective practices. In fact, new recruits are socialised into this transnational imaginary through local practices, such as assemblies where senior members (re)tell the founding narrative, appropriate chronotopic elements in their discourse and reenact the affective encounter motif.

Ethnography is indispensable for investigating cultural chronotopes in geographically-dispersed localities that discursively (re)produce the same transnational movement. In my analysis, I have adopted a historicising, transnational and processual perspective that not only situates texts as social processes in their socio-political and historical contexts, but also captures their on-going appropriations across space and over time. The overlap between the global, the local and the personal in my ethnographic data shows the situated character of global processes, that is to say, how the transnational founding story is constituted in/by the everyday practices and stories of people and communities in specific localities. Therefore, interviews and texts-as-artifacts should be analysed as part and parcel of the larger ethnographic context. The ways interviewees position themselves reveal the habitual positioning (Wortham *et al.*, 2011) that characterises individuals or their Emmaus community. Text-artifacts, in turn, are unequally circulated, revalorised and re-accented in a given locality.

Each local community appropriates the shared chronotopic elements differently and discursively constructs Emmaus within their local socio-political contexts. Chronotopic elements have different weights in the local constructions analysed. Emmaus Barcelona centres on the encounter in the community epitomised by the Abbé Pierre icon whereas Emmaus London emphasises the value of solidarity in the parable over the myth of Abbé Pierre. Moreover, the founding story and storytelling legitimacy are unequally distributed across social actors in each community. As we shall see in Chapter 7, the founding story is a yardstick for people's embodied personhood and unequally distributes legitimacy in each community, albeit in different ways.

These two local constructions of the transnational imaginary correspond, by and large, to the historical counterposed identities within Emmaus of "abbé-pierriste" and "emmaüsien" (Brodiez-Dolino, 2008, p. 103). In London, the discursive erosion of the Abbé Pierre and the centrality of solidarity with generic people-types respond to the professionalised charity image in the British welfare state and to the current Emmaus International model. In Barcelona, their local ethos construction is based on that of the early communities, which brought socio-political activism to the fore and had strong personalities as animators, mainly Abbé Pierre and the community leaders. As we shall see in Chapters 4 and 5 on local discursive genealogies, the situated

appropriations of the Emmaus founding story suggest that the two communities studied belong to different Emmaus *trends* within the transnational social movement.

Narrative in ethnography is a powerful methodology to elucidate the transnational articulation of a late 1940s social movement. Ethnographic fieldwork documented the relevance of the founding story chronotope for the informants and the different semiotic forms that it adopted in everyday social practice. Now we will turn to the discursive genealogies where this story is not only context-shaping, as we have just seen, but also contextualised in larger sociocultural processes at work.

Chapter 4

Discursive relocalisations in a transnational movement: Genealogy of Progressive Catholicism and alter-globalisation in Emmaus Barcelona

> I ask him about the legacy of the Abbé Pierre and what unites people in the Emmaus movement all over the world. Sam says that the Abbé Pierre is the glue for the movement in some parts of the world like France and Latin America, but not in the UK where he is not well-known. He says that the glue is the shared values: they might not mention his name but they do follow his principles. He wonders if Emmaus is going to survive without the founder, as it risks dying out because many influential figures in the movement were close to and/or met the Abbé Pierre and many come from the idealist trends in the 60s and 70s. The new generations should not focus on the founder but on the shared values and mission. In the international assembly, this is what everybody seems to share: values and similar projects on the ground. Emmaus members are "people who want to fight inequality, who are offended by social inequality" and who are "inspired by grassroots groups to find their own solutions".

> Notes from interview over telephone with Sam, Emmaus International Board Member and Emmaus UK Chief Exectutive, 15-09-2013.

4.1. Introduction: Different local appropriations of the Emmaus transnational imaginary

Sam's response to my question about the articulation of this transnational movement taps into the main discursive trends in Emmaus, which foreground different aspects of the founding story and often stand in tension with each other. According to Sam, the two trends cut along different generations of leaders and groups on the one hand and geographical regions in the world on the other. In Emmaus the temporal and spatial axes largely overlap since early bastions were concentrated in certain regions, France and Latin America mainly, and newer groups have sprung up especially in the UK. French and Latin American groups foreground the figure of Abbé Pierre because they are early Emmaus expansions whose leading activists are personally and ideologically close to the founder. This is the case of Rita and Alberto in my ethnography. Instead of emphasising the founder figure, the more recent British groups foreground the shared moral of solidarity emerging from the secularised parable. As we saw in Chapter 3, Emmaus Barcelona belongs to the "idealist" trend that brings the founder's narrative biography to the fore whereas Emmaus London is one of the "newer" groups that centre on the general values and mission that inspire this social movement.

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A key feature of the Emmaus movement is the local heterogeneity emerging out of the coexistence of the different discursive trends and generations that share a mission "to fight social inequality". In our interview above, Sam points to the grassroots appropriation of the Emmaus imaginary that gives rise to "their own solutions" on the ground, typically in conjunction with other local associations and movements. These local practices inspired by the shared message are embedded in a given socio-political context and as a consequence, they define social inequality and its possible solutions in different ways. As we shall see, Emmaus Barcelona adopted a broad definition that includes undocumented migrants and evicted people from a crumbling, crisis-stricken welfare state. Emmaus London, on the contrary, narrowed down its definition of social inequality to homelessness as defined by the British neoliberal state. Chapters 4 and 5 address the second research question about construction of difference within the transnational Emmaus movement. They investigate the situated appropriations of the transnational movement imaginary in the two localities under study. The analysis looks into the intersection of the Emmaus transnational imaginary, which we explored in the previous chapter, with local bundles of discourses, especially nation-state regimes and other social movements.

From his vantage point as a former *responsable* in Emmaus Cambridge now part of the Emmaus International Board, Sam draws a distinction between "idealist" and "newer" generations in the movement that largely coincides with Brodiez-Dolino's historical account (2013) and my own ethnographic analysis. During the visit of Latin American activists to Emmaus Barcelona, the community founder and current *responsable* in Emmaus Iruña/Pamplona, who we will call Iñaki, suggested that I should devote an entire chapter to the ideological tensions within the Emmaus movement (fieldnotes, 15-11-2011). These two chapters are my ethnographic account of local discursive genealogies that inscribe the groups and activists into the above-mentioned orientations. Far from being a unified bloc with a fixed identity, as the founding story might suggest, Emmaus is a social movement which is diachronically and synchronically heterogeneous and in constant evolution. Brodiez-Dolino (2013) claims that the Emmaus model lends itself to extensive diversification, because

> […] the Community model was incredibly flexible and could be adapted to suit a
> multitude of needs, as it was underpinned by only a handful of principles (providing

refuge, collecting waste, and dividing up any profit made in such a way as to benefit those most in need). (p. 141).

So, how do we conceptualise the current Emmaus trends across borders that have emerged out of the historical trajectories of transnational networks, local communities and individual activists? The multi-layered nature of the movement responds to the non-linear and simultaneous localisation of discourses across/in geographical spaces. Brodiez-Dolino identifies two current trends in Emmaus that are on the one hand, charitable provision emphasising professional management, and on the other, socio-political activism based on their historical discursive links to the Abbé Pierre. The former "centripetal trend" seeks internal stability and solidity through increasing professionalisation and tight management (Brodiez-Dolino, 2008; Brodiez, 2009c). The latter, in contrast, largely corresponds to the "centrifugal trend" that sets out to maintain the adventure spirit, poverty and spontaneity of the origins, which encompasses illegal activities and more horizontal communities (Brodiez-Dolino 2008; Brodiez, 2009b). Interestingly, the former trend relies on qualified professionals as leaders, whereas the latter on non-qualified "*hommes* (sic) *de terrain*" (Brodiez, 2009b).

The different historical and geographical appropriations depend on the socio-political context and the individual activists in a particular Emmaus community. The founding story chronotope analysed in Chapter 3 is not only context-shaping but also contextualised in broader sociocultural processes at work (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008). In Brodiez-Dolino's words, the movement "continued to perpetuate while constantly reinventing itself, adapting to the location, times and leadership in place" (2013, p. 177). Over time, the movement has become increasingly complex with spin-off organisations, community "families" and "regions" in Emmaus International (see Brodiez-Dolino 2008, 2013). Therefore, the present picture is that of a multitude of local groups that develop overlapping, differing and even conflicting networks of meaning. After the death of the Abbé Pierre, there are still tensions between the founder's entrepreneurial values and the more bureaucratic priorities of Emmaus International, as happens in other organisations such as Apple (see Garsten, 1994). This thesis examines the broader transnational movement of multiple grassroots groups that (re)produce discursive trends across borders, but the international NGO Emmaus International (a subsection

of the movement) will be used to illustrate some of the discursive transformations operating at a transnational scale.

The construction of difference within the same social movement relies on situated discursive practices in localities. These bring about and at the same time recreate the historical discursive trends in the Emmaus movement (see above) within transnational networks of Emmaus groups that share political and religious discourses. The Universal Manifesto (1971) defines the Emmaus movement as a whole as non-denominational and non-partisan. However, this does not mean that local groups and individuals are necessarily secular and apolitical. In fact, the contemporary trends in Emmaus stem from the group's and individuals' differing positioning vis-à-vis Catholic/religious inspiration and the weight accorded to socio-political activism (Brodiez, 2009a).

My ethnographic analysis of different appropriations of the Emmaus imaginary will be divided into two separate chapters. This chapter will provide the conceptual framework for discursive genealogies from a historicising and political perspective. The rest of the chapter will use ethnography to trace the discursive genealogy of Emmaus Barcelona from its genesis to the current recession. Chapter 5 will provide an ethnographic analysis of the discursive justifications at Emmaus London. Then, it will draw some conclusions on the localisation of Emmaus in the light of the findings from both sites, which will illuminate broader trends in the Emmaus movement at large.

4.2. Conceptual framework: Discursive relocalisations from a historicising and political perspective

The two Emmaus communities investigated serve as illustrations of different (re)localisations of the transnational movement from a discursive perspective. Time, space and flows are key in understanding my ethnographic account of discourses in Emmaus. Following Pennycook (2010), I adopt the dynamic concept of relocalisation (rather than recontextualisation) to analyse the situated appropriation of discursive elements that shapes and is shaped by the locality. Local practices simultaneously produce sameness and difference within the transnational social movement. Indeed, they recreate the common Emmaus identity by repeating discursive and chronotopic elements from the shared narrative. At the same time, these practices create difference

because there is never mere repetition of discursive elements, as they are always embedded in a different interactional, historical and socio-political context. In other words, the local appropriation of discursive elements entails repetition or intertextuality as an act of differentiation, relocalisation or change. This process of differentiation within the social movement rests on interdiscursive clasps (Gal 2007) with other discursive arenas. As a result, these situated clasps bring about broader orientations that are present in a portion of the Emmaus movement (Melucci, 1995).

There is a need to articulate history and locality in critical sociolinguistic ethnography because the different local histories give rise to "multiple, heterogeneous and simultaneous histories that the dominant historical narrative has overlooked" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 71). In this case, a focus on Emmaus International's discourses would probably overlook the silenced dissident groups outside the NGO. Contemporary social movements weave together multiple elements from different historical periods such as legacies from the past, the effects of modernisation and resistance to change (Melucci 1995, p. 54). According to Gal (2003), the genealogy of contemporary discourses is a product of socio-political trajectories over time and the effect of discursive imitation of transnational forms. Narrative and texts that get transposed through time and space interact with sedimented discourses in a given locality in ways that make or erase linkages with other traditions. The dialogical relationship between personal and community trajectories exists against a socio-historical background that defines what circulating discourses are available to localise the transnational movement. The different historical periods and socio-political contexts that communities and individuals have experienced will shape discursive sedimentations and interdiscursive clasps for their present appropriations.

Foucault's genealogical work (1984) investigates historical transformations of discourse and their relationship to wider processes of social, economic, political and cultural change. Changing discursive practices are a constitutive element of social transformation. Additionally, discursive and non-discursive practices are mutually imbricated in social structuration processes (see Chapter 7). Discourses construct not only social structures, such as Emmaus communities, but also ways of knowing, acting and being in this particular social arena. The unique blend of discourses in a specific locality produces different social realities within Emmaus and influences how people talk and write about the movement. The analysis of situated discursive practices reveals meaning-making processes that are highly interdiscursive (Bakhtin,

1981b), that is to say, embedded in a dynamic dialogue between the words we use, words that others have used before and words which will be taken up by others. Therefore, the political nature of discourse plays out in the investment or disinvestment in interdiscursive clasps with other social arenas.

My ethnographic account focuses on the intersection among transnational trends in Emmaus, evolving nation-state regimes and members' personal trajectories. The genesis of a particular Emmaus community aligns it with a certain orientation within the transnational movement, namely centripetal and centrifugal trends (see above). In addition, the changing socio-political conditions in a given nation-state context shape the discursive genealogies and local projects in Emmaus communities over time. This is especially relevant in connection to neoliberal dismantling of welfare states in times of capitalist recession. From a bottom-up perspective, the individual people also shape the local group's socio-political trajectory and interdiscursive clasps with other arenas. In turn, the existing group of members attracts people whose trajectories and discourses fit well with the community's discursive construction of Emmaus. Marc, a companion in Barcelona, claims that "the people at Emmaus all have very different trajectories and ideologies but it is no coincidence that they have ended up in the community" (fieldnotes, 31-01-2012).

4.3.   An ethnographic analysis of the Emmaus Barcelona discursive genealogy

My analysis of Emmaus Barcelona contributes an ethnographically- and historically-grounded view of the globalisation of religion, that is, how religion is imagined and experienced by individuals, groups and networks (Vásquez and Friedmann, 2003). This community ventriloquises and appropriates discourses, social categories and terms/mottos that clasp (Gal, 2007) the world of Emmaus with Catalan Progressive Catholicism, Liberationist Christianity and *altermondialisme.* Emmaus Barcelona deploys a Leftist understanding of social action as "doing religion", so it addresses social problems by means of religiously-inspired economic and political solutions. Religion is "the effort of a group of people to interpret their experience and give it a coherent form through a set of specific beliefs and practices - which are themselves shaped by particular historical and cultural circumstances" (Cunningham, 1995, p.8). Although Emmaus is a non-denominational movement, Brodiez (2009b) shows that

until the 1990s most Emmaus activists in France were Catholic. Since then, there has been a generalised devalorisation of institutionalised "religion" in favour of individual spiritual or "well-being" or "humanitarian" values that guide people's actions (Liogier, 2007).

This Emmaus community inscribes itself in the transnational Liberationist Christianity, owing to the presence of Progressive Catholics in/around the group and their connections with Latin America. This religious praxis interprets Christian faith through the poor's suffering and uses a Marxist lens to criticise the capitalist economy, which produces class marginalisation. To grasp social action within Emmaus, I adopt Löwy's *Liberationist Christianity*, defined as a social movement that encompasses the religious culture, as well as the social network, faith and praxis that mobilises people around common objectives (1998, p. 33). This definition refers to the social application of Liberation Theology beyond the confines of the Roman Catholic Church as an institution. Liberationist Christianity integrates political revolution, religious practice and communal life into base communities emerging from local contexts throughout Latin America. In Europe, the working priests movement has applied the so-called "theology of the oppressed" to their local contexts, especially in the anti-capitalist tradition of French Catholic culture (Casañas, 1989). After all, the Abbé Pierre was a working priest.

This Catho-communist Emmaus group criticises the nation-state administration but ambivalently provides welfare services in their place. According to Muehlebach (2009), the neoliberal discursive regime is a *complexio oppositorum* that articulates Leftist politicised critique from grassroots civil groups with the Rightist top-down mixed economy of welfare. The local activists in Barcelona are acutely aware of the ambivalence of their grassroots service provision *in lieu* of the public administration. On the one hand, these social projects respond to a discursive and political coherence with their past trajectories of religious praxis with the poor. On the other, they paradoxically contribute towards the neoliberal withdrawal of the nation-state from social services. Following the Emmaus principles in the Universal Manifesto, this group simultaneously attends to the pressing needs of the marginalised and to the structural causes that have engendered the immediate situation. In this line, the rag-pickers regard social services in the community as a new avenue to fight for social rights and a moral stance to criticise the retreating nation-state.

The group's genesis in post-Francoist Catalonia explains the core activists' nostalgic longing for the Fordist-Keynesian nation-state, which remains an incomplete project and a partially frustrated promise stemming from the 1980s welfare expansion of the Spanish state. Their praxis from below and socio-political activism targets the nation-state as the main guarantor of social rights and welfare services. For this local group, the main goal of civil society should be to denounce immediate social problems and to design social programmes that the nation-state apparatus should take over and finance. In other words, Emmaus as a transnational movement acts from below as a socio-political body to bring about social change in the social fabric and state institutions. Voluntarism is discursively constructed as a form of collective socio-political and religious activism in which participants work *with* the poor for a new society, rather than an economic sector that provides offloaded services *for* the poor on behalf of the state apparatus. Socialist utopias and alter-globalist discourses shape the relationship that this Emmaus community constructs vis-à-vis the local administration. Nevertheless, the community in actual practice provides services for marginalised populations that the welfare state ignores.

The ensuing ethnographic analysis of the discursive genealogy in Emmaus Barcelona is just a small piece within the heterogeneous Emmaus movement. It opens a window onto the centrifugal trend of "idealists" (in Sam's words) and "*aventuriers*" (Lefèvre, 2001) from post-68 and Liberationist generations. First, we shall analyse the group's genesis in Emmaus work camps attended by *soixantehuitarde* youth in the decade of the 1970s. Second, we will look into the synergies with local Progressive Catholic groups in the early years of the community, which coincided with the development of a welfare state. Third, we will explore the discursive connections with Liberationist Christianity in Latin America through key local members. Fourth, we will investigate the discursive integration of religious eco-justice into alter-globalisation/*altermondialisme* at the turn of the century. Last but not least, I will offer some insights into the unfolding discursive clasps and voluntary projects against nation-state austerity at the time of "crisis". In reference to this latter section, it is worth mentioning that any ethnography is necessarily partial and limited to an arbitrary time frame, which might not capture key events or developments occurring after we as ethnographers decide to quit the field or start writing up (Aliagas Marín, 2014).

4.3.1.   The group's genesis: Post-68 utopia in Emmaus work camps

In late March 2012, I asked Rita about the origins of the community while we were travelling on a train to attend a meeting in central Barcelona. Until then I had gathered bits and pieces from the press cuttings in their archive and small stories told in passing, but I had never listened to the whole story. Rita expressed her utter surprise at not having told me before and enthusiastically devoted both 45-minute journeys to a vivid biographical story of how this Emmaus was created. The local founding story, so to speak, begins at her family's local Catholic parish in her hometown, where I also happen to have been baptised, and moves into the post-68 environmental and social justice ideals that criticised capitalism. Rita's story resonates with French artist Marc's stories of the Parisian May 68 on our van collection rounds and prefigures current alter-globalist claims.

The story of how Emmaus Barcelona was founded begins at a local Catholic parish in 1969. Rita's aunt gave her the parish sheet where there was information about Emmaus summer camps in Denmark. According to Ramon, a Liberationist working priest (see section 4.3.3. for more), the Emmaus movement was well known among the clergy during the dictatorship. Young Rita wanted to spend a few weeks living in an Emmaus group with other youth to collect, repair and sell donated goods. However, she could not obtain a passport to leave the country until the next year due to the restrictive requirements for single women. Her first work camp was in France during the summer of 1970 and she met the Abbé Pierre, who made a great impression on her. In a local radio interview (02-11-2011), Rita recalls that "*A Emmaús vaig trobar el meu lloc en aquesta vida, vés quina cosa*" [At Emmaus I found my place in life, can you imagine?] She went to two more international camps in 1971. These work camps were a breeding ground for young, new committed Emmaus activists (Brodiez-Dolino, 2008), such as Iñaki (Iruña/Pamplona), Rita and Alberto. The camps were conceived as *the* way to socialise the youth in Emmaus ways. However, the *soixantehuitardes'* strong political awareness clashed with the traditional charity vision held by many of the organising conservative middle-aged volunteers, who did not share ideals with the "hippies".

In their critique of consumerist society and the capitalist economy, these young Emmaus activists called for "*vivre autrement*", i.e. adopting a different

lifestyle (Brodiez-Dolino, 2008). These are the antecedents of the *altermondialiste* alliances of the 1990s (see below, see also Agrikoliansky *et al.,* 2005) and coincide with one of the main discourses in Emmaus Barcelona, whose motto is "Towards other reasons to live" (see section 3.4.1). In our informal interview about the origins of this community, Rita says that the other youth in the camps were "as crazy" about the same things and they had something in common just because they had chosen to enrol in those work camps.

Excerpt 27. Community lifestyle and recycling as shared values among post-68 Emmaus youth. Notes from informal interview with Rita. 21-03-2012. My translation from Catalan.

> La Rita creu que tots els joves que van anar als camps de treball "estaven tocats del bolet" o més aviat "del mateix bolet" i per tant, ja no parties de zero en l'amistat perquè havies fet un tros del camí de l'amistat només per haver escollit el mateix. Diu que hi havia un gran "nivell de comunicació i de fusió". Quan ets jove, et fa molta gràcia viure en cases sense electricitat i tot això. El lligam entre ells era viure en la precarietat com per exemple de tenir uns diners justos per fer el dinar per a tothom (i no tothom sabia cuinar, però). Insisteixo en saber de quin "bolet" estaven tocats, o sigui què és el que compartien. Diu que tots creien en el reciclatge i en la vida comunitària.
>
> [Rita believes that all the youth who went to the work camps were "crazy in the head" or rather "crazy about the same thing", so they did not start from scratch in their friendship because you had already walked part of the path of friendship in making the same choice. She says that there was a high "level of communication and fusion". When you are young, you find it fun to live in houses without electricity and all that. The bond amongst them was living in precarious conditions like for instance having a certain amount of money to prepare lunch for everybody (and not everybody could cook, though). I insist on knowing what they were "crazy" about, that is, what they shared. She says that they all believed in recycling and in communitarian life.]

My insistence on what they had in common reveals two main traits of this Emmaus utopian generation: they believed in "recycling" and communal lifestyle. These commitments discursively clasp this Emmaus group with post-68 anti-consumerism and collectivism, not only in the beginning but also in their current local ethos that foregrounds the communitarian dimension and the same work activities as the original "rag-pickers" (see section 3.4.1). Rita uses the term "recycling" to describe the waste recovery work that the rag-pickers used to do in those work camps, even though this term was not common at that time. In the 1979 press report about the Emmaus camps in Spain, the term "recycling" does not appear but *"comunidad"* [community] and *"sociedad de consumo"* [consumerist society] do. The work camps are presented as

"*una denuncia contra la sociedad de consumo*" [a condemnation of consumerist society]. At them, objects that people threw away were recovered and sold in order to help those in need locally (Mundo Diario, 15-07-1979).

The genesis of this community links it discursively to other communities born out of this new utopian "hippy" generation in the 1970s work camps. In 1975, Rita became involved in the organisation of work camps in Spain, as did her husband-to-be Alberto later on. "By the time these camps packed up and left, they had often sown the seeds of new Communities or Committees of Friends" (Brodiez-Dolino, 2013, p. 159). Indeed, the *Asociación de amigos y compañeros de Emaús en España* (a calque of the French name) was created in 1976 to organise work camps. It had a strong Basque presence, probably linked to the weight of cooperatives such as *Mondragón*, the fervent Catholic spirit of the region, and its proximity to the French border. It was reflected in the fact that the first community in the Spanish State was opened in Bilbo/Bilbao in 1977 and the second one in Iruña/Pamplona in 1978. The latter is the oldest community still in operation at present. The second wave of Emmaus communities saw the birth of Emmaus Donosti/San Sebastián, another one in Santander and the one in Barcelona (see section 1.5.3.1. for more on Emmaus groups in the Spanish State). Rita said that the main objective of these work camps was to move youth towards "discovering the other" (in line with the founding story chronotope) and making a lasting commitment with others that implies participating in civil society organisations (interview notes, 21-03-2012). For example, the longstanding companion Dolo is a Castilian woman who got to know the movement as a teenager, thanks to the Emmaus work camps organised in her area in 1975 (interview, 09-02-2012).

Figure 5. "A condemnation of consumerist society" in Emmaus work camps. Press cutting from the local Emmaus Barcelona archive. *Mundo Diario*, page 2, 15-07-1979.

Todo lo que se tira puede ser útil. Desde hace casi una veintena de años nos lo demuestran los «traperos de Emaús». Primero, en los campos de trabajo internacionales de Francia. Más recientemente, en España. Este año los «traperos de Emaús» recogerán los desechos de la sociedad de consumo por los pueblos de alrededor de

El producto de lo obtenido lo destinarán, como viene siendo norma, a personas mucho más necesitadas que ellos..., pues siempre hay alguien que está en peor situación.

Los «traperos de Emaús» hablan de su trabajo y de los orígenes de su movimiento con **Antonio Llabería.**

«Emaús»: Comunidad y servicio

Una denuncia contra la sociedad de consumo

En Talavera de la Reina, Toledo, un camión de trastos... útiles.

«Nos interesa denunciar a la sociedad de consumo demostrando que se tiran cosas que aún son útiles. Nosotros vivimos de cuanto se tira y encima conseguimos dinero para los necesitados.» Así hablan los traperos: pero unos traperos singulares. Los «traperos de Emaús». Jóvenes que dedican parte de su tiempo libre de verano en la recogida de papel, trapos, ropa vieja, chatarra, botellas, viejos electrodomésticos..., que luego seleccionan, reparan, venden.

El dinero que obtienen con su trabajo sirve para la subsistencia del grupo, para

«traperos», la primera labor a realizar es la de información, el ir puerta por puerta notificando el sentido que tiene esta recogida —ayuda a los más necesitados—; localización de un almacén donde amontonar los materiales; venta de dichos materiales a traperos profesionales o personas interesadas; y, por último —labor ciertamente curiosa—, montaje de una especie de «rastro» o «encants» en el que vender ropa usada o pasada de moda, pero con posibilidades de ser aprovechada, así como piezas de modelos antiguos de electrodomésticos de difícil localiza-

After having organised Emmaus work camps, Rita went a step further to become a companion/*responsable* in a stable community in her hometown. In November 1980, Rita and her friend Felipe (who left the community shortly after) created the Emmaus community in her family's city house. She accepted the association's proposal to live in a permanent community in order to engage committed organisers for the work camps and to embody the ideal of "*vivre autrement*" all year round in order to inspire young people participating in summer camps. Unlike the existing communities in the Spanish state, Rita's original idea was to open it to young people who were committed to a life project, whom she calls "*gent alternativa*" [alternative people], rather than older people with social difficulties, so as to create a solid breeding ground of organisers for work camps. The early community housed Abbé Pierre's nephew, a future Emmaus International president, and some local friends, apart from Alberto whom Rita married in spring 1981. However, they were not able to recruit permanent companions through the early 1980s work camps and the small group then became a "typical community" (in Rita's words) open to marginalised people.

4.3.2. The early community: Local synergies with progressive Catholicism in the developing welfare state

The early years of this Emmaus community focused mainly on communitarian *acollida* ideologically linked to post-68 alternative lifestyle and the Progressive Catholic social action. At the beginning, the community closely collaborated with many Catholic associations, especially the local Caritas branch. During my interviews, I discovered that many longstanding members are Progressive Catholics who had been activists in Liberationist social movements in the 1970s and 1980s. Towards the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, the neoliberal winds hit the developing welfare state in the Spanish state. As a result, Emmaus gradually intensified their social activism vis-à-vis the local administration because they did not provide the necessary services for peripheral populations, notably the homeless (a lost battle to this very day).

The first question in my interview with Alberto proved to be a surprise both to him, who was not expecting to talk about his decision to join the community, and to me, since his account as a 24-year old Franciscan was revealing of religious clasps. Alberto had participated in Emmaus work camps in the summer while he was

studying Theology at Deusto and lived in a Franciscan congregation in Bilbo. In 1981, Alberto decided to move to the Barcelona community, attracted by not only the combination of post-68 alternative lifestyle in a young community dedicated to recycling but also the religious (particularly Franciscan) "option for the poor". On the one hand, he counterposes this "young" community based on post-68 *radicalismos* to the existing Basque communities made up of older men with addiction problems (lines 48-66). On the other, Alberto's own narrated experience is highly intertextual with the Abbé Pierre's own story as a Capuchin/Franciscan who was moved by extreme poverty (lines 13-16) but could not give a collective response to it.

Excerpt 28. Franciscan options in an Emmaus community. Interview with Alberto. 27-03-2012. My translation from Spanish.

1	*ALB:	por otra parte en la congregación en la cual estaba yo las opciones que se hacían por el
2		mundo de los pobres eran opciones particulares # no eran opciones comunitarias # se
3		podía desarrollar en el mismo convento-? un comedor pero en ese comedor era una
4		cosa que se dirigía -? de alguna manera # administrativamente desde la congregación.
	%tra:	on the one hand in the congregation where I was the options that were carried out in favour of the world of the poor were individual options # they weren't communitarian options # which we could develop in the same convent-? a soup kitchen but in that soup kitchen was something that was-? managed somehow # administratively by the congregation.

5	*MRG:	mm.
6	*ALB:	pero no había una participación directa.
	%tra:	but there wasn't direct participation.

7	*MRG:	vale # no hay codo a codo.
	%tra:	OK # it wasn't side by side.

8	*ALB:	+^ sí
	%tra:	+^yes.

9	*MRG:	quieres decir no-? de uno al lado del otro.
	%tra:	you mean right-? one next to the other.

10	*ALB:	sí sí sí sí de codo a codo no-? entonces en aquella época yo tuve alguna experiencia
11		fuerte o sea decir de conocer el mundo de la pobreza.
	%tra:	yes yes yes yes side by side right-? So at that time I had some shocking experiences that's to say getting to know the world of poverty.

12	*MRG:	aham.

13	*ALB:	a partir de:: eh de una muje:r embarazada que tenía que dar a luz-? # con conflicto de
14		prostitución y cosas así pero que te que de alguna manera te abrió o o me hizo ver #
15		mmm la no la situación de la pobreza en si sinó todos los contextos sociales que giran
16		entorno a la +…
	%tra:	from a: eh a pregnant woman who had to give birth-? # with a conflict of prostitution and things like that but who in a way opened or made me realise mm the mm not the situation of poverty in itself but all the social contexts that surround +…

17 *MRG: aham.

18 *ALB: a la: pobreza y la marginación no?
    %tra: poverty and marginalisation right?

19 *MRG: va:le.
    %tra: O:K.

20 *ALB: entonces vi que yo en la congregación eh de alguna manera no podía forzar la marcha
21   de los demás # para que desde todos hicieran esas opciones comunitarias que de
22   alguna manera a nivel de estatutos de la congregación estaba claro que que que
23   entraba.
    %tra: then I realised that I in the congregation somehow couldn't force the pace of others #
    so that they all made those communitarian options that in a way at the congregation
    statute level it was clear that that that they were included.

24 *MRG: aham.

25 *ALB: o que era o que podía ser una característica-? de las congregaciones de los
26   franciscanos no?
    %tra: or that it was or could be a characteristic -? of Franciscan congregations right?

27 *MRG: vale.
    %tra: OK.

28 *ALB: pero: este en las presiones que hice llegó: llegué a la conclusión una vez hablé esto
29   mismo con el Abbé Pierre +…
    %tra: but in the pressures that I made it reached I reached the conclusion once I spoke about
    this with the Abbé Pierre +…

30 *MRG: aham.

31 *ALB: él había sido capuchino también # y entonces él em dijo que bueno que lo que veía es
32   que el único sitio donde se podía vivir ese espíritu era en Emaús # entonces mm vale
33   es verdad # llegué a la- llegué a la misma conclusión # en cuanto que de alguna
34   manera Barcelona me ofrecía esa posibili- esa posibilidad de ver de vivirlo a nivel
35   colectivo?
    %tra: he had been a Capuchin too # and then he um said that well what he saw is that the
    only place were you could live that spirit was at Emmaus # so mm OK it's true # I got
    to- I got to the same conclusion # so somehow Barcelona offered me that possibility to
    see to live it collectively?

36 *MRG: aham.

37 *ALB: no-? # era colectivo yo le doy la importancia en cuanto que: #0_2 en cuanto que: no lo
38   vives como una opción individual que vas a nivel de francotirador # sinó # que los
39   mismos acontecimientos-? # que te implica el compromiso con la marginación lo
40   puedes reflexionar colectivamente # y colectivamente puedes buscar salidas # más que
41   salidas supongo que testimonios o formas de estar colectivas.
    %tra: didn't it-? # it was collective I give it importance in tha:t #0_2 in tha:t you do not
    experience it as an individual option as if you were a sniper # but # the actual events-?
    # that implies the commitment to marginalisation you can reflect upon collectively #
    and collectively you can look for ways out # rather than ways out I guess testimonials
    or collective ways of being.

42 *MRG: aham.

43 *ALB: que: igual te puede permitir que que igual a nivel individual te puedes quemar más
    fácil -. colectivamente # es un con- es decir es una respuesta colectiva no?

	%tra:	which maybe can meant that that perhaps at an individual level you get burnt out more easily.- collectively # it's a that is a collective response isn't it?
44	*MRG:	vale # sí.
	%tra:	OK # yes.

45 46	*ALB:	entonces # esa respuesta colectiva a mí me aportaba en definitiva pues este: # una: un: una interpelación .
	%tra:	then # that collective response definitely gave me then um # a a an appeal.

47	*MRG:	aham.

48 49 50	*ALB:	por el entorno de la pobreza # tomártela en serio # eh-? tomármelo: darle una respuesta o sea tomarlo en serio yo a nivel personal pero desde una salida que me podía ofrecer # mmm una forma de vida colectiva joven al mismo tiempo.
	%tra:	for the context of poverty # to take it seriously # huh-? to take it myself to give it a response that's to say to take it seriously at a personal level but from a response that could offer me # mm a young collective lifestyle at the same time.

51	*MRG:	sí!
	%tra:	yes!

52	*ALB:	que eso también daba: daba: no sé mm yo vine aquí con 24 años.
	%tra:	which also gave: gave: dunno mm I came here at 24.

53	*MRG:	aham.

54 55 56	*ALB:	entonces mm # me: # me ofrecía: una posibilidad distinta a la de desarrollarlo aquí distinto a desarrollarlo en el País Vasco # yo las experiencias que conocía en el País Vasco # eran más colectivos de gente mayor.
	%tra:	then I # I was offered a different possibility to developing it here than in the Basque country # I the experiences I knew in the Basque country # were collectives of older people.

57	*MRG:	sí.
	%tra:	yes.

58	*ALB:	mm con el conflicto de calle: alco:hol y cosas así.
	%tra:	mm with conflicts of sleeping rough alco:hol and things like that.

59	*MRG:	aham.

60 61	*ALB:	pero: este: no me ofrecía una posibilidad de una reflexión colectiva y al mismo tiempo joven # o sea +…
	%tra:	bu:t thi:s did not offer a possibility of collective reflection and at the same time youth # so +…

62	*MRG:	aham.

63 64 65 66	*ALB:	o sea joven quiero decir mm # la apuesta era más: # vivías más si quieres el tema de los radicalismos o sea es decir mm después todo una maduración o reflexión de lo que puede ser el mundo si quieres de la pobreza o del compromiso viene después # o sea en aquella época bu:scas otra cosa no?
	%tra:	so by young I mean mm # the bet was mo:re # you lived more if you like the topic of radicalisms that's to say mm after a long maturing or reflection of what the world of poverty or if you like the commitment comes later # so at that time you loo:k for something else.

67	*MRG:	aham.

68	*ALB:	luego descu- descubres también que el mismo Emaús te ofrecía algo que dentro de los

69		franciscanos valorabas que era la opción ecológica # entonces de alguna manera: eh la
70		figura aquella mítica o esos principios por los cuales te acercas al mundo de los
71		franciscanos # lo puedes desarrollar en Emaús # o sea encuentras eh por una mm parte
72		una opción por los pobres # por otra parte esa opción por los pobres dentro del
73		reciclaje la ecología y cosas así # y luego por otra parte una opción co- comunitaria o
74		sea es decir son como tres aspectos?
	%tra:	later on you disco- discover also that Emmaus itself offered something that you valued in the Franciscans which was the green option # so in a way: uh the mythical figure or those principles for which you approach the world of Franciscans # you can develop in Emmaus # that's to say you find uh on the one hand an option for the poor # on the other that option for the poor inside recycling and environmentalism and things like that # and then on the other hand a co- communitarian option or in other words three aspects?

75	*MRG:	aham.

76	*ALB:	que en estos momentos a mí me: me empujaron a: o sea a venir aquí #0_1 con los
77		frailes o con los compañeros las relaciones se mantuvieron como muy cordiales # no
78		fue un cortar no?
	%tra:	that at that time pushed me: me to like come here #0_1 with the monks or the companions the relationships remained warm # it wasn't a break was it?

79	*MRG:	hubo una continuidad.
	%tra:	there was a continuity.

80	*ALB:	+ ^ si no: que muchos compañeros después los primeros años venían aquí:
81		continuábamos reflexionando juntos de lo que podía ser el hecho de Emaús.
	%tra:	+^ instead many companions later in the first years came here: we continued reflecting together about what the fact of Emmaus could be.

Alberto explicitly links his own decision to join Emmaus to that of the Abbé Pierre, who was also a Capuchin (an order of the Franciscan family) and felt like "*un franc-tireur de la pitié agissante*" (Simon, 1954, p. 146) outside Emmaus. He also uses the same word "*francotirador*" [sniper] (line 38) which to a socialised Emmaus member (and to me as an ethnographer) immediately recalls the words of the Abbé Pierre. Alberto finds the "Franciscan option" in Emmaus through the commitment to the poor, the environmental aspect of rag-picking and the fact that both are collective options (lines 68-74) rather than individual ones, as it had been the case in his Basque congregation. Alberto stresses the centrality of the *communitarian* option in Emmaus for the shared values with the Franciscans (lines 20-43). Interestingly, Alberto's and the community's continued relationship with Franciscan monks (lines 76-81) indexes the religious inspiration in his social action and exemplifies the local group's numerous connections with Catholic bodies such as religious orders or parishes.

Since the early days, Emmaus Barcelona has collaborated with Catholic charities and orders and to provide services for the unattended populations. After the restoration of democracy, Catholic associations continued to fulfil the assistentialist

role allocated to them during the dictatorship and they still constitute the majority of NGOs in the Spanish State (Gómez Gil 2005). The Barcelona bishopry has allowed this Emmaus community to use one of their properties to run their second-hand superstore since 1981. Until the early 1990s, this community fulfilled their solidarity mission through donations to the local Caritas branch. Emmaus also embarked on joint projects with local Catholic parishes and orders to provide specialised services for the homeless, drug-addicts and AIDS patients that they welcomed into the community. These civil society initiatives emerged at a socio-historical juncture when there were no specific services available for these populations (interview with Alberto, 27-03-2012). Unlike most Western states, the Spanish welfare state was in full expansion in the 1980s.

This Emmaus community's socio-political goal has always been for the city hall to provide and fund social services in a strong, universal welfare state (see Guillén, Álvarez and Adão e Silva, 2002 for an overview of the Spanish welfare evolution). After the Francoist dictatorship and up to 1985, the Spanish welfare state was underdeveloped and very fragmented, with broad gaps in the safety net. In practice, Catholic Church charities and civil society continued to fill in the welfare gaps. This is what Emmaus Barcelona did in the 1980s for unattended populations. After EU accession in 1986, the socialist government greatly expanded budgets for social programmess and moved towards universalising welfare care. The nation-state gradually assumed many social functions that Catholic associations had previously performed. However, the mid-1990s frustrated the late welfare development owing to labour flexibilisation policies and austerity measures in the face of high unemployment rates. The unfolding neoliberal shift from the social democratic state to the post social state (Inda, 2006) accorded a greater role to civil society associations as subsidiary service providers in the mixed economy of welfare (Gilbert, 2004).

In response to the state's diminishing social provision, Emmaus Barcelona not only fills the local welfare gaps together with Catholic entities, but it also engages in socio-political activism vis-à-vis the local administration. This politicised positioning is linked to the post-68 utopia that foregrounds denunciation of capitalism (see section 4.3.1 above). Despite the early links with non-politicised Catholic subsidiaries, their escalating activism has complicated their rapport with the city hall and even the Church.

In our interview, Alberto described their socio-political activism as rooted in the experiences of marginalised companions, who showed the community the gaps and needs in peripheral spaces. He counterposed this to the public administration's and the Catholic Church's favour for *"las damas de la caridad"* [the charity ladies], namely non-politicised charity organisations in the new post-welfare state. Their intensified activism has caused tensions with the nation-state and Catholic Church apparatus until the present. For example, it has become harder to secure collaboration agreements with the city hall and to lease venues for their work activities.

Within the wider Emmaus movement, the growing socio-political activism in the Catalan city coincides with a politicised turn in Emmaus International. In my fieldwork in Barcelona, many members often cited orally the Rule of Emmaus Companions blending socio-political activism with emergency assistance: "In the face of any human suffering, as far as you can, work not only to provide relief without delay but to destroy its causes. Work not only to destroy its causes, but to provide relief without delay". This *abbé-pierriste* discurive trend, based on this bipartite mission, gained discursive weight in the International NGO in the late 1980s. At a transnational scale, political denunciation was central in the Emmaus founding period in post-war Paris and again in the Abbé Pierre's 1990s campaign for social housing in France (Brodiez-Dolino, 2013). The 1988 Emmaus International General Assembly celebrated in Verona officially adopted an alter-globalist politicised stance (Brodiez-Dolino 2008, p. 328), which has since been foregrounded in Article 6 in the Universal Manifesto (reproduced in Excerpt 29 below). The article targets political awareness along the same lines as the Rule of Companions above.

Excerpt 29. Politicised aspect of Universal Manifesto. Article 6, Universal Manifesto of the Emmaus movement, 1969. English version.

> 6. ANY OTHER MEANS to raise awareness and meet this challenge should also be used to ensure that those suffering most are served first, by sharing their troubles and struggles – whether public or private – until the cause of each ill is eliminated.

As I have shown above, many longstanding Emmaus members were deeply imbricated in Catalan Progressive Catholic circles (see Casañas 1989 for a historical overview) that have emphasised religion as social action. Àngels, one of the current *responsables*, claimed that this is a generational phenomenon since social activism

and assistance were channelled through Catholic activism at that particular time in Europe, not just in Catalonia. In our interview (09-02-2012), she rejected my interpretation of Catholic inspiration as a way to engage in social activism during the Francoist period. Instead, she told me that people who were willing to help people channelled it through Christianity as in the rest of Europe, because this was "what was available at that time" and today they would "be at an NGO". Interestingly, and as we shall see in the next subsection, she gave examples of people with transnational trajectories through Liberationist circles. Therefore, the localisation of Emmaus does not depend on the members' trajectories and the nation-state exclusively, since transnational discourses and mobilities permeate any local Emmaus group.

The central activists in Barcelona, including Rita, Alberto and the majority of longstanding volunteers, had participated in Progressive Catholic movements under Francoism. Their participation in the Emmaus movement overlaps with multiple affiliations (past and present). Many volunteers had been and still were members of Catholic initiatives in the fields of development, such as *Agermanament*, local assistance, mainly *Càritas*, and humanist cooperatives such as the Arrasate-Mondragón cooperative. Furthermore, some members participated in wider social movements such *Cristians pel Socialisme* that reflected on their faith from a social class perspective. On my first day of fieldwork, Alberto told me that those "*revolucionarios de entonces*" [revolutionaries of back then] are role models for today. I got to meet some at Emmaus Barcelona. For instance, the smiling elderly man who cooks *paella* on Thursdays was a major Anti-Francoist militant in the *Joventuts Obreres Cristanes* and has recently been decorated by the Parliament of Catalonia.

An illustrative case is Laura, a woman in her mid-50s who became a volunteer psychologist for the Emmaus therapeutic space in 2001. Her activism exemplifies the construction of discursive coherence between Emmaus and other faith-based groups. At present, she actively participates in a progressive Protestant church, a grassroots political party in the city and the Liberationist group *Cristians en Diàspora* run by Arcadi Oliveres, an *altermondialiste* referent in Catalonia, and Jaume Botey, a well-known progressive Catholic in Catalan civil society. Laura decided to volunteer at Emmaus because "*quan jo tenia 40 anys, deu fer uns 15 anys o així, vaig tenir inquietud per tornar a col·laborar en moviments que en la meva joventut m'havien impactat*" [when I was 40 years old, it must have been around 15 years ago, I was moved to collaborate again with movements that had impacted me in my youth],

namely progressive Catholic movements. In the 1980s, Laura had met Rita and the early rag-pickers through a common relative but she had never participated in the movement in her youth.

In her decision to volunteer for Emmaus Barcelona, Laura foregrounds the discursive link between the current Emmaus community and progressive movements in the (post-)Francoist period. The Emmaus "commitment to the poor" follows a Liberationist interpretation of faith that calls for socio-political action. According to Laura, her multiple affiliations to Christian movements shared the figure of Jesus Christ, who in her opinion "*seria d'esquerres, ho tinc claríssim*" [would be Leftist, I am positive] (interview, 06-03-2012). Furthermore, all these progressive groups condemned social injustice in a more or less explicit way, "*totes les que estic denuncien la injusticia, o sea no només eh- ajuden al pobre per entendre'ns*" [all the ones I'm at condemn injustice # in other words not only uh- help the poor to put it plainly]. This echoes the political objectives of Emmaus in the Rule of Companions and Article 6 in the Manifesto (see above).

Emmaus Barcelona also intersects with the working priests movement (see Botey, 2011; Centeno *et al.,* 2009) that spans transnationally to France and Latin America. As a researcher, I could never have imagined that I would become close to two elderly priests who are central members/ideologues in this local group. Both Ramon and Josep have written books on social action within progressive Catholicism. Ramon has been an Emmaus companion since 2002 and is a working priest in his early 80s who still conducts services. He got to know Emmaus in the early 1980s and out of this encounter, he created a Catholic version of the Emmaus rag-pickers among the local unemployed families in his urban parish. Incidentally, Emmaús is also in contact with *Andròmines*, another rag-picking group run by one of Ramon's fellow working priests (fieldnotes, 21-01-2011).

Josep is a working priest in his early seventies who is a member of *Iniciativa per Catalunya*, the heirs of the Communist PSUC party. He is a longstanding volunteer who has run the Emmaus Wednesday prayer group since the early 1980s. Some Emmaus companions and volunteers had also participated in the local Christian base communities. There is only one remaining base community in this city, organised by Josep, for which Emmaus currently provides the space for meetings. At present, many companions and volunteers attend the *Cristians en Diàspora* group gatherings. In the past decade, the Emmaus prayer group, also run by Josep, has

become ecumenical, as it has incorporated Muslim people who were participants in the residential project (see 4.3.4.2 for more). Moreover, two other working priests were involved in the residential project for migrants.

4.3.3. Expanding connections: Discursive clasps with Liberationist Christianity in Latin America

This local Emmaus community is embedded in not only Catalan progressive Catholicism but also transnational Liberationist networks extending to Latin America. The local practices, the social actors and the solidarity with other groups across borders clasp this Emmaus community with transnational Liberationalist Christianity. As we have just seen, Emmaus Barcelona has a collective praxis with the poor in common with Liberationist base communities the world over. In addition, some of its members have been engaged in Liberation Theology and base communities across the Atlantic. Since the 1990s, Emmaus Barcelona has increasingly participated in solidarity projects with grassroots groups in Central and South America, partly owing to these connections.

In the decade of the 1990s, this group's solidarity shifted its main focus from the post-industrial Catalan city where they are based to Latin America. This coincided with the welfare state expansion that put in place services for previously ignored populations such as drugaddicts. In her interview, Rita explained that they got to the conclusion that the local civil society should initiate projects that they would later ask the city hall to take over, and that the same financial investment would yield bigger results in Southern countries (interview, 23-03-2012). At first, they sold fair trade products for the local *Comitè Oscar Romero*, named after a key figure in Liberationist revolutionary circles, for their projects in Central America. Later on, the Emmaus community decided to support grassroots projects in Latin America through known activists in their extended social networks. Most of these overseas projects were organised by indigenous base communities in Mexico, Peru and Nicaragua.

Emmaus Barcelona had a liaison at each of the on-going projects, who gave updates during visits to Barcelona. On the accountability side, this face-to-face interaction with an on-site worker gives the community the chance to get to know the projects better and choose which ones they want to fund with their rag-picking work. For instance, Rita explained to me that the community members decided to contribute

financially to the *dañaditos* project for indigenous handicapped children in Peru after talking to the Catalan nun who worked there. In addition, the liaison volunteers and activists overseas facilitated mobility and exchange. As far as I know, three members of the community have spent some periods working in the funded projects in Nicaragua, with the help of a Catalan overseas volunteer who put Emmaus in touch with the grassroots projects where she collaborated.

The previous examples show that this group's solidarity and Liberationist discourses are closely linked to the mobility of key people through networks in Latin America. On the one hand, the mobilities of Catalans to Latin America were facilitated by the Catholic Church missionary network and the shared lingua franca Spanish. On the other, there had also been mobility of Latin Americans to this Catalan Emmaus community, owing to the connections with Emmaus groups in America and the grassroots group activists that Emmaus collaborates with. When I asked Rita about this strong connection, she told me that "*hi ha més immigrants des de sempre llatinoamericans aquí, per la guerra la gent se'n va anar cap allà, hi ha més coses amb Llatinoamerica, és el mateix món en pobre si vols*" [there have always been more Latin American immigrants here, because of the Spanish Civil war people went over there, there are more things with Latin America, it's the same world in poverty if you like] (interview, 23-03-2012). One of the groups that contributed to the upsurge of Liberationist Christianity in Latin American countries such as Chile was that of foreign priests and religious practitioners, mainly from France, North America and the Spanish State, particularly from the Basque Country (Löwy, 1998) and Catalonia (Casañas, 1989). In the Emmaus movement, the local base communities and leading priests in Latin America have spurred new Emmaus groups, mainly communities and *traperías* (Brodiez-Dolino, 2013).

There was an intersection between the community's discursive clasps and members' personal trajectories and networks. For instance, Ramon worked with the Chiapas bishop for six months a year and invited people from that base community back to Emmaus Barcelona. He agreed to become a companion as long as he could continue his engagement with Chiapas. Rita asked him: "*què és més solidaritat? Enviar diners o enviar una persona?*" [What is more solidarity? Sending money or sending a person?] (interview data). At that point in time, the community dedicated all their earnings on Thursdays to the projects in Nicaragua. The two working priests and Emmaus volunteers, Josep and Felip, served in Chile during the 1970s and directly

participated in the Liberationist revolutionary initiatives.[1] Both eloquently reported back to the community on the socio-political situation after their regular visits to South America.

The transnational Emmaus network has afforded the Barcelona community early connections with the Emmaus groups that emerged out of the 1970s work camps (see 3.1.1.) and later contacts with Latin American Emmaus *traperías*, communities and activists from different generations. Welcoming people from transnational networks, regardless of whether Emmaus contributed economically to their activities, educated the extended community on the socio-political situation of indigenous people and the realities of grassroots projects overseas. It also built a common discursive space where Liberationist and *altermondialiste* discourses shaped socio-political identities (see Chapter 7) and brought together politicised Emmaus groups under the same discursive trend.

My ethnography has shown that the local *drapaires d'Emmaús* shared Liberationist discursive clasps over time, across space and through flows. A very illuminating episode in my fieldwork was the short visit of a group of Emmaus companions from Peru, Chile and Iruña/Pamplona. They were on their way to France to participate in a "reflection group" that brings together politicised Emmaus members who were, according to Iñaki, highly critical of Emmaus International. I had the opportunity to talk to two historical activists whom the Abbé Pierre had saved from the coup-d'état repression in Chile. One of them, whom we will call Omar, was the Abbé Pierre's secretary during his exile. He introduced himself as an indigenous Mapuche and "*un marxista emausiano*" [an Emmausian Marxist] in his newfound identity in his native Chile. In his words,

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[1] Josep was a professor of theology in Valparaíso for ten years, but he was expelled from Chile after the 1973 coup-d'état. In Catalonia, he was a pioneer of base communities and has worked with development NGOs as well as Communist political parties. Nowadays, he still visits people and attends theology conferences in Chile. He has recently published a book about his 1960s Liberationist experiences. With a similar trajectory, Felip was a working priest in Chilean working class neighbourhoods from 1963 to 1973. He was tortured and expelled in 1973. In Catalonia, he got married, practised medicine and actively participated in base communities. He regularly travelled to South American countries such as Chile, Uruguay and Argentina. He has also published his autobiography about his religious and life choices.

Excerpt 30. Popular Liberationist education in Chile. Volunteer assembly. 15-11-2011. My translation from Spanish.

1	*OMA:	termino diciendo simplemente que después de todos esos años que yo pasé fuera de
2		Chile cuando regresé hace apenas 5 años # soy un nuevo personaje que trata de ser
3		chileno allá ahora xx #0_2 yo aprendí a: # leer eh- la historia de de Chile actual #
4		gracias al manifesto: eh- universal del movimiento Emaús #0_1 em- me gustó todo
5		aquello que era ayudar a crear una conciencia partiendo de nuestra propia historia y lo
6		que nosotros somos con los valores de Emaús-. y así me asignaron un trabajo en un
7		equipo que debían ser de tipo pedagógico # xx de ese equipo trabajamos a nivel
8		nacional # y somos eh- hinchas eh- de de lo que significa ese trabajo de: de educación
9		popular liberadora.

%tra:	I finish by simply saying that after all these years that I spent outside Chile when I went back almost five years ago # I'm a new character who tries to be Chilean there now xx #0_2 I learned how to: # read eh- the history of contemporary Chile # thanks to the universal manifesto: of the Emmaus movement #0_1 em- I liked all that about helping to create an awareness emerging from our own history and who we are with the values of Emmaus-. and that's how I got assigned a job on a team that should be pedagogical # xx that team we work at a national level # we are eh- fans eh- of of what this work o:f of popular Liberationist education means.

Crucially, Omar links the Universal Manifesto values with the development of local historical awareness among indigenous Chileans, more specifically Mapuches. He refers to reading history (line 3) through the words in the Manifesto, which echoes the central tenets of Freirean Liberationist education in base communities (Freire, 1970). At a personal level, this educational task guides his quest for his indigenous identity after his recent return to Chile.

The Peruvian Emmaus community whose members attended this assembly also overlapped with a popular base community and their crosscutting line of action was also that of Liberationist education (interview with Nadia, 15-11-2011). The localisation of these common values in each Emmaus group was central to this Emmaus politicised trend that collectively targets the causes of marginalisation in globalised society. Jessica, who is the Santiago de Chile community leader and daughter of another well-known Chilean activist, identifies this shared line of action as "*el método Emaús*" [the Emmaus method] that forges alliances with other Emmaus groups, like the Barcelona one, and other non-Emmaus grassroots organisations. She explicitly talks about "politicizing the action" as the line of action shared with other grassroots groups.

In her own words, "*nuestra labor se ha ido generando como de politizar la acción o sea que nos interesa que no sólo sea el trabajo social en si mismo o sólo o*

las puras organizaciones sociales sinó que también ir trabajando por construir algo distinto, un proyecto de sociedad distinto" [our task has been developing like politicising action so what we are interested in is not only let's call it social work in itself or just or the purely social organisations but we've also been working to construct something different, a different design of society] (interview, 15-11-2011). Jessica clasps their local mission to the Rule of Emmaus Companions, which brings together assistentialist action and politicised activism (see above). In addition, she refers to the alter-globalist intertextual chain of "constructing another world".

José, another activist in his forties who founded a rural indigenous community in Peru, pointed to the creation of disconnections with Emmaus groups who do not approve of their socio-political activism. At the assembly, he said that *"hemos perdido dentro del mismo movimiento gemelajes por nuestra posición"* [we have lost partnerships within the movement itself because of our positioning]. Jessica's alliances and José's disconnections lend evidence to the existence of different Emmaus trends within the transnational movement.

4.3.4.   Alter-globalisation: Religious eco-justice at the turn of the century

Today, Liberationist discourses from the 1970s have been largely absorbed into the alter-globalisation movement or *altermondialisme* (also wrongly known as anti-globalisation, see Fernández Buey, 2007, p. 22), which amalgamates counter-discourses against neoliberal globalisation and transnational inequalities. The so-called "movement of movements" brings together heterogeneous civil society groups in anti-debt campaigns, counter-summits and sustainable development projects to discuss transformative local alternatives at a transnational scale (Agrikoliansky *et al.*, 2005). The discursive clasps between older social movements and new crosscutting *altermondialisme* were especially evident in the 2nd *Fòrum Català de Teologia i Alliberament* [Catalan Forum of Theology and Liberation], a local expression of the World Forum of Theology and Liberation promoted by theologist and activist Jaume Botey. In January 2012, I attended this event with a group of *drapaires* who were presenting their experiences with migrants. To my surprise, the speakers at this event appropriated alter-globalist discourses from recent revolutionary movements and the World Social Forum.

Emmaus as a movement, especially in the specific politicised trend discussed here, was an predecessor of alter-globalist mobilisations in the 1990s, owing to their recuperation work, their socio-political activism and their Liberationist perspective on poverty. Brodiez-Dolino (2013) generalises this mobilisation to the Emmaus International ensemble, which turned towards politicised action in the Verona Assembly (1988), as we have seen, and participated in the early alter-globalist actions in France (Agrikoliansky *et al.*, 2005).

> Emmaus International was a fine example of the progression of anti-globalisation principles before they were catapulted into the media arena in 1988 (the creation of ATTAC) and in 1999 (the protest in Seattle against the WTO); of how these ideas slowly developed as networks of both political and humanitarian organisation began to work together; but also of the role religion played in redirecting attention towards the political sphere. (Brodiez-Dolino, 2013, p. 348-349)

The historical centrifugal trend based on socio-political denunciation and connections with other grassroots groups became slightly more dominant in the international NGO discourses. In this section, we shall zoom into how Emmaus Barcelona campaigned for migrants' socio-political rights and adhered to inter-religious ecumenism as well as eco-justice as an illustration of the *altermondialiste* discursive turn within the historical centrifugal *courant* in Emmaus.

The advent of neoliberal uni-polarity in the late 1980s forced Christian socialism to search for alternative avenues within global capitalism. The Liberationist rejection of unregulated free trade and international development policies nurtured the emergent alter-globalist movement in the 1990s. From France, *altermodialisme* began with the movement for the abolition of the third world debt that brought together trade unions, farming associations, development NGOs, religiously inspired charities, Communist parties and ecological groups for a common cause (Agrikoliansky *et al.,* 2005). In 1991, Emmaus Barcelona actively participated in this global campaign in the post-industrial city under the motto "*Deute Extern, Deute Etern*" [External Debt, Eternal Debt]. This mobilisation created a framework for transnational collective action that reformulated previously separate causes, such as environmentalism, Marxism, unemployment and *tiersmondisme*, into a single multi-faceted whole. Alter-globalisation's goal for global sustainable development, which refers to the equitable

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distribution of economic and environmental resources (Martin, 2006), gave way to alternative transnational distribution circuits and economic activities such as second hand shops, microlending, fair trade sale and recycling activities.[2] Of course Emmaus had been involved in them for decades.

Alter-globalists share a common discourse of alternative (in the literature, transformationalist) globalisation that is put to practice locally, following the mottos "think globally, act locally" and "another world is possible". According to Fernández Buey (2007, p. 22), the latter motto evokes both post-68 utopia, the ideological basis of this movement, and a realistic commitment to specific alternatives proposed by referents such as Subcomandante Marcos who led the Zapatista Revolution and José Bové, spokesman for *Vía Campesina*. Thanks to the working priest Ramon, Emmaus Barcelona has strong connections and discursive clasps with Chiapas, a founding site for alter-globalisation that couples indigenous demands with a criticism of neoliberal economy (Fernández Buey, 2007).

4.3.4.1.   Social justice in a residential project for homeless migrants

Emmaus as a movement is also based on ecumenical and s*oixantehuitarde* utopian discourses - such as the goal to eradicate the causes of poverty - and puts forward alternative, realistic activities to achieve these ideals. Emmaus adopts a loose, multi-locale structure that allows local groups to set up a range of financial activities - from healthcare provision to literacy projects and livestock rearing - to address situated needs and to show "through collective action that there are international alternatives to situations of injustice" (Emmaus International webpage, 2011). The Barcelona community ran a residential project for homeless migrants from 2003 to 2011 (see Garrido, 2010) that interrelates utopian discourses and alternative projects. This residential project is a window onto current alter-globalist discourses that call for social justice and (Liberationist) ecumenism among human beings in the emergent mixed economy of welfare in the Spanish state.

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2 These are all examples of the "*marché de la vertu*" [market of virtue], which aims to incorporate humanist and moral principles into commercial exchange. In spite of the stated goal of sustainable development, fair trade and micro-lending "*contribuent à créer des relations de marché là où bien souvent il n'y avait pas*" [contribute to creating market relations where there were usually none] (Pech and Padis, 2004, p.74).

In December 2000 and January 2001, Emmaus Barcelona funded and ran the "*Operació Fred*" [Cold Weather Operation], which was a temporary winter shelter for the homeless who were referred by the local social services, police, hospital, local Càritas and a migrant-support umbrella NGO. The city hall of the municipality where Emmaus Barcelona was located funded this one-time project with 2 million pesetas (around 12,000 euros) that were part of a bequest earmarked for social projects. In spite of its promise, the administration did not provide a space to run this residential project. Therefore, Alberto approached a religious congregation that had an almost empty residence, which housed five nuns. The mother superior initially offered a two-month lease for this, and in late 2001 she signed an agreement with Emmaus to let the community use the house for fifteen years. This transfer also meant a continued relationship with this order, which still had five nuns on site, and the opportunity to run new residential projects in the future.

This one-time assistance to those "less fortunate" allowed the local community coordinators to visibilise and analyse homelessness in this city. Emmaus engaged in socio-political activism, widely covered by the regional press, for a public shelter and for basic rights. At the end of the two months, the community coordinators declared that this temporary service confirmed the existence of homeless people in this municipality, contrary to what the city hall had previously claimed, and the lack of resources to assist them. Emmaus pressed the local administration to commit a budget for a permanent shelter in the city since there was none, despite the city's legal obligations. Nevertheless, this did not materialise in 2002 and it still has not to this day. In addition, "*Operació Fred*" revealed that there were many newly arrived migrants among the homeless people censed. In fact, this Emmaus community had been involved in migrants' rights activism since the 1990s, when there were very few transnational migrants in Spain and in Catalonia.

Back in 1994, Emmaus informally created a legal advice service for migrants together with other civil organisations, which later became an umbrella body for migrant-support associations in the city (see Codó and Garrido, 2010; Garrido, 2010). In 2001, Emmaus complained that the new immigration law would require non-nationals to register with the city hall for access to health and education. This policy presented a problem for migrants because those who did not have a home would not have an address to register. The *drapaires* registered homeless migrants, often undocumented, at their address. They publically campaigned for other civil society

organisations to register all migrants thanks to this legal loophole: "*Emaús hace un llamamiento para que se empadronen todos los inmigrantes*" [Emmaus calls for all migrants to be registered] (local newspaper, 19-01-2001). In this news report, Alberto claimed that "*el tercer mundo está entre nosotros*" [the third world is among us]. Their vociferous migrant rights' activism, in line with alter-globalist demands for a borderless world not only for capital but also for people, coincided with the arrival of transnational migrants in this city in the first decade of the 21st century. The percentage of foreign nationals in this city rapidly increased from 1,05% in 2000, to 6% in 2004 and 12,65% in 2011.[3]

Despite the campaigning for migrants' rights to a home and to basic services, the city hall did not fund a permanent shelter. Today, the only shelter in this municipality offers the homeless a single night of emergency accommodation at the local police station. In 2003, Emmaus decided to fund partially a project specifically for migrants and obtained the financial support of a private foundation as well as the collaboration of the social office at the migrant-support body. From 2005, the city hall financed 80% of residential project expenses through the budget allocated to the umbrella organisation. Whereas Emmaus filled gaps in the under-developed welfare state in the 1980s, it still provided services to marginalised populations in the 2000s *in lieu* of the retreating nation-state. Despite civil society activism against neoliberal policies, Catalan welfare NGOs ambiguously participate in the neoliberal mixed economy of welfare (Gilbert, 2004). This model entails the state's offloading of economically- and ideologically-peripheral services to non-profit initiatives in order to reduce costs and not to be seen as catering to the needs of specific social groups, such as undocumented migrants.

Nevertheless, Emmaus does not simply do the job of the state as a subsidiary. Following the Emmaus ethos, it attends to human needs first but then it holds the administration responsible for meeting the costs (even if it does not), as well as vociferously criticising social injustice. Alter-globalists create their particular understanding of globalisation "*établissant un lien entre la misère au Sud, l'exclusion au Nord et l'internationalisation de l'économie*" [which establishes a link among extreme poverty in the South, exclusion in the North and the internationalisation of the economy] (Agrikoliansky *et al.,* 2005, p.42). On their webpage, the local Emmaus

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[3] Institut Català d'Estadística, www.idescat.cat (May 2013).

group engages in *altermondialiste* analyses of transnational mobilities as involuntary economic migration due to neoliberal policies in the Southern decolonised nation-states (lberich Nistal, 2007, p. 83). Emmaus Barcelona proposed to construct an alternative lifestyle in line with eco-justice, which respects environmental habitats and social justice. They opposed neoliberalism as an unjust system that dehumanises people and destroys natural habitats, which causes migration to the Global North and to their Emmaus "home".

Excerpt 31. Alter-globalist justification for the residential project for migrants. Emmaus Barcelona webpage, "Life projects… Solidarity projects" section. April 2013. My translation from Spanish. Original not included for confidentiality reasons.

> The Emmaus community understands that the large numbers of people who arrive in "our home" are the result of the North-South structural imbalance, determined by the neoliberal system. (…)
> We want to work together to create different situations to the ones right here right now; because, even if it is said that they are better than those in other places, we know that to maintain them poverty must continue damaging people from the country they come from. We hope, then, to understand this all together, to move towards the utopia of creating new spaces that allow us to live with dignity and not to be victims nor accomplices of the injustice that causes migration.
> We are positive that the migration phenomenon is one of the "signs of our time" that calls upon us to construct an alternative life project to the death project that poisons our world.
> We would all be incoherent, migrants and autochthonous, if we repeated the model that we know to destroy nature and dehumanise many people.

In addition to the discursive justification on the grounds of alter-globalist discourses, the residential project has also forged new connections with other Catholic or faith-based organisations in the province, which provide assistance to the newly-arrived migrants. During my ethnography, Rita invited me to attend meetings with coordinators from religious organisations that ran residential projects for homeless migrants. They all shared a common orientation of religious praxis with the poor, departing from different socio-political positionings ranging from charity to awareness-raising and socio-political activism. This network shared resources, such as vacant places or internship opportunities, and information, especially regarding legal considerations, for the migrant participants. Given that the Catholic persuasion accounts for most assistentialist NGOs in the Spanish State (Gómez Gil, 2005), it is not surprising that these residential projects are mainly run by Catholic foundations,

religious orders or faith-based associations, which used to receive some funding from the nation-state prior to the crisis.

This network of residential projects jointly presented their various activities at the 2nd *Fòrum Català de Teologia i Alliberament* in January 2012. The goal of this forum was to share grassroots initiatives that respond to economic and social problems "*des de baix, des de l'espiritualitat alliberadora, des de la solidaritat, des del treball per la justícia i l'austeritat i des de la Pau i la reconciliació*" [from below, from liberating spirituality, from solidarity, from working for justice and austerity, and from Peace and reconciliation] (Manifesto 2012). Jaume Botey, a local reference point in Liberationist circles such as *Cristians en Diàspora*, made explicit links with the alter-globalist movement of movements, in particular with the World Forum of Theology and Liberation, which looks for alternatives to problems from an ecumenical spirituality, and the recent Arab springs and local 15-M activism (fieldnotes and recording, 21-01-2012). According to him, global social and economic change will come from the sum of grassroots initiatives such as the ones presented there. In the closing Manifesto, there is intertextuality with the alter-globalist motto "another world is possible" in reference to the unfolding citizen revolutions which they feel part of.

4.3.4.2.   Ecumenism and alternative views of migration

The alter-globalist discursive turn in this Emmaus group, which links it to the post-68 ideological base, does not dilute the idea of religion as social action and reinforces ecumenism among faiths, as many participants are (practising) Muslims. This becomes evident in the weekly prayer group that some Emmaus members attended, which thanks to the residential project, became open to all faiths. Following a project participant's bereavement, Muslim participants joined the founding Catholic members for their shared silence and reflections every week. This put in practice the central members' ecumenical ideals as progressive Catholics and the Abbé Pierre's non-denominational policy in Emmaus. They created a space for meditation, reflection and prayer open to everyone in the house (see Figure 6 below). They might not have spoken the same language, but they prayed (sometimes together) in the same space. In this ecumenical line, Muslims were also invited to the Christmas Eve dinner and an unusual service without wine. Emmaus also provides clearly-marked alternative dishes without pork daily for the Muslim members.

Figure 6. Ecumenism in the community. Picture of shared prayer room in Emmaus Barcelona, March 2012. Picture taken by Maria Rosa Garrido with permission of the community.

At the 2nd Catalan Forum of Theology and Liberation, three Emmaus members (Rita, Alberto and Massin) presented the residential project initiative at a round table with *Andròmines*, a rag-picking cooperative dedicated to social reinsertion. Interestingly, Rita explained that the shared room and prayer group established more affective links with the African men than sharing meals every day (fieldnotes, 21-01-2012; see Chapter 7 for more on the shared table). Massin, the Amazigh companion, discussed the project from his own experience of having been a participant who later became an Emmaus companion. As one of the more mobile companions, Massin drew conclusions from his experience of transnational mobility and participation in the Emmaus community. He put forward an alternative view of migration that backgrounds economic gain in favour of knowledge and awareness of the inequalities between the global North and South that drive migration flows. His goal is for migrants to fight against the causes for migration as activists, in line with the Theology forum and Emmaus principles, rather than just making money as labourers.

Excerpt 32. Alternative view of transnational migration. Fieldnotes from the 2nd Catalan Forum on Catalan Forum of Theology and Liberation. 21-01-2012.

> (…) more in line with the ethos of this forum, Massin addresses the topic of "*treballar una immigració alternativa*". When he was in Morocco, he saw that those who lived in Europe built houses, bought a car and showed a level of material wealth which actually hid eleven months of suffering in Europe. He says that all these hide their social class and in my view, work as symbolic tokens. Massin proposes an alternative migration based on IDEAS, in his words: "*idees de canvi per lluitar contra els motius de la immigració*" [ideas of change to fight against the causes for immigration]. Once more, this is Emmaus discourse and Liberationist discourse.

Contrary to the Latin American connections, contact with African participants in the community resulted from other people's transnational mobilities to the geographical area where Emmaus is located. Rita, who was the project coordinator, claimed that "*el projecte ha sigut molt important, no m'he mogut de casa però és com si hagués viatjat en certa manera*" [the project has been very important, I haven't moved away from home but it is as if I had travelled in a certain way] (interview, 23-03-2012). The Emmaus alter-globalist imaginary has been reinforced by the mobile men's experiences that "have put faces to migration" according to Laura, the volunteer psychologist (see section 4.3.2 above).

4.3.4.3. Recycling people in green projects

At the 2nd Theology and Liberation Forum, it was no coincidence that the local rag-pickers of Emmaus presented their projects together with *Andròmines*, another rag-picking cooperative. Both shared the religious eco-justice ideology, which marries the global pursuit of social justice - the inclusion of marginalised people - to the environmental values of sustainability and integrity (Beyer, 1994). In the webpage about the residential project, Emmaus described neoliberalism as "the model which we know destroys nature and deshumanises many people" (see Excerpt 32 above). At this forum, as well as in other public events and interviews, Emmaus was presented as recycling not only objects but also people. At a recycled clothes catwalk organised by religious NGOs, the presenter introduced Emmaus as a community that "*no només recicla béns materials sino espirituals també*" [not only recycles materials goods but also spiritual ones] (fieldnotes, 03-06-2011). In fact, the wider public knew Emmaus primarily owing to the second-hand stores and recycling activities that supported their social projects.

Figure 7. "Don't throw your heart to the refuse". Poster in the Emmaus Barcelona *rastre,* March 2012. Picture taken by Maria Rosa Garrido with permission of the community.

Emmaus Barcelona taps their affective and environmental awareness to donate used goods, with the slogan "*No llencis el teu cor a les escombraries*" [Don't throw your heart into the rubbish] (another calque from an earlier French one). Therefore, donors indirectly helped marginalised people by donating their used clothes and objects, as did the clients who shopped for second-hand merchandise whose profits supported the community and their social projects.

The "*taller de nines*" [dolls workshop] illustrates the twinned practices of recycling people and objects. At the turn of the century, a group of middle-aged volunteer women decided to recover and rework donated dolls in order to sell them at

the second-hand superstore. My experience of the weekly workshop was that of a solidarity group among women from the same generation who shared health and family problems with each other (fieldnotes, 29-11-2011). Besides affect, the women volunteered in order to raise money for the grassroots projects in Nicaragua and Chiapas that Emmaus contributed to. They also used this money to help women in prison whom they visited periodically. For example, they financed legal procedures or bought new-born clothes for the inmates. Paqui, the main longstanding volunteer, participated in a programme called "*Dona i Presó*" [Woman and Prison] as a representative of Emmaus. In the interview except below, she told me that she had nothing to give personally, but she disseminated the alternative values of recycling that Emmaus held among these marginalised women.

Excerpt 33. Disseminating Emmaus recycling values among prisoners. Interview with Paqui. 20-03-2012. My translation from Spanish.

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1   *PAQ:   yo siempre lo digo # yo voy a prisión por Emaús # eh-? yo como yo personalmente no
2           tengo nada que #0_1 que decir ni que ofrecer # una vida muy sencilla # pero: como:
3           como Emaús sí # porque #0_1 el ejemplo que da Emaús # de reciclaje # para ellas que
4           son pobres # y que tienen tantos problemas económicos # y que tienen la mentalidad
5           totalmente al revés de cómo: tenía que ser.
    %tra:   I always say it # I go to the prison because of Emmaus # huh-? I as myself have
            nothing to #0_1 say or offer # a very simple life # but as as Emmaus I do # because #
            0_1 the example that Emmaus sets # of recycling # for them [feminine] who are poor
            # and who have so many financial problems # and whose their mind-set is totally
            opposite to wha:t it should be like.
```

In addition to the recovery of used goods, sustainable biological agriculture strongly emerged as an economic alternative that revalorised local food production and consumption, hence reducing environmental costs. This alter-globalist proposal had become central for spin-off and future projects among the younger and more recent companions. The main project, called "*Emmaús al camp*", was a rural version of Emmaus with organic agriculture and furniture collection as the main economic means to "recycle" marginalised people. This was an initiative by two former companions, a couple formed by a Catalan itinerant companion, who spent over a year in Emmaus Barcelona, and a faith-based activist who learned about organic agriculture in Mexico and applied it to projects in Catalonia. Rita did not claim ownership over this project "*que s'han inventat ells*" [that they have invented] (fieldnotes, 18-01-2012), but the community provided advice and resources to the

activists. The bishopry of Solsona had allowed them to use a vacant rectory to start their project. They considered engaging in waste recovery work in a nearby capital to finance the project, too. In the future, Esther (a 27-year old companion) also hoped to start a small-scale residential project for migrants whose main funding source would be organic agriculture (interview, 01-03-2012).

4.3.5. Global crisis: Voluntary projects and socio-political activism against nation-state austerity

During my fieldwork, this decaying palm tree in the middle of the house courtyard became a metaphor for the crisis that Emmaus was experiencing. This tall tree was physically and metaphorically central for the extended community of companions, volunteers and friends. The palm tree had become a symbol of Emmaus for many, especially of the residential project for migrants called *Oasi* and it was actually the cover picture for my MA thesis about multilingualism in this project (Garrido, 2010). The palm tree's decay coincided with intense socio-political activism with other associations to maintain public grants for migrant-support services, such as the residential project, that were threatened by austerity measures. The central tree's degeneration and death coincided with the city hall's unilateral decision to terminate the residential project run and partially funded by Emmaus in late 2011. To many members and especially Rita, the slow death of the palm tree was a symbol of the neoliberal crisis and austerity measures that had put an end to the residential project.

While I was helping Rita write the residential project's 2011 report for the city hall, we kept looking out of the office window on the second floor above the courtyard. We discussed the symbolic coincidence of the deaths of the project and the palm tree in December 2011. We decided to take pictures to document this moment of decay, crisis and change from the rooftop, the office and the courtyard. The resulting photographic report was circulated among volunteers and companions one day after lunch. This was a way to give back to the community and engage with their agendas in ways that would contribute to my ethnographic understanding. Everybody appreciated the pictures and two volunteers asked me for copies. Laura, the volunteer psychologist, used to see the palm tree from her window some blocks away. She told me that there was an invisible thread from her home to the Emmaus community thanks to that view. In the new year, one of the longstanding volunteers called Mercè

gave the community an oil painting of the live palm tree as a gift. Today, it hangs by the main entry gate to the house.

Figure 8. Decaying palm tree as a metaphor of crisis. Picture taken in collaboration with Rita at Emmaus Barcelona. January 2012.

"Crisis" is a Greek word for metamorphosis, which is coincidentally one of the chronotopes in the Emmaus founding story that members try to re-enact daily (see Chapter 3). At this socio-historical juncture, the *Drapaires d'Emmaús* as a collective had to redefine and transform their social action on the basis of the same Emmaus principles of community lifestyle, recycling activities and solidarity with those less fortunate. Emmaus as a life and work community would go on because they were financially independent from the public administrations. They were self-sufficient owing to their rag-picking work in the city and the only public grant that they received was exclusively for the now-extinct residential project. However, their vociferous socio-political activism that condemned the budget cuts in the migrant-support services in 2011 has, in my interpretation, marked the end of public tender contracts to collect used clothes, old furniture and selective waste on behalf of the

neoliberally-oriented city hall. It has, on the other hand, forged alliances with bottom-up movements against austerity. The future of Emmaus solidarity projects seems to move towards grassroots, voluntary and independent projects for the "new poor" in the Barcelona area.

In these changing socio-political conditions, the group has to rethink their solidarity projects and partnerships. This transformation is unfolding as I write and I can only provide an account based on what I have gathered by means of my continued participation in volunteer assemblies and events at Emmaus Barcelona. The community seeks ways to reformulate responses for the homeless drawing on their own budget and workforce, including companions and volunteers. In Alberto's view, the solidarity initiatives at Emmaus will have to be based on professional volunteer services. This corresponds to the existing model of the Emmaus "therapeutic space", staffed in 2012 by two professional psychologists (up to three and a new homeopath in 2014), who volunteer assistance to the broader Emmaus community and external people without resources for free or at a low price.

The crisis has also changed the faces of poverty. Consequently, Emmaus adapts their solidarity to the changing times and collaborates with old religious orders as well as new social movements. The Emmaus community has continued their work with transnational migrants after the end of the residential project. They have continued their relationship with a group of former participants who are unemployed and homeless. Since 2009, they have financed accommodation in social flats for around ten men and some of them, such as Jasseh (see section 6.3.1.2), volunteer at Emmaus and get the same salary as companions. This is a smaller-scale project with a board of volunteers who oversee the project and jointly make decisions. In late 2012, the community started a small residential project for five people who have become unemployed and homeless due to the crisis. The community cannot employ and house more companions due to the reduced workload and perhaps also the different motivations among the unemployed men. A dwindling religious congregation in this city has allowed them to use their premises for this new project, which is entirely staffed by companions and some longstanding volunteers. Some residents volunteer with the companions and have meals with them, too. In July 2013, I learned that the "therapeutic space", now encompassing three volunteer psychologists, will offer assistance to evicted families that form part of the local *Plataforma d'Afectats per la Hipoteca* (PAH) that emerged out of the *indignad@s* movement.

Their escalating socio-political activism in 2011 afforded discursive clasps and collaborations with new social movements against the neoliberal model. The community model in Emmaus Barcelona emerges as an alternative life and work option for alter-globalists in the 15-M movement, in which the younger companions (especially Massin and Esther) have actively participated. In our interview, assemblies and informal discussions, Alberto envisaged a future of intense socio-political activism since the now independent NGOs will fulfil their critical function of "*chinchar*", that is to "pester" the administrations. In Laura's words, what characterised Emmaus is that "*són una pedra a la sabata sempre ho han sigut, són la mosca cojonera, els que toquen els nassos i precisament com que no tenen subvencions ho poden fer*" [they are a pebble in one's shoe, they always have been, they're a pain the ass, they get in your face and precisely because they have no public grants they can do it] (interview, 06-03-2012).

Emmaus Barcelona sympathises with the 15-M/*indignad@s* movement and some younger companions, namely Massin and Esther, participated in the occupation of the local main square in May 2011. The *indignad@s* spring flourished thanks to the pre-existing social movements for communal solidarity whose main communication methods are offline: manifestos, pamphlets, assemblies, etc. (Castells, 2012, p.59). This emergent "post-materialist" culture brings together the post-68 generation, like the early Emmaus companions, and the dissatisfied post-Francoist generations (Pastor Verdú, 2007, p.45). In fact, the *indignad@s* movement is a "movement of multiple, rich discourses" (see Serrano, 2011) which has strong alter-globalist intertextuality with "new" Occupy movements and "old" social movements such as Emmaus. They all criticise capitalism, as "this is not a crisis, it is the system" (Castells, 2012, p. 123) and put forward alternative proposals, mainly direct democracy with leaderless committees and assemblies to reach consensus and also alternative economic culture (or "*alternatives post-capitalistes*" [post-capitalist alternatives] as I read in Plaça Catalunya, 21-05-2011), based on ethical banking, cooperativism and reciprocal solidarity.

Emmaus Barcelona embodies many of the social, economic and political proposals of the 15-M camps and assemblies of *indignad@s*. In the post-industrial city, the *indignad@s* assembly appropriated the decade-old Emmaus demand to create a public shelter for the homeless in this city. The local administration still did not react. According to Castells (2012, p. 146), the *indignad@s* showed a deep

appreciation for older generations who denounce the neoliberal system, such as the late Stéphane Hessel, author of "*Indignez-vous*!" (where their name comes from), and Arcadi Oliveres, a Catalan Liberationist activist in his 60s. The local camp invited the latter to a mass assembly. When I asked Alberto about the future of Emmaus in this crisis, he connected their Emmaus model to the *indignad@s'* alternative proposals.

Excerpt 34. Emmaus community as an alternative social model in time of crisis. Interview with Alberto. 27-03-2012. My translation from Spanish.

1	*MRG:	esto del horizonte es interesante # porque # cuál es el futuro con esta crisis que
2		tenemos ahora:-? todos los cambios que están sucediendo ahora aquí en Emaús-.
3		cómo ves el futuro: el horizonte amplio?
	%tra:	this [comment] about the horizon is interesting # because # what is the future like in this crisis that we have no:w-? all the changes that are happening right now here in Emmaus-. how do you see the future: the wide horizon?

4	*ALB:	yo: a mí no me asusta# o sea no me asusta porque en definitiva en Emaús si lo que
5		vive de alguna: manera Emaús # o sea es o sea vamos a ver # si por una parte antes he
6		dicho que los que los indignados # focalizan el futuro en ideas y en experiencias
7		parecidas a Emaús +…
	%tra:	I: I'm not scared of it # that's to say I'm not scared because ultimately in Emmaus is what you live in a way: Emmaus # so so let's see # on the one hand before I said that the *indignados* # focus the future on ideas and experiences similar to Emmaus +…

8	*MRG:	aham?

9	*ALB:	eso es que estamos en en la buena dirección # pero en definitiva Emaús mm siempre
10		ha vivido un poco en la misma dinámica # o sea decir no es que ahora descubramos la
11		simplicidad de la vida porque nos <afecta> [?] a la crisis.
	%tra:	that means that we are on the right path # but ultimately Emmaus mm always has lived a little in the same dynamics # so say that it's not now that we discover the simplicity of life because it affects # the crisis affects us.

12	*MRG:	aham.

13	*ALB:	si no que ya llevamos un montón de años en tiempos de bonanza económica como
14		que no dentro de la simplicidad y de la sencillez de vida y el compartir tal # con lo
15		cual pue:s # si ya estamos en esa dirección viviendo hace años.
	%tra:	on the contrary we've been doing it for many years in times of economic prosperity not like inside simplicity and plainness of life and sharing and all that # which the:n # if we have been living in that direction for years.

16	*MRG:	aham.

17	*ALB:	yo creo que la crisis como:: movimiento como grupo-. no nos va a afectar gran cosa.
	%tra:	I don't think that the crisis is going to affect us a great deal as a: movement as a group.

Interestingly, Alberto refers to the crisis' lack of impact on Emmaus as a transnational movement and as a local group owing to their simple community lifestyle. Nevertheless, this applies especially to the community-centred *abbé-pierriste* trend in

a larger movement that has, by and large, become much more *centripetal* (professionalised and top-down) after the founder's death in 2007. In fact, the ideological divergences between Emmaus International, which he was a representative of, and this local community resulted in the group's decision to abandon this NGO federation. [4] In the future meeting with other Latin American and Basque communities (see section 4.3.3 above), Iñaki explained that they were going to attend a small meeting of Emmaus groups that were critical of the disconnection between citizen social movements and Emmaus International. At the local assembly I attended (15-1-2011), Iñaki offered an alter-globalist analysis of the economic recession as the terminal phase of neoliberal capitalism and wondered about the meaning of citizen movements worldwide.

Excerpt 35. External and internal crisis in Emmaus as a movement**.** Assembly, Emmaus Barcelona. 15-11-2011. My translation from Spanish.

1	*IÑA:	también nos preocupa cómo avanza el movimiento Emaús # y ahí pues somos muy
2		críticos # somos muy críticos con la asociación de Emaús Internacional vosotros en
3		Barcelona ya habéis vuestras buenas reflexiones y vuestras buenas opciones en este
4		sentido # eh: entonces concretamente en este encuentro en cuanto al análisis político
5		vamos a trabajar con un amigo de la Sorbona www # vamos a trabajar en si la crisis
6		que estamos viviendo actualmente eh digamos es la avanzada de que el sistema está
7		terminándose está acabando es decir si estamos en una fase terminal eh-? porque
8		bueno por ahí hay muchas muchos personajes que ya empiezan a hacer estos análisis #
9		y paralelamente también en ese análisis político qué está significando las
10		movilizaciones los movimientos que ahora mismo los ciudadanos están están
11		haciendo # eh-? aquí lo tenemos aquí con el 15M las movilizaciones tan globales que
12		se están haciendo # en en eh- en Inglaterra lo mismo # en en Chile los estudiantes #
13		todas las movilizaciones del norte del Magreb # con sus grandes contradicciones eh-?
14		porque no es oro todo lo que reluce eh-? bueno pues todo eso qué significa-? qué qué
15		significa en el momento actual-? eh-? y hacia dónde podemos ir caminando-? bueno
16		eso # y en cuanto a Emaús que os decía # pues nos preguntamos Emaús # eh
17		Internacional el movimiento Emaús # eh: huérfanos de identidad? #0_2 es decir
18		estamos huérfanos de identidad-? # no nosotros sinó el movimiento como tal.
	%tra:	we are also worried by how the Emmaus movement is moving forward # and then
		well we are very critical # we are very critical of the association Emmaus
		International you in Barcelona have had your good reflections and your good choices
		in this sense # eh: then specifically in this encounter we are going to work on the
		political analysis with a friend from the Sorbonne www #we are going to work on
		whether the crisis that we are presently experiencing eh let's say that it is the outpost
		of the end of the system it is finishing in other words if we are at a terminal phase eh-?
		because well out there there are many characters who are already making these
		analyses # and in parallel also within this political analysis what is the import of
		mobilisations the movement that the citizens are engaging in right now # eh-? here we
		have it with 15M the global mobilisation that are going on # in in uh- England the

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[4] I have decided not to discuss this topic in depth because Emmaus International sued the local community because of their use of the Abbé Pierre and Emmaus registered names after they left the international NGO. This is a closed case that this thesis does not want to contribute to.

> same # in in Chile the students # all the mobilisations in the north of Maghreb # with their big contradictions huh-? # because not all that glitters is gold is it-? # well then what does all this mean-? What what does it mean at the present moment-? eh-? and which direction can we head in-? Well that # and about Emmaus as I was saying # well we ask ourselves # uh- International the Emmaus movement # uh- identity orphans-? #0_2 that's to say are we orphans of identity-? # not us but the movement as such.

Apart from the external socioeconomic crisis that Emmaus has to respond to as a movement, the last part of this excerpt (lines 16-18) also hints at the *internal* crisis in the movement after the death of the founder, who might have left them "identity orphans" (line 17). The concern about a shared transnational identity within Emmaus is connected to the politicised response to the external socioeconomic crisis and internally, to the Emmaus centrifugal trend that articulates with social movements locally. Undoubtedly, the external crisis has sharpened the internal trends within the movement in the face of the direction that Emmaus as a whole is taking in these conflicted times. As noted in Chapter 3, this critical Emmaus trend in which Barcelona participates tends to be more *abbé-pierriste*. The founder of the movement is one of the alter-globalist role models from previous generations who proposed grassroots alternatives to the crisis after the Second World War. The prominent role of new social movements that engage in socio-political activism in localities is present in the document that collects the resulting reflections from this small meeting in France. It brings together alter-globalist proposals *within* Emmaus gathered in a synthesis document (2012) that touches upon liberationist popular education, food sovereignty and environmentalism. All in all, this transnational trend within the Emmaus movement is discursively imbricated with revolutionary movements working in the geographical areas where the communities live.

4.4. Closing image: A mosaic of discourses

Figure 9. A crèche of discourses. Picture taken by Maria Rosa Garrido with permission of Emmaus Barcelona.Christmas 2011.

This "protest" nativity scene at the main house gate (see Figure 9 above) illustrates discursive sedimentations in the trajectory of the rag-pickers of Emmaus in Barcelona. The multiple layers and connections among discourses from different social arenas and generations come together in this semiotic artifact. My genealogical analysis of discourses in this chapter has tried to show that Liberationist Christianity and post-68 utopia have converged in the transnational discourse of alter-globalisation that discursively reshapes and appropriates decades-old religiously inspired alternatives to the capitalist system. The fact that they have this crèche already indexes their Catholic inspiration. The background documents index their socio-political activism, typical of progressive Catholicism and Liberationist Christianity, which view religion as social action. In particular, the newspaper cuttings report Emmaus criticisms of the local NGO landscape, the organisation of charity walks and

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the call for associations to register undocumented migrants. There is also a pamphlet against the closing of the migrant–support umbrella body which they formed part of. The figures in this nativity scene are black because Rita wants them to represent Africans, as this community has welcomed transnational migrants, mainly Africans, and campaigned for their rights in this city for over eight years. They are standing on sand, which is supposed to be from the Sahara desert where many migrant participants in the residential project come from or passed through in their transnational trajectories. Last, it rests on a palm tree leaf, which symbolises the death of the residential project due to the neoliberal system (or "crisis") and the accompanying austerity measures.

This chapter on the discursive genealogy of Emmaus Barcelona exemplifies the centrifugal trend within the transnational movement in a specific locality. The idealist "*aventuriers*" of the 1970s have evolved in their discursive justifications and interdiscursive clasps in line with the changing socio-political and economic conditions. This grassroots group has maintained the faith-based inspiration and anti-capitalist ideology clad in different discourses and clasped with other social movements at particular historical junctures. The analysis above shows the transnational nature of discourses that get localised in this Emmaus community, ranging from post-68 anti-consumerism and Liberationist Christianity to current *altermondialisme*. However local discursive justifications might seem, discourses in a given Emmaus group are not exclusively dependent on people's trajectories and the nation-state context. The following chapter will offer a different perspective on the discursive localisation of the Emmaus imaginary in a group within the centripetal trend, which is more business-oriented and inward-looking. At the end of Chapter 5, I will draw some broader conclusions on the second research question that I jointly address in these two chapters.

Chapter 5

"Emmaus, the homeless charity that works": Neoliberal discourses of voluntarism, self-sufficiency and secularism in the British mixed economy of welfare

Emmaus UK leaflet cover, collected in Emmaus London, May 2012. Reproduced with permission from Emmaus UK.

5.1. Socio-political context: Work ethic in the English Third Way

The Emmaus UK motto, "the homeless charity that works", found in shop fronts and information materials such as the opening example (see Figure 12 in Chapter 6), points towards the centrality of "work" in a British charity. On the one hand, "work" indexes the actual voluntary labour that formerly passive populations engage in. The main goal of this British charity is to activate capable homeless people through voluntary work so that they sign off primary welfare benefits and become active members of society. On the other hand, "work" refers to their efficiency in providing welfare assistance to the homeless *in lieu* of the state as an independent self-funded charity. In order to achieve their goals, every local Emmaus is a registered charity in England and Wales that is non-profit and receives no direct funding from the state. Emmaus London, my research site, contributes to the mixed economy of welfare

(Gilbert, 2004; see section 1.3) in the London Borough where it provides welfare assistance to the homeless within a network of homeless charities.

Emmaus London provides a different ethnographic window onto this transnational social movement. The main target of Emmaus London was to provide basic welfare assistance and also activate the London homeless through voluntary labour. Discursively, the localisation of the Emmaus imaginary had to articulate with the local discourses of voluntarism, activation and secularism in the British third sector. In the past decade, the growing Emmaus UK federation to which this community belongs has become the second largest national group after France in the movement and in Emmaus International. Early on in my fieldwork, it became clear that the genesis and discourses within this group were part of the larger national charity "brand" Emmaus UK, which produces materials and mottos for all the local communities from their Cambridge federation office. This Emmaus mainly appropriated the Emmaus principle of recovering self-dignity through voluntary work to help others. It aimed for individual labour and social insertion through voluntary work but discursively erased the Emmaus movement's religious inspiration and socio-political activism.

The Emmaus intertextual chain of solidarity with others is clasped to the historically Protestant work ethic in the context of present-day charities in the British neoliberal state. Following the Protestant work ethic (Weber, 1984), this Emmaus is vested in the moral benefit of (voluntary) work to enhance character and to improve society. Weber describes the value attached to hard work, frugality and efficiency in one's worldly calling which, especially from the Calvinist perspective, are deemed indexes of an individual's predestined salvation. In the Reformation, Catholic good works and confession to atone for one's sins was transformed into an obligation to work diligently for both the individual and society as a whole. Weber maintains that this ethic was behind the early stages of capitalism in northern Protestant countries such as the Netherlands or Britain. In this Weberian ideological framework, present-day charities in Britain are heirs to the 19th century British philanthropy that provided voluntary services for "lifting up" the deserving poor as defined by a Protestant ethic (Alvey, 1995; Woodroofe, 1962).

The Weberian work ethic seems to have lost its religious force (Frey and Powell, 2009) and has become part of the hegemonic (Anglo-Saxon) definition of

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individual success, as well as the basis for meritocracy. Instead of eternal salvation, the neoliberal times favour individual social mobility and material success as the benefits of this work ethic. A strong work ethic tends to correlate with conservative social attitudes in favour of merit-based assistance rather than a distributive welfare state. This work ethic overlaps with, and even informs, neoliberal programmes at the turn of the century that aim for a mixed economy of welfare that involves state institutions, non-profits and for-profit companies as partners in social protection. In this discursive regime, Emmaus London measures the success of Emmaus in terms of people served, re-insertion figures and the costs spared to the British taxpayer.

In 2007, Emmaus London was founded in the context of Blair's Third Way which devolved welfare provision to bottom-up civil society organisations as partners of local authorities. It advocated a softer version of privatisation in which "productivity is wedded to social solidarity, the market to a moral community, and efficiency to a caring, moral order" (Muehlebach, 2009, p. 501). After the Thatcherist dismantling of British statutory welfare, the later Third Wayist contracting culture was based on the privatisation of services, a new managerialism of welfare and a move towards workfare (Taylor, 2002). New Labour's Third Way encouraged the partnership between the government and the third sector in the governance of welfare, mainly involving local needs assessment and social provision mapping. In this context, Emmaus London has contributed to the mixed economy of welfare as an independent charity run by (upper-)middle-class trustees and middle-class staff, and based on the 27 companions' volunteer work for the business (see section 1.5.3.2 about the organisation of Emmaus London).

During my fieldwork, Emmaus London instrumentalised the founding narrative's moral value of solidarity (see Chapter 3) under the neoliberal Big Society discursive regime. The Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition currently in power ran a big election theme called "Big Society", which endorsed voluntary action in local communities for social inclusion and local, citizen-focused services for a more diversified provision. The Big Society scheme sets policies to strengthen neoliberal activation of passive populations through voluntary labour and offloading of services to the third sector. Some specific initiatives that have an impact on Emmaus are skill development through volunteering, devolution of power to local governments and community organiser appointments (see Alcock, 2010). The plank to encourage more citizen involvement for community empowerment draws on the

idea that civil society has been crowded out by an overlarge state. Community regeneration (similar to Putnam, 2001 in the USA) discursively links with the history of British charity provision over the centuries, especially the Thatcherite resurrection of Victorian *laissez faire* capitalism. The current Big Society scheme might turn out to be applicable only to England, because third sector policy has been devolved in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (Alcock, 2010).

Coupled with labour, relationality is key to constructing companions as paradigmatic citizens in the neoliberal economy and instrumental to the Emmaus transnational mission both in Barcelona and in London. Like the previous Labour government, the Cameron government reinforces activation policies for passive populations through voluntary work (Gilbert, 2004), not only for the retired and the unemployed but also, increasingly, marginalised populations such as the homeless (Bowgett, 2007). Voluntarism was central to Emmaus London's discursive self-construction and clasps with other arenas like the Protestant work ethic and neoliberal discourses. It relies on intense moralisation and public fetishisation of sacrifice for a person's redeeming future and for an active, solidary citizenship (Muehlebach, 2011). Voluntary labour recreates social belonging in the Fordist period (Muehlebach and Shoshan, 2012) in an altered context where Emmaus becomes a container of economic activities, moral values and fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal, 2000) of the state. Emmaus London is a social enterprise with a managing board that enforces regulations regarding affective and manual labour. For companions, "recycling becomes […] a broad project to recover and celebrate the routines, productivity and solidarity of blue-collar work" (Gowan, 2000, p.78) in a socio-political context in which equal rights are no longer recognised.

Together with the previous chapter on Emmaus Barcelona, this chapter addresses the research question of the appropriations of the transnational movement imaginary in different localities. The research question and conceptual framework were discussed in Chapter 4. In this chapter, I will present the ethnographic analysis of the Emmaus London discursive genealogy as a newer group in the movement. First of all, I shall offer an account of the top-down genesis of this London group in relation to Emmaus UK, the national federation, with a focus on discursive clasps. Secondly, I will zoom into the reorientation from a community-based pastoral mission to a more business-oriented one over time in this London-based Emmaus group. Third, I will analyse Emmaus London's self-construction in the British mixed

economy of welfare, which foregrounds discourses of economic effectiveness and erases Catholic/religious echoes in the movement. Last but not least, I shall devote a section to analysing discourses of voluntarism and reciprocity. The chapter will close with a discussion and conclusions on the second research question investigated in Chapters 4 and 5.

5.2. An ethnographic analysis of the Emmaus London discursive genealogy

5.2.1. The top-down genesis of Emmaus as a British charity

In my ethnography, documenting the foundation of Emmaus London proved to be one of the most difficult tasks, in part because of its short history, the turnover of companions and staff, and the shadow of a romanticised story that circulates in the UK. In fact, it was hard for me to collect narrative data on the creation of this new Emmaus in London, even through conversation with staff members, so institutional documents have been my main source. In order to trace the discursive genealogy of the Emmaus community investigated, my fieldwork took me to Emmaus Cambridge, the first Emmaus community in the UK, and its founders, to understand the early discursive clasps and the top-down foundation of an Emmaus community in Britain. Thanks to Laura, the community leader in Emmaus London, I got in touch with the person who imported the movement to the UK, Alwyn Jones, in September 2013, for an enlightening interview and walk-along to Emmaus Cambridge.

The local founding story that circulated in London is actually a romanticised version of the genesis of the first Emmaus in Cambridge. For the companions in my research site, there is no London story to tell because in Dan's words below, "there isn't a lot of history to this place" (see Excerpt 36). During my fieldwork I heard an alternative (yet short and ambiguous) founding story of Emmaus among companions and volunteers. The story narrates how a policeman and his wife decided to leave everything behind to create an Emmaus community in the woods near Cambridge, just with some caravans at first. In our interview, Dan told me that all communities in the UK followed the same rules but that "Cambridge have a different view on things". My question of what makes it different launched Dan's sketchy story of the first Emmaus in England, reproduced below.

Excerpt 36. Romanticised myth of the Emmaus Cambridge foundation. Interview with Dan, Emmaus London companion. 28-05-2012.

1	*MRG:	why is Cambridge a bit different-? why is that?
2	*DAN:	Cambridge is the first Emmaus in England aren't they?
3	*MRG:	aham.
4	*DAN:	what was that-? 21 years or twenty years ago?
5	*MRG:	something like that yeah!
6 7	*DAN:	Steve Smith xx started it with his wife innit-? sold his house # bought a couple of caravans # <pissed in a xx can there's a lot more in Emmaus> [?] # great!
8	*MRG:	that's how it all started!
9	*DAN:	xx and he: he used to be a policeman as well
10	*MRG:	wo:w I didn't know that!
11 12 13	*DAN:	yeah yeah yeah I know the pal do # he's up in Norwich now he opened another one in www # yeah # because of the history it's got more independence # here it's what four five years old-? there is not a lot of history to this place yet # getting there.
14	*MRG:	oh OK # so then you think Cambridge is a bit different because of the history to it?
15 16	*DAN:	yea:h because of th history it's got more in it y'know what I mean-? well here it's only what-? fou:r five years old?
17	*MRG:	mmm of course.
18	*DAN:	so there's not a lot of history to this place yet.
19	*MRG:	+^ yet yea:h.
20	*DAN:	it was getting there!
21	*MRG:	well of course+/.
22	*DAN:	+^it's all in the living day!
23 24	*MRG:	and how as this one created-? the same thing-? a couple decided to create a community +/.
25 26 27	*DAN:	ehh I'm not too sure about this one now to be honest # I think that just someone <decided> [?] to put an Emmaus together # got a charity xxx got a board of trustees to get people donating dollars
28	*MRG:	it's a: mm question of money then?
29	*DAN:	starting getting a lot of funding then to build up this.

However hard I tried to get more details, this story always remained vague. This "myth" narrative about a grassroots initiative of an average couple that want to help the homeless in Cambridge vividly recalls the founding story of the "epic period" of Emmaus in the *banlieue* fields (see section 1.5.1). This British version of the French founding story reveals the discursive erasure of the Abbé Pierre and the French origins of the transnational movement among London informants. The first UK community is sometimes even presented as "the first Emmaus community" rather than the one in Neuilly-Plaisance by companions and staff in London. As an example, when I was telling a volunteer that I had been to "the first Emmaus community" (in Neuilly-Plaisance), one of the senior companions assumed that it was Cambridge, even though he knew that it was present in other countries (fieldnotes, 07-04-2012). This indexes the strong nationalist ethos (see section 6.3.2.1) and the centrality of Cambridge to the Emmaus movement in the UK. Fortunately, my ethnographic networking led me to the actual founder of Emmaus in Cambridge, Alwyn. He is a retired middle-class businessman and former Cambridge student of modern languages who spent the summer of 1960 as a rag-picker with the Abbé in the first Neuilly-Plaisance community. His lesser-known founding story narrates a top-down initiative of local middle-class people who fundraised for a new charity that followed the Emmaus model to help the growing number of homeless people in Cambridge.

Excerpt 37. The non-romanticised foundation of Emmaus Cambridge. Extract from "Emmaus- the early days", Emmaus Cambridge newsletter. Summer 2011.

> In 1990 Cambridge businessman Alwyn Jones was investigating what could be done to help the growing number of homeless people in Cambridge. One day, in a moment of frustration, he asked someone what they actually wanted and received the answer "I want to work and belong. I want my self-respect back. And I don't want people to cross the street to avoid me." These words reminded Alwyn of an Emmaus community in Paris where he had volunteered as a student 30 years before, and the desire to bring Emmaus to the UK was born. A small group of dedicated people then got together to form a steering committee.

This narrative is not as romanticised as the mobile homes "myth", as he called it. This alternative story foregrounds the figure of the Abbé Pierre and the importance of transnational connections to find solutions for local problems. In his Preface to the English translation of Brodiez-Dolino (2013), Alwyn explains that he phoned the Abbé Pierre the day after this conversation and he was very supportive. Alwyn

became a key mediator between the British middle-class activists/donors and the Abbé Pierre by virtue of his fluency in French and first-hand experience of Emmaus. He writes that "Abbé Pierre still spoke not a word of English and most of the local friends and colleagues I was able to involve scarcely a word of French" (in Brodiez-Dolino, 2013, p.16). The English committee visited French communities and Abbé Pierre also visited the farm site where the community would be built. Language mediation constitutes, therefore, a central networking element in the genesis of Emmaus in the UK.

In our interview, Alwyn told me the lesser-known foundation story in Excerpt 37 above. I interrupted this well-rehearsed story with my questions to explore socio-political aspects that are not typically part of it. When he mentioned that there were homeless people in Cambridge, I asked why and he immediately replied that "because this was the middle of Margaret Thatcher's care in the community and all that" (interview, 05-09-2013). Interestingly, he readily identified Thatcher's neoliberal *laissez faire* as the socio-political regime that caused unemployment and in turn, unprecedented homelessness in this University City. In relation to these socio-political changes in the late 1980s, Alwyn commented on a broader discursive shift from "religious" values encompassing solidarity to what he calls "secular" values of materialism and wealth accumulation. In his words, "secular values overtook and materialism in a sense, overtook the previous set of generally accepted religious values and so on and so forth" (same as above). Although suppressed from the founding narratives, the origins of Emmaus in the UK coincided with the neoliberal policies of privatisation and state downsizing under the Iron Lady.

Under this new regime focused on business and wealth accumulation, and also owing to his background as businessman and entrepreneur, Alwyn put together a business project and started fundraising among the local middle classes who, according to him, knew how to navigate the welfare system and spoke the (legitimate) national language, that is (RP) English, on behalf of the underprivileged (interview, 05-09-2013). His own discursive and organisational adaptation of Emmaus to the British charity landscape will become the main model for new communities like the one I investigated. When I ask him why he adopted this professionalised, top-down model, he tells me that, unlike France, "I wrote a business plan because I'd come to the view that the only way we were going to grow it in this country where there was no knowledge of Abbé Pierre, there was no tradition of the Abbé Pierre here"

(interview, 05-09-2013). In other words, the grassroots *abbé-pierriste* model was not socially appropriate in the UK because of the neoliberal winds and the lack of knowledge about the epic period of Emmaus inspiring the more centrifugal Emmaus trend (see section 4.1). Therefore, Alwyn had to follow the established stages to create a British charity. His business plan also drew on the "proven worldwide economic model" of self-sufficient communities, a model that gibed well with neoliberal arguments stressing efficiency.

Alwyn and Jeanne, who became his wife recently, were both involved in the early networking and fundraising for Emmaus in Cambridge. They referred to the involvement of religious organisations, especially Roman Catholic churches but also Jewish synagogues and Anglican parishes in the fundraising for the Cambridge community.

Excerpt 38. Catholics who roll up their sleeves for Emmaus. Interview with Alwyn and Jeanne. 05-09-2013.

1 2	*ALW:	we were not religious minded and we were not # mean we all had and a lot of people: more people from particularly Catholics in this country.
3	*MRG:	oh!
4	*ALW:	roll their sleeves up more readily than the other faith traditions.
5	*MRG:	OK!
6 7	*ALW:	so there were always quite a lot um- of Catholics involved in Emmaus enterprises # largely because Catholic social policy +…
8	*MRG:	aham.
9 10	*ALW:	is much more embedded in the Church and it was as a result of < that> [!] that a thing called um the Church Urban funds called Faith in the City.
11	*MRG:	ah ok!
12 13 14	*ALW:	it was written by the archbishop of Canterbury # who was our first president the Church Faith in the city was written by the archbishop of Canterbury #who was our first president.
15	*MRG:	[>] <yeah:>
16	*ALW:	<and who> [>]
17	*MRG:	that caught my attention!
18 19	*ALW:	and he again he was a very practical man # got on very well with Abbé Pierre they met xx and liked each other.

20 21	*MRG:	+^wow but that's very ecumenical in the sense that you have Catholics [>] <alongside Anglicans>
22 23	*ALW:	<absolutely> [>] ! and in fact the the the most ecumenical moment I think and one of the highlights for me # was when we opened the London community +...
24	*MRG:	aha!
25 26	*ALW:	and there was Cardinal xx # the archbishop of Canterbury # Prince Charles # and Abbé Pierre
27	*MRG:	oh::!
28	*ALW:	all roaring together having a <wonderful> [!] time!

In their view, Roman Catholics in the UK are more oriented to social work, that is "rolling up their sleeves" in voluntary labour and many Catholics have been involved in Emmaus communities. Muehlebach (2009, 2013) points out that Catholics were the first to respond to the call for voluntary work in the mixed economy of welfare because of Catholic social doctrine. The Catholic concept of love as a "collective psycho-moral stance" (Muehlebach, 2013, p. 455) is put to practice in voluntary good works for fellow human beings who are suffering due to market rule. In Excerpt 38 above (lines 22-28), Alwyn refers to a community opening as an example of ecumenical encounter among different faiths that share similar social values. As an example of the participation of Anglicans, a piece of news on the Emmaus UK webpage informs that "Bishop of Thetford gets his hands dirty" to help with gardening and renovation tasks at Emmaus Norwich (2013). My interview with Alwyn and Jeanne was a much-needed eye-opener because all the social actors I had interacted with in London completely denied or erased the religious inspiration among Emmaus members. Why has the religious inspiration been discursively erased in Emmaus London? As we shall see, these religious clasps have been discursively erased partly because the British state prefers secularised social enterprises to faith-based charities as welfare partners. By and large, there has been a shift from an evangelical to a more ethical and market-oriented discourse in faith-based charities since the 1980s (Filby, 2010; Liogier, 2007).

In the early days, the religious clasps and membership were more visible. For instance, the first appeal for financial and material to help set up the first community in the UK (1991) capitalises on not only the transnational network of 300 Emmaus communities but also the New Testament echoes of "the road to Emmaus" (Luke 24:

13-35, New International Version) to legitimise their project (see Figure 10 below). It further shows intertextuality with the Bible, by means of a clear road to a "home" for "people who have given up hope", such as the travellers in Palestine and the Emmaus founding story character (see section 3.3.1). The reverse of the leaflet reads, "Lord Runcie [former Archbishop of Canterbury] has become our President and the Bishops of Ely and East Anglia our patrons." The former Bishop was Anglican, while the second one was Catholic but served in the diocese corresponding to Cambridge.

Figure 10. Early religious clasps, transnational ethos and community orientation in Emmaus Cambridge. Fundraising leaflet produced for Emmaus Cambridge in 1991. Donated by the Appeal Coordinator at Emmaus UK.

In the broader context, this religiously-inspired appeal for Emmaus follows up from the ecumenical report on urban poverty, "Faith in the city", published in 1985 and mentioned in Excerpt 38 above. It came from the religious grassroots activists who were critical of the ways that statutory welfare was dwindling under Thatcher (see Filby, 2010). Besides challenging the New Right government, its goal was to inform the public about structural poverty in Britain and prompt middle-class Christians to alleviate urban poverty. In fact, "Christians also continued to make up the majority of the nation's army of charity workers" (Filby, 2010, p. 2). The different Christian denominations were very active in early local networking for Emmaus. For instance, Jeanne (the first Emmaus UK employee and Appeal Coordinator) told me that a priest from the local Catholic cathedral raised money for Emmaus.

Apart from the religious clasps, the leaflet above also indexes the centrality of the community as an affective space, a "home", which goes beyond mere assistance in a night shelter. Unlike current discourses in Emmaus UK, the leaflet refers to "EMMAUS communities" and depicts a house at the end of the path called "Emmaus Cambridge". The three pillars of the Emmaus model - community life, recycling work and solidarity with others - correspond to the three bullet points on the left. The emphasis is on the community as the main structure from which work and solidarity emanate. Another key difference with current discursive representations of Emmaus is the visibility of the transnational network of Emmaus as a transnational movement. Below the drawing, the leaflet reads, "Across the world, 330 EMMAUS Communities offer work and hope to the homeless. Help us start the first one in the UK." Therefore, the call is for funds to establish a transnational movement in the UK for the first time. For socialised members, another transnational element is that the drawing of the person holding his/her knees in the drawing is the same as in the Barcelona logo and has been probably taken from an earlier French Emmaus logo.

The first Emmaus community in the UK was opened in Cambridge in 1992. The original idea was for new Emmaus communities to be part of the same registered charity with its headquarters in Emmaus Cambridge. Nevertheless, the managers and volunteers in the satellite communities would not report on time to the Cambridge coordinators for annual reports. In the end, Emmaus UK was created as an umbrella federation of independent Emmaus communities, of which Cambridge became one. Despite the local communities' legal independence, Emmaus UK licenses, oversees and assists new Emmaus projects in Britain, especially with materials about the

movement and fundraising support. Following the top-down charity model that Emmaus UK had adopted, the genesis of my London community unromantically started with a local board of trustees who organised a fundraising appeal with the help of Emmaus UK. The first chair of trustees in this London group was involved in early fundraising for Emmaus Cambridge and later on, he became trustee of another Emmaus community. In 1997, he decided that there was a need for another Emmaus in London, where there was only one at the time, and he fundraised and planned for it. A second-hand shop opened in 2001 to raise funds to build a community and the board of trustees hired a project manager to set up the new Emmaus community. In the summer of 2007, two second-hand shops were up and running with a van for collections, while the construction of the residential building was still on-going since May 2006 (local newsletter). In mid-October 2007 the first companions moved into the community building. Shortly thereafter, the Duchess of Cornwall visited this community as the charity's Royal Patron, together with the current Emmaus UK president, Terry Waite. The official opening of this Emmaus community featured Terry Waite and the London actress Joanna Lumley. When Emmaus London was up and running in 2008, the first chair of trustees quit his role.

This community seems to have had a "patchy history" in the first years, owing to unreliable, inadequate or inexperienced staff members who did not run the Emmaus group smoothly. According to Laura, the current community leader, the turnover in staff was due to problems with the managers and community leaders. In fact, the existing problems with staff in this Emmaus prompted the then trustee Laura to step in as temporary manager for over one year until the current one, John, was hired. Then, she successfully applied for a community leader position, which she has held since early 2010. Let us recall that the general manager is in charge of the overall strategy for a particular Emmaus community to become self-sufficient and to fulfil the Emmaus mission, whereas the Community Leader is in direct contact with companions for pastoral care and deals with potential candidates. She was the informant in my study who had been connected to the Emmaus group the longest. Her insights in our informal interviews were key to enabling me to understand the problematic trajectory of this Emmaus community, even though I did not obtain any further details. All these problems, such as a general manager who stole from community money, do not make for a coherent founding (let alone romanticised) narrative like the Cambridge ones analysed above.

When the current general manager got the position in June 2009, the early community ethos with an emphasis on pastoral care was reversed to a business orientation. Since mid-2009 there has been an on-going shift from a community orientation to a business orientation (see section 5.2.2 for more). The overall strategy of the new general manager, who has a solid financial background, was for this Emmaus to grow into an independent, self-reliable and professionalised charity. John's financial discourse in the excerpt below centres on the unstable financial situation of Emmaus London when he started in 2009 and how to accelerate the slow business to stop the losses. He reversed the existing strategy of slow community growth with a (live-in) community leader. He filled all the rooms available with homeless companions and put "a commercial hat on" (lines 27-28) to increase sales and to reduce expenditure in the community (lines 38-41) in order to ensure economic survival.

Excerpt 39. Changing emphasis from caring community to business orientation. Interview with John, General Manager. 21-06-2012.

1	*MRG:	I had another question about the history of this Emmaus community # you've only
2		been here for three years but you might be able to tell me a bit more # I was
3		thinking about how it's expanded and the main changes that it has undergone in the
4		past years since it was opened.
5	*JOH:	since it was opened? well # the m- main # 0_2 change is rather than the sort of
6		fabric to the building the main change to actually what we do # when I arrived here
7		three years ago we had 14 companions.
8	*MRG:	aham.
9	*JOH:	so we had a lot of empty rooms # **and- and thi surprised me really because we**
10		**needed the housing benefits to help pay the bills # we also we had hundreds of**
11		**people sleeping rough on the streets** # and- and the message that I was given by
12		junior members of staff was that we wanna try and grow slowly # and that was a
13		message that I really didn't agree with so I- I reversed that trend.
14	*MRG:	+^aham.
15	*JOH:	and said no we need to grow quickly # em so: the main differences that I've seen
16		are that we got fu:ll community a community full of companions # in terms of:
17		empty rooms w refer to empty rooms as voids and we don't have any voids now #
18		Laura' s worked very hard the community team's worked very hard on getting a a
19		waiting list of prospective companions
20	*MRG:	+^aham.
21	*JOH:	so when we do have an empty room it's only empty for a matter of hours.
22	*MRG:	aha:m.

23   *JOH: rather than previously it used to be weeks and months.

24   *MRG: oh: alright I see # mm so that's a big change.

25   *JOH: that's a matter of change # also **when I started we were losing about 12,000 a**
26   **month** # and on average monthly sales was it four five thousand pounds so we
27   really needed to think like a business # **we really needed to uh- to put a**
28   **commercial hat on and # we didn't have a business manager when I joined #**
29   **we had u:m a community team that were really focused on community activity**
30   **but not on business activity** # and there was gonna be a time that we were going to
31   run out of money # so we had to reverse that very quickly #0_1 it's pretty simple
32   what we needed to do # there weren't many options available to us # well the plan
33   was pretty straightforward # we needed to get more money in and to stop money
34   going out so quickly.

35   *MRG: aham.

36   *JOH: now how we did that involved a lot more thought and hard work!

37   *MRG: of course yeah!

38   *JOH: one thing that really really # maybe surprised but certainly pleased and encouraged
39   me # was after I'd been here for a couple of months I had to get a message across to
40   companions # **guys # we need to start selling more # and we need to start**
41   **spending less money** # we're not in a healthy financial position and every single
42   one of the companions # um- accepted that message worked with that message #
43   didn't challenge that message # and we had to have some serious spending cuts
44   here # um # we had to be a lot tighter on expenditure # and what people were
45   getting # sort of gifts and and things that were nice to have # we had to stop all that
46   and only have necessities.

47   *MRG: mmm.

48   *JOH: and I was really really encouraged by the response of the companions to that
49   message.

John's emphasis is on money and finance rather than the people who live at the community. He was surprised at the empty rooms because the companions were needed to obtain Housing Benefit to pay the bills, and secondly, "also" because many people were sleeping rough (lines 9-11). The companions are presented foremost as workers who agreed with John's message and cooperated to increase sales and cut unnecessary expenses. These economic measures not only made the Emmaus group economically sustainable but also allowed a two-room expansion in the community, growing the staff team with more business and retail professionals, and gradually opening new shops. Today, the community houses 27 companions, has four local outlets and a superstore and has a team of 16 staff (as of November 2013). The twin processes of business orientation and marketing of Emmaus London have created a public image as a secular social enterprise and as a result, it has secured a

collaboration agreement with the local borough to provide white goods in 2013 (see section 1.5.3.2).

5.2.2. Local evolution from a caring community to a social enterprise

The short history of this Emmaus group witnesses a discursive shift from a strong community orientation, with the main goal of creating an affective home environment for the homeless, to a business one primarily targeting the companions as workers for an effective operation. During fieldwork, both discursive constructions of Emmaus coexisted, sometimes in tension, within this local group. In fact, the staff members were divided into Community/pastoral care and Business/financial operations, with the latter gradually increasing their ranks. The founder of Emmaus in the UK defined Emmaus as a social and moral enterprise, which equally challenges head and heart (in Brodiez-Dolino, 2013, p.17). Since Emmaus was regarded as a social enterprise in the market of solidarity (Pech and Paradis, 2004), members were socialised into the conflicting, yet interrelated, discourses of the "market neoliberal" and the "moral neoliberal" (Muehlebach, 2009). Consequently, companions were categorised as both affective and manual workers, as well as welfare clients in this London homeless charity.

Neoliberal discourses of labour, such as that of efficiency, had material consequences on the gatekeeping decisions that the Emmaus staff made. In Chapter 3, I analysed how the founding narrative's moral value – i.e. solidarity – was mobilised to engage companions in voluntary labour in Emmaus and in other local charities (see section 3.4.1). The following excerpt from an interview with the general manager echoes the circulating discourses and conflicts between productivity and affect in relation to their ethos "to help those less fortunate". In his view, the Emmaus group is both an economic enterprise and an affective home. He outlines an "ethical debate" (line 6) between business and community staff about what kind of person should be recruited to fill vacancies in the community.

Excerpt 40. Shift from community-oriented to more business-centred perspective. Interview with John, Emmaus London General Manager. 21-06-2012.

```
1   *MRG:    what do you think the community will be like when it becomes self-sustainable-?
2            what changes do you see in the horizon if any?
```

3 *JOH: I don't think there will be any: significant changes to where we are today.

4 *MRG: aham.

5 *JOH: to where we'll be in six months or a year's time # I can't see there being any
6   significant changes #0_3 frequently we have a: a sort of moral stroke ethical debate
7   regarding the type of companions that we recruit.

8 *MRG: oh OK!

9 *JOH: for example # we're here to help those in greatest need # that's what's been our our
10   sort of aim # now how we help them is: is a question for further exploration

11 *MRG: yes?

12 *JOH: it could be that we have one empty room and we have three people on the waiting
13   list # it might that one person on the waiting list is uh he's very ill and he's not very
14   capable of work # he's suffering from minor mental problem # has physical
15   problems # so the amount of productivity in the workplace could be low.

16 *MRG: aham.

17 *JOH: it could be that we have someone who:'s rough-sleeping or sleeping on bus a:nd
18   he's gonna need lots of care and attention # or it could be that we have somebody
19   who is sleeping on a sofa # a friend's sofa # but has a driving license # he's in good
20   fit physical health and he's in good mental health # so there is one case to argue
21   that we should take the most vulnerable and the most needy of those people #
22   however if we do we gotta accept that we won't take the business forward #0_1 if
23   we don't take the business forward we don't earn any money and if we don't earn
24   any money then we are unable to make grants to support those charities that need it
25   more than us # so it's it's really about the balance in the co- configuration of
26   companions we've got here # as how many: active capable #0_3

27 *MRG: right I see: +…

28 *JOH: companions in the workplace we have to how many we have that have poor health
29   and are not so work capable# that's always a sort of debate we have # that's always
30   a good communication between business team # and the community team #
31   whereas the community team are always looking to recruit those in greatest need #
32   whereas the business team are looking to recruit those that are most capable.

33 *MRG: mmmm!

34 *JOH: that's why it's really important that the business manager and the community leader
35   are talking to each other if not daily certainly weekly to say these are my needs and
36   this is what I've got so that we can find the right balance.

Regarding the companion profile, John advocates for a "balance" that actually favours those who are "active, capable" companions over those who are less productive because of their mental and physical health. For him, the best way to fulfil the Emmaus mission of solidarity with the most marginalised is by making money to make financial grants to charities rather than taking these people into the community. This vision primarily constructs companions as workers in a recycling social

enterprise and not as welfare clients who are reinserting themselves into society through labour. The mission of solidarity is located outside the Emmaus group with other people who are even less fortunate than the companions (see section 3.4.2). Above, he establishes a hierarchy of charities since the goal is to make grants to "those charities that need it more than us" (lines 24-25), which reinforces the idea that the companions must help those less fortunate than themselves.

Although he recognises that there must be a balance, John constructs Emmaus London as a social enterprise in which companions are the main workforce rather than as an affective space for companions as marginalised people. He counterposes the business perspective that requires "productivity in the workplace" in order to give money to other charities to the pastoral side of recruiting "the most vulnerable and needy" who might have low productivity but who are "those less fortunate" in the Abbé's formulation. Emmaus London illustrates a case of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal, 2000) of the Emmaus transnational movement, where we can find the centripetal trend leaning towards professionalised social enterprise and the centrifugal trend, which is more oriented to a bottom-up community (see section 4.1).

During my fieldwork, this ethical debate between a community orientation and a business one was a locus of tension among staff members and companions alike. In Excerpt 40 above, the general manager points out that the Community and the Business staff must communicate in order to find the right balance between people in need and people who are work capable. Nevertheless, there arose tensions between pastoral care and business needs in connection to the existing companions. The excerpt from the community meeting below illustrates the clashing conceptions of Emmaus as an affective community home or as an effective social enterprise.

Rebecca, the business manager, expresses her continuing frustration at companions who does not turn up for (manual) work (lines 1-2). She makes a case for excluding them (that is, throwing them out) from the Emmaus community, a proposal that senior companions support and the general manager seems to approve of (lines 3-8). However, the community leader Laura poignantly disagrees with this position because in her view, communities are about supporting each other and especially those most in need (lines 9-12). She defends those who are absent because they cannot face the marginalisation they are subject to (lines 22-25). In these lines, Laura explicitly makes reference to affect in the community when she mentions that the absent companions are going to feel hated by those who niggle and bitch. An older

companion, Markie, who has benefited from Laura's pastoral care after years sleeping rough actually proposes a mentoring system to support these absent people (line 26) but obtains little support compared to the previous proposal to throw them out with a chorus of unidentified voices (line 7). Instead Laura urges this "bunch of school ground kids" (line 35) who complain at the meeting to engage in affective labour with the most vulnerable, such as asking how they feel (line 38). She also reminds them of the harsh social consequences of asking a companion to leave (lines 38-41). In this particular case, the absent companions were not asked to leave and the community staff tried to solve their problems.

Although the community team in this Emmaus group might be a minority in their pastoral orientation, with just three members including the part-time training officer, they have legitimacy owing to their protracted experience with homelessness, and in the case of Laura, in this particular Emmaus group (see section 5.2.1 on her trajectory). The community leader's opinion is well respected, as demonstrated in the impact she made in this community meeting, which finished right after her contribution above and everyone went away in silence. She was the most knowledgeable person on the Emmaus movement and how to run a charity, which made her a kind of ideologue in this newer Emmaus group. Among companions, she seemed to be the best-liked staff member in general. For instance, companions insisted on talking to her when there was a problem (even if it had to do with business). In our interviews, most of them said that they appreciated Laura because in their view she really cared about people and listened to their version of events, which is especially significant coming from Tom who bluntly disagreed with the management (see section 3.4.2. for more on Tom).

Excerpt 41. Clashing conceptions of Emmaus London as an affective space or as a social enterprise. Tuesday community meeting. 29-05-2012.

Timing: 18:08-20:56

Situation: The business manager, Rebecca, is upset because many companions have failed to turn up for the work rota once again.

Participants: REB-Rebecca (business manager), LAU-Laura (CL), JOH-John (General Manager), LIZ-Liz (Retail coordinator), RON-Ron (senior companion), MAR-Markie (older companion), NIA-Niall (young companion), ANN-Anne (older companion), ROB-Rob (younger companion), EDW-Edward (older companion) and COM-companions (unidentified voices at the same time).

1	*REB:	(...) the people who ain't gonna turn up for work who can't be bothered to turn up
2		<for the day> [?] maybe should not be there.
3	*JOH:	yeah
4	*REB:	as simple as that.
5	*RON	isn't it best to start then now?
6	*JOH:	how does anyone really object to that?
7	*COM:	no!
8	*ROB:	not at all!
9	*LAU:	but they are possibly the people who actually are in the most need here of their
10		support # and are you giving them support? because at the moment all I see is that
11		somebody's #0_3 not feeling quite marginalized and that's not what communities
12		do # <xxx> [>]
13	*NIA:	<cos if they're> [<] genuinely off cos they're genuinely ill then fair enough
14		but <xxx> [>]
15	*JOH:	<I mean every- everyone has a # bad day and a bad week> [<] but maybe if
16		they're that ill the:n # this isn't the best place for them they're better off going
17		somewhere until they get better and then come back and give it another go when
18		they're well enough to work
19	*EDW:	so what you're saying give them support but what support xxx?
20	*ROB:	you could only help them because they wanna help themselves # they got up
21		themselves at some point innit?
22	*LAU:	yeah but everyone's going at them # about niggling and bitching # then they're
23		not gonna feel they're going to feel that they're <out> [!] side of everyone else
24		they're gonna feel that they <are> [!] worried about being thrown out in this case
25		because actually everybody is #0_3 a:nd # they're going to feel hated.
26	*MAR:	maybe we should start a mentoring system and then it's alright then?
27	*LIZ:	that's a good idea!
28	*MAR:	I don't know.
29	*ANN:	yeah
30	*MAR:	xxx if you have any problem
31	*LAU:	#0_4 I mean that in the past that's happened # in the people who come and said
32		we want to help out a person we've talked about it# but at the moment # it's
33		doing the opposite # and I've been thinking about this for a <week> [?] but it's
34		just come up now # but you're not behaving like a community you're behaving
35		like a bunch of school ground kids # and that's includes all you who think you're
36		really grown up because you bitch you winge # and that's not what communities
37		are supposed to be about # I'm saying this to the same pe- Well maybe if any of
38		you asked how they feel about it # try that before you ask for them to be thrown
39		out because actually putting people out on the streets they're going to be on the
40		streets fo:r weeks possibly months # did you see that programme last night how
41		difficult it is?

The two examples in this section shed light on how companions are foremost constructed as manual workers over affective ones and illustrate the tensions that this construction generates. In other words, Emmaus was, by and large, conceptualised as a social enterprise that draws on a voluntary workforce of companions (see section 5.2.4 below for more on voluntarism). This stands in contrast to the discursive construction of Emmaus Barcelona as primarily an affective community that sustains itself thanks to recycling work (see section 3.4.1 for an analysis).

5.2.3. Emmaus London in the mixed economy of welfare: Saving taxpayer's money and erasing religious clasps

Discursively, Emmaus UK (and the local community) is constructed as a secular social enterprise run by the middle-classes that alleviates the social and individual consequences of free market rule through workfare among the homeless. It constructs an identity as a self-sufficient organisation that benefits wider society and saves taxpayer money. The non-politicised ethos assumes that it is more constructive to collaborate with the government than to criticise it. This collaboration materialises in the shared work ethic based on the individual activation of those who are inevitably excluded from the market economy. In parallel, the Emmaus movement in the UK has undergone a process of secularisation and erasure of religious clasps which is akin to the broader rebranding of faith-based charities and the backgrounding of religious denominations in the British landscape (Filby, 2010). Both discursive constructions aim at creating a public image of Emmaus as an eligible partner for Cameron's "smart strategic state" in the mixed economy of welfare.

5.2.3.1. Discursive construction as an independent social enterprise

My multi-sited fieldwork allowed me to document both what was said and what was left unsaid about the relocalisation of this transnational movement. The construction of Emmaus in the UK as a welfare service provider and the lack of socio-political activism on behalf of the homeless recipients are two sides of the same coin. Emmaus provided services for peripheral populations *in lieu* of the retreating state without public grants but under the increasing surveillance of public authorities.

   In 2012, Emmaus London had recently joined the Borough Pathway, a local network of charities that offered services for the homeless under the local authority's

supervision of their workfare agenda. Their participation in this scheme foregrounded Emmaus London as a local service provider that offered rooms for potential homeless clients, and discursively backgrounded the transnational movement, which is mentioned in passing as a brief introduction. John, the General Manager, told me that the referral agencies were mainly interested in whether they had a room available and the terms and conditions for the candidate. Regarding the transnational movement, "we would give a brief background to how Emmaus was formed and the fact that there are communities all over the UK all over Europe, all over the world, but that wouldn't necessarily be the main topic of conversation for that individual." (interview, 21-06-2012).

In our interview, the general manager also recognised that Emmaus London networks more extensively with local agencies in London than with other Emmaus communities or organisations abroad. As part of the Borough Pathway, it had become one more homeless charity that collaborated in local governance of the homeless in London. However, Emmaus as a London-based charity did not receive any funds from the local authority for their community, except for a recent networked project for external volunteers (see below and section 5.2.4 about this). Since the local council did not fund the community, Emmaus welcomed companions regardless of their local connection to this London borough, unlike other publically-funded Pathway organisations, which generally required a local connection of home or work to the local authority in order to provide welfare services on behalf of the state.

Nevertheless, participation under the Pathway reinforced the ties with other local organisations because the council funded an Emmaus-based volunteer coordinator position for two years. The coordinator ran a new project designed to recruit volunteers who were not living in the community and who were users of the local homeless charities in the borough. These people had previously needed a local work or home connection to the borough as well as Housing Benefit to pay for service fees in order to access Pathway charity services. This 2012 development at Emmaus may have increased the number of former Pathway users who have become companions, at the expense of those candidates who have no local connections in the area or no recourse to public funding - especially foreigners. In an indirect way, the local administration seems to use this project in an independent charity, Emmaus London, for gatekeeping the types of users.

At the time of research, this Emmaus community did not participate in the Emmaus International priority programme for migrants' rights and did not campaign for their rights in the UK or even provide local services for undocumented migrants. Unlike the Barcelona community, Emmaus London did not accept undocumented migrants without recourse to public funding and thus, without access to homeless charities that typically demand a local connection or Housing Benefit. In London, there was a hidden problem of undocumented Eastern Europeans who had no access to welfare services and had to live in big groups on the tracks of main stations such as Waterloo. The Emmaus community leader told me in our interview that they would "break the law" if they took people with "uncertain undocumented status" and the Charity Commission would withdraw their charity status, concluding that Emmaus was "harbouring illegal immigrants" (interview, 12-06-2012). Therefore, the regulatory function of the neoliberal state is still well and alive, albeit in a more indirect way.

Emmaus as a registered charity was bound to respect the state laws even if they contradicted the transnational movement's mission to "help those less fortunate" among the homeless population in inner London. A senior companion who sat in the Emmaus UK board admitted that most companions were British because they needed to claim Housing Benefit from the state (interview with Charlie, 30-05-2012). Each community aims at having solidarity beds for those without recourse to public funds, but these are still a minority of places offered. Emmaus London had two solidarity places out of 27 beds, which were then occupied by foreign people. One was an African man with anomalies with his visa status and another was an Eastern European who had the right to remain in the UK but who could not claim benefits because he had not worked for a full year. In our interview, Alwyn claimed that "we try and remain independent of government but we try not to criticise not to condemn government policy". Instead, they addressed social issues through collaboration with other agencies, as an independent yet surveilled welfare partner (interview, 05-09-2013).

Apart from indirect state regulation over un-politicised charities, another facet of this neoliberal contracting culture (Taylor, 2007) is the low cost and savings for the post-social state. In the preface to the English translation of Brodiez, the founder of Emmaus UK claims, "For the business-minded, this level of saving to the public purse is enough to quicken the pulse of any venture capitalist" (2013, p 16). In their public

representations, Emmaus UK extensively quotes independent economic studies that calculate their Social Return on Investments both in monetary terms, which would amount to "£11 in social, environmental and economic return for every £1 invested", and in qualitative terms of companions' improved health, social skills and work participation and decreased substance misuse and offending (See Excerpt 42 below).

Excerpt 42. Emmaus UK saving British taxpayer money. "Our social impact", Emmaus UK webpage. March 2013.

> Emmaus Communities also generate significant savings to the taxpayer. For the 21 Communities included in the research, the study forecasts that the present value of savings to local and national Government stands at almost £6 million per year. Key outcomes for Government from Emmaus' work include fewer rough sleepers, fewer people claiming benefits, reduced substance misuse, reduced crime and fewer health problems.

These savings to the state actually enable the downsizing of the National Health System, social benefits and security services in the Conservative agenda. This discourse also has Victorian-*cum*-Thatcherite echoes of alleviating poverty in the interests of the middle classes or "comfortable Britain"- i.e. the taxpayers. More pragmatically, Alwyn argued that it was preferable to be on good terms with the state administrations because "they can actually help not only in cash but in kind and in spirit and this is very important because the bottom line of any government is if you cross it or its agencies life can be made very difficult for you" (interview, 05-09-2013). However, the "contract culture" calls into question the ideological independence of charities such as Emmaus London, whose board of trustees discussed welcoming undocumented people but was unable to because of state surveillance, as discussed by the community leader Laura in our interview.

In the mid-term, Emmaus communities in the UK seek to become social enterprises that are self-sufficient in a few years of operation, to move away from the traditional charity model based on external donations and grants (Emmaus UK "The homeless charity that works" DVD). The goal of financial independence ties into a discourse of "savings to the taxpayer" and low cost for re-insertion of marginalised people through voluntary labour. This institutional front allows Emmaus to collaborate in housing policy and network with other local agencies for homelessness. Alwyn claimed that "if government runs social programmes like for the homeless, if

we can reduce the cost of that to government, we are way more likely to get government support" (interview, 05-09-2013). By support, Alwyn did not mean financial grants but social recognition and participation that supports their mission for homelessness. For instance, he mentioned facilitating permits for road works or enlargements and participation in think tanks on homelessness with government agencies and other charities. Another token would be the official recognitions granted to Alwyn (such as CBE) and Emmaus.

This discourse of social return on investment constructs an outward institutional front for the state, donors and middle-class trustees that is not as relevant in the day-to-day of the community investigated. Apart from institutional documents, I have not documented this discourse in actual interactions. The general manager often discussed the goal of financial self-sufficiency with companions in the morning meetings, but nobody invoked "savings to the taxpayer" as a self-justification. In a local 2009 newsletter, I encountered a news report of a visit by supermodel Jerry Hall who decorated the Emmaus Christmas tree with "miniature nurses, policemen and a skateboard park", which symbolised the savings that this Emmaus community had meant for the local authority. In fact, the dressing of the Christmas tree with neoliberal discourses of social return and costs spared to the taxpayer erases all religious meanings from this artifact. The London Christmas tree, seemingly devoid of religious meaning, contrasts with the foregrounding of religious claps in the Barcelona "protest crèche" (see section 4.4). Now we will explore the discursive erasure of religious clasps in Emmaus London in more detail.

5.2.3.2. Ideological and linguistic erasure of religious clasps

As mentioned above, British charities in the UK, descendants of a tradition of Protestant philanthropy, have changed their religiously-inspired language and tactics in order to sell themselves in the solidarity market (Filby, 2010). This is a broader process that has affected the majority of homeless charities in London, such as St Mungo's, Thames Reach and the Salvation Army. They have a secular discourse but they all have religious historical roots. Emmaus is no exception. In this section, we shall see that the linguistic erasure of religious terms and references in Emmaus UK is problematic for a charity whose name refers to a Biblical parable (see section 3.3.1). In spite of the fact that Christians made up the majority of charity workers in the

Emmaus UK early days (see section 5.2 above), the transnational movement has had to adapt to the secular public sphere in the UK. The Emmaus London community is thus a window onto the (unspoken) tensions between the transnational Catholic origins and the local secularisation of charities.

An enlightening example is Charlie's analysis of the failed attempt to export Emmaus to the USA on behalf of the longstanding Emmaus Cambridge community leaders (the couple in the romantic "caravan" myth). According to the Emmaus UK board member and senior companion, Charlie, the reason partly related to the religious echoes of terms and the existing clasps with social Catholicism (see interview, 30-05-2012). For the American-born companion Charlie, it was a matter of language and how you tell the story in a very individualistic context. In his view, the religious overtones of the transnational movement did not work in the UK and in the USA, especially terms such as "companions", "solidarity" or even "community". In particular, he questioned what he regarded as an inaccurate translation of French "*compagnon*", which originally symbolised those who break bread together (incidentally, a foremost religious clasp), into the English "companion", which in the UK seemed to have added "cultish overtones" and in addition to a reference to friendship. In conversations outside Emmaus, he reported using the word "companion" once and then just saying "residents" after that.

What Alwyn described as Emmaus's "lack of tradition" in both Britain and America (see section 5.2 above) has meant that this transnational movement has had to justify its faith-based mission and adapt to the discursive context in which it is relocalised. In our interview, Charlie proposed "framing the language or what story you tell about [it]" in a way that is appropriate to the context and he put forward the term "resident" instead of companion "not to confuse people" with religious clasps. He recalled that when he talked about the Emmaus movement at a meeting, "what the moral is how it works", the participants couldn't really understand what it was about until "you bring they see bedroom, living area, computers, food, work, then everybody thinks it's the most brilliant thing so" (interview data). Michael, the companion assistant in the community where I did research, commented, "A lot of people think it so I don't know why, they think it because we live in communities so they're thinking we are some sort of sect bla bla bla, not in France everyone knows what Emmaus is" (interview, 06-06-2012). This construction of an institutional front

especially relies on lexical choices to relocalise the founding story and erase the discursive clasps with Catholicism and even cults.

In my ethnographic fieldwork, the erasure of religious discursive clasps (Irvine and Gal, 2000) was most evident in the networking visits that the volunteer coordinator paid to other partners in the borough to present his volunteering scheme to potential volunteers and their social workers. Mike had to explicitly draw a line between the religious name and the Catholic priest founder, i.e. the past origins in France, and the actual secular charity in London. Apart from the name, terms such as "companion" or "community" gave this impression that this is a religious organisation along the lines of what Charlie explained. During a visit to a local residential project in the borough (see excerpt below), Mike used the term "companion" to explain what Emmaus is and the prospective volunteer became aggressive. He believed that Emmaus was a sort of cult or sect because they lived in a community. The same thing happened to Dan, a senior companion in London, when he first heard of Emmaus at a day centre (interview data). As a result, he refused to apply for Emmaus until he actually visited the community, a decision that coincides with Charlie's description of potential residents' hesitations about Emmaus (see above).

Excerpt 43. Rejection of Emmaus due to religious echoes of "companion". Fieldnotes, Visit to a local residential project for former substance users. 24-05-2012.

> Tom [charity social worker] tells him [user] that Mike is from an organisation called Emmaus, which could be a moving-on option. Timothy is interested and wants to know more, so Tom tells him that they live in a community but it is very complex so he will talk to him later. Mike is keen to pursue the conversation when Timothy asks further questions. He wants to know if there is a kitchen and Mike replies that there is but he can't cook there because it is communal. Timothy says that he can't live there and gets more and more (verbally) aggressive with Tom. Mike explains what "companions" can access in Emmaus but Timothy abruptly stops him and asks if it is religious with great disdain. Mike says it is not religious at all but this is the name that residents are given. Tom also thinks that it is religious and Mike has to explain himself - similar discourse about founder and name, i.e. the origins, and makes it clear that "we are not trying to put ideas into their heads". Timothy is not interested in becoming a resident because he wants to cook his own food, but he is interested in volunteering.

This ethnographic vignette relates to a larger problem for Emmaus to become a legitimate secular partner for the state. In our interview, both Alwyn and Jeanne agreed that the name had been a slight "handicap" over the years because the British

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state is secular and does not want to be seen as promoting any religious faith in a diverse country. Alwyn's explanation is that "it is very English um it is very pragmatic, and we are very keen to do it just to say y'know you breathe the word religion or religious values, and humanitarian values anything to do with government you're out!" (interview, 05-09-2013). Therefore, the goal to become a partner in the state-based mixed economy of welfare has resulted in a discursive secularisation, which is at odds with actual practices of fundraising in parishes and the army of Christian volunteer workers that they reported on. Now we will turn to discourses of voluntary work and reciprocity that have become mainstream and which serve to justify these volunteers' role in Emmaus.

5.2.4. Discourses of voluntary labour and reciprocity in the Big Society regime

The discursive emphasis on (voluntary) work rather than the caring community in Emmaus London (see section 5.2.2.) has to be located within the Big Society policies in England (see section 5.1 on socio-political context). When I asked Mike (Volunteer Coordinator) about the role of voluntarism in the current social and economic climate, he explicitly referred me to the "Big Society" scheme, which he defined by saying, "The government are very keen to get people umm who've got something to offer maybe people who aren't working into voluntary work, yeah, and very much along the lines of reciprocity" (interview, 14-06-2012). In his view, the goal of voluntary work is "to become a functional member of society if you do voluntary [work] I think that that really helps to introduce you to a different social group, educate them in some ways what it's like living in a particular community in a particular part of the world" (same as above).

Unwaged labour is a double-edged practice that can be discursively clasped to both the neoliberal mixed economy of welfare and the Emmaus transnational mission of solidarity with others. Emmaus London centred on voluntary labour in their reciprocity mission, leaving aside the early Cambridge emphasis on the caring community in their discourse (see section 5.2.1). Incidentally, this latter discourse was also present in Emmaus Barcelona as the "essence" of the movement (see section 3.4.1). On the one hand, voluntarism served a social function to give meaningful activity to previously passive people, restore their self-esteem (or dignity) and re-skill

them in the mixed economy of welfare. The goal was to reinsert them in the labour market with the appropriate soft communication skills. On the other, the centrality of unwaged labour fit perfectly with the Emmaus narrative in which companions help themselves to regain dignity by selflessly helping others. In parallel to the goal of work efficiency, they set out to engage in affective labour to help those less fortunate in society.

Bowgett (2007) considers that volunteering encompasses anything from a one-off activity to a full-time residential role. In this section, we shall distinguish different types of volunteers in Emmaus London whose functions offer different articulations between (a) discourses of activation policies through soft skills and (b) affective work with those less fortunate. The first type of volunteers identified for the sake of analysis is "companions", who can be considered full-time residential volunteers because they did unremunerated labour in Emmaus London and in other London charities. In the social enterprise, they were not legally employed by the registered charity (as staff were) and did not receive a full salary but worked full-time, according to Emmaus regulations. Besides work in the recycling cooperative, a number of companions chose to do "solidarity work" for other homeless organisations in London or local charities (see section 3.4.1 for a call to volunteer outside Emmaus). The former was geared more towards activation policies for the homeless, while the latter fulfilled the movement's mission to care for those less fortunate.

The second type of voluntary, unwaged workers in this Emmaus community were actually called "volunteers". Volunteers were external people that worked without pay for a few days a week. They tended to be unemployed people, students, housewives or retired people, as in most British charities. Many of these were middle-class professionals that were moved to volunteer for ideological reasons. Note that the board of trustees of a charity is made up of voluntary, unpaid positions. The third type of volunteers was very idiosyncratic to this Emmaus community. "Pathway volunteers" were external volunteers who participated in the Borough Pathway project (see section 5.3.2.1) to bring in current users of homeless charities as volunteers for Emmaus. The main goal was for them to socialise and acquire soft skills for their future resinsertion. They typically did manual tasks for a few hours a week under the supervision of companions and the volunteer coordinator.

First, volunteer work within Emmaus London fulfilled the transnational mission of solidarity with others in the founding narrative (see Chapter 3). The

residents in the community acted as affective workers with other co-residents with whom they lived in the community and worked in the recycling business at Emmaus London. Emmaus UK did not consider them "volunteers", since they perceived some remuneration every week (£34 plus £7 for savings) and they worked full-time in accordance with Emmaus regulations. In the British context, there has been little correlation between homelessness and voluntarism since it is uncommon for service users to become volunteers (Bowgett, 2007). I want to argue that they are part of a larger volunteering scheme that activated formerly homeless people through voluntary work to acquire "soft" and technical skills through voluntary labour, in line with the Weberian work ethic (see section 5.1. above), for future insertion. On a legal note, they were not employed as Emmaus companions are in Barcelona. Their manual and affective labour in the third sector generates income to maintain the Emmaus community and to fund solidarity activities.

Emmaus London companions could choose to do "solidarity work", namely to donate their time, one working day out of five, for another charity. As we have seen in the morning assembly extract (Excerpt 17 in Chapter 3), Emmaus residents were encouraged to become volunteers in other local organisations, mainly working at soup runs, homeless shelters or day centres (but also those working for social causes such as cancer or children). As predicted by Bowgett (2007), they seemed to relate better to homeless users/organisations because on their own personal trajectories. Occasionally, they also organised fundraising events such as bric-à-brac or cake sales for a specific cause or for Emmaus International projects. During my fieldwork, the senior companions and staff proposed symbolically donating part of their weekly allocation (approximately 10 pence) for a charity cause, which they did not agree on in the meetings I attended.

Companions' volunteer work in other London charities was justified with solidarity discourses about "those less fortunate" as we saw in Chapter 3. The general manager, John, says in the interview below that the business/financial orientation of Emmaus London serves its solidarity mission, but extends solidarity to volunteering companions' time as a more valuable contribution than money. For many years, he had been a volunteer coordinator of the Crisis homeless shelter that is organised for a week during Christmas. He also collaborated in a soup run organised by a local parish one Saturday a month.

Excerpt 44. Solidarity as donating time through voluntary labour. Interview with John, General Manager. 21-06-2012.

```
1   *JOH:   expanding the business would generate more income which will enable us to do
2           more solidarity activities to help other people # an area where I struggle sometimes
3           is to convince people to convince companions that solidarity is much more than
4           writing a cheque for somebody # quite often when companions request solidarity
5           activity they just want us to give a chunk of money # it actually goes a lot deeper
6           than that # it's actually about going and doing something # giving up  your time is
7           probably more valuable than money # em so yeah # that's a challenge.
```

In John's formulation above, "solidarity" seems to be located outside the Emmaus community (i.e. the fellow companions) with unknown people in other charities. Voluntary labour fulfils the Emmaus mission since people "give up" - that is, sacrifice - their time for others.

Interestingly, staff members and companions, Emmaus UK and the Big Society discursively constructed companions' (voluntary) work as valuable work experience that allowed them to gain skills, especially relational and communication soft skills. In one of the online videos whose links appeared in the staff members' email signatures, featured staff and companions alike adhered to the "skilling discourse" (Allan, 2013). The general manager claimed that Emmaus allowed them to develop new skills and hidden talents, which they could then use for work (re)insertion. One of the senior companions in my ethnography, Michael, evaluated his experience of "living in a community" in terms of voluntary labour that furthers his soft skills. Michael was a German-born companion assistant who wanted to train to become a community leader deputy in Emmaus UK and who had also done voluntary labour at the Christmas homeless shelter, Crisis, in London.

This Emmaus group exemplified the centripetal trend (see section 4.1.) that has a strong managerial orientation that, on the one hand, backgrounds "caring community" discourses but on the other, foregrounds affective labour and "soft skills" involved in teamwork. All in all, companions' voluntary work at this Emmaus community was deeply rooted in activation policies to develop communicative selves (Urcuioli and LaDousa, 2013) for the new economy. Their so-called "solidarity work" in other charities amounted to affective labour with those less fortunate. This understanding of their participation stands in contrast to the Emmaus discourse of reciprocity among equals, which stems from a religiously-inspired ideal of fellowship

among human beings. The Emmaus ethos of reciprocity was reinterpreted in this local group to justify activation policies of the homeless under the Big Society scheme.

The second type of volunteers in Emmaus London is local volunteers who periodically carried out some voluntary tasks. Emmaus London acted like any other British charity that welcomed different external volunteers of different backgrounds in the interests of the activation discourses emanating from the state. In the early stages, the most common kind of volunteer was the retired elderly woman, "which is a very typical charity shop volunteer in Britain but we've lost those, they all got too old and retired" (interview with Laura, 12-06-2012). In the fieldwork period, this Emmaus group had received volunteers sent by the Job Centre, "because the job centre em are asking people to do voluntary work as a way back into uh so those quite often actually are just ticking boxes" (same as above) since it was a requirement to get their Jobseekers Allowance. Besides, Emmaus also welcomed unemployed young men, such as the driver Abdul who preferred doing voluntary work and claiming Jobseeker's Allowance to working a part-time job (interview, 30-05-2012). This community, and in particular the board of trustees, offered volunteering opportunities for retired professionals such as Catherine, who used to work for the British Council. Some middle-class trustees had started out as volunteers and some still organised leisure activities in the evenings.

These external volunteers *chose* to engage in language-*cum*-affective labour with the residents in the community. All were unemployed, partly employed or retired people who had time to spare and wanted to perform an activity meaningful to themselves and to society at large. As a case in point, Bill had been a nurse for over 20 years and had had no experience in other fields. When he was out of work, he got to know Emmaus through Mike (Volunteer Coordinator), who mentored his girlfriend's son as a voluntary activity. At that time, he was taking at IT course because he did not want to work as a nurse any longer and had decided to retrain. He committed to volunteer for Emmaus once a week because he wanted to "affect people's lives in a positive way" but not in a hands-on way like in nursing, but "in a more detached way". During my fieldwork period, he actually got a part-time contract with Emmaus. He described his voluntary involvement as predominantly affective. In our informal interview below, Bill told me that he was in charge of organising the rota for the homeless centre's kitchen and then quickly added that his role was "being part of the community" as well.

Excerpt 45. Talk is central in "being part of the community" as a volunteer. Informal interview with Bill, Emmaus London volunteer. 07-06-2012.

> I ask Bill what he means by "being part of the community". He says that it is very simple; it is a matter of talking to people, paying visits to hospital if somebody is ill, joining in competitions which are organised and generally, making yourself available to talk about something - sharing knowledge and giving advice, especially about health, as he is a trained nurse.

Crucially, he describes the latter as "making yourself available to talk about something", so talk and relationality are central in what he does, whereas manual labour (such as cooking) is simultaneous and secondary to the affective labour with others. That's why Bill always hung out in the communal area before he was due to start (manual) work. Volunteering for Emmaus encompasses, then, not only carrying out manual tasks but also interacting with companions and volunteers, who might need human contact. This was indeed my experience when I volunteered at this homeless shelter two weekends: the work was mainly interaction with clients, volunteers and companions, rather than kitchen work.

Professionals and student volunteers (and I was categorised by staff as the latter) engaged in the idea of "giving back to society" through manual, affective and professional work in solidarity with others. By and large, unlike companions, this group of volunteers was not in general hoping to acquire skills or find paid work through their voluntary experience. The Big Society targets partly-employed, retired or unemployed people for neoliberal activation by means of voluntary labour in the third sector.

The third type of volunteers at Emmaus London is the "Pathway volunteers" who were users of homeless charities in the borough and volunteers for Emmaus. Let us recall that Emmaus London had recently started receiving another type of external volunteers through the London Borough Pathway (see section 5.3.2.1 for more on this). Mike had obtained a Borough-funded position as Volunteer Coordinator in late 2011 to activate current users of homeless services in this London borough as Emmaus volunteers. The Big Society scheme devolves power to local authorities that supervise offloaded services and appoint new "community organisers", such as Mike. His institutional goal was to provide "meaningful occupation" through voluntary labour in Emmaus London for 40 users of local day centres and shelters in two years. Mike's job was to present this volunteering scheme and Emmaus as an organisation to

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prospective volunteers in other local charities and then follow up Pathway volunteers with their key social workers. I accompanied him to present this project to social workers and some users in two homeless shelters and one specialised residential project for former drug addicts.

"Pathway volunteers" did all types of supervised manual labour in Emmaus for a few hours a week, but most importantly, the focus in on their communicative and relational skills for teamwork. Affective-*cum*-linguistic labour seemed to be more central than manual work, which was actually covered by companions and regular volunteers in the social cooperative. The ultimate goal was for these people to learn habits and routines, to interact with their workmates and to socialise with strangers in order to develop relational selves. The manual tasks allocated to these volunteers included cleaning, sorting out clothes, or collecting donations on the van. John claimed that the process would be "inch-by-inch". At first, the Pathway volunteers would come to Emmaus for two hours: have a fag, have some tea, then have lunch, then sweep the floor and finally they would have another cigarette. Afterwards, they would ask them to sweep first, then have a cigarette, have tea, have lunch with the others, then sweep again and go home (fieldnotes, 03-04-2012). My ethnographic observations of these pathway volunteers tally with the general manager's description, as I often saw them having a cigarette and/or tea with other volunteers or companions.

This borough-wide volunteer scheme aimed to provide homeless service users with new skills enabling them to move on to paid employment in the future. Interestingly, Mike referred to soft skills such as establishing work habits and "redeveloping communication skills as part of a team and in the later stages, to talk with shop customers" (fieldnotes, 19-04-2012). He also pointed out that interaction with other volunteers and companions would help them regain their self-esteem. In fact, Mike wanted to recruit a cross-section of volunteers encompassing more middle-class and professionalised profiles, such as Bill (see above) or Jane, a young woman who runs an online vintage business part-time and whom he recruited to assist the shops. The idea was for well-established companions and more privileged external volunteers to supervise Pathway users in their work and most importantly, to interact with them.

As an illuminating case, Korfa was a 26 year-old man who lived in a homeless hostel in the same borough. He claimed Jobseeker's Benefit and Housing Benefit to pay for the service fees at the hostel. At Emmaus, he volunteered to clean communal

areas and carry goods in the shops. Originally from Somalia, Korfa fled to Kenya (where he learned English) and from there, he visited some relatives in North Carolina before coming to the UK in 2002. He was given indefinite leave to remain in the UK as a refugee. He used to live with some Somali relatives but they threw him out because he was not a "good Muslim". He became addicted to drugs and was imprisoned three times, but he made it clear that it was not rape or murder, but shoplifting food or drink.

Korfa's case sheds light on the discursive circulation of neoliberal tropes among Pathway users. In the Excerpt below, he justifies his voluntary labour for Emmaus while we have a cup of tea outdoors. Korfa presents volunteering as an opportunity to repay, Emmaus, which had previously helped him with food handouts. In addition, he emphasises the benefits of relational labour, which would make him become a moral citizen and move away from other welfare users at the hostel who abused drugs. In the mid-term, he expected his decision to volunteer for Emmaus to have material consequences because his key social workers at the hostel might consider upgrading him to supported accommodation. In the longer run, he was hoping that his voluntary commitment would provide him with work experience for future labour insertion. He expects to have "a normal life", symbolised by having a home, a paid job and a car.

Excerpt 46. Volunteering for reciprocity, moral betterment, future labour insertion and material improvement. Informal interview with Korfa, Pathway volunteer. 14-06-2012.

> He got to know **Emmaus** when they donated some clothes and shoes to him when he was in the streets. Recently, he met Mike in his hostel and was offered the opportunity to volunteer. Korfa presents it as "an opportunity to give back" because Emmaus helped him. When I ask why he wants to volunteer, he repeats several times that he "gets away from bad influences", drink and friends who do not suit him. While he is here, he is not at the hostel with people who drink or do drugs.
>
> When we talk about his **future**, he is determined to show the hostel key workers that he is a reliable person who can turn his life around by volunteering here. His volunteer work might have material consequences for him, since the key workers might decide to move him up to independent supported accommodation as they did with a friend of his. He also mentions that this work experience is good for his CV to show that he has work habits and to apply for cleaning or warehouse jobs in the future. He repeats that he is determined to turn his life around because he is 26 years old and wants to have "a normal life with a house, a car and a job".

Perhaps unknowingly, Korfa underlines the goal of "turn[ing] his life around", which echoes with the Emmaus threshold chronotope for companion narratives (see section 3.4.2). This Pathway volunteer shares many discourses with Emmaus London and would undoubtedly be a potential candidate to become a companion. As a case in point, Mike clearly shared Korfa's idea of reciprocity and in his view these Pathway volunteers gave manual labour in exchange for affective/relational labour. Mike claimed that "when my borough clients come in quite often it's it is a reciprocal agreement because they get the benefit of coming to a place that have something, a bit of a social thing, and they receive something there in return" (interview, 14-06-2012). Muehlebach's "moral neoliberal" is well illustrated in the case of Pathway volunteers.

The neoliberal move of holding individual citizens responsible for the welfare of local communities has resulted in the activation of passive populations across the board. Marginalised people tend to regard voluntary labour as an opportunity to prove their worth through a post-modern work ethic based on moral, relational selves who gain new skills. The activation of middle-class professionals as (unpaid) trustees and volunteers has gained momentum with a discourse of affective labour with the marginalised (with an *abbé-pierriste* echo) and the use of their professional skills for "charitable purposes". Both seem to share a focus on relationality and communication in their voluntary labour in Emmaus London.

5.3. Discussion: Socio-political and religious localisations of transnational Emmaus trends

Tracing discursive genealogies in each research site brings to the fore religious and political discourses as key tropes of differentiation within this transnational social movement. My ethnographically grounded analysis shows the multi-layered, heterogeneous nature of a specific transnational social movement from situated interactions that serve as windows onto larger discourses crosscutting social movements and organisations. The relocalisation of discourses depends on the intersection among (a) the legal, socio-political and economic conditions, in particular regarding the mixed economy of welfare in each state; (b) the group's genesis and evolution within a given orientation in the movement, largely corresponding to centripetal and centrifugal trends (see section 4.1.); and (c) people's individual

trajectories, which create discursive clasps with other social arenas. Chapters 4 and 5 investigate the discursive struggles over the shared moral value of "solidarity" that emanates from the Emmaus founding story chronotopes (see Chapter 3). Crucially, the ethnographic and historicising perspective on Emmaus constructions has shown the reconfiguration of political and religious discourses over time and in different local/national contexts.

Both Emmaus groups in my study participated in the mixed economy of welfare in secularising states, but they constructed different discursive justifications for their shared mission of "solidarity". On the one hand, the two communities positioned their contribution to the retreating welfare state and their relationship vis-à-vis the local authorities in a framework of either socio-political activism or collaboration. Whereas Emmaus Barcelona denounced structural causes for poverty and held the administration responsible for universal welfare rights, Emmaus London appealed to an individualist work ethic within a neoliberal, selective regime. On the other hand, *"c'est aujourd'hui la foi qui devient taboue"* [it is faith that becomes taboo today] (Brodiez 2009a, p.99). Both communities presented themselves as secular collectives, but they had a religious background and shared Catholic symbols from the founding story (as we saw in section 3.3). Emmaus London had undergone a thorough process of religious erasure (Irvine and Gal, 2000) in order to become a partner of the secular British state, while central Emmaus Barcelona members clasped their longstanding faith-based trajectories with new social movements such as *altermondialisme* that engage in socio-political activism for universal rights.

The relocalisation of solidarity as a discursive core that constructs sameness and difference in two different Emmaus localities revolves around geopolitical orientation, socio-political goals and interdiscursive clasps. The first question is who the recipients of this solidarity should be. Emmaus Barcelona exhibited a broader transnational orientation, since it addressed transnational migrants as "those less fortunate" in this post-industrial city for decades, but it also collaborated with development projects in Central and South America. By contrast, Emmaus London served a target population of local homeless people who were British or legal residents in the UK. They decided who the deserving recipients are, on behalf of the British state. They did not work with undocumented migrants and had no overseas solidarity projects.

From a transnational and historicising perspective, these two communities are representative of different trends within Emmaus as a social movement (see Brodiez-Dolino, 2008, 2011). In France, Brodiez-Dolino has documented the evolution of both trends historically and my ethnography shows that this process extends beyond the Hexagon. The Emmaus community in Barcelona displayed ideological conviction and voluntary commitment and participation was based on social activism. This bottom-up community based on the Abbé Pierre's early period was very independent from other Emmaus groups and was outward-looking in their activism. This "centrifugal" trend connected with other grassroots groups across borders that also engaged in the Abbé Pierre's socio-political critique. Legitimacy in this transnational trend relies on seniority (what Massin called "historical legitimacy") and connections to the Abbé Pierre. Emmaus London adhered to an ethic of responsibility to Emmaus as an organisation. It relied on the professionalised management of paid workers in a national federation of independent charities and in turn, in an international NGO. This "centripetal" trend sought to consolidate the movement as a stable organisation that reproduced itself in new geographical areas and over time. The bases of legitimacy were competence and social prestige, with little regard for the founder.

Second, the shared goal of solidarity might be linked to different transnational trends within the Emmaus movement, namely that of socio-political activism and emancipation, or that of depoliticised charity assistance. Emmaus Barcelona belongs to a utopian, Liberationist trend within the transnational movement that regards welfare provision as a way to work with the marginalised to detect social needs and jointly denounce the causes of poverty, including neglect by the state. Their interpretation of solidarity (re)produced Liberationist fraternity among companions and volunteers who shared *altermondialiste* causes in a changing world. Nevertheless, the *drapaires* were well aware of the articulation of Catholicism and neoliberalism in the provision of services on behalf of the retreating state (Muehlebach, 2013). Emmaus London, in turn, was a non-politicised charity that sets out to provide services for the state and to save money to the taxpayer. Voluntary labour, in their perspective, gave social recognition to the marginalised through Fordist blue-collar work belonging. Their aim, however, was not social justice or redistribution. Their discursive justification mixed the Protestant work ethic in the arena of British charities with working class pride and dignity against the current backdrop of neoliberal soft skilling and activation policies.

Third, the different interpretations of solidarity above clasp with circulating social discourses and arenas that co-construct each other. Socio-political activism in Catalonia relates to a Catho-communist tradition of equality that favours statutory welfare and redistribution policies. Emmaus Barcelona clasped with Catalan progressive Catholicism, Liberationist Christianity and transnational alter-globalisation movements. These arenas all shared a view of solidarity as working with equals for collective socio-political transformation across borders. On the contrary, Emmaus London clasped with a Protestant work ethic that promoted Post-Fordist individual labour for social recognition, but not social justice and equal rights. This Emmaus brought people from different social classes together in co-suffering and dutiful response based on emotions, not politics. Emmaus London was deeply embedded in the British mixed welfare system. It had a nationalistic outlook, relied on voluntary labour to turn passive populations into relational workers and erased socio-political activism as well as religious inspiration in the movement.

These local orientations respond not only to the transnational trends within Emmaus and the particular state regimes where communities are located, but also to the central members' trajectories and their interpretation of the transnational movement at a particular socio-historical juncture. Ethnography allows us to grasp the oft-hidden role of individual people's trajectories in shaping the Emmaus community's orientation, in particular those who enjoy greater legitimacy in the eyes of other members (see Chapter 7 for more on legitimacy). In Barcelona, the founder Rita and her husband Alberto had shaped the interdiscursive clasps with the post-68 idealism and Social Catholicism, whereas the working priests had reinforced the Liberationist links abroad. Personal connections, even those of junior companions and volunteers, appear to have been key to establish discursive overlaps and connections with social arenas such as 15-M, Communist politics or migrants' rights activism. Similarly, the London general manager's past career in finance and his voluntary roles in homeless organisations explain the business orientation and narrow definition of Emmaus as a homeless charity. More generally, Alwyn's business background and knowledge of the UK charity sector determined the top-down professionalised management of Emmaus in the UK from the beginning.

Situated conflicts and tensions emerged out of the different trends, thus revealing historical tensions, activist cultures and their evolutions (Brodiez-Dolino, 2011). In Chapter 4, the assembly with Basque and Latin American groups was a

window onto the transnational tensions between critical, *abbé-pierriste* groups and the top-down Emmaus International NGO (see section 4.3.3.) In fact, the Barcelona group is a case of defection from the official organisation after a lifetime of participation, due to ideological disagreements. In the UK, Emmaus Cambridge and Emmaus Dover also temporarily left the national federation Emmaus UK owing to disagreements on what solidarity donations were used for, namely, overseas projects for the former two groups and helping local communities in trouble for the latter. This echoes the defections and fragmentations in the history of Emmaus France, where the "*aventuriers*" and the "*gestionnaires*" even created separate branches (see section 1.5.1 for more on history). Furthermore, we have seen that the different orientations to pastoral care and business operation gave rise to internal conflicts among the companions and especially decision-making staff in Emmaus London (see section 5.2.2 above). We could argue that there is fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal, 2000) of the historical trends at the national federation scale and in a local Emmaus group.

Emmaus as a transnational movement is undoubtedly a *complexio oppositorium* (term taken from Muehlebach, 2009) that brings together differing interpretations of the shared mission of solidarity in the founding story. This movement has brought together the seemingly contradictory charitable and politicised currents and members for decades. The simultaneous circulation and relocalisation of discourses across geographical and generational lines (re)produces Emmaus as a transnational social movement while at the same time produces internal differentiation, conflicts and even defection. In other words, Emmaus is painstakingly constructed as an imagined community of unseen others who work for the same mission of "solidarity" in an ocean of local initiatives that relocalise it in differing socio-political regimes intersecting with the founders' trajectories. The production of simultaneous difference and sameness is a complex, even contradictory discursive construction in everyday life. We could even argue that heterogeneity on the ground might be what allows the survival of a social movement such as Emmaus across space and over time. Ethnography as a method emerges is a *sine qua non* for grasping the ideological tensions and activist cultures in situated interactions within a large social movement.

Chapter 6

Linguistic socialisation into the Emmaus social movement: Tensions between national and post-national constructions of language

> I'm thinking to visit Emmaus London in England for much reasons, in the first, I'm living in a community of Emmaus Barcelona, then I'm sure that they have the same principles and objectives, but each one operate different, in the segon, I'm interesting to make relationship with England's mans to know how is their vision of the life, in the third, i'm looking forwards to learn and practice English language.

> Essay by Massin, Emmaus Barcelona companion, March 2012.

6.1. Introduction: Transnationalism, multilingualism and mobilities in a social movement

Massin, a 35-year old Amazigh man, was interested in learning English because in his view, it is "the international language" (interview, 15-02-2012). He had been an Emmaus companion for over two years following his previous participation and voluntary work in the local residential projects for homeless migrants. At the time of fieldwork, he was learning English in a community college partly because he wanted to live and work in an Emmaus community in England for some weeks. That is why Massin decided to ask me for private English lessons after work. The opening extract comes from one of his essays for our informal lessons after lunch. Unfortunately, the on-going economic difficulties and the restrictions for his temporary Spanish residence permit have so far prevented him from travelling to the UK at the time of writing.

In his essay above, Massin puts forward three reasons to visit an English Emmaus community. These are (1) getting to know the different local activities that aim to accomplish common transnational objectives, (2) learning about English people's perspective on life and finally, (3) practising the English language. He not only revisits the idea of the imagined community of shared readership (see Chapter 3) – and interestingly, linguae francae, one of the foci of this chapter – but also introduces the idea of localisation of activities and discourses in a specific locality (see Chapters 4 and 5). According to Massin, the people who work for the same transnational objectives speak different languages and have different perspectives on

life and particularly on the Emmaus movement. This transnationally-oriented companion points to the discursive appropriations of the common solidarity message in specific countries, such as England that, among other differences, have different language regimes embedded in local sociocultural and discursive traditions.

This young companion regarded transnational mobility as a unique chance to learn from diverse people, different work experiences and new educational opportunities (fieldnotes, 21-01-2012). Of course, this learning process included language at its heart. In 2007, he migrated from the Sahara area of South Eastern Morocco to the Barcelona area. Since then, he has learned Spanish and Catalan in the context of Emmaus Barcelona. This shows that this Emmaus community was somewhat open to the increasing urban diversity owing to recent migrations (see section 1.5.3.1 about context). At the time of fieldwork, Massin wanted to improve his English to use it as a lingua franca for social activism abroad and online (see Garrido and Codó, forthcoming). His participation in the Emmaus movement granted him access to a network of communities that share a mission and a lifestyle. Following Àngels' account of her spontaneous visit to Emmaus Cambridge (see section 3.3.1), Massin looked forward to working temporarily with this community, which Emmaus Barcelona had no direct links with.

Together with Chapter 7, this chapter addresses my third research question, which addresses social stratification processes in situated events and the consequences for access and participation in the Emmaus social movement (see section 1.2). In particular, the present chapter explores the social construction of language and multilingualism through an analysis of situated practices and metalinguistic commentary in the two research sites. After all, language practice and ideology are but two sides of the same coin (Heller, 2007). Situated talk is key in socialising new recruits into and through language in the local communities and in the broader Emmaus movement (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002). As far as socialisation *through* language is concerned, language is the fabric of narratives, discourses and socio-political subjectivities mobilised and inhabited by the Emmaus companions. As we have seen, situated talk is central to the practice of appropriating and circulating discourses, which in turn legitimise certain language practices. For instance, Emmaus London's discursive clasps with the nationalist British mixed economy of welfare resulted in institutional English-only discourses.

The main focus of this chapter is on how Emmaus communities socialise new recruits *into* the languages used for communication, not only "national" languages such as English or Catalan but also international linguae francae and migrant languages, to a lesser extent. Through participation, members pick up language practices for different types of social interaction in the community, be it standard languages or translanguaging with different mobile resources. A closer look into translanguaging in communicative spaces shows how Emmaus communities manage the super-diversity (especially linguistic) that surrounds them in Greater London and the Barcelona metropolitan area. The two Emmaus communities in this study also serve as windows onto Emmaus transnational articulation and mobilities (or lack thereof) through linguae francae, especially Spanish, English and French. These forms of linguistic capital allow access to different activities and ultimately bear on people's social inclusion/ exclusion in the local communities and in the transnational social movement at large.

My analysis so far has centred on the transnationally-informed Emmaus groups and actors in two focal localities. Narratives and discourses have been linguistically and socially appropriated in local communities that have their own histories. The multi-sited, transnational ethnographic lens has allowed me to understand the discursive localisation of the Emmaus movement in terms of the construction of sameness and difference. I assumed an articulation between transnationalism and multilingualism in Emmaus, based on a previous ethnography of just *one* residential project for migrants run by the Barcelona community. I expected to document all-round super-diversity and multilingual practices in the communities that I visited in Southern England. However, the largely homogeneous profile of companions, who were mostly white British men (see section 1.5.3.2), and the dominance of English forced me to question my *etic* naturalisation of multilingualism in transnational social movements. Language is, after all, a local and social practice grounded in socio-political and historical contexts (Pennycook, 2007, 2010). In this light, what types of language regimes do the Emmaus communities construct? And where, when, by whom and for what purposes is multilingualism relevant, if it is?

Recent work on contemporary 2.0 transnational social movements such as Occupy or the so-called Arab Springs has paid more attention to intertextuality and interdiscursivity than to multilingualism in protest practices. Research shows that two sociolinguistic processes are at work: the localisation of English and the revalorisation

of local languages (Aboelezz, forthcoming; Martín-Rojo, 2012; Moustaoui, 2013). In these social movements, messages were simultaneously inward- and outward-looking, as shown by the juxtaposed or mixed use of international languages with local ones, against a background of culturally-situated knowledge. Often, it took a local multilingual speaker to understand the whole message and the full import of the metaphors, puns or jokes used. *"El multilingüismo local interactúa con las lenguas de la globalización generando un conocimiento glocal re-contextualizado, re-colocado y re-semiotizado para los objectivos del movimiento, dando lugar así a nuevas estrategias de comunicación"* [Local multilingualism interacts with the languages of globalisation, thus generating a glocal knowledge that is recontextualised, relocated and resemiotised for the objectives of the movement, bringing about new communication strategies] (Moustaoui, 2013, p.4).

Protests in Spain, Egypt and Morocco legitimised multilingualism and, in particular, "mixing" as inclusive strategies in the pursuit of social critique. The internal reorganisation of language markets within a social movement, e.g. within the 20 February movement in Morocco, stands in tension with stratified and nationalist language regimes. Nevertheless, Occupy movements in Canada and the UK are typically not multilingual, and those in the US are only timidly so, with the introduction of Spanish (Martín-Rojo, 2012, p.18). This echoes the limited transnationalisation of protest action and organisational structures in the British environmental movement (Rootes, 2005). In addition, the great heterogeneity of social activists in Spain or Italy in alter-globalist fora did not carry to Britain, where the bulk of participants were affiliated with the Socialist party (DellaPorta, 2005).

Kahn and Heller (2006) argue that transnational spaces for alternative economic and socio-political activities, such as NGOs or social movements, place multilingualism at the centre of the working lives of activists. Of course there are ideological tensions emanating from "thinking globally, acting locally". The long-standing national linguistic ideologies in a given locality do not always fit with post-national multilingualism to communicate with a range of other groups abroad. In fact, the type of multilingualism in a specific NGO chapter or grassroots organisation determines the choice of partners, the geographical range of activities and communications, as well as the local management of diversity. In local groups, transnational orientation and mobilities call for multilingualism and give rise to translators and cultural mediators (Gal, 2003).

This chapter is organised as follows. The second section offers an overview of the concepts used to analyse language socialisation and the construction of multilingualism in the two Emmaus communities in my study. The third section is an ethnographic analysis of multilingualism within local super-diversity and for transnational articulation in the movement. In this section, I will analyse first Emmaus Barcelona and second Emmaus London. In Barcelona, I will explore the socialisation of non-Catalans into this bilingual community, the use of translanguaging with and among migrant members, and the value of international linguae francae for transnational activism. In London, I will examine the construction of the English language as a requirement for access within English nationalism, the constructions of identities through language and mobilities in London, and the tensions between French and English as linguae francae in the broader Emmaus movement. To close this chapter, my discussion will centre on the role of language in the construction of transnational trends in this social movement.

6.2. Conceptual framework: Socialisation into national languages and post-national languaging

Departing from a critical perspective on language and society (see section 1.3), this chapter deals with *linguistic socialisation* (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002; see section 7.2. for more) within a transnational social movement in late modernity. The informants in my study underwent a socialisation process to function in their local Emmaus, where they acquired linguistic resources and the cultural values attributed to them in varying contexts. Through situated interactions, existing members guided new recruits in their learning process in the light of routinised linguistic practices and dispositions. In Emmaus Barcelona, as an illustration, a new volunteer in the kitchen learned how to engage in a hybrid variety of Spanish for "sweet talk" (see section 6.3.1.2 below). Additionally, new members were socialised into language ideologies which shaped and accounted for actual language practices from the participants' perspective. Woolard defines *language ideologies* as "representations, whether explicit or implicit, which construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (1998b, p. 3).

Given the crucial role that language practices play in social structuration processes (Giddens 1984, see section 1.3.), I will draw on Bourdieu's *political economy of language* (1991) to explain the unequal distribution of resources among social actors. Well-established actors such as community leaders and senior companions defined legitimate linguistic and cultural at the expense of new recruits or migrants, who often had limited access to these forms of capital. Forms of *symbolic capitals* are sources of power that position the holder through socially-transmitted categorisation schemes. New members generally exercised *symbolic violence* by accepting the legitimacy of the capital owned by powerful social actors in this field. Each community of practice routinely reproduces a specific *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990) that participants inhabit, that is to say, a system of unconscious dispositions acquired through socialisation and manifest in individual behaviour: ways of talking, ways of behaving etc. This set of habitual, naturalised dispositions marks boundaries with non-members and also stratifies the community members by virtue of these legitimate capitals.

Nowadays, globalisation and mobility facilitate the learning of new language capital from the repertoires in contact, especially in urban contexts. Transcultural flows (Pennycook, 2007), such as the ones analysed in the Emmaus imagined community, typically involve hybrid, polyvalent and mixed practices from multilingual repertoires anchored in the biographies of speakers. The consequence of geographical mobility is the relocalisation of linguistic resources, which acquire a different value in and across social and geographical spaces, and the reconfiguration of identities (Blommaert, 2010). This was especially the case with migrants in this Emmaus community who had participated in the three-month residential project and had moved to Emmaus social flats, as well as the last group of migrants in the temporary residential project in late 2011 (see sections 1.5.3.1 and 4.3.4.1 for more on these projects). These people faced a socialisation not only into the Emmaus imaginary through language, but also into new local languages (i.e. Spanish and Catalan). This latter process favoured the emergence of locally-situated repertoires characterised by non-standard and hybrid forms. The migrants' practices also made the majority language speakers resort to linguae francae for communication, in tension with linguistic nationalism that placed the onus on newcomers to learn "national" standard languages.

Indeed, both fluid practices and fixed standards coexist in varying contexts. Socialisation into transnational networks such as Emmaus, and especially in local nodes located in super-diverse neighbourhoods, tends to be associated with heightened language creativity and hybridity. Against the uncritical celebration of diversity, language as a situated practice might involve not only the take-up of transnational fluid possibilities, but also the appropriation of "static and monolithic identity and culture" (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010, p.244). *Metrolingualism* is the paradoxical co-construction of fixity and fluidity, locality and globality, discreteness and hybridity in situated identities. Following Schneider (2014), the concept of "zombie categories" (Beck, 2001) illustrates this paradox, since the category of "language" is half-dead and alive at the same time. The concepts of "language", "identity" and "community" construct static, bounded objects, but they are still relevant for describing social life. My account of "language" makes reference to the socially-constructed, fixed notion that is in fact challenged through its situated construction.

Language practices are social practices situated in multimodal localities crisscrossed by discursive genealogies and mobilities of people, capital, ideas and objects. As far as fluidity is concerned, I will showcase creative, hybrid and even playful uses of language among transnationally-oriented and mobile participants in my study. This view regards language as a verb and as social action, that is to say, *languaging* (Jørgensen, 2008). Speakers combine different resources, often from what would be described as different linguistic systems, for practical communication. I borrow the closely-connected concept of *translanguaging* (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; Pennycook, 2007, 2010) to describe the mobilisation of language resources in the practices of multilingual people who select and mix features from their repertoires. A case in point is Rampton's *crossing* (1995), defined as a speaker's use of linguistic resources or varieties that are associated with a social group that s/he does not "naturally" belong to. Participants can learn "bits and pieces" of language varieties to use them strategically and then even forget them (Blommaert and Backus, 2011).

Interestingly, situated talk might not correspond to a particular local variety but constitute a third way of communicating among diverse interlocutors in a given context. By and large, people's repertoires are unstable, truncated and in constant change. Language as a local practice constructs subjectivities by means of a

constructed type of multilingualism that may not fit with the transnational orientation of Emmaus (Kahn and Heller, 2006) or the state monolingual norm (Silverstein, 1996). Rather than unitary named systems, such as "English", languages are emergent from contexts of interaction located in space and time (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010). Ethnography sheds light on the situated evaluation, appropriation and transformation of language resources by people with multilingual repertoires that include normative and non-standard varieties of linguae francae, migrant languages and local/national languages. In other words, Emmaus members have a "both-and" model (Woolard and Frekko, 2013) that orients to fixity and flexibility simultaneously.

Regarding fixity, the on-going relevance of language as a noun, i.e. as a named object, owes much to monoglot linguistic nationalism. I do not ask whether nationalism is right or wrong, but rather inquire how it has informed the social construction of language and of multilingualism in a specific locality. Policy debates on multilingualism in nation-states continue to construct a modernist view of language as a clearly-bounded object on which national, ethnic and personal identities are built (see Woolard and Frekko, 2013, for an analysis in Catalonia). I will draw on Silverstein's analysis of the naturalisation and commodification of nation-state standard languages (1996). The monoglot norm presents standardised linguistic practices as instrumental-denotational systems, which are democratising. Since early modernity, standard language has been at the heart of legitimising discourses of the nation(-state), which was socially constructed as a uniform, fixed language community with boundaries (Anderson, 1983).

This modernist model continues to thrive through *banal nationalism*, the everyday taken-for-granted construction of nationalist feeling (especially in established nation-states) through flags, institutions, sports clubs, the media and symbols (Billig, 1995). Language continues to be recruited in taken-for-granted, yet increasingly more explicit, nationalism in the recent challenge that super-diversity poses to the Herderian nation-state. More specifically, discourses of *integration-through-language* (Cleghorn, 2000; Hogan-Brun *et al.*, 2006) have reified a standard variety as the national language, which allegedly indexes "sociocultural integration" for would-be citizens of migrant origins and allows equal access to state institutions and the labour market. Language under this discursive regime becomes a vehicle for migrants' one-sided re-socialisation into dominant knowledge, cultural practices, moral values and social behaviours mediated through the official language(s).

Therefore, linguistic nationalism is still the basis for social exclusion and merit-based systems in state institutions. However, integration discourses articulate this language ideology with social sanctions in a more explicit way in relation to mobile people who speak different languages in the current globalizing era.

But how is the national language constructed? We should differentiate between nation and nation-state in order to make sense of the language ideologies analysed, such as that of integration. Nation-states are unified political entities that may encompass historically different peoples, which are imagined communities bound by a shared language, culture, religion and/or ethnicity. The Herderian myth of one state - one nation - one language has created the modernist logics that have created a hegemonic language-culture nexus, with others constructed as linguistic minorities (see Duchêne, 2008). For example, England as a nation, and its historical language, English, have become the centre of the British state. The historical nations that have become minorities, such as Catalans, Basques or Scots, have in turn adopted the nation-state logics for their own nation-state building project (see Heller, 2011 about Francophone Canada). In Catalonia, Catalan is the heritage language (*llengua pròpia*) that is the object of the government's language normalisation campaigns, whereas Spanish is co-official as the state language.

In minority language contexts, social activism tends to overlap with grassroots movements of language revival (see Urla, 2012). Urla's thesis is that language revival movements are not the outcome of nationalism but grow out of the conjuncture of nationalist imaginaries with the emergence of the "social" as a sphere of governmentality. There has always been a porous boundary between language revival and other forms of social dissent, as illustrated in Catalan and Basque civil society, since the Francoist dictatorship. Let us recall that the first Emmaus groups in the Spanish state were located in Euskalherria, where the bulk of Spanish groups is still located today, and Catalonia. The two axioms of language activism are first, the modernist idea that the heritage language (e.g. Basque or Catalan) constitutes the core of a distinctive national identity and nationhood à la Anderson, and second, a sociological understanding of language as speakers' practices and ideologies that can be both documented and managed. The non-ethnic understanding of national identities through speaking the *llengua pròpia* has put the emphasis on teaching the language to all citizens. Thus, ideologies of integration in Catalonia have often

coupled with grassroots language activism and governmental language policies for nation-state building (Pujolar, 2007a, 2010).

Language activism is but one example of the "both-and model" caught between a modernist ideology of language and a late modern one that is based on civic participation. The bases of linguistic authority of authenticity and anonymity (Gal and Woolard, 2001) become especially relevant for analysing the coexistence of fixed, standard and more fluid, mixed language practices in my research sites. Authenticity ideologies construe language as an ethnic marker "from somewhere", grounded in a territory, whereas the ideology of anonymity constructs a public, standard and universal voice "from nowhere". The social value attached to the authentic voice or legitimate speaker (Bourdieu, 1991) complicates the everyday use of this language by non-members who do not "own" the language ideologically (Woolard, 2008). For instance, the negotiation of English as an anonymous lingua franca and/or a nation-state identity marker is an interesting arena for ideological tensions.

6.3. Analysis: Multilingualism as an index of transnational articulation and openness to local super-diversity in Emmaus communities

In Emmaus communities, situated linguistic practices and ideologies index both the transnational articulation of the movement and the porosity to local super-diversity. First, multilingualism is originally connected to the Francophone expansion of Emmaus to other parts of Europe and the world. As reported in Chapter 4, we can trace the origins of Emmaus Barcelona to the summer youth work camps in the 1970s. These were organised initially in France and most people were Francophones. Rita recalls her difficulties for communicating in French at the work camp for future *responsables* organised for Easter 1971.

Excerpt 47. Deproblematising language in 1970s Emmaus work camps. Notes on interview with Rita, Emmaus Barcelona founder. 21-03-2012. My translation from Catalan.

La majoria dels participants eren francesos i elles eren les úniques estrangeres. El seu francès "no era suficient" per comunicar-se perquè parlaven molt ràpid entre ells i el seu traductor es va cansar a la llarga. S'ho van passar malament perquè estaven

aïllades del grup. La Rita creu que el problema va ser "la falta d'acollida" i no pas la comunicació o la llengua, perquè podrien haver intentat incloure-les més.

[Most participants were French and they were the only foreigners. Their French "was not enough" to communicate because they spoke very quickly among themselves and their translator eventually got tired. They had a rough time because they were isolated from the group. Rita believes that the problem is the "lack of welcome" and not communication or language, because they could have tried to include them more.]

This is an interesting framing of the experienced linguistic isolation in terms of the comprehensive Emmaus principle of "welcome"/*acollida*. As we shall see, the downplaying of communication and language difficulties was typical among the Barcelona companions. Nevertheless, French was requisite for contacts with Emmaus in France, the cradle and source of inspiration for these *drapaires*.

Emmaus got to the UK in the early 1990s thanks to Alwyn, a former Modern Language student who had worked in the first ever Emmaus community in the 1960s. As you may recall, Alwyn acted as the "mediator" between the Abbé Pierre, who did not speak any English, and the local collaborators who did not speak French (see Chapter 5). Today, most Emmaus communities in the world are non-English speaking, but Emmaus UK has become the second largest state federation in the movement. Although English has been an official language in Emmaus International since 1971, it has gained some terrain as a lingua franca, especially in Northern Europe, including the UK, and in South East Asia (interview with EI board member, 13-09-2013). According to the Emmaus UK Chief Executive, "language is a barrier" and most companions in the UK decide to go on exchanges to Holland or Germany, where they will find English L2 speakers.

The expansion of Emmaus into the USA was recently attempted by Cambridge community leaders without success. The "Pathfinder project" to spread Emmaus in the States is based on the premises of similar linguistic, cultural and economic traits with the UK and other Northern countries. The project reads: "There are definite advantages, therefore, in the support work in the USA remaining with existing Emmaus work in the northern hemisphere including similar culture, lack of language barriers and a market economy" (page 16, retrieved in 2012). Alwyn told me that "nobody had really paid serious attention to the United States for example" before (interview, 05-09-2013). Interestingly, the idea of "language barriers" comes up again and implicitly, the solution is the use of English as a shared language - in spite of negative cultural echoes of Emmaus keywords such as "community" for

Americans (see section 5.2.3.2).

Second, multilingual practices and ideologies are imbricated in the super-diverse contexts of Greater London and the Barcelona metropolitan area respectively. I cannot grasp the construction of multilingualism (or, I insist, lack thereof) without taking into account the localities where these transnationally informed groups are located. In the post-industrial town where Emmaus Barcelona is located, the demographic composition has diversified since the turn of the century, especially due to African migration in recent years. The Emmaus residential project for homeless migrants (2003-2011) catered for this population and radically transformed language practices in this bilingual Catalan-Spanish Emmaus community. As the former coordinator, Rita offers a poignant description of the project as travelling without moving from home thanks to other people's transnational mobilities. She says that "*per a mi, realment el projecte ha sigut molt important, no m'he mogut de casa però és com si hagués viatjat en certa manera*" [for me, the project has really been very important, I haven't moved from home but it is as if I had travelled in some way] (interview, 23-03-2012).

This "transnationalism at home" coupled with multilingual practices in the everyday running of the residential project for migrants. These temporary, peripheral members often could not speak local languages and Rita mobilised her school French. In a radio interview, she recognised that her Catalan-accented French and the participants' African varieties were sufficient for communication, despite their lack of authenticity and legitimacy, as compared to Parisian standard (see Excerpt 48 below). She simultaneously problematised her own and the migrants' French varieties with respect to the fixed standard and deproblematised them in the transnational context of communication, the residential project, where the goal was to understand each other through creative *translanguaging*.

Excerpt 48. French as a lingua franca in the residential project. Interview with Rita, Emmaus Barcelona *responsable* and founder, at a local radio station. 02-11-2011. My translation from Catalan.

> No se m'havia acudit mai que em fes tanta falta com ara en el projecte d'immigrants que tenim a casa, malgrat ara que la majoria són subsaharians parlen francès i si em sentís la meva mestra em diria que parlo francès com si fos de Perpinyà però ens entenem. Ells tampoc parlen un francès de París, diguéssim.

[I had never imagined that I would need it as now in the project for immigrants that we have at home, even though most of them are Sub-Saharan at the moment they speak French and if my teacher heard me she'd say that I speak French as if I was from Perpignan but we understand each other. They don't speak a French from Paris let's say.]

The London borough where Emmaus is located was described to me by Hugh, a former companion and rough sleeper, as "an international borough". When I asked him why he decided to stay in the area after he had left Emmaus, he answered that the borough is "a very international borough" and that he enjoyed being around people from all over the world - he enjoyed different cuisines, different customs and learning languages (fieldnotes, 09-05-2012). Needless to say, the London history of migrations is much richer and more protracted than the one in the Barcelona area (see Block, 2006: Chapter 3; Wessendorf, 2011). Let us recall that this borough has around 40% of foreign population with a high concentration of white British, Afro-Caribbeans, Africans and Portuguese (see section 1.5.3.2). Hugh singled out learning languages in this super-diverse borough and he could actually speak some basic Spanish when he enrolled in the evening Spanish lessons. He decided to attend my Spanish lessons because I had offered to teach them and that was "a good enough reason" for him (fieldnotes, same).

Despite this super-diverse picture, the dominance of English cut across ethnicities and nationalities as the hegemonic lingua franca in this neighbourhood, just as it is the UK. In this Emmaus group, "good" English was a requisite for full participation as a companion or as a volunteer. In our interview, the community leader told me that "in this group people become isolated if their English isn't good" and in fact, L2 speakers were a minority. This language requirement did not mean that this Emmaus was not open to non-White ethnicities. According to reports, this community actually had one of the highest rates of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) people in Emmaus UK. However, the vast majority of companions were White British and Irish, with three exceptions at the time of fieldwork. There were some Afro Caribbean and Portuguese volunteers from the local area. But how *linguistically* diverse was it? In the following sections, I will analyse the linguistic practices and discourses about languages and their speakers in order to understand the social construction of multilingualism in Barcelona and in London. This will have broader implications for transnational articulation through language and the social inclusion of people with diverse language backgrounds in the local Emmaus communities.

6.3.1. Emmaus Barcelona: Caught between everyday translanguaging and traditional constructions of Spanish-Catalan bilingualism

Emmaus Barcelona is an example of *metrolingualism*, since members drew on both flexible and fixed perspectives in their everyday construction of identity through language. On the one hand, the transnational orientation of the companions (see Chapter 4) co-constructed flexible language ideologies and translanguaging, especially through linguae francae, and their bilingual orientation in a Catalan urban context. My recent fieldwork in the Emmaus community (2011-2012) revealed that members took for granted bilingual and hybrid practices in their everyday interactions. Their transnational articulation with other grassroots groups and the incorporation of migrants as established members of the broader community explained the use of linguae francae and also translanguaging in some spaces.

On the other hand, this local community had been vested in grassroots Catalan language revitalisation, and in the past decade, in integration-through-language discourses for new migrants within the Catalan nation-state building project. Emmaus is embedded in Catalan civil society, which has historically been related to Catalan language revitalisation since Francoist times (González-Agàpito, Marquès and Noguer, 2007). At the time of fieldwork, Emmaus (re)produced discourses of integration centred on language for transnational migrants. My informants agreed on the symbolic importance of learning and using Catalan. Recently, the group had supported Leftist activists who pioneered Catalan immersion in the 1980s to organise informal Catalan lessons for migrants in the city (see Codó and Garrido, 2014). The vast majority of non-Catalan members of Emmaus had become full Spanish/Catalan bilinguals. Some of them, like Massin and Esther, had become minority language activists for Amazigh and Galician (as well as Catalan) in Catalonia. Nevertheless, new speakers of Catalan were at least initially addressed in Spanish, owing to the still pervasive ideology of authenticity that makes Catalan an ethnic marker (see below for a full analysis).

A simplistic, black-and-white account would locate integration discourses in relation to African migrants and the more flexible discourses among transnationally-informed activists. However, ethnographic realities were much more nuanced and complex. Now I will describe the linguistic socialisation of non-Catalan Spanish-speaking members, translanguaging among migrant members (who did not generally

speak Spanish or Catalan fluently when they entered Emmaus Barcelona), and the value accorded to international linguae francae for transnational activism.

6.3.1.1. Socialisation of non-Catalan speakers in Emmaus Barcelona

Language practices in Catalan and Spanish were hybrid, polyvalent and mixed in the Emmaus community. Participants used ambivalent forms creatively and many used Catalan with an accent grounded in their language biographies. For instance, Marc used hybrid forms with Catalan, French and Spanish, whereas some Basque speakers used it with a typical Euskara intonation and Castilian borrowings. The now-widespread bilingual norm (Corona, Nussbaum and Unamuno, 2013; but see Woolard, 1989) was taken for granted in the community, since Spanish-Catalan bilingual conversations were typical at the *sobretaula* and even between one of the couples, Miquel Àngel and Dolo, in which the husband routinely spoke Catalan and the wife Castilian to each other and everyone else. In table talk, I could switch between Catalan and Spanish with the same interlocutor or in the same group conversation various times. Among many informants, convergence to the interlocutor's language was not generally considered a politeness strategy as in many older middle-class circles in *Sarrona*. As a matter of fact, many informants codeswitched between the local languages or used hybrid forms as a routinised practice, because, according to Rita, *"aquí parlem barrejat"* [here we speak mixed] (fieldnotes, 23-06-2009). In order to become a fully-fledged member, migrant newcomers and non-Catalans had to socialise into these "mixed" bilingual practices in Catalan and Spanish.

When it comes to newly arrived migrants, the traditional social values of Catalan and Spanish seemed to permeate this transnationally-inflected group with a majority of local people from an older generation. There was a gap between integration-through-Catalan discourses based on the ideology of anonymity for public languages on the one hand and the actual language practices with migrants on the other. Such interactions were Spanish-dominant and characterised by frequent use of former colonial languages. In 2011, the migrant participants in the residential project were subject to the integration discourses, which justified Catalan-only language classes run by mostly Emmaus volunteers in the premises of the migrant support umbrella body (see Chapter 4). Despite the residential project participants' obligation

to attend Catalan language classes, newly arrived non-Catalans - and also Castilians (*castellans*, see Woolard, 1989) - were by contrast addressed in monolingual Spanish as an inter-language of communication, whereas most public communication in the community took place in hybrid Catalan and there was extensive codeswitching. Newly arrived Africans were imagined to know "more Spanish" than Catalan by virtue of the commonsensical comportment (Pujolar, 2007a) that habitual Catalan speakers should address non-Catalans in Spanish. As a result, they were asked to take formal Catalan lessons. During the initial period, some Emmaus members communicated with them in English and French as linguae francae, since they could not interact in the two local languages.

By contrast with newcomers, the more established African men in Emmaus, such as Duwa or Jasseh, who had participated in the three-month residential project and then transferred to the smaller-scale social housing project, were largely recognised as fully fledged Catalan/Spanish bilinguals. As an illustration, the social housing project meetings were held in Catalan for the first time in February 2012; up until then they had been conducted in Spanish. In my fieldwork, the integration discourses and fixed constructs of language previously documented in the residential project (Garrido, 2010) had become more flexible with respect to former project participants who had remained in the orbit of Emmaus. These African men had become volunteers, participants in the language partnership scheme and/or residents in Emmaus social housing (see section 1.5.3.1). Their years of participation in Emmaus socialised them into the transnational mission through and into language. Therefore, they were no longer temporary members who were taught standard Catalan and routinely addressed in Spanish as they had been as newcomers in the three-month residential project.

At the time of fieldwork, these African men had become accepted members who were familiar with mixed conversations and hybrid varieties. It seems that there were different linguistic expectations for migrant newcomers, according to their length of interaction with the Emmaus community. The longer they had been involved with Emmaus Barcelona, the more socialised they became into hybrid and mixed practices between Catalan and Spanish, and away from monolingual standards. Formal classes within the three-month project were meant to incorporate newcomers into the bilingual Emmaus community and also *Sarrona*, as it was assumed that they already knew some Spanish. Nonetheless, the consecutive learning and monolingual

bias in the classes did not equip these migrant newcomers for Catalan-*cum*-Spanish interactions with the community members, in addition to other symbolic barriers among the social groups in Emmaus Barcelona (see Chapter 7).

I would like to zoom into the case of Duwa, a Soninké male in his 30s who had been a key informant in my MA thesis (see Garrido, 2013, for a close-up) and who became a volunteer through the small-scale housing project. At the time of fieldwork, he volunteered every day in the warehouse sorting clothes with Dolo. We always spoke to each other in Catalan, as I did with all former project participants to counteract the commonsensical sociolinguistic choice of addressing migrants in Spanish. His hybrid Catalan was sufficient to communicate effectively. Duwa addressed Dolo in Spanish because she was categorised as a "Castilian" and always used Spanish with everyone (see above). He had interiorised the unspoken norm that *castellans* are spoken to in Spanish from the everyday practices he had observed. Early on, Duwa told her that I used to be his teacher in the migrant-support NGO when he arrived in the city. She criticised his low competence in Spanish and Catalan - in her words, Duwa spoke "*indio*" ["Indian"] - because of what she perceived as lack of commitment and limited learning capacities (fieldnotes, 15-09-2011). Instead of standard Spanish (or Catalan) varieties, Duwa produced hybrid and mixed forms between Spanish and Catalan with traces of his multilingual repertoire, which included Soninké, Wolof, Mandinka, English and Fula. Furthermore, Dolo and Duwa's relationship was fraught with cultural misunderstandings as well as minor problems in work decisions throughout my fieldwork. Dolo's criticism of Duwa's hybrid Spanish contrasts with her own and other senior members' deproblematisation of language skills in order to communicate with transnational activists (see section 6.3.1.3 below). Again, this double standard corroborates the differing linguistic expectations from different groups within this Emmaus community.

Simultaneously, some older activists were unconsciously vested in Catalan as a symbolic identity marker, within the ideology of authenticity, whereas Spanish was constructed as a public, anonymous language for non-Catalans. Some members still addressed newcomers and those categorised as working class in Spanish. Despite the on-going reorientation to hybrid and non-standard Catalan as a common language, the convergence to Spanish remained strong with Castilians and other Spanish people in the community. In spite of the widespread use of Catalan among more established members, the old categorisation of "*castellans*" as native Spanish speakers born in

other parts of the Spanish state (Woolard, 1989) still applied in the community. Catalan had gained terrain as a public language that everybody at Emmaus understood and used. In our interview, the young Galician companion Esther wondered why she was always addressed in Spanish, despite Catalan being the main language of communication, just as Dolo and also Francisco (both born in Castile). Note that we also reproduced this commonsensical choice, as we decided to use Spanish as the lingua franca, since it was difficult for us to speak in Catalan and Galician fluently.

Excerpt 49. Commonsensical sociolinguistic comportment with "Spaniards". Interview with Esther, Galician companion in Emmaus Barcelona. 01-03-2012. My translation from Spanish.

| 1 | *MRG: | y aquí en la casa suele ser la comunicación en catalán? |
| | %tra: | and here in the house is communication typically in Catalan? |

2	*EST:	sí # conmigo no # no sé por qué a mi me hablan castellano # con Massin que es
3		moro habla todo el mundo catalán # la única que habla castellano es la Dolo # y es
4		una autoreflejo al dirigirse a nosotros hablan castellano pero entre ellos catalán.
	%tra:	yes # not with me # I don't know why they speak Castillian to me # with Massin who is a Moor everybody speaks Catalan # the only one who speaks Spanish is Dolo # and it is a reflex when they address us they speak Spanish but Catalan among themselves.

Esther rightly points out that non-Spanish nationals who have become more established members, such as like Massin, Agbor or Marc, are routinely spoken to in hybrid Catalan, not monolingual Spanish. Therefore, the commonsensical sociolinguistic comportment with non-Catalans, namely transnational newcomers or old "castellans", has been suspended with the former as they become more established and socialised (see Chapter 7 for more on socialisation). The official discourses of integration may have constructed foreigners as legitimate Catalan speakers who are bilingual in both languages and who can participate in hybrid conversations at Emmaus. When I asked Massin which languages he had used at Emmaus, his answer was *"primer castellà, després català"* [at first Spanish, later on Catalan] and when asked about the language shift, he explained that he started studying Catalan when he learned about official bilingualism. Massin's experience illustrates the reversal over time of the commonsense choice of Spanish . As a fully-fledged Emmaus companion, Massin claimed that *"es nota que parlo més català i escriure escric millor el català que el castellà"* [you notice that I speak more Catalan and in writing I write Catalan

better than Spanish]. He also made it clear that he used Tamazight with "our people" within the residential project, which I also observed.

A very illuminating episode for grasping the tensions between the values of Catalan was the incorporation of a new companion, Vladimir, whose grandfather was an exiled Spanish war child. This 30-year old mobile companion had been brought up in Ukraine, Russia and Germany. This Ukrainian man did not speak much Spanish and could not understand companions in February 2012. His lack of linguistic competence relegated him to manual work in the backstage of the *rastre*, where he related to other male companions (Francisco and Massin mostly) and me. The first volunteer meeting that he attended, three days after joining the community, was his introduction to the volunteers (07-02-2012). Some people were interested in saying "welcome" in Russian, his native language. In the extract below, Josep and Massin speak to him in Spanish but I reply in Catalan (line 5), which he then reformulates in Spanish (line 6). Rita, as the *responsable* who manages these meetings, asks the 27 participants to speak Spanish so that Vladimir can understand (line 10). She makes it clear that socialisation into what they are and what they do happens in the daily interactions (lines 13-14), that is, through language.

Excerpt 50. Welcoming Vladimir in Spanish instead of Catalan. Volunteer Assembly. 07-02-2012.

@Begin
@Participants: RIT (Rita, *responsable* and founder), LAU (Laura, volunteer psychologist and committee member), MAS (Massin, junior companion), VLA (Vladimir, newly-arrived companion), JOS (Josep, longstanding volunteer) and MRG (Maria Rosa, ethnographer)
@Languages: Spanish (plain), **Catalan** (bold)

| 1 | *JOS: | bienvenido # cómo sería bienvenido en ruso? |
| | %tra: | welcome # how would you say welcome in Russian? |

| 2 | *VLA: | kalica |
| | %com: | this is a transliteration of what I heard on the recording. |

3	*MAS:	cómo se llama # cómo se dice?
	%tra:	how do you call it # how do you say it?
	%act:	VLA says it, people laugh and MRG repeats it.

| 4 | *VLA: | complicado. |
| | %tra: | complicated. |

| 5 | *MRG: | **sí # una mica.** |
| | %tra: | yes # a little bit. |

6 *VLA: un poco sí.
    %tra: a little bit yes.

7 *RIT: allavors él habla castellano pero catalán todavía no-? o sí-? porque me ha dicho
8   **bon profit** y ahora ya estoy desconcertada # **clar**!
    %tra: so then he speaks Spanish but not Catalan yet-? or do you-? because he told me
      bon appetite [in Catalan] and now I'm taken aback # of course!

9 *VLA: este una palabra que: +…
    %tra: this is a word tha:t +…
    %act: he laughs.

10 *RIT: quizás estaría bien hacer la reunión en castellano y entendería un poco más
11   ## presentarnos todos para que él supiera cómo nos llamamos y si somos
12   voluntarios o qué voluntariado hacemos # él vino el domingo por la noche # está
13   descubriendo nuestro mundo #es el día a día el que le hará qué somos y qué
14   hacemos.
    %tra: it might be a good idea to have our meeting in Spanish and he'd understand a bit
      more ## introduce ourselves so that he knows what our names are and if we are
      volunteers or which type of voluntary work we do # he came on Sunday night #
      he's discovering our world # it is the day to day that will make what we are and
      what we do.
@End

She also policed the language choice when somebody unconsciously started his/her turn in Catalan by saying *"en castellà"*. However, the newly arrived companion later claimed not to have understood most of the meeting and even misinterpreted people's introductions. Interestingly, Miquel Àngel joked about some of my research questions. That day, he told everyone that *"ahora con el Vladimir somos más transnacionales"* [now with Vladimir we are more transnational], partly in reference to their language choice to accommodate him. Let us recall that he tended to use Catalan with everybody, including his Castilian wife Dolo.

  After five weeks, Vladimir was taking weekly one-to-one lessons with a volunteer teacher from the migrant-support NGO. He wanted to learn Spanish first and the community supported this decision for consecutive, monolingual learning. In practice, he was not included in multi-party conversations, often in hybrid Catalan, and he spent a considerable amount of time buried in grammar books. This is what happened during the morning break at the *rastre* one morning (fieldnotes, 15-03-2012). I invited him along with us to the cafeteria and tried to include him linguistically. When I explained things to Vladimir, the paid driver said that he needed to "get a move on" language after five weeks because he did not understand anything yet. He did not want me to explain things to him. In the end Vladimir did not order anything. While everybody was having a conversation in Catalan, Vladimir was

not addressed and he read a Spanish-Russian pocket grammar. Sometimes he asked me for a short explanation.

Fortunately, Vladimir was included into the Spanish-dominant male space through Francisco, an established Castilian companion, and Massin, another transnational migrant from his own generation. Francisco and Massin used playful banter with each other all the time, especially in relation to their perceived ethnic/religious affiliations, such as "*el califa del rastro*" [the bric-à-brac caliph] or "*padrenuestro*" [the Lord's Prayer]. Vladimir was socialised into these language games and male banter in Spanish too as we can see in Excerpt 51 below.

Excerpt 51. Vladimir's socialisation into male banter. Fieldnotes, *rastre*. 15-03-2012.

> While we work together, Vladimir fools around with Francisco, who also hits him like he does with Massin. Whenever he speaks to me he uses expressions which are typical of Francisco- like "Massin no ta" [Massin not here], "qué vergueeeenza" [what a shaaame] and lexical items such as "siempre" [always] to start sentences and "padrenuestro" [Lord's Prayer]. He tells me that Francisco has "un vocabulario extraordinario" [an extraordinary vocabulary], meaning out of the ordinary.

Soon, he appropriated the men's speech, a process that mirrored Jasseh's socialisation in a feminised space with different speech patterns (see section 6.3.1.2 below). I do not know whether he fully understood the connotations of the expressions used. For example, Francisco sometimes playfully called young women, including me, "*nena*" [baby] and "*la más guapa*" [the most beautiful]. Being close friends with me, Massin did not directly call me anything like that. Vladimir started calling me "*nena*" and even "baby" in English. When I asked him why he called me that, he did not understand the pragmatic force of the expressions. This did not fit with my respectful and intellectual conversations with him after lunch.

In this sub-section on the socialisation of non-Catalan members, I have tried to paint a complex picture in which there are different linguistic norms for Spaniards and for foreigners, as well as shifting expectations for peripheral members and newcomers over time. Catalan members still applied the commonsensical norm in conversation with people born in other parts of the Spanish state, but they used Catalan with foreign nationals who had been fully socialised into this bilingual, Catalan-dominant Emmaus community. Newly arrived people who could not speak Spanish or Catalan were measured against monolingual yardsticks in formal learning, which did not

equip them for full participation in everyday mixed, bilingual conversations in Emmaus. Sustained participation entailed socialisation into linguistic practices in this community of practice, as Vladimir's case illustrates.

6.3.1.2. Translanguaging strategies in everyday encounters among migrant members

We have just seen that there are ideological tensions between actual translanguaging for communication and ideologies that construct "Catalan" and "Spanish" as symbolic social markers in the socialisation of non-Catalans. But this is just part of the story that I want to tell, because there are instances of translanguaging among people from different linguistic backgrounds, locally among migrants in the Emmaus community. How do they socially construct language in these multilingual encounters?

The kitchen space emerged as the hearth of the house where people from different origins and with different positionings interacted daily. Zunilda, the paid cook, was a Paraguayan woman in her early 50s who spoke Guarani and Spanish. The volunteer who helped her was Jasseh, a 32-year old man from the Gambia who lived in the council flats paid for by Emmaus. He spoke Fula, Mandinka, Wolof and English, as well as hybrid Spanish and Catalan. On Tuesdays, a group of middle-aged and elderly women helped cook the meal for over 50 people, including volunteers, companions, former residential project participants and friends/visitors. They engaged in affective work and one of them was sent by the *espai terapèutic* to develop personal relationships. On Thursdays, Eduardo, a locally-celebrated anti-Francoist activist originally from Southern Spain, cooked *paella* for the Emmaus community. He was known as "*el company*" [the companion], in recognition of his socio-political trajectory and comradeship.

On a particular Thursday, Eduardo voiced in his native-like standard Catalan that all the people in the kitchen were migrants: Zuni, Jasseh and Alpha – another Guinean volunteer from the social housing – and himself, who had been there for 61 years (fieldnotes, 15-09-2011). Zunilda asked him, as a legitimate native speaker, to speak to her in Catalan, and they went about preparing food in Catalan. Zuni and Jasseh took a while to reply in Catalan, searching for words and they asked for four-minute breaks to use Spanish. They eventually realised that the ethnographer was not

a fly on the wall and that I could also speak "native-like" Catalan. They asked me to join in, which I did. This became a sort of game they played with us on other days.

As the regular volunteer cook, Jasseh had been socialised into this feminised affective space through language. As a token, he called all close women "*cariño*" [sweetheart], a term of endearment, and he eventually called me this way as well, but only indoors (fieldnotes, 21-02-2012). He joked with the Tuesday volunteers and one of them told me that he fit in perfectly well among so many women. Jasseh and Zunilda had a very close relationship, which Jasseh described as "*ella es mi mano derecha*" [she is my right hand] (interview, 22-12-2012), and in fact they met after work, even to skype with her children. At work, they taught each other expressions in their native languages, Guarani and Fula respectively. In the following extract, Jasseh also hinted at the laughter and playfulness that I observed in the kitchen.

Excerpt 52. Playful crossing in the kitchen. Notes from the interview with Jasseh, former project participant and kitchen volunteer. 22-12-2011.

> In the kitchen he has learned some greetings and sentences in Guarani, Zuni's language. I ask him for an example and he offers "hu", which means "black", and when he hears this word he knows she speaks about him. I tell him that perhaps she is talking about a black jacket and not him. He agrees that it could well be. He has tried to teach her Fula but she finds it very hard and she tries but laughs a great deal. When he asks her about something he's already taught her, she has already forgotten. Jasseh snaps back at her that "*tu idioma es más difícil*" [your language is more difficult] but he still manages to learn it.

Zunilda has taught him the word for "black" in Guarani, which indexes the relevance of ethnicity/race in this space too. Besides gender identities, Jasseh was a black African man among a majority of White local women in the kitchen, with few exceptions. Zunilda presented herself as "brown" and compared her olive skin with mine, which was allegedly whiter in the winter. Zunilda also constructed me as the Catalan native speaker to practise the language with. She also used sweet talk and compliments with me frequently. Jasseh imitated her. In fact, he appropriated her intonation, endearing expressions and past tenses in Spanish, their shared language in the kitchen (see below).

Excerpt 53. Jasseh's socialisation into the kitchen as an affective space. Fieldnotes, kitchen. 15-02-2012.

> As we get to the house early, I decide to chat to Zuni and Jasseh in the kitchen. To my surprise, Jasseh (who is usually affectionate with ladies- they're all "*cariño*"- but somehow more distant with me) sees me from across the dining hall and opens his arms and hugs me because he hasn't seen me in a while. Zunilda tells me how thin I look and offers some food for me to try (kind of a sneak peak). She tries to use Catalan with me: she says it in Spanish and then says "en català, XX". We have a bilingual conversation in which both use Spanish and Catalan in our turns. When Jasseh talks to Zuni, he uses préterito verbs for the recent past, her usual affective words (pobresitooo, qué suerteee) and her intonation as well. Zuni notices this as well (which in fact, has been going on for months but today it's really marked) and says to Jasseh "*ya hablas paraguayo*" [now you speak Paraguayan]. I would go further: Jasseh has adopted feminised "sweet talk" (typical of Latin American women) to do affective labour among women (but perhaps not only with them).
>
> Zuni asks "*¿dónde está su hijo?*" [where is his son] and then Samba comes in. She greets him as "*¡ay mi hijitooo!*" [oh my sonny] and is very affectionate with him. Then, Jasseh teases him in Wolof. Zuni and I attentively watch their interaction while cooking and I say something like "*qué le estará diciendo*" [what must he be telling him] because they are clearly teasing each other. Surprisingly, Zuni says "*yo sí que lo entiendo*" [I do understand it] and I ask her what they are saying and she replies that Jasseh is telling him off because Samba should obey him as he is his nephew. Zuni is very knowledgeable about ethnic relations among the Africans around her.

This socialisation went both ways. Zunilda also learned about family-like ethnic relations between Senegambians, who were the majority in the residential project. In the ethnographic vignette above, she claimed to understand the ritual banter between the two men in the kitchen, which in fact she did not understand linguistically but pragmatically. Perhaps she called Samba, another African man who lived in the social housing paid by this community, "her son" to appropriate and mirror mythical Senegambian relations between Jasseh and Samba.

The residential projects for transnational migrants also emerged as another multilingual arena where English and French were used as linguae francae when communication in Catalan or Spanish broke down between Emmaus companions and African peripheral members. From September to December 2011, the last participants in the residential project entered the house. The previous ethnography of the residential project in the migrant-support umbrella NGO next door was still vivid in my mind. My feeling was that, however familiar the Spanish-dominant space was from my MA thesis, the Emmaus members were interested in fostering an understanding and were much more receptive to translanguaging, *ad-hoc* interpreting and paralinguistic strategies than the people at the migrant-support NGO (fieldnotes, 30-10-2011). At the Sunday night meeting, Rita and the companions asked me to speak first in Spanish and then translate into English for the project participants.

Companions spoke slowly, looked for synonyms, used gestures and visual support in the lingua franca Spanish. Josep, the weekday social worker, and Rita also engaged in side French conversations.

African men were generally categorised according to the postcolonial language from their states of origin (see Garrido, 2013). In the language partnership programme between local volunteers and migrants, new participants were assigned according to "their language", namely English or French (fieldnotes, 20-09-2011). However, many participants spoke hybrid varieties of these languages that they had picked up in informal environments. In a language volunteers' meeting, one of the local volunteers claimed to have a problem because he could not understand his partner's English. A longstanding volunteer replied that "the English of Africans is not like the English from London" and Rita, who did not speak much English, added that "it is an English that is not called English" because of strong accents, mixing and lack of fluency (20-09-2011). Overall, they recognised the men's reterritorialised language resources as useful to communicate in Emmaus but delegitimated them in comparison to "good English" (see section 6.3 about Parisian French above).

The practical value of English and French *within* this local Emmaus community was largely confined to the residential project participants who were recent arrivals in the country and in the Emmaus community, too. The only exception was Agbor, the Cameroonian social worker who was positioned as *the* English speaker (Garrido and Codó, forthcoming) and used both linguae francae with Marc and Massin (fieldnotes, 19-02-2012). The flexible bilingual ideology with respect to Catalan and Spanish among established members extended to communication with newly arrived migrants and also transnational connections with Latin America and France, mainly (see Chapter 4). Just as I expected prior to intensive fieldwork, this transnational orientation, exemplified by the residential projects for migrants and connections overseas, was coupled with multilingual practices, mainly the use of linguae francae and the deproblematisation of language. Now we will turn to the constructions of major linguae francae, with a focus on English and French, in transnational activist networks.

6.3.1.3. The value of international linguae francae for transnational activism

Despite the transnational orientation and contacts in Emmaus Barcelona (see Chapter 4), only a minority of the central members (namely, companions and longstanding volunteers) could speak English or French fluently. This community was foremost Catalan and Spanish bilingual with a few people who had strong multilingual skills by virtue of their transnational trajectories, such as Massin, Marc or Agbor, and a number of autochthonous people who had learned some French (or English) in formal education such as Dolo or Rita, who had then used it in the orbit of Emmaus.

The opening excerpt from Massin's essay exemplifies the imagined importance of international linguae francae, mainly English but also French and Spanish, for transnational and virtual mobilities linked to social activism and new socio-political realities. Unlike the more established older companions, the younger and more recent members of the community project future mobilities in connection to language in their personal narratives. As a case in point, Esther, the youngest companion in this community, was taking French lessons at a private school (and not English, a language she did not speak fluently) in the evenings in order to travel abroad in the future. At the time of writing, she is travelling in Europe and finding odd jobs en route. Emmaus as a social movement facilitates transnational mobilities across the movement's network, frequent contacts with mobile people passing by and even ideological and financial support for spin-off projects abroad.

Marc's narrative exemplifies the relevance of both Catalan and international linguae francae for social activism. He was a recent companion in his late 50s who had been born into a conservative family in the French Caribbean territories. He went on to become a gifted painter who studied at a prestigious Parisian institution. This paradigmatic *soixantehuitarde* had lived with different partners in Catalonia and had been self-employed for over 30 years. At the very beginning of our first interview over coffee, he mentioned the importance of learning and using Catalan *well,* in addition to Spanish, to discuss social issues in depth, which was his goal in this Emmaus community. Despite my competence in French and Spanish, we did both interviews in Catalan. He told me that he looked for direct social action outside Emmaus Barcelona through online fora where he used French, Spanish and English. Marc told me that he used *"el francès, el castellà i una mica d'inglés, és escriure,*

gent alemanys que et pots comunicar en anglès. Sapiguent els tres idiomes ja tens, pots fer contactes a tot el món, Àsia i tot això no, el francès també hi ha arribat, Vietnam" [French, Spanish and a bit of English, it's writing, German people who you can communicate with in English. Knowing the three languages is sufficient, you can make contacts all over the world, not in Asia and all that, French has arrived there, Vietnam] (interview, 21-02-2012). Incidentally, this was also the case with Massin's virtual activism for social and cultural rights of the Amazigh peoples in Northern Africa. In addition, Marc disseminated the work of Emmaus and targeted the geopolitical areas – Latin America and Africa – that this Emmaus group had direct contacts with. He was particularly interested in Chile, where many local volunteers had activist links (see section 4.3.3), and Northern Africa, *"per poder comunicar-me amb els idiomes"* [to be able to communicate with languages].

There is a leap from this virtual activism "from home" to Marc's projected transnational mobilities. In the second interview (23-02-2012), he pointed to Emmaus links in South America that could to facilitate his mobilities, similarly to Massin's contact with England, described in the opening essay. In our clothes collection rounds on the van, Marc often told me about his plans to do voluntary work in Africa through Emmaus. He also referred to his burgeoning interest in Africa, stemming from his conversations with African men in the residential project and particularly, Agbor's common initiative group in Cameroon. Marc frequently spoke in French to Agbor, a Cameroonian man who was a former project participant and became the weekend social worker, living in the community until late 2011 (see Garrido and Codó, forthcoming).

Despite the virtual and geographical mobilities among a minority of members, this Emmaus community is by and large an offline, face-to-face community. The transnational links with Africa and Latin America took place in the house thanks to key mobile individuals who were temporary members and passers-by, such as residential project participants and visiting social activists. A few companions and longstanding volunteers also frequently travelled to Latin America, specifically to Chiapas and Chile (see section 4.3.3). My first glimpse of the use of linguae francae for social activism across borders was in the Abbé Pierre International Prizes for grassroots projects that followed the Emmaus principles, awarded by the Abbé Pierre Foundation in 2008 and 2009. The award ceremonies used Spanish as a lingua franca with the project representatives from Colombia and Cameroon but Catalan worked as

an institutional language for the public (see Moyer and Garrido 2008). In keeping with the group's transnational discursive clasps (see Chapter 4), the chosen projects were a grassroots Liberationist project in Latin America in 2008 and a Spanish missionary project in Cameroon in 2009.

During my fieldwork, Spanish was used as a lingua franca among Catalan, Basque and South American Emmaus activists that participated in minority and indigenous rights activism (fieldnotes, 15-11-2011). Contrary to habitual Catalan and hybrid Spanish, the joint assembly was carried out in monoglot Spanish. Furthermore, the more established *drapaires* in this community were in touch with activists who mainly shared French as a lingua franca. Alberto did not speak a foreign language fluently but in the past, he had been a representative for Emmaus International and a temporary *responsable* with Rita in a French community during some summers. He echoed Rita's deproblematising of language in transnational communication within Emmaus (see section 6.3. above) in our interview. He called for willingness to understand each other among people who speak French or Spanish "badly". According to him, what united these *chiffoniers d'Emmaüs* is their "lifestyle" and their way of doing things. This echoes my own experience as an ethnographer in the various Emmaus dining rooms where I have been invited for lunch.

Excerpt 54. Deproblematising language issues in transnational encounters. Interview with Alberto, *responsable* in Emmaus Barcelona. 27-03-2012.

1 2 3	*MRG:	y el tema lingüístico en esta:s reuniones internacionales de las que me hablabas # cómo cómo te entendías con aquella gente-? en el caso de Bruselas por esta pareja me imagino.
	%tra:	and the linguistic side of these international meetings you were telling me about # how how did you understand those people-? In the case of Brussels because of this couple I imagine.
4 5 6	*ALB:	mm # no hay problemas. no-. # o sea:: todos hablamos mal el francés o: # o ellos hablan mal el español o el castellano pero a vece- si tú te quieres entender enseguida ves cosas.
	%tra:	mm # there are no problems # no-. # that is we all speak French poorly or: # they speak Spanish or Castilian poorly but sometime- if you want to understand you see things immediately.
7	*MRG:	aham # eso está bien no-? que como compartís alomejor [>] <una forma>
	%tra:	aham # that's alright isn't it? As you share maybe [>] <a way >
8	*ALB:	<sí> [<]. <yes> [<].
9	*MRG:	de vida o: una manera de hacer ya es más fácil comunicarse.

	%tra:	of life or: a way of doing things it becomes easier to communicate.
10 11	*RES:	y por otra parte lo que ves en tu casa la ves en la de otros # o sea es decir # hay este: hay este entendimiento .
	%tra:	and besides what you see at home you see it in somebody else's homes # that is to say # there's this understanding

Dolo, who had been an Emmaus companion for 14 years, also voiced this widespread language ideology in her one-to-one interview. Again, French (and not English) was singled out as the lingua franca in the Emmaus network. She also deproblematised the lack of a shared language and, like Alberto, banked on "goodwill" to understand people who spoke French (lines 6-7).

Excerpt 55. Goodwill to speak French as a lingua franca. Interview with Dolo, senior companion in Emmaus Barcelona. 09-02-2012. My translation from Spanish.

1	*MRG:	y has estado en alguna otra comunidad?
	%tra:	and have you been to any other community?
2	*DOL:	sólo de visita Murcia Pamplona y Francia.
	%tra:	just on a visit to Murcia Pamplona and France.
3	*MRG:	sí?
	%tra:	have you?
4	*DOL:	encuentros y en la de Portugal.
	%tra:	encounters and at the one in Portugal.
5	*MRG:	en los encuentros en Francia cómo os comunicáis?
	%tra:	in the encounters in France how do you communicate?
6 7	*DOL:	**en francés # y con muy buena voluntad # yo no sé francés y tengo buena voluntad y ni hay problema.**
	%tra:	**in French # and with a lot of goodwill # I don't know French and I have goodwill and there's no problem.**
8	*MRG:	os entendéis igual.
	%tra:	you understand each other anyway.
9 10 11	*DOL:	siempre encuentras a alguien que te traduce # tampoco hay tanto vis-a-vis se intenta # vas a dar un paseo y te pones al lado de alguien y dices vaya tú hablas francés y puedes.
	%tra:	you always find someone who translates for you # there isn't much one-to-one you try # you go for a walk and you walk next to someone and say oh so you speak French and you can.
12 13	*DOL:	**no vas a hacer ningún negocio # no necesitas hablar tan claramente # sí que se puede ## entre el francés y el catalán es más fácil.**
	%tra:	you are not going to do business # you don't need to speak as clearly # yes you can do it ## between French and Catalan it's easier.
14	*MRG:	mezclando lenguas románicas
	%tra:	mixing Romance languages.

15   *DOL: seguro que mi francés del instituto es tan indecente pero si el otro me entiende +…
      %tra: surely my high school French is so dreadful but if the other person understands me +…

In her view, Dolo's "dreadful" high school French (line 15) benefited from Catalan influence for small talk in transnational encounters. Learning Catalan for full participation in her local community indirectly helped in her translanguaging for communication with French speaking activists.

In this Emmaus group, the use of international linguae francae, mainly French, Spanish and English, was linked to geographical mobilities and virtual communication for transnational social activism. Some *altermondialiste* younger activists in this particular Emmaus community invested in learning languages to network with other activists from/in Barcelona. Apart from English and French, Marc and Massin valued Catalan as an activist language too, which they used online and in local mobilisations - for instance for the rights of the Amazigh peoples. The geographical mobility to and from Latin America (but also parts of Africa and the Spanish state) prompted the use of standard Spanish as a lingua franca to communicate with grassroots activists passing through Barcelona. While French was constructed as the lingua franca of other Emmaus groups in the movement, senior members deemphasised the need to speak the same language in favour of an open-minded attitude and shared lifestyle within Emmaus as a movement.

6.3.2.   Emmaus London: Tensions between English-only discourses and multilingualism on the ground

In the opening chapter, I characterised the London borough where this Emmaus is located as a super-diverse locality crisscrossed by various mobilities at the turn of the century. This "international borough", in Hugh's words, is statistically very multilingual, a fact which I found very exciting to explore during my preliminary fieldwork for this study. However, my linguistic landscaping over this hillside area frustrated my expectations of multilingualism in a transnational neighbourhood (see Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005). Down the high street, the different "ethnic businesses" included an African convenience store, two *halal* butchers, corner shops that specialised in Afro-Caribbean foods, two Afghan shops, a Portuguese café and a Ghanaian restaurant. The main groups seemed to be African, Afro-Caribbean,

Middle-Eastern and Portuguese. Nevertheless, ethnic businesses were not visibly multilingual and their institutional front was English-only outdoors. In the Portuguese café that I frequented, everything was written in English except for the imported sugar sachets but I could hear Portuguese all around me, including on the TV.

My first contact with companions at this community as a "Spanish researcher", as I was categorised once I explained that I was doing a study and that I was from Barcelona, drew those people with transnational trajectories and multilingual repertoires towards me. Martin was a British companion recently arrived from France, where he had worked across the country as a cook for thirteen years. During my first visit to request access (08-03-2012), the new Emmaus chef spoke French to his cooking assistant (who did not understand him). After the initial introductions in English, Martin spoke to me in French for the whole day. He told me that he was thrilled to have somebody to practice his French with. While I was having tea, a Romanian man in his 50s approached me, too. He introduced himself as "Iancu, Juan in Spanish", and then asked me about my native language. He was extremely interested in Romance cognates and intercomprehension. He asked me if I would mind teaching him some Spanish because he was interested in travelling to Latin America. His transnational trajectory had spanned from Hungary, where he held citizenship, to Sweden and then Canada - and he had picked up languages as part of his everyday life.

Rob overheard part of our conversation over tea. This companion was a graffiti artist in his early 20s who had spent his childhood in state care. He asked me where I was from and told me that he was also interested in Spanish lessons like Iancu because he wanted to be "plurilingual" in order to travel. More specifically, he wanted to learn Dutch because "we have Emmaus communities in Holland". My positioning as a foreign university student who could teach languages might have prompted Rob's multilingual identity display. First, he tried to speak German to me, but he had learned it at school and mostly forgotten it. Then, he claimed to have been fluent in French as a young child because he attended a bilingual French-English nursery. Last, he told me that his British teacher went to Japan for an exchange and they got a Japanese teacher who taught them for a year at secondary school. Despite this identity performance, we never spoke any language other than English, nor did he attend the Spanish classes that I organised.

Another companion, Edward, was categorised by his fellow companions as the only "Spanish speaker". He was a British man in his late 40s who had been a companion for two years. He had lived in Marbella with his family for five years on and off, where he had to learn some Spanish for his daily life. When he separated from his wife, he left everything behind to go back to his native Brighton and Hove, where he had previously worked as a butler. Unfortunately, he went from riches to rags due to lack of recourse to public funds in the UK. He always downplayed his categorisation as a Spanish speaker with me. He sometimes used some Spanish expressions or words, but he could not have a whole conversation in Spanish.

During my first weeks in this community as an ethnographer, I agreed to organise weekly Spanish lessons after work. My hope was that transnationally-oriented people would attend them so that this space would become a window onto transnational trajectories and multilingualism. This was the case with Vince, a South African companion who had lived in this London borough for over 20 years. He was interested in learning "a second language apart from English", especially Spanish, to work for a "Spanish" international NGO in Latin America (fieldnotes, 07-04-2012). At the time, he was attending a local community college to train in NGO management. He only wanted to learn "the basics", such as greetings and the exchange of personal information. In our later interview, he admitted speaking African languages that he had not mentioned to me. Apart from Vince, Iancu and Hugh (see above), Danny, who is an Irish Gaelic speaker in his 30s, also started attending these lessons because he wanted to "travel" (see Chapter 3). Unexpectedly, two Londoners, Anne and Elizabeth, also joined just for pleasure. The former was a white working-class woman in her early 50s who had studied French and German at school. The latter was a Black British woman who only spoke English.

The Spanish classes were a perfect way in to explore the intersection of transnational trajectories and language among some companions in this Emmaus group. During my first week (fieldnotes, 05-04-2012), Danny greeted me in French to imitate Martin the chef and taught me greetings in Irish Gaelic, in exchange for Spanish lessons. Nonetheless, this promising context of a transnational social movement localised in a super-diverse neighbourhood did not finally deliver the expected multilingualism I was after. Over a few weeks, Martin regularly spoke English to me, Danny stopped teaching me Irish Gaelic, and I ended up with just one student, Anne, who was a gifted learner. Why did that happen? Why was

multilingualism *invisibilised*? This community's British nationalist orientation within the local welfare mix had institutionalised English-only practices that silenced the multilingual repertoires of social actors in a top-down fashion. My ethnographic analysis below will try to grasp the ideological tensions and actual practices from the perspective of staff, mobile people, L2 speakers and British immobile companions, without forgetting my own perspective as a Catalan ethnographer.

6.3.2.1.   English as an entry requirement within British banal nationalism

The institutional requirements for entry to this Emmaus as a London charity (see below for details) actually kept the multilingual voices in this London borough outside the community. Among the 27 companions, there were only three L2 English speakers and two bilingual companions from Gaelic-speaking areas in the British Isles. I was not able to observe any gatekeeping interviews for potential companions but unlike in other states, the entry process is bureaucratised with long forms and legal requirements. It was not an open door policy as in most French communities or a collective assembly decision as in Barcelona. Let us recall that the majority of companions were British, partly because of the charity's requirement to claim Housing Benefits, which make up around 30% of the total budget for Emmaus London (community leader, personal communication, 19-02-2014). Moreover, people with uncertain immigration status in the UK are not allowed into an Emmaus community under England's charity regulations. In spite of London super-diversity, most companions were white Brits with few exceptions: Michael, a white German companion assistant; Danny, the white Irish companion; Bill, an Indian-descent British companion; Elizabeth, a black London companion; and Vince and Iancu, foreign nationals who occupied the two solidarity places offered by the community for people without recourse to public funds.

Speaking English was an unwritten requirement of entry to this particular Emmaus community. In fact, more established communities in the UK, such as Emmaus Brighton and Hove, had much more diversity and transnational mobility among companions (fieldnotes, 31-05-2012). In 2012, many Eastern European nationals (mainly from Romania and Bulgaria) could not claim Jobseekers Allowance or even Housing Benefit due to recent eligibility changes. They became homeless and

as a result increasingly requested entry to Emmaus communities. In addition to the requirement to claim Housing Benefit, the community leader posed the "problem" of insufficient English language skills for their fully-fledged integration in everyday life. In the past, Emmaus London had had "poor" English speakers from Eastern European origin who had become isolated from the community. According to Laura, L2 speakers were offered English language instruction at Emmaus, similarly to Vladimir's case in Barcelona, but I was not able to document it ethnographically. In the following extract, the community leader discusses a potential companion from Eastern European origin who did not speak English. She directed him to other communities that had Eastern European people whom he shared a language with in order to avoid his (potential) isolation and to speed up his English language learning. Laura's argument is that this candidate would learn English more easily if he had somebody to use his language repertoire with (lines 17-21). This would facilitate his social inclusion in the community, and avoid his potential isolation, but it would not necessarily enhance his English learning process. However, it is noteworthy that the goal is for this person to learn English and that other European languages are conceived as temporary vehicles conducive to learning English.

Excerpt 56. English as an implicit requirement of entry. Interview with Laura, community leader, Emmaus London, 12-06-2012.

1	*LAU:	we get an increasing proportion of Eastern Europeans +...
2	*MRG:	mm.

3	*LAU:	and particularly given that they changed the law about whether they can claim
4		benefits or not they changed last year # em so people they a lot of people Eastern
5		Europeans who get referred have been here quite some time have worked and then
6		lost their jobs or they worked for cash so they've lost their jobs and they can't go
7		on Jobseeker's allowance # some of the other communities have groups of Eastern
8		Europeans we've never actually had that # we haven't really had many people live
9		here and I saw a man last year who didn't speak English # I mean # he would have
10		been a very good companion but he spoke no English and I know from experience
11		that that doesn't fit very well in this group people become isolated if their English
12		isn't good.

13	*MRG:	oh really-? has this happened before-? that they can't communicate with
14		companions?

15	*LAU:	aham ## we've had it more with volunteers not too many companions # with that
16		problem # my recommendation to them is that they try some of the other
17		communities who had Eastern Europeans so that they found and they did they
18		found someone where they had 2 or 3 Eastern Europeans who he could talk to so
19		then it's much easier for him to move in and begin to learn to speak English but

| 20 | | we had nobody here who could speak an Eastern European language then that |
| 21 | | person would be very isolated |

| 22 | *MRG: | aumm and the volunteers you mentioned-? where were they from-? the ones that |
| 23 | | didn't speak English? |

| 24 | *LAU: | parts in Africa. |

| 25 | *MRG: | so they were not Eastern Europeans then? |

| 26 | *LAU: | no they were African # but that's because that's our catchment area there's a lot of |
| 27 | | African around here so # that's that's why. |

| 28 | *MRG: | alright! have you had any African companions here in the local community? |

29	*LAU:	not from the local community # well # I didn't even think about it # Elizabeth was
30		a volunteer so she's an obvious when she came to us when they weren't going too
31		well # emm yes we had quite a few Africans and that was I wondered if that was
32		the quote you were going to come up because we um we have more people from
33		our Afro Caribbean than any other community in Britain I think that's because of
34		where we are.

Emmaus London had not had many companions who did not speak English fluently because of this rather explicit linguistic requirement. However, this had been the case with some African-descent volunteers from the local area. Above, Laura refers to their "catchment area" (line 26) to explain the high rates of Afro-Caribbeans and Africans in this Emmaus group. This also explains the fact that there had not been any Asian companions - but at the time there was an Indian descent companion with British nationality. There was, after all, some porosity with local super-diversity thanks to external volunteers such as Korfa (see section 5.2.4) and therefore, L2 speakers and multilingualism. Nevertheless, external volunteers remained a small minority and were peripheral members in this Emmaus group, which was mainly centred on the companions.

In Emmaus London, diversity was linked to ethnic and cultural backgrounds since it was assumed that everybody shared *the* national language, English. The general manager's reaction to my proposal to teach Spanish positioned native English speakers as monolinguals in spite of their transnational trajectories. John himself had worked for a humanitarian NGO in Palestine but had remained monolingual, for instance. Mike and John told me that "the English are lazy to learn other languages and that they only get two or three years of basic French at school" (fieldnotes, 03-04-2012). The linguistic penalty in gatekeeping processes (Roberts, 2013) for would-be companions is strongly linked to nationalist language ideologies among social actors.

Charlie, Emmaus Brighton and Hove companion and Emmaus UK board member, told me that despite the apparent transnationalism in his community, many British companions who have never travelled are "reluctant" to accept foreigners and languages other than English, especially outside the capital city (31-05-2012).

The naturalisation of English as the common language hides the stratification on the basis of national language and cultural referents. In one of the community leader's reports (September 2011), I read that companions who were L2 speakers had complained that quizzes, which volunteers and trustees sometimes organised as social events in the evenings, were based on national cultural knowledge relating to TV programmes, pop music and literature in the UK. Laura pointed out that it was more a matter of cultural knowledge than language, even though she recognised that they might have faced linguistic difficulties in understanding complex questions. As a solution, the volunteers made quizzes more inclusive by including more visual and less cultural questions, such as guessing country shapes, which Iancu was particulary good at (fieldnotes, 09-05-2012).

As another case in point, one of Mike's "energisers" in the morning meetings tasked participants with deciding which way the pictured school bus was going (see Figure 11). The answer depends on which side you drive on, because the door to get on the bus is not visible. Laura said that the right answer was that the bus will move in the B direction (left). Joining other companions' protests, I pointed out that in the rest of Europe it would move forward in the A direction (right) because the driver would be on the left seat. Mike completely dismissed my answer and said "we are in England here", without taking it up as he did with other "wrong" answers (fieldnotes, 26-04-2012). This ethnocentric response precluded what could have been an interesting discussion about differing cultural viewpoints and the taken-for-granted.

Figure 11. British ethnocentrism. Drawing for an activity at the Emmaus London morning meeting, 26-04-2012. Source: http://infohost.nmt.edu/~armiller/illusion/bus.htm [27-02-2014]
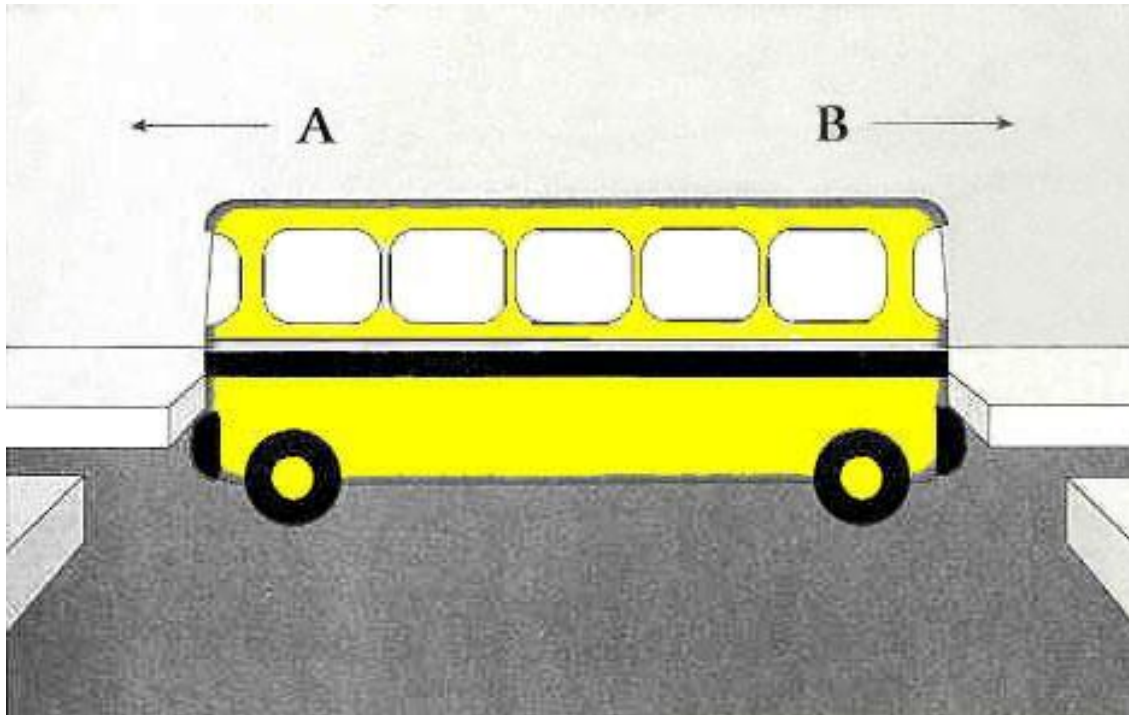
This hegemony of English as the only language and local cultural knowledge offers a window onto *banal nationalism* (Billig, 1995, see section 6.2 above). Elizabeth II's Diamond Jubilee was an interesting period to investigate taken-for-granted (English) nationalist and Royalist orientations among companions. In the Figure below, we can see the new furniture shop windows dressed in Union Jack flags, with a picture of the Queen and the Royal emblem between the Emmaus information, placed above a cabinet full of books and memorabilia of Elizabeth II and to the left of a second-hand table dressed in Britannia symbols, complete with traditional tea china. The window dressing process illuminated social resistance to banal nationalism in this Emmaus.

Figure 12. Banal nationalism during Elizabeth II's Diamond Jubilee. Picture of an Emmaus London shop front, May-June 2012. Picture by Maria Rosa Garrido with permission of the community.

At the end of May 2012, the staff gave companions and employees Union Jack flags, banners and balloons to dress the shops, as was happening at the vast majority of store-front businesses in London those days. That day I was assigned to the newest furniture shop, pictured above, with an English companion, an Irish companion, a Scottish companion and an Irish staff member. Wearing my "hat" as naïve foreigner, I asked Ted, the English companion, why people were celebrating the jubilee so enthusiastically. His matter-of-fact answer was that "we all love the queen, well, most of us", and he added that "she is brilliant" (fieldnotes, 21-05-2012). He could not give me reasons for this admiration and I suggested the historical impact of the longest reign in Britain, which he did not know about. In the excerpt below, the Celtic informants expressed their rejection to the unquestioned British nationalism in their own ways.

Excerpt 57. Celtic questioning of British nationalism. Fieldnotes, Shop 3. 21-05-2012.

> Kate [Irish woman] can't stop saying that she would have never imagined that she would be putting up British flags and seems to find it amusing that she is, she "of all people". She then tells Ted that there was a time when you could not put up an Irish flag because all mentions of the Irish were of terrorists in the 1980s. They agree that it would still be a bit controversial nowadays. The Irish have never had good press in England. Ted does not seem offended by her remarks and talks about the Irish

without any hint of national pride in his tone.

When Danny [Irishman] comes in, he accidentally touches a flag and pretends that it burns and smells, making noises to convey his disgust. He repeats this on various occasions during the morning. To my surprise, he puts on his headphones and sings a traditional Irish song to the top of his voice while he works for around one hour. I think to myself: this is a powerful ethnographic vignette about divergent visions on British national pride. People are putting up British decorations inside the shop while he is singing traditional Irish folk songs to the top of his voice- in a distinctively Irish accent.

While I am having a cup of coffee, Markie [Scotsman] tells me that the Union Jack is 70% Scottish and that it will no longer be in two years' time. He is in favour of independence because the English have stolen their inventions, like the TV, their natural resources and even their history- they talk about Hadrian's wall but there were only Celts and Romans on the island. He is convinced that the fact that the referendum will coincide with the famous battle will stir people's consciences and independence will win. The English are now scared about the referendum. I ask him a bit about language and especially about Gaelic. He says that it is worse now because schoolteachers do not have time to teach Gaelic with the national curriculum but when he was a kid he learned it at school. I ask him and he says that he also spoke it at home. I ask him if he could understand Danny's Irish Gaelic and he seems surprised by my question, as if he had never thought of it. He then replies that he would understand some words only. I don't think they have ever spoken to each other in their respective mother tongues.

In this excerpt, my identity as a Catalan aligns me with Markie, the Scotsman who often discussed pro-independence politics in Catalonia and Scotland with me. The Irish employee, Kate, repeatedly expresses her disbelief that she "of all people" is participating in this act of banal nationalism. Danny, who is really outspoken and loud, paints outside the shop dressed in dozens of Union Jacks while signing an Irish folk song at the top of his voice. Linguistically, this rejection of British nationalism does not translate into Danny and Markie using their Gaelic native languages at all. In fact, they had never tried to speak their Gaelic languages to each other. I take this as a case of linguistic violence in which Celtic people with identities opposed to English nationalism have nonetheless internalised English as the common language.

6.3.2.2.   Constructions of identities through language and (im)mobility in globalising London

The predominance of relational over manual labour during rather slow working hours offered a glimpse into the construction of people's categorisations on the basis of (im)mobilities and locality. These emerged in relation to English banal nationalism and the ideological exceptionality of difference, especially linguistic. The second-

hand shops in particular allowed me to understand social relationships and identity constructions among companions and external volunteers from different geographical, linguistic and social backgrounds. This analysis is necessarily based on some individuals who worked in the retail spaces at Emmaus because in my London site, I was not able to observe and document people's interactions and trajectories in as much depth as in Barcelona (see Chapter 2 for methodology).

The key node in the clothes boutique was Clive, a senior companion who was in charge of clothing because he was well-informed about fashion and designer brands. He embodied the "Eastender" working-class British identity with this Cockney accent and life trajectory. This English gay man in his late 30s had previously worked at pubs in the East End where he had met celebrities and he had also been an extra for TV series and films in the past. He told me that "When I look back on my life, I used to work at pubs and meet celebrities" such as Muhammad Ali and he also used to make a lot of money (around 500 pounds/week) but "now I have nothing" (fieldnotes, 10-05-2012). At the time of fieldwork, I chose to live in Whitechapel, in the London East End. Clive and Tall Bob, a companion in his 50s, were really excited about this because they had lived and worked in the area for many years. Crucially, they co-constructed a joint identity as "proper Eastenders", which was counterposed to the later South East Asian arrivals, who had become the majority in the infamous Jack the Ripper backdrops, now become "Banglatown". Both men shared nostalgia for the "authentic" East End with "proper Englishmen", shorthand for White English-heritage working-class men like them.

Excerpt 58. Eastender identities. Fieldnotes, Clothes boutique, 10-05-2012.

> Together with Tall Bob, Clive tells me about Whitechapel and constructs his own Eastender identity. He went to a couple of funerals for East End "gangsters" - one of the Kray Twins. He worked for pubs owned by gangsters in the East End (Bow area), and he was asked to hide people running away from the police in basements. Gangsters still control all pubs and clubs. Most of them come from the North: Leicester and Nottingham. Clive is from Nottingham himself, so he shares a trajectory with the top dogs in the pub industry.
>
> Clive offers to give me a tour of historic pubs and murder/mob/siege scenes in the East End. He agrees to meet up on a Sunday (June 3rd). He also lends me a book, *East End Gangland*, and he points out pubs, people he has met and told me about this morning (esp Kray twins and Pole). Lil Bob and Tall Bob know all these people as well and comment on their dark "achievements". To my surprise, both Tall Bob and Clive regret that the East End is not what it used to be, as it is constantly changing - it

used to be a Jewish quarter, then it was Eastern European-dominated and later on, some new Asian residents settled there. Clive says that "proper Eastenders, I mean, the Englishmen have moved out to Essex" because of Asians. Bob nods in agreement and both implicitly agree that this has been a downfall. I dig into this idea of "ethnic" neighbourhoods and both tell me that this neighbourhood has many Africans and some Middle-Eastern migrants. Streatham Hill is "Somali", they tell me, and Bob adds "I don't like Somalis" and I ask why, and Clive answers that it is the way they speak, they are very rude. Clive also tells me that Stockwell is Portuguese and NW1 is Brazilian. This is where his boyfriend lives.

Their nationalist discourse held Asians responsible for the present lack of (English) authenticity in the East End. However, the books that Clive lent me show that the idea that Asians drew away the "Englishmen" does not seem to hold historically in an area marked by Eastern European and Jewish migrations in the 19th and 20th centuries (Morton, 2001). Even the infamous gangsters were Poles and Eastern Europeans themselves. My questioning as a naïve foreigner led them to listing "ethnic enclaves" in the city, such as Stockwell as a Portuguese area (and indeed I saw many Portuguese flags there during the World Cup). Language, and in particular migrants' English accents, seemed to be constitutive of social relations for these "proper Englishmen". For example, Tall Bob's dislike for Somalis was linked, according to Clive, to their "rudeness" when they speak. The rejection of "foreigners" was exemplified in Clive's tour of the "dark sites" of the East End. During that tour, I could hear the co-constructed narrative of English working-class authenticity by two female companions. Northerner Victoria and to a lesser extent, Londoner Anne were shocked at the "un-Englishness" of the Brick Lane area, with South East Asian forms of dress, languages, food and shops all around.

Despite his strong ethnic and linguistic identity, Clive was planning to move to Brazil with his Brazilian partner the following year. To that end, he was studying Portuguese with a *Rosetta Stone* self-study method when he was alone in the shops (fieldnotes, 12-04-2012). He was very keen to learn this new language and he showed me what he had learned, sometimes asking me to say the words in Portuguese for him. He was close friends with a Portuguese female volunteer in her early 40s whom he shared personal issues with. This volunteer from the neighbourhood used Portuguese language at home and defended Cristiano Ronaldo and José Mourinho as national symbols. One day, Anne came into the boutique while this volunteer was chatting with Clive. In front of them, Anne told me that the volunteer was actually Portuguese but sounded "Polish because of her accent" (fieldnotes, 10-05-2012). Everybody

laughed and the volunteer agreed. This shows that this well-established L2 speaker seemed to be fully accepted into the community.

However, this did not seem to be the case with Iancu. He was very isolated in the community and barely spoke to anybody. Both staff and companions openly complained to me and also in meetings about his perceived passive attitude (e.g. community meeting on 29-05-2012). In fact, he was asked to leave his solidarity place with a few days' notice, but Iancu and staff members had been looking for a new place for weeks. He told me that "this Emmaus business ended up so abruptly" (30-05-2012) and did not understand why, because he had followed the rules and did not drink. According to various staff members, Iancu's educational, mobility and job aspirations did not match his perceived level of English. As we shall see, the staff considered that the problem was that he was "stuck" and did not move forward with his English. This institutional categorisation ideologically erased his wide multilingual repertoire, an extended transnational trajectory and his BA in IT Sciences. However, Iancu presented himself to me as a multilingual learner in the context of Spanish classes. He told me that he would learn faster than the other students because he was a different type of learner, by virtue of his multilingual repertoire, which included languages from different families, and especially the fact that his native language was a Romance language, Romanian (fieldnotes, 17-04-2012).

Prior to his last-minute departure to a religious project in Birmingham, the training officer, Daniel, asked to speak to me because Iancu was making "unrealistic requests" to me about moving to Emmaus Barcelona (fieldnotes, 24-05-2012). Daniel asked me to refer him to the community staff because they were trying to find a place for him in a UK-based residential project, because it was unrealistic for him to move to a different country given his homeless situation. Later that day, the volunteer coordinator told me that Iancu was "unrealistic" and must have had some kind of "learning disability". According to Mike, Iancu was "stuck in a place" and did not realise that "he needs to improve his English a lot" to access higher education. He thought that Iancu had no possibilities in the UK because of the language and therefore should return to Sweden or Romania where he had connections.

Despite his self-presentation as a mobile multilingual speaker, Iancu also to a large extent appropriated this institutional categorisation as an immobile L2 English learner. In our interview, he told me that he needed to "improve English to continue

life on a higher level", which he imagined as an MA course in IT in Holland.

Excerpt 59. Learning "accurate" British English. Interview with Iancu, Romanian-born companion. 29-05-2012.

1 2	*MRG:	I remember in our conversation that you were interested in going to Holland for an MA.
3 4	*IAN:	I was trying I was trying to go to Holland and still it's an option but eh-xx I wanna do it I'll learn Dutch a little bit.
5	*MRG:	OK.
6	*IAN:	even if I take an English course.
7	*MRG:	that's true.
8 9	*IAN:	still at this stage uh the most important thing is to stabilise myself and then get the right person to get the right items.
10	*MRG:	yes # I see # aham.
11 12	*IAN:	still I need to improve my English cos if you want uh to continue with your life on a higher level # let's say you want to, postgraduate MA +…
13	*MRG:	yes.
14	*IAN:	you have to do that and more.
15	*MRG:	ah OK.
16	*IAN:	accurate and I have to learn +…
17 18	*MRG:	+/. oh interesting-! so how did you reach this conclusion that you need to improve your English in order to have an MA?
19 20 21	*IAN:	for for example # um # if I'm going to study in Holland definitely as a non English uh speaker I will not be a non English speaker but someone who speaks English as a second language.
22	*MRG:	or in your case a third maybe or a fourth.
23 24	*IAN:	it doesn't matter # that's if you want to study in Holland and in particular English courses you will be required to present IELTS or TOEFL uh-
25	*MRG:	yes.
26 27	*IAN:	that's for the- I have to know the language # accurate # understand everything when you go to school xx
28	*MRG:	I see and how long have you been in England for?
29	*IAN:	in England for three years
30 31	*MRG:	and eight years in Canada # Anglophone Canada according to what you told me # would you say that all these years have helped you improve your English?

| 32 | *IAN: | yeah definitely # cos changing country was a little bit eh hard # it was English in |
| 33 | | England isn't different from English from Canada. |

| 34 | *MRG: | oh # how different? |

| 35 | *IAN: | it is it is believe me #the spoken language is is is- |

| 36 | *MRG: | ahh interesting! |

| 37 | *IAN: | it is more more hard to understand. |

| 38 | *MRG: | so everything is harder to understand here in London? |

| 39 | *IAN: | oh yeah # in England |

| 40 | *RES: | in England generally? |

| 41 | *IAN: | not just for me even for American people. |

By English he meant "accurate" English to pass IELTS examinations to access Dutch universities. Note that he still considers himself a learner after having lived in Canada for 8 and a half years and the UK for three years. This is a form of symbolic violence insofar as he accepted his categorisation as "deficient", even though he spoke many languages and had managed to live in English for many years. He came to the UK because he thought that English was "accepted internationally" and it did not make any sense for him to learn a new language and culture at age 46. In the interview, he also commented on the difficulties that he had had in adapting to London English (see above) and to the companions, who were rude to him. In my fieldwork, Iancu told me repeatedly about his language difficulties and also the on-going tensions with British companions.

My positioning as a foreigner also reveals that some English speakers regarded me as an illegitimate L2 speaker (Bourdieu, 1991), despite my background in English language linguistics and teaching. The following ethnographic vignette drove this point home for me, because I considered my English writing skills to be native-like. One day I was asked to help Kate write a safety plan for the new furniture shop (fieldnotes, 15-05-2012). However, she wanted to retain control of the writing and made final decisions on what to write. In what I can retrospectively see as an act of resistance, I kept telling her about spelling mistakes, ungrammatical sentences and style choices. Kate did not trust my judgement and I needed to argue why a particular sentence needed a verb and why I suggested having complete sentences. She seemed to regard herself as the legitimate native speaker and positioned me as the IT expert when she needed to change font types. Nevertheless, I was largely positioned as the

multilingual expert in this Emmaus. For example, Clive asked me for help in pronouncing Portuguese, a language I am not fluent in. In fact, I was also asked to act as an ad-hoc interpreter of French despite the presence of more fluent, Emmaus-knowledgeable L2 speakers.

6.3.2.3. Tensions between English and French in the transnational articulation with the Emmaus movement

This originally French movement was localised in an English-only habitus where the French language was not used and was even discouraged. On the one hand, Martin and Laura (who had been an undergraduate in Paris) had to act as interpreters for the UK groups who participated in the International Emmaus sale in Paris. This comes to show that French remains the main lingua franca in the transnational Emmaus movement. On the other, French speakers in the community did not use this language because of the unconscious English language disposition. As a case in point, Martin "the chef" told me that he had problems with English word order and pronunciation because he used French vowels instead, which companions often mocked (especially Tall Bob, the "Eastender"). He gradually became socialised into this habitus and only used French with the French summer interns (see below). During one alcohol awareness meeting, he spelled out the name of the contact person at NHS, Bai. The White British men were surprised by this name and Martin said that he was not 100% British, and quickly wondered that who is, because he had a Scottish mom and had lived in France for many years (fieldnotes, 09-05-2012). However, Martin had internalised the English-only regime at this point.

At the end of May, the community welcomed three French undergraduates from La Rochelle who were doing an internship abroad ("*stage humanitaire*"). One of them, Guy, was shown around the community with his parents and his older flatmate, a French man of Algerian descent. This was a key episode for understanding the link between Emmaus London's puzzling lack of multilingual practices and existing transnational connections. John, the general manager, asked me to act as an interpreter for Guy's family and I accompanied them during the tour. To my surprise, he did not make any references to the movement in France, which the family knew first-hand. As if the family were ignorant about Emmaus, John steered away from terms that were problematic in England, such as "companion" (see section 5.2.3.2), and defined

"residents" as homeless people. He was nevertheless aware of potential cultural differences with France when he referred to Primark as a vendor of low quality clothing that might not exist in the neighbouring country. Additionally, he explicitly asked Guy, who had trouble understanding London accents, to speak English only and banned French during his internship. In my later observations, this approach translated into the three French interns sitting together at lunchtime and seeking one-to-one translation from Martin the chef.

Excerpt 60. Acting as a French interpreter but "Only English from tomorrow". Fieldnotes, Emmaus London. 30-05-2012.

> John gives them a tour of ESL and makes no references to Abbé Pierre or Emmaus in France, which would have been a good starting point. I ask them about this myself and they say that there is a community near their village and they have always shopped there. The father manages charities in France and the mother is interested in how companions live. James uses the word "residents" instead of companions. When he talks about residents, James explicitly says that it is mostly rough sleepers and homeless people and says that, "we would not want any brilliant students like these (Guy and me) here". This is not a place for students but for the disadvantaged.

> Guy has trouble following John because his English is not very good and I sometimes translate things. John does not modify his language - he does not reformulate or speak more slowly. However, he points out that Primark might not exist in France when he explains the clothes sorting process. He is right about this. John warns Guy on two different occasions that "only English from tomorrow" and explicitly bans French. This is an "English-speaking community" in the words of Iancu. Indeed. Guy has decided for this internship because he wants to improve his English and visit London, as this is his first visit.

> In the office area, John asks me to introduce the intern to Laura and she greets the family entirely in English, although I tell them that she speaks French. Why doesn't she speak any French at all? When we see Martin in the boutique, he only says "bonjour" and John does not stop for the family to speak to him - which would have been perfect to understand a companion's perspective. Later on, Anne asks me why on earth they haven't asked Martin to interpret because his French is perfect and he is off in the afternoons.

Furthermore, the two native-like French speakers in the community, Laura and Martin, did not use French with the family, even though they were ideal candidates to tell them about the Emmaus movement in Britain, due to their fluency in French and their first-hand experience of Emmaus. In retrospect, this would have violated the English-only habitus in Emmaus London, but at the time I found it hard to understand. Why would you ask "the multilingual student" (me) to act as an ad-hoc interpreter (struggling at times) when nobody else would speak French to them? Anne

also wondered at why they did not ask Martin, who was enjoying his free afternoon, instead of me.

In a mirror image, members with transnational trajectories such as Martin or Iancu are socialised were this English-only habitus, whereas local English-speaking companions who wanted to go to Emmaus communities abroad looked for "English-friendly" ones, especially in "Holland". Charlie, a companion from Emmaus Brighton and Hove, told me that the kind of companion who is transnationally mobile across the Emmaus network is either a travelled person who is "slightly more adventurous" or a previously immobile person looking for "English-language friendly communities". Like Alberto, he pointed to the shared "structure" and lifestyle that provides a safety zone for those who are not used to new cultures.

Excerpt 61. "English-language friendly communities" for Emmaus network mobility in Europe. Interview with Charlie, Emmaus Brighton Companion and EUK board member. 31-05-2012.

1	*MRG:	what sort of companions what profile of companion decides to say ok I'm going to
2		France for a month or I'm going to Serbia for two weeks?
3	*CHA:	I don't know.
4	*MRG:	you don't know.
5	*CHA:	some are slightly more adventurous and have probably travelled before # there are
6		a few who have talked about it here who have never travelled before so they're
7		looking at it as an opportunity and a safe way of being able to go visit a new
8		country where they don't speak the language and to go from one thing that they
9		understand into something else and chance is that most the communities they look
10		at are Dutch and more English-friendly communities or English-language friendly
11		communities # that becomes very appealing to them # and I think anyone who
12		goes to another country to get people out to see a different culture and see a
13		different thing that's great # if they mean to do it through Emmaus where they
14		need the same structure around them.
15	*MRG:	to make sense of the world.
16	*CHA:	for that to be safety zone for them then to start to absorb new things.

As in Massin's essay that opens this chapter, the Emmaus network of local communities with a shared ethos and lifestyle provide an opportunity for formerly marginalised and/or mobile people to travel for purposes of social activism.

Early on in my fieldwork, Iancu started asking me about setting up an exchange with Emmaus Barcelona, which would have undoubtedly benefited

Massin's wish for an exchange with England. One day, I asked Iancu why he wanted to go there given Spain's severe unemployment and bitter recession (fieldnotes, 15-05-2012). Contrary to his more institutionalised interview (see section 2.3), he replied that he would learn "the language" (presumably, Spanish) and this would allow him to travel to South America later on. He recognised that Holland would be a better choice in terms of employment prospects. Kate, the Irish retail employee, told him that they could speak English there and Iancu said that he did not mind learning a new language, which is why he was also open to France as a possibility. Then, Iancu succinctly went over his transnational trajectory and the languages he had learnt on the way. Kate replied that the Dutch "take pity on us because the English (speakers?) can't learn any foreign languages, they're not good at it". Kate echoed John and Matt's reaction to my proposal to teach Spanish to the companions. Iancu as a mobile person with a multilingual identity had invested in languages for mobility, just like Vince who wanted to learn Spanish to work for an NGO.

Let us recall that young companion Rob's prospects were to go to a Dutch Emmaus community, in spite of his initial multilingual display for the researcher (see above). In fact, most companions whom I asked about the possibility of visiting or moving to a different Emmaus community talked about those in the UK, but only a handful considered those in "Holland", and even fewer in Benin, France or Serbia. The ones who had lived in other Emmaus communities had been at UK-based ones. Danny's ambition was to open the first Emmaus community in his native Ireland. To do so, he wanted to tour Emmaus communities around the world to learn from them. In particular, he wanted to go on an exchange as a senior companion to Serbia. When I asked him about language and cultural differences in communities abroad, Danny replied ironically that that they would have to learn English (line 5), both voicing and mocking the discourse of English as a hegemonic lingua franca among his companions. On a more serious note, he immediately told me that he would learn new languages (line 6).

Excerpt 62. Irony about everyone learning English abroad. Interview with Danny, senior companion in Emmaus London. 28-05-2012.

1   *MRG: you're interested in getting to see different communities.

2   *DAN: not in England though # just outside # how they operate # what structure they have

3		in place within their Emmaus.
4	*MRG:	what about language-? have you thought about language and cultural differences?
5	*DAN:	well, # they're gonna have to learn English # aren't they?
	%act:	DAN and MRG both laugh.
6	*DAN:	oh # I'll go for it # I'll go for it!
7	*MRG:	what will you do? have you thought about that one?
8	*DAN:	I'll teach them all Irish!
9	*MRG:	yes, go for it! well you taught me a greeting which I have already forgotten #
10		shame on me!
11	*DAN:	it's OK it's OK.
12	*MRG:	so Irish Gaelic is your first language.
13	*DAN:	yeah yeah # but it's a long time since I've spoken properly
14	*MRG:	oh # you don't have anyone to speak it with here?
15	*DAN:	no # only when I get on the phone to my family.
16	*MRG:	so they all speak Irish Gaelic?
17	*DAN:	yeah #it's a priority you're growing up innit-? you either speak it or you get kicked
18		out.

When I pressed him about the learning process, he reverted back into irony and told me that he would teach them all Irish (line 8), a minority language whose linguistic authority was based on authenticity as an identity marker. It was constructed as the antithesis of the hyper-globalist, anonymous English language. Danny constructed Irish (Gaelic) as the family language that legitimised his local belonging (or else, you are kicked out!, lines 17-18). On the contrary, he mocked widespread discourses about English as the lingua franca that other people abroad have to learn to accommodate mobile English-speaking companions.

All in all, English was (re)produced as the national hegemonic language in Emmaus London and scaled up as a hyper-globalist lingua franca in the transnational movement as a whole. Transnationally-oriented members such as Danny, Iancu, Martin, Guy and myself had to accommodate, negotiate and resist this discourse from peripheral, backstage spaces. Legitimate English speakers seemed to wield linguistic and cultural authority over L2 speakers in this community. In fact, most of us accepted the English-only habitus in our daily practices and exercised symbolic violence when we decided not to use other languages, as I hope to have illustrated

throughout. Nevertheless, the linguistic penalty was not conflated with an ethnic penalty, as the openness to people from different ethnic backgrounds illustrates. This political economy of language, imagined to extend to the transnational connections within Emmaus, was a form of banal nationalism indirectly promoted by the British government's regulations for English charities. Crucially, this linguistic penalty excluded foreign nationals who could not speak "good English" from this Emmaus. This obstacle to membership joined with the legal requirement of holding legal status in the UK and the economic advantage of having recourse to public funding.

6.4. Discussion: Language and transnational trends in the Emmaus movement

The construction of multilingualism is dependent on the sociolinguistic regime in a given locality as well as the geographical range of the particular Emmaus community's discursive clasps and people's linguistic repertoires, which depend on their biographies. Ethnography is a window onto the complexities of language as local practice situated in time and space. There were seemingly contradictory language and identity displays even for the same individual (just recall Iancu or Clive), as well as tensions between language ideologies across different activities, spaces and actors in a given local community. My multi-sited ethnography of two very different Emmaus communities shows the heterogeneous and even contradictory nature of local sociolinguistic orders and constructions of multilingualism in the larger transnational movement. In Part II of this thesis (Chapters 3-5), I concluded that Emmaus is a discursive field that distributes and appropriates narratives, discursive tropes and semiotic symbols. But what about language? The transnational movement is not a unified linguistic marketplace where circulating resources, especially the linguae francae English, French and Spanish, are assigned the same symbolic value in different localities.

Both communities seem to background multilingualism, albeit in very different ways. At Emmaus London, the ideological erasure (Irvine and Gal, 2000) of multilingualism among members in the super-diverse London borough constructed an English-only normative regime into which recent arrivals have to become socialised. However, multilingual encounters took place in backstage private conversations (e.g. with Martin), extraordinary occasions (Guy's family's tour or the Emmaus Salon in

Paris) or peripheral spaces such as the Spanish lessons. Nonetheless, these were not visible and legitimate practices like Standard British English, modelled by the middle-class staff for L2 speakers, or London Cockney styles for the majority of native speakers, which presented a steep learning curve to outsiders. English became both a national language in the ideology of authenticity and a lingua franca for everybody to establish transnational connections. French was a minor, peripheral lingua franca for infrequent contacts *in* France, whereas Spanish was not considered as a lingua franca within Emmaus London at all.

At Emmaus Barcelona, translanguaging practices within the local Spanish/Catalan bilingualism were commonplace and the use of multilingual strategies for communication was confined to migrant newcomers. In general terms, language issues were not discussed much, with the marked exception of integration discourses for newly arrived migrants in the now defunct residential project (see Garrido, 2010). The sociolinguistic regime in the Barcelona metropolitan area is increasingly characterised by hybridity between Spanish and Catalan (Corona et al., 2013). This flexible bilingualism was requisite for fully-fledged participation in the community, which could exclude non-Catalans who had not been socialised yet. The *castellans* in Woolard's terms (1989), who were routinely addressed in Spanish, could develop passive bilingualism to fully participate in the community (for example, the case of Dolo). Language play and crossing among transnational migrants was frequent, but mostly restricted to spaces such as the kitchen and residential project meetings with migrants. By and large, African indigenous languages, such as Tamazight, were restricted to individual speakers (e.g. Massin) and to more peripheral spaces. The flexible approach and deproblematisation of hybridity and non-standard use with reference to local bilingualism was also applied to using linguae francae, French and English, with newcomers and transnational activists despite companions' generally low competence in these languages.

The backgrounding of multilingualism, albeit owing to different ideologies, constructed it as a personal, unremunerated talent among local members that mobilised their language resources if socially appropriate. With respect to L2 speakers of migrant origin, the ideologies of integration regarded Catalan. The management of "transnationalism at home" – namely, multilingualism linked to migration and super-diversity - involved a sociolinguistic order that placed local mixed bilingualism in Spanish and Catalan at the top. Next came the linguae francae

(however defined). This common construction erased languages from elsewhere, such as Wolof, which were evaluated through the lens of authenticity. However, the actual practices varied a great deal between my two research sites because of different degrees of tolerance for non-hegemonic linguistic and cultural capital, as well as translanguaging strategies. Emmaus London socialised new recruits into an English-only space at home and for transnational contacts. On the contrary, Emmaus Barcelona opted for flexible Catalan-Spanish bilingualism, coupled with a deproblematisation of "mixing" strategies and the occasional use of French and English as linguae francae in transnational spaces, such as the residential project.

This analysis has contributed to denaturalising the commonsensical connection between transnational social movements and multilingualism. In Emmaus UK, multilingualism was limited to the federation office's top-down translation of circulating ideas and texts into English with few bottom-up "mediators" (Gal, 2003) such as Alwyn, Laura or Martin. The potential transnational mobilities in the Emmaus network are also shaped by the language regimes in a given locality. The English-only construction in London limited people's mobilities to Northern European contexts where English was an established L2. The ideological problematisation of language as a barrier to communication isolated the English-speaking network within the still largely Francophone movement. At Emmaus Barcelona, the community's French origins and connections with Latin America had established French and Spanish as linguae francae. Migration from Africa had also recently introduced English as a lingua franca in this group. The multilingual strategies documented were due to the widespread deproblematisation of language in favour of the principle of *acollida*, especially salient with newly-arrived homeless members*,* and shared lifestyle in the canonical Emmaus community – principles that facilitate communication among members.

The language economy in the local communities investigated is closely linked to their financial economy, more specifically their positioning vis-à-vis the state's mixed economy of welfare and transnational alter-globalist sustainable economy. In my ethnography, two marked ideological positionings exist in tension with each other (see Kahn and Heller, 2006, p.48) and these partly overlap with the centripetal and centrifugal trends within the Emmaus movement. By and large, Emmaus Barcelona inscribed itself in a transnational alter-globalist network spanning across France and Latin America, mainly, whereas Emmaus London constructed itself as a British

charity working for the betterment of homelessness in a nation-state. From a critical sociolinguistic perspective, fixity and fluidity coexisted within each Emmaus group, but one clearly displayed more of these properties than the other. Emmaus Barcelona was characterised by flexible ideologies of bilingualism and taken-for-granted translanguaging, whereas Emmaus London was more vested in ideologies of fixity, regarding English as a common language that ideologically erased multilingualism.

On the one hand, Emmaus London regarded its mission as the development of a better England, more environmentally-aware and more inclusive of the homeless. Nevertheless, it was part of a larger transnational network, still largely Francophone, and whose headquarters were in Paris. Owing to its participation in the British mixed economy of welfare, the members constructed a homogeneous English language space in spite of the multilingualism linked to the group's transnational origins and mission. To that end, they had to police language use locally and rely on Emmaus UK as the liaison with Emmaus International, in charge of translations. Emmaus London (re)produced the hegemony of English as the national language in the city and a hyper-globalist language at a transnational scale. Their investment in neoliberal welfare and activation policies to tackle new forms of poverty on behalf of the post-social state had a linguistic counterpart. The English-speaking communities were vested in neoliberal discourses of the free market, which also called for a covert language policy. Piller and Cho argue that "the global spread of neoliberal free-market doctrines naturalises the use of English as the language of global competitiveness" (2013, p. 24).

On the other hand, Emmaus Barcelona saw themselves as a local node in a transnational network of organisations clasped with environmental, social and *altermondialiste* movements (i.e. "the movement of movements"). Their transnational mission was inscribed in sustainable development and alter-globalisation that implied strong links with the Global South. Like in Québec, *"leur expérience de l'altermondialisation impliquait alors sans aucun doute le multilinguisme, mais pas nécessairement systemmatiquement un multilinguisme incluant le français"* [national language]" [their experience of alter-globalisation implies then multilingualism without any doubt, but not necessarily systematically a multilingualism including French [national language] (Kahn and Heller, 2006, p. 53). The *drapaires* invested in French and Spanish, and increasingly English, as linguae francae but Catalan was also sometimes used for transnational activism, especially in local events and online. In

alter-globalist networks, the local is central to transforming the global. Despite their financial independence and socio-political activism vis-à-vis the state, Emmaus was vested in minority language activism and nationalist discourses, such as that of integration-through-language for migrants. Since Francoist times, Catalan language activism has been closely linked to social justice movements, as in other minority language contexts (Urla, 2012).

All in all, the political economy of language in Emmaus groups shapes and is shaped by the transnational discursive clasps and the relationship vis-à-vis the nation state. The striking finding is that the articulation of the Emmaus transnational social movement does not seem to rest upon direct multilingual communication but rather on shared intertextual sources that get translated and appropriated locally. However, there are three main linguae francae (Spanish, French and English) that seem to draw boundaries between different transnational networks within Emmaus. Similarly to the wide gap between interdiscursive clasps for common texts, the two communities in my study only shared a weak language link through English as a new lingua franca in Barcelona and through French for a minority of UK-based social actors. This linguistic differentiation that positions people, groups and networks within the transnational movement has a local counterpart within the Emmaus community in the Barcelona area. The next chapter will describe the social actors' different positionings, informed by symbolic capital acquired through language at Emmaus Barcelona.

Chapter 7

Emmaus Barcelona as "a layered onion": Socialisation into a stratified community of practice
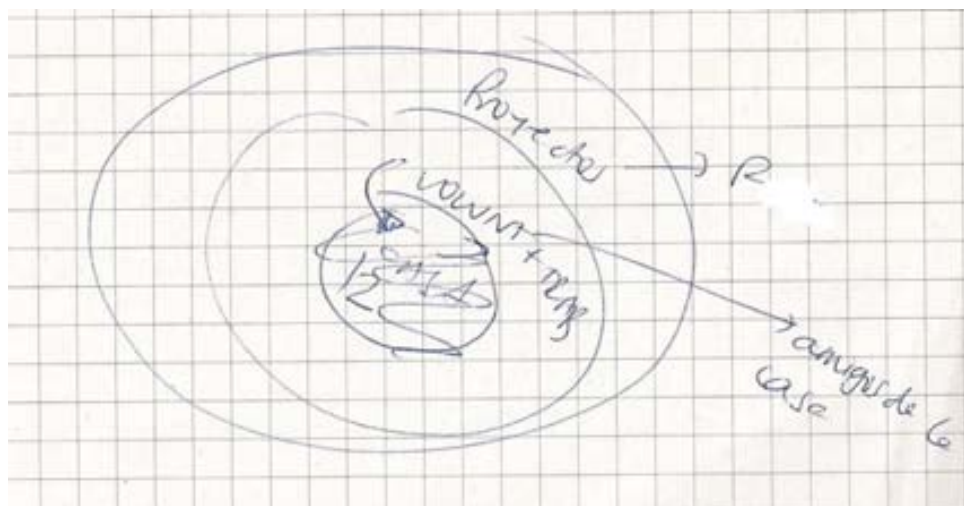
Drawing by Esther, youngest and most recent companion at Emmaus Barcelona, 01-03-2012.

7.1. Introduction: Metaphors of social organisation at Emmaus Barcelona

This opening vignette offers Esther's perspective on the social organisation of Emmaus Barcelona. She was the youngest companion and was about to leave this community after two years. During our interview, she drew the diagram above to visually represent how the Emmaus community is organised, and she explained who belongs to which social "layer" in the diagram. While I was writing this thesis, Àngels told me that in Emmaus there are two types of people: "*els que són Emmaús i els que hi estan*" [those who are Emmaus and those who stay at Emmaus], a distinction that Ramon had previously discussed in our interview. Furthermore, Esther's drawing shows that the local community was perceived as a unit with clear boundaries. In fact, members imagined a local Emmaus community around the actual mutual practices and social networks. Who is part of the larger imagined community and who is not? Which participant categories are constructed, especially regarding individuals' engagement with the Emmaus mission and repertoire? In what ways do affective and communicative practices socialise and position newcomers?

An Emmaus community is a fascinating research site to unveil socialisation into a community of practice that forms part of a broader transnational movement. Socialisation of a newcomer by an experienced old-timer entails power relations that shape all members' participation in collective events, such as assemblies and communal meals. This process results in social stratification and boundary construction in a community of practice brought together through a shared transnational mission. This chapter addresses the third research question, on social stratification in a local Emmaus community and the consequences for access and participation (see section 1.2). More specifically, it investigates the situated linguistic, affective and discursive practices at Emmaus Barcelona from the perspective of socialisation into legitimate subjectivities, which shape and stratify participants' ways of acting, speaking and behaving. It explores processes of social inclusion and exclusion through language together with Chapter 6, which was concerned with the situated construction of multilingualism in the two Emmaus communities and the consequences for access and communication at the local and transnational scales.

In our interview, Esther describes social stratification and different types of participants in Emmaus Barcelona through the metaphor of the multi-layered "onion", depicted above. She identifies three different layers, the inner core of the twelve companions who live together in the same "building" that she labels *"casa"* [house/home]. According to her, this *"casa"* was built by the founder Rita with the help of lifelong friends and volunteers, who might continue in the surroundings of the live-in community. Employees and volunteers, who companions interact regularly with in work contexts and rituals, such as assemblies, form the second layer of this Emmaus "onion", labelled *"voluntarios"* [volunteers] in her drawing. Third, we find an outer, heterogeneous layer of people involved in the community's solidarity projects, both overseas projects in America (see section 4.3.3) and local migrant-support initiatives (see 4.3.4.1, and Codó and Garrido, 2014). Esther refers to different people who visit Emmaus that she does not know personally but who are friends of the founder Rita. In fact, "a community of practice is a node of mutual engagement that becomes progressively looser at the periphery, with layers going from core membership to extreme peripherality" (Wenger, 1998, p.118).

Esther's depiction of social stratification in this Emmaus community is by no means fixed and it allows for differences within the same "layer" and inward/outward mobility among social actors. In Esther's drawing, the founder companion Rita is also

located outside the "*casa*" as a mediator with the outer circle of social projects and "*amigos de la casa*" [friends of the house] (see right-hand side). In my ethnography, Rita emerges as the central interpersonal node uniting all the participants across layers who share the "Emmaus house" as a physical and symbolic space. As for mobility, volunteers who used to be the core of Emmaus together with Rita in the early days have now moved outwards to the second layer so as to make space for new companions in the inner layer. A case of inward mobility is Massin, who used to be a participant in the residential project for migrants that was peripheral to the central community. He then became a volunteer in the second layer and has finally become a companion who participates in committees and assemblies at the core (see section 6.1 to learn more about his trajectory).

The "onion" metaphor for this community and Esther's account of how she learned about its layers recalls her socialisation into the Emmaus founding story. In our interview, Esther explained how she learned about the origins of the movement by means of oral stories told by senior members, which she called "*leyendas de Emaús*" (see section 3.4.3). Esther's onion-like characterisation of Emmaus Barcelona is shared by other informants and often appears in response to my questions about how it is organised. For instance, Àngels, one of the *responsables*, told me that "*Emmaús és com una ceba, és com una ceba que li vas traient pells i van sortint coses no?*" [Emmaus is like an onion, it's like an onion that you keep peeling layers off and things keep appearing, isn't it?] (interview, 09-02-2012). In our interview, I offer the label of "onion" to Esther when we discuss her drawing, thus co-constructing Emmaus discourses with her. Both Esther and I have been socialised into the onion-like metaphor by senior members of the community. This metaphor is an illustration of the socialisation of two newcomers, a recent companion and an ethnographer, through discursive practice.

Esther's account of the layered organisation of this Emmaus community and her own positioning within it is a window for understanding face-to-face socialisation and categorisation processes. During our discussion of her drawing (see above), she claims that her concept of the Emmaus community, namely the "onion", was modified and enlarged thanks to Alberto's explanations of external social projects and collaborations (01-03-2012). In addition, she enlarged her concept of the Emmaus network thanks to the people who are invited to have lunch at the community, who Rita introduced as "friends of the house" and collaborators. In this community,

socialisation processes are intertwined with social stratification on the basis of legitimacy since old-timers and *responsables*, especially Rita and Alberto as the leading couple, socialised newer members and ordinary *drapaires* by means of face-to-face interactions and situated experience. In our interview, Esther's reference to those that "set up the building" (i.e. the inner core) corresponded to legitimate historical members, both companions and volunteers, who seemed to hold more symbolic capital by virtue of their trajectory in Emmaus than herself as a newcomer, and in her view, an outsider with less experience by virtue of her age and length of participation in Emmaus.

In this Emmaus community, competing metaphors with the onion image include the organic family (see section 3.1.) and the pervasive image of the *"pal de paller"* [literally: haystack stick] that keeps together a group of people engaged in the same practices. Josep, one of the longstanding volunteers (see section 4.3.3 about his trajectory), views Emmaus Barcelona as an exchange space based on experience where there are *"pal de pallers"* acting as leaders for given activities (interview, 20-02-12). Along the lines of Esther's porosity between layers above, "volunteers are the community" according to him because they all engage in collective meals and assemblies every Tuesday, which are organised by someone acting as a *"pal de paller"*, namely Rita. For Josep, Emmaus is a tree that becomes a reference for external friends and volunteers. Alberto, one of the longstanding *responsables* (see section 4.3.2 about his trajectory), characterises the responsibility of companions as role models for these committed volunteers. In his words, *"me pesa más igual la responsabilidad que somos referencia para mucha gente, quieren que seas respuesta, Emaús es un árbol que se cobija mucha gente"* [what weighs on me more in a way is the responsibility of us being a model for many people, they want you to be an answer, Emmaus is a tree that shelters many people] (interview, 27-03-12).

The Emmaus tree has many branches that stratify people according to their positioning. In fact, social class is at the centre of Emmaus encounters, both as an emic discursive category in the founding story and as an etic construct for stratification analysis. As analysed in detail in Chapter 3, the founding story constructs two person-types, those who were "privileged" in terms of family background and material conditions, like the Abbé Pierre, and those who no longer had "reasons to live" because of their precarious social and material conditions, like Georges Legay. In this *abbé-pierriste* community (see section 1.5 and Chapter 4), all

companions had the same income and rag-picking occupation, but there were internal differences among them in terms of symbolic capital, as well as among all the members in the three layers. Communal lunch and participatory assemblies constituted a meeting point among all social actors who exhibited different patterns of participation and communication that constructed social class in/through everyday practices (see section 7.3 for an analysis). Besides, those who presented themselves as "privileged" people who had chosen to work for the Emmaus mission tended to display heightened self-reflexivity (see section 7.4 below). Therefore, interviews and reflections in joint assemblies will become windows onto the indexing of social class in discourse.

This chapter will only draw on data from my primary site, Emmaus Barcelona, where I undertook intensive ethnography for a longer period (see Chapter 2) and therefore, documented people's trajectories and mutual practices in detail. This site will reveal processes of socialisation that might be similar in other communities with a similar organisation. It is organised as follows. The second section will discuss the conceptual framework to analyse socialisation and the resulting stratification processes in this community of practice. The third section is devoted to the ethnographic analysis of social practices that construct and reproduce positionings in Emmaus Barcelona as a community. It is divided into communal meals and participatory assemblies. The fourth section investigates overt labels as categorisations in discourse, mostly interview data. I will introduce the connection between social action and discourse through a vignette of a Lent celebration. Then, I will analyse dimensions of class stratification for the informants, namely reflexivity and motivations to join the community on the one hand, and educational and activist trajectories, on the other. I will also examine the social class cleavage among different categories of volunteers. Last, I will offer some concluding remarks on trajectories, reflexivity and lifestyle in a transnational movement.

7.2. Conceptual framework: Socialisation into legitimate capital in a community of practice

Members' participation in situated practices in Emmaus Barcelona shaped their ways of acting, talking and behaving as part of their socialisation into this social movement. According to Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002),

> Socialization, broadly defined, is the process through which a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community. This process - really a set of densely interrelated processes - is realised to a great extent through the use of language, the primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated and instantiated, negotiated and contested, reproduced and transformed. (p. 339)

Emmaus members are socialised through language use, and to use language in the case of non-Catalans (see section 6.3.1.1.), in a linguistically and culturally diverse setting. As far as language is concerned, we saw that the legitimate varieties for mutual engagement, as in assemblies, tended to correspond with national languages in a modernist frame, despite the hybrid uses of Catalan with Castilian Spanish and the wider variety of allochtonous languages in more peripheral spaces, such as the residential project (see Chapter 6 for a full account). In terms of cultural knowledge, Emmaus newcomers were socialised into transnational discourses that justified the collective activities (see Chapter 4) and the founding story that articulates the social movement across borders (see Chapter 3).

Research on adult language socialisation in institutions has centred on social interactions between older or more experienced people and novices. The ethnographic orientation in language socialisation studies focuses on everyday linguistic and discursive practices that are windows onto broader social processes and structures, such as class distinctions. These socialising routines are a co-constructed product between novices and experienced *drapaires*. Thus, routine is not only socially structured and enduring but also situated, contextually grounded in interaction, just as Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and echoing Giddens' description of the relationship between structure and agency (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002; see below). From this sociocultural orientation, competence refers to the ability of engaging in talk as

an activity and to co-construct meaning in collective interactions. Furthermore, there is also a socialisation of morality in which affective selves learn how to display emotions according to local norms that sanction or reject certain actions, both their own and other people's.

The socialisation perspective allows a revisiting of the problematic concept of *community* (see Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002; Irvine, 1996). It advocates community as a practice-based group with permeable, fuzzy boundaries and members' changes in status due to variations in participation (Wenger, 1998). The advantage is that a *community of practice* is not defined in terms of geography, language or broad essentialised categories such as ethnicity or nationality, but as mutual social and interactive engagement in a shared enterprise. A community of practice acts as a locally-negotiated regime of competence based on situated practices that differentiate a competent participant from an outsider (Wenger, 1998). This construct allows me to conceptualise social stratification in a face-to-face community that draws on a transnational repertoire of narratives, discourses and communicative practices in order to develop a shared practice.

The three dimensions that (re)create a community of practice constitute practices of socialisation, legitimation and stratification in the group. Following Wenger (1998), at Emmaus Barcelona these are (1) mutual engagement with other members in a range of activities, especially collective meals and assemblies, (2) accountability to the shared mission and taking responsibility for it, expressed in reflexive discourse about Emmaus activities, and (3) the negotiation of a common repertoire in the here-and-now, which involves coming up with accepted ways to localise and update the transnational Emmaus repertoire. As a result, it seems that length of participation in Emmaus Barcelona, as well as symbolic capital valued for participation might intersect in the positioning of members within the community of practice and in the Emmaus movement.

Social practices such as participatory assemblies and communal meals (see section 7.3 below) show the ability to engage with other members, which implies certain discursive, affective and linguistic requirements. Participation in these situated events crafts affective selves, knowledgeable activists and audible speakers that act appropriately and that establish relationships in the social network. Reflexivity about one's actions and identity as well as the shared mission of Emmaus becomes important legitimising capital in this particular community. Reflexivity generally

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refers to the regular use of new information and knowledge about circumstances of social life as constitutive and transformative of prior knowledge, actions and identities (Giddens, 1991). In this respect, social categorisations are forms of reflexive discourse that negotiate and effect stratification among members. Allocating oneself and other members to different social categories hinges upon mutual engagement in shared practices and individuals' symbolic capital by virtue of their life trajectories.

The ethnographic analysis of Emmaus Barcelona will centre on social practices and categorisations to unveil forms of legitimisation, which are inscribed in a given habitus (Bourdieu, 1977b) interacting with people's social agency (Giddens, 1984). Bourdieu's *habitus* refers to "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of generation and structuring of practices and representations" (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 72). A given habitus produces classifiable practices and artifacts and also people's capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (Bourdieu, 1984). Block (2014) points at the double-edged nature of Bourdieu's *habitus* as (a) structured by past experiences and socialisation and (b) structuring dispositions in present and future action. Therefore, these systems of durable, transposable dispositions are (re)produced in on-going engagement in situated social practices.

The concepts of structuration and agency (Giddens, 1984) are key to understanding the (re)production and transformation of social structures through routinised practices. Giddens views social structure as instantiated in individual social encounters, that is to say, as the result of processes of structuration that take place in situated social events. For instance, the marginalisation of disadvantaged groups in society such as newly arrived migrants takes place in situated events mostly constituted in language (e.g. Codó 2008: Chapter 3). People have choices on how to act within the constraints of a specific situation, even if the capital that they can mobilise are more or less valued in a specific habitus. This is what Giddens understands by *social agency,* a concept that is bound with power relations in a given social field. For instance, Emmaus members in the community investigated had different potential to do things in this social field. As we shall see, these capabilities were linked to their educational, family, work and activist trajectories, which provided them with certain forms of symbolic capital.

The analysis of social legitimation and stratification in this community adopts a multidimensional approach that takes into account different types of symbolic and material capital. Emmaus as a social movement seems to centre more on social networks and cultural repertoires rather than economic capital in local communities dedicated to recuperation work. The vantage point of Emmaus suggests that social and cultural capital are displacing economic capital as the main stratifying forces in late modernity. According to Grusky and Ku, "new social movements provide a more appealing call for collective action by virtue of their emphasis on issues of lifestyle, personal identity, and normative change" (2008, p. 21). Indeed, my informants referred to the motivations to join Emmaus in terms of their transformed identities, their *opció de vida* [life choice] and the shared goal of social transformation in their collective actions. Although Emmaus Barcelona is a window onto the formation of late modern subjectivities, the subsequent ethnographic analysis of this *abbé-pierriste* community is by no means generalizable to other Emmaus communities in different discursive regimes.

My analysis will draw on the concept of *social class*, which becomes shorthand for symbolic and material differences (in Bourdieu's terms) that stratify people in a given community of practice. I understand class as a set of routinised social and discursive practices that (re)produce social inequalities in a constructed space of meaningfulness. It is, therefore, experienced and negotiated in actual social practices and discursive categorisations that are not pre-defined in a closed system but rather constitute a wide and open class of behaviours, actions and discourses. Empirically, class can be analysed through an ethnographic lens of taken-for-granted daily practices (Blommaert and Makoe, 2012). Postmodern class analysis moves away from a Marxist emphasis on economic factors, such as labour and income. Instead, it tends to regard class as a multifaceted construct that emerges out of a correlation of resources, such as social networks, education and wealth, that afford access to material and symbolic capital that is valued socially.

As we have just seen, affect and emotions seem to be more important than material accumulation for transnational activist identities. Socialisation into Emmaus will undoubtedly shape people's affective and psychological dispositions. Affective labour in situated encounters directly constitutes the extended Emmaus community and collective subjectivities. Hardt (1999) claims that "this labour is immaterial, even if it is corporeal and affective, in the sense that its products are intangible: a feeling of

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ease, wellbeing, satisfaction, excitement, passion - even a sense of connectedness and community" (p. 96). Affective labour is to a large extent (but not exclusively) based on communication and language. In late modernity, the new service-based economy puts affective labour at the centre of the production of economic capital. Nonetheless, the production of affective dispositions in our social practices has been fertile ground for anti-capitalist projects, such as Emmaus Barcelona, that give more weight to affects and emotions than to material accumulation (Hardt, 1999). This area has been under-researched in civil society organisations from a linguistic anthropological perspective (McElhinny, 2010).

As described elsewhere (see section 1.5.3.1.; also Chapter 4), Emmaus Barcelona was a loose collective that developed a social network based on socialist ideals and class erasure in discourse in order to defend the interests of marginalised people in global neoliberal society. At the same time, the mutual engagement of diverse people in this shared enterprise (re)produced different positionings (i.e. social stratification) according to symbolic capital valued for full participation. Despite Emmaus's stated mission to "help those less fortunate", discursive (re)production, and in particular social indexation, remained in the hands of those members who had greater symbolic legitimacy in this particular field (Bourdieu, 1977b, p. 651). Conversely, the affective aspect of class ran deep in the anguish of people who were at the margins of this community of practice (Block and Corona, 2014) and who chose not to engage in interviews with me or comprehensive assemblies, which were often reflexive (see section 2.4.3.2 about rejections to participate in my study).

The key question of from whom and from where the local members got their recognition reveals the cross-border circulation of symbolic capital in the Emmaus networks. This is in spite of (or perhaps, due to) the low economic and material capital and prestige value ascribed to the occupation of *drapaire* in the national market. Local Emmaus members constructed their social status in this community partly on the basis of mobile discourses and ideas, their lifestyle choice to become rag-pickers in a canonical Emmaus community and short-term mobilities of people across the transnational network. A theoretical contribution of this research is to show that the transnational mobility of ideas in social movements challenges methodological nationalism (see Beck, 2004) in analyses of social stratification, no matter how local our ethnographies might seem. This transnationally-informed

community shaped activist subjectivities that partially counteracted the social exclusion and/or declassing of *drapaires* in their localities through social recognition.

Last, I briefly examine my own positioning as an ethnographer interested in issues of social inequality (re)produced through language in late capitalism. The critical focus on social exclusion and stratification might be seen as an overemphasis that obscures the egalitarian gains in the past decades and particularly, the (re)insertion of marginalised people thanks to Emmaus communities. Nevertheless, "the continuing diffusion of egalitarian values renders any departures from equality, no matter how small, as problematic and newsworthy" (Grusky and Ku, 2008, p. 26). In the self-reflexive spirit that characterises Emmaus Barcelona, this is my contribution to understanding how socialisation and social structuration are inextricably linked processes in this community of practice.

7.3. Analysis of socialisation practices at Emmaus Barcelona: Construction and negotiation of positioning and boundaries

My long-term ethnography of Emmaus Barcelona, my primary research site, was marked by my continued participation in rituals organised in the large dining room (see Figure 1), namely communal lunches, assemblies and smaller committee meetings, as well as after-lunch celebrations. These are occasions when legitimate members of the Emmaus social network (or "extended family", to link it with Rita's metaphor in Chapter 3) participated, in different capacities and degrees, in the interactional (re)production of the local community of practice at the same time as they reproduced the transnational imagined community. Rituals were based on mutual engagement in a collective social practice among very diverse people who developed a shared repertoire of stories (see Chapter 3), discourses (see Chapters 4 and 5), communicative routines and ways of doing things. Taking part in meaningful activities and interactions with other participants requires symbolic capitals and recognised legitimacy to make contributions to the pursuit of a common project, to the negotiation of meaning and to the development of a shared practice (Wenger, 1998). Therefore, these rituals are a window onto social stratification processes based on unequal distribution of capital in a local community of practice.

All Emmaus communities seem to share the same rituals of community building and maintenance, mainly comprehensive assemblies and shared meals. As described in my opening to this thesis (see section 1.1), the communal dining room in Barcelona is imagined to be connected to many similar ones in local Emmaus groups, where they also engage in assemblies, birthday celebrations and small talk during lunchtime. These practices socialise and align local members with the transnational Emmaus mission of solidarity with "those less fortunate" by means of storytelling, interaction with other Emmaus activists and discussion of projects in the light of the shared mission. Additionally, they open the floor for participants to negotiate a joint response to shifting local conditions by appropriating *emmausien* discourses, narratives and actions.

> Rituals connect local practices and identities to other locations across time and space. They are a form of engagement that can bolster imagination - by cultivating the sense of others doing or having done the same thing - and alignment - by channelling an investment of the self into standardized activities, discourses and styles (Wenger, 1998, p. 183).

In fact, the emergence of a local community of practice is based on a collective history of having weathered difficulties together, which contributes to a trajectory of learning experiences that shapes collective identity (Flesher Fominaya, 2010). These rituals interweave affective/interpersonal and rational/socio-political dimensions for belonging to an Emmaus community and to the broader transnational movement. This constructed collective belonging is not, of course, synonymous with harmonious relationships and collaboration. As we shall see, competition, tensions, disagreements and even conflicts are part and parcel of these rituals, too.

Participation in rituals is double-edged since it includes diverse people in a collective practice; but at the same time, it distinguishes among social actors by virtue of their different engagement in social interaction. In other words, relations of inequality are shaped and negotiated in the context of a process of mutual engagement and recognition. Engaging in these community practices entails mutual recognition of people's positioning, for instance as old-timers or newcomers and as *responsables* or external volunteers, because their identities are constructed interactively in relation to each other. Participation in communities of practice, and particularly in rituals, shapes

our experience, but people's trajectories and experiences also transform those communities (Wenger, 1998, p. 56-57). Boundaries and peripheries to the community are constructed and experienced in situated interactions, because some members feel excluded by their inability to engage *fully* in an activity or conversation. Non-participation and peripherality in these rituals indexes an unequal distribution of symbolic capital (in Bourdieusian terms) to define local projects and actions within the larger Emmaus mission.

7.3.1. Sharing meals: Socialising newcomers, stratifying members

As a researcher who was an outsider to an Emmaus community, I was always introduced to the local members at lunchtime (see section 1.1.). My first contact with Emmaus Barcelona was at a shared table where, over the years, I got to meet very many social activists from far and near, dozens of migrants passing through the project, Emmaus companions from now and then, newly-recruited volunteers, such as Catalan teachers and homeopaths, and even an astrophysicist giving a lecture. Alberto told me that his father-in law, Octavi, often said that he met more people in a year at Emmaus than in the entire rest of his life (interview, 27-03-12). Sharing lunch was a key moment of relationality between members and outsiders, and it was a golden event for an ethnographer interested in the situated construction of social relations.

Volunteers often got to know members and decided to commit to the Emmaus mission thanks to sharing lunch with the community. Laura, the volunteer psychologist, remembers that *"vaig estar dos o tres [vegades] només anant a dinar per conèixer la gent, com em sentia, al cap de quinze dies ja em sentia bé, ja vaig veure que era allà on volia estar, al ritme d'Emaús leent"* [I kept going two or three times only for lunch to get to know the people, how I felt, after fifteen days I felt fine, I already realised that this was where I wanted to be, at the slooow Emmaus pace] (interview, 06-03-2012). Lunchtime becomes an affective socialisation experience for outsiders who might become volunteers or collaborators. Paqui, one of the volunteers, was impressed by Rita's invitation to share lunch with the community to get to know Emmaus. In her words, *"eso ya me impresionó, ¿no? ¿qué persona dice ven a comer?, pues yo el día de antes empecé a preparar pastelitos, así practicaba y quedaba bien, porque ¿cómo iba a venir a comer sin traer nada?"* [that already impressed me, didn't it? What kind of a person tells you come for lunch, so I started making cakes

the day before, to practice and to make a good impression, because how could I come to lunch without bringing anything?] (interview, 20-03-2012).

Going back to Esther's "onion" in the opening image, the shared table is not only a site for the outer layer, including newcomers and migrant participants in the residential project, but also central for the lived experience of core companions and longstanding volunteers in the inner layers. The shared table is a symbol of Emmaus, as is the house, in particular regarding the first *acollida* (unconditional welcome) principle. As you might recall, Alberto justified the common practice of inviting outsiders for lunch because the companions lack the words to explain what Emmaus is and prefer to offer them a first-hand experience (see section 3.4.3.). This table is the place where *acollida* happens at Emmaus Barcelona (line 1 in Excerpt 63 below). Below, he vividly describes it as a "lower-class" table (line 29) made of Formica planks without a tablecloth and where cutlery and tableware don't match (lines 33-37) (see Figure 1). Later on in the same interview, Alberto also comments on the fact that people have to serve their own dishes and then put them in the dishwasher, unlike in other residential projects for the homeless where they "dignify" the table. He claims that the Emmaus table is "tough" to eat at (line 20), in a literal sense, since Formica is a hard and uncomfortable material, and in a metaphorical way, because of the socialising experience among so many diverse people.

Excerpt 63. A "lower-class" shared table at Emmaus. Interview with Alberto, companion and *responsable* at Emmaus Barcelona. 27-03-2012. My translation from Spanish.

1	*ALB:	se hace la acogida en la mesa porque: porque es importante # es la mesa esa
2		compartida # es: no sé es un: símbolo: es una riqueza:
	%tra:	we welcome people at the table because: it is important # it's that shared table # it's: dunno it's a: symbol a wea:lth.

3	*MRG:	+^sí?
	%tra:	+^is it?

4	*ALB:	supongo que a nivel conceptual y un montón de cosas más # y como tampoo
5		mucho eso de Emaús tampoco sabes mucho cómo explicar-? # porque
6		tampoco es una teoría: es que es # lo que le va sucediendo a la gente pues
7		ven a comer ya lo verás ya ya te # ya verás un poco eso qué es.
	%tra:	I suppose that at a conceptual level and many other things # and as you don't really that of Emmaus you don't really know how to explain it-? # because it's neither a theory it is it's # what keeps happening to people so come have lunch and you'll see it you will will # you'll see a little what it is like.

8	*MRG:	pero tú crees que la mesa es un símbolo de Emaús?
	%tra:	but do you think that the table is a symbol of Emmaus?

9   *ALB: +^yo creo que sí!
     %tra: +^ I think so!

10 *MRG: °vale°
     %tra: °OK°

11 *ALB: yo creo que sí.
     %tra: I think so.

12 *MRG: yo también lo creo # pero quería saber tu opinión.
     %tra: I also think so # but I wanted to know your opinion.

13 *ALB: cuando:: dices a la gente: y eso de Emaús que es-? # mira #0_3 como: no te
14   lo voy a saber explicar # vienes a comer y ya te enterarás!
     %tra: whe::n you tell people and what's that Emmaus thing -? # look # 0_3 as: I'm
               not going to know how to explain it # come have lunch and you'll find out!

15 *MRG: y ya preguntarás tú!
     %tra: and you'll ask yourself!

16 *ALB: sí: # y no es un poco así.
     %tra: yeah: # and no it's a bit like this.

17 *MRG: vale vale!
     %tra: OK OK!

18 *ALB: y ya el otro bueno pues se va haciendo preguntas # ya ve: una casa grande:
19   no se qué # eso no es una comida así: opípara # es una mesa:: no hay mantel
20   # o sea es duro a esos niveles.
     %tra: and then the other well keeps wondering # he sees a big house: whatever #
               this is not a meal like sumptuous # it's a table: there is no tablecloth # so it's
               hard at those levels.

               […]

     %com: MRG reflects on why she was not surprised by this table and her own
               positioning.

21 *ALB: sí sí sí # y ahora suerte que todos los platos son iguales # pero: pero los
22   vasos tampoco son iguales o sea es decir es es es la: mesa: de gente: # iba a
23   decir no es la palabra igual pobre pero sí:: # de clases bajas # es decir no es
24   la mesa no es la mesa: # con mantel # platos iguales # servilleta # vasos y xx
25   de copas # sopera plato.
     %tra: yeah yeah yeah # and now it's lucky that all the plates are the same # bu:t
               but the glasses are not the same that's to say it's it's it's the: table: of people:
               # I was gonna say the word poor but yeah:: # of lower classes # that's to say
               it's not the table it's not the table: # with a tablecloth # identical plates #
               napkin # glasses and xx of wineglasses # soup bowl plate.

26 *MRG: vale vale # ya te entiendo.
     %tra: OK OK # I get it now.

27 *ALB: es una mesa: # de fórmica blanca: # que luego le pasas el trapo: # que los
28   vasos son distintos # que te vienen con la jarras de de: que son más de: de
29   estos de guardería o que sé de qué # las silla: es # un tipo de mesa que es
30   casi casi de caballete con madera encima # no sé forma parte del del del de
31   local no-? xx
     %tra: it's a table: # of white Formica: # that you then wipe off: # that all the
               glasses are different # which come with jars that that are more from from
               like from a nursery school or what have you # the chair is # a type of table

> which is almost almost a sawhorse with a plank of wood on top # dunno it forms part of the premises doesn't it-? xx

The fact that newcomers ask questions about what they see (line 18) encourages storytelling about the movement, the local community and the companions themselves (see section 3.4.3 for examples). On a more practical note, a newcomer might wonder, for instance, at the mismatched glasses or cups of coffee, which were items donated to their rag-picking cooperative. I wondered why there was a dish marked "*musulmans*" [Muslims], which contained no pork, and eventually I learned that this accommodated Muslim (former) participants in the residential project (see section 4.3.4.1 about this project). All in all, the table actually shaped moral, affective, linguistic and economic dispositions among all participants. The shared table was an icon for this Emmaus, because it was the semi-public part that symbolised the "house" (where the community lives) as a core affective space and a cultural site not only for companions but also for all participants in this social network.

The progressive Catholic clasps in this community (see Chapter 4) also justified the "shared table" since it was an ecumenical encounter among people from different religious traditions and among people who had a "privileged" background, such as Alberto or Ramon (for more on their trajectories, see sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 respectively), and those who were "less fortunate", such as the homeless migrants that participated in the project. Social class was discursively (but not in non-linguistic practice, as we shall see) erased (Irvine and Gal, 2000) through sharing meals with others as equals at this simple table. Alberto described Emmaus "*como una mesa compartida*" [like a shared table], an image reminiscent of the last supper, which fulfilled the need for a new spirituality that "*tiene que contar más con la persona, más que con prácticas religiosas, en cuanto a estar más cercano al otro que lo necesita más que centrada en el templo, es una espiritualidad centrada en las necesidades de la persona de al lado tuy*o" [has to do more with the person than with religious practices, it's about being close to another person who needs it rather than being centred on the church, it's a spirituality centred on the needs of the person next to you] (interview, 27-03-12).

This theological rationale to share everyday life side by side with others whose life trajectories and social backgrounds might have been very different was shared by Ramon, the working priest companion who lived in Chiapas for half a year.

In a published biographical narrative, he singles out the diversity at Emmaus, in particular within the residential project for homeless migrants, as a daily opportunity to recognise God and God's values in people from other religious backgrounds.

> Cuando voy en el camión para el trabajo con los compañeros de otros países, de otra cultura, de otra religión, cuando juntos agarramos los materiales para cargarlos, cuando nos sentamos en la misma mesa y tantas otras cosas, yo no puedo dejar de reconocer, en el hacer y la vida de estas personas, cantidad de valores que pertenecen al Reino de Dios.
>
> [When I am on the truck to work with companions from other countries, from another culture, from another religion, when together we grab the materials to load them, when we sit at the same table and many other things, I can't fail to recognise, in the doings and the lives of these people, lots of values that belong to the Kingdom of God.] (My translation from Spanish)

Despite this rationale, my daily observations at the table brought to the fore the actual divisions in the seating arrangements and social interactions among all the participants. Before my very first lunch at Emmaus in 2008, Rita told me that the "people from the house", that is, the companions, sat at one end and the migrant participants in the residential project sat on the opposite end. This practice complicated communication and relationships between the two groups, contrary to their initial expectations about a shared table and house. In her own words, "*la comunicació està clar que és difícil perquè, aquí som bilingües català i castellà*" [communication is clearly difficult because, here we are Catalan and Spanish bilinguals] (interview, 27-02-2008). The lack of legitimate Catalan/Spanish bilingual repertoires and hybrid practices excluded migrant newcomers (see section 6.3.1 for a full account).

Additionally, the physical and linguistic division at the table also responds to mutual engagement in work activities, since, according to Rita, "*nosaltres ens parlem perquè és clar és l'únic moment de trobada de tots al migdia, i és un moment com molt nostre, per lo tant és normal en certa manera que ens posem junts perquè és que durant la resta de dia cadascú treballa en diferents llocs*" [we (companions) speak to each other because of course it is the time we all get together at midday, and it is a moment which is kind of ours, so it is normal in a way that we gather together because during the rest of the day each of us works in a different place] (same as above). Note that she discursively marks boundaries between "we-companions" and

"they-immigrants", and that their physical proximity at the table indexes their central involvement in the community of practice.

In my field work, I documented seating arrangements and, as much as possible, the interactions around me in order to grasp processes of stratification. As a representative "volunteer Tuesday", I have chosen to analyse seating arrangements and interaction at the table on March 20th, 2012 (see Figure 13 below). There were fewer people than usual and this facilitated my observation and note-taking.

As usual, senior community members who are central in Esther's "onion" sat at the table end near the kitchen door and the food counter. These were Dolo, Miquel Àngel, Rita and Octavi, Rita's elderly father who lived at the community some days a week. Longstanding volunteers such as Paqui, the two volunteer psychologists, the working priest Josep or the eldest kitchen volunteer Caterina sat in the middle section of the table, adjacent to the companions. I tended to sit in the middle area because I could observe what happened on both sides and also because it was the most lively section on Tuesdays. The far end of the table was occupied by the more peripheral companions Massin, Marc and Francisco, who typically chose to sit with the migrants who lived in the social flats financed by the community. So did Alberto, who always chose to sit with the newcomers and junior members, away from senior companions such as Àngels, Dolo, Ramon or Rita. My interpretation is that Alberto, conscious of the boundaries among groups at the shared table, chose to sit with those "less fortunate" – recent arrivals in this Emmaus community – rather than legitimate members in accordance with his Christian justifications above. The paid cook Zunilda always sat next to Francisco, who saved her a spot every day (see below).

Figure 13. Seating arrangements at lunchtime, Emmaus Barcelona. 20-03-2012. White seats = former residential project participants / new volunteers (e.g. Jasseh), Shaded grey seats = resident companions (e.g. Dolo), dark blue seats = longstanding volunteers (e.g. Àngels), dark grey seats = employee (Zuni) and black seat = ethnographer (Maria Rosa). "Migrant man 1" and "Migrant man 2" are labels for two former project participants whose names I did not know.

street

Alpha Koubaly Samba Massin Marc Albert Josep C. Laura Mercé P. Maria Rosa Jasseh Àngels Octavi Dolo Miquel Àngel

Storage for tableware

book shelves

communal table

self-service food counter

Duwa Francisco Zuni Migrant man 1 Migrant man 2 Josep T. Jesús Rosa Caterina Pepi Sandra Paqui Toñi Rita

To entrance hall

To kitchen area

benches

book shelf

benches

courtyard

As far as conversations are concerned, my observations pointed to interactions among people who shared ideas and/or work (see Excerpt 64 below). In the diagram above, women volunteers in the kitchen (Paqui, her daughter Sandra, Pepi and Caterina) sit together as usual. They are housewives or unemployed women who come to volunteer every Tuesday (with a similar profile to the women in the *taller de nines*, see section 4.3.4.3). On that specific day, they mostly kept to themselves in a low voice. As Rita pointed out (see above), senior companions sat together to comment on recycling work or on-going projects, whereas elderly Catholic volunteers who had known each other for decades talked about latest events in the Church and about common acquaintances. Migrants related to each other and joked around with Francisco and to a lesser extent Massin. Companions who had been in the community for a short period (ranging from one month to two-and-a-half years) – such as Massin, Marc or Vladimir (who was not present on that day) - did not talk much and when they spoke, it was generally to the people near them. Two professional "observers", Àngels (who acted as a psychologist and mediator in the community) and myself, closely followed social interactions to gauge social relations.

Excerpt 64. Interactions at the shared table. Fieldnotes about lunchtime. 20-03-2012.

> Rita, Dolo, Miquel Àngel and Octavi talk to each other. Toñi, who is late because she was volunteering in the kitchen, finds no spare chairs except the one next to Rita and she hesitates. Rita insists and says "així xerrem". Toñi says that it's *el seient maldito*" because nobody ever sits there - among those who are more peripheral to the imagined community.

> The more "affective" volunteer types from the kitchen speak very little and listen to other people's conversations. Àngels V. [in-house volunteer psychologist] is observing people interacting, just as I do. I only speak to Jasseh briefly after his CV in English. Marta and Mercè [longstanding volunteers] talk about some acquaintance's death, while Josep C. [working priest], Josep T. [secular monk] and Jesús [retired judge, Basque cooperativist] speak about *bisbes*" [bishops] and the Catholic Church. Jasseh does not speak to anybody around him except Àngels V. and me. Àngels asks him why he's sat here because he usually prefers to sit at the far end and he says that there were no spaces left. Jasseh shouts across the table to "*mi sobrino*" [my nephew] Samba. He also shouts at Francisco and jokes with him, saying "*Francisco is malo*" [Francisco is bad]. He is following conversations from a distance: I can see him glancing sideways and listening attentively in that direction.

The fieldnotes above and the table diagram (Figure 13) both show that everybody seemed to know his/her allocated section. The seating patterns as well as the social interactions (re)produced the three-tiered composition of the "onion" at the table.

There were physical and symbolic divisions among the senior companions, the longstanding volunteers and the peripheral members, which included younger and recent companions, former project participants and Francisco (see below). Violations of the usual order revealed the social structuration processes at play. For example, one day my decision to sit at the far end with the migrants prompted Francisco to welcome me to "sit with the poor" and there was general laughter among younger companions, such as Vladimir and Massin. As narrated in my fieldnotes (Excerpt 64), I observed two instances on March 20th. The first is the kitchen volunteer, Toñi, who only room to sit next to the founder, Rita, on what she termed "*el seient maldito*" [the cursed/shunned seat] because nobody wanted to sit there. The second was Jasseh's forced location between Àngels and me in the "volunteer section". Unlike most days, he barely spoke to anybody around him, but participated in jokes and banter with those at the far end.

First, Toñi's reluctance and hesitation to sit next to Rita in the companions' section might stem from her (perceived) peripheral status as an external kitchen volunteer who might have nothing to contribute to the senior companions' conversations. Her social positioning as a Spanish-speaking "*flamenca",* as Àngels called her at an assembly, relegated her to a group of uneducated women who volunteered to cook once a week in the kitchen, which was a therapeutic space through interaction and affective work for the volunteers (similar to the *taller de nines,* as pointed above). She usually took a place at the far end of the table among peripheral members, but on that particular Tuesday, she was too late to do so. The founder and the companions warmly welcomed her but she barely interacted with them, speaking in Spanish to Paqui instead. Perhaps, Toñi shied away from this social interaction due to the (perceived) required discursive and reflexive abilities to participate in central members' conversations.

Toñi's reaction echoed Zunilda's account of her own positioning at the far end of the shared table (interview, 22-03-2012). When I asked her why she sat among the migrant participants, she replied that "*me sabe mal estar con la gente grande, de altura*" [I feel bad being with big shots, from high up], namely the senior companions. At first, she felt uncomfortable and did not want to sit at the shared table because "*yo soy una cocinera*" [I am just a cook]. Upon Rita's insistence that she eat with the rest, she claimed that "*me gusta estar bien allí, más tranquila*" [I like being fine there, calmer] among the peripheral participants, i.e. the migrant men, newer companions,

peripheral volunteers and Francisco. In fact, her stated preference was congruent with her frequent interactions with the migrant men who used to participate in the residential project, in particular with the kitchen volunteer, Jasseh (see section 6.3.1.2 for a sociolinguistic account).

For all participants without exception, Rita was indeed the *human hub* (Kiwan and Meinhof, 2011) or *community manager*, to use a trendy term, at Emmaus Barcelona. She seemed to be the person who knew all volunteers, migrant participants, employees and visitors and who introduced newcomers to the companions at lunchtime. In interviews, all social actors described her as the main affective node that articulated different people and projects within Emmaus. For instance, when a participant in the residential project was taken to hospital, I asked Alberto who it was, but he could not produce his name, even with suggestions from me (fieldnotes, 18-10-2011). He told me that Rita knew who it was. Concerning the table interactions being discussed, Jasseh told me that, "Rita is number one" and that when she was not around, nobody spoke at lunchtime and everybody kept to him/herself (fieldnotes, 22-02-2012). Furthermore, Rita was the public face of Emmaus for outsiders and she was the one who attended all council, umbrella NGO and residential project meetings. She was also the person who usually invited outsiders to get to know the community.

Second, Jasseh's declared preference for sitting at the far end was related to his acquired disposition as a former participant in the residential project. At the time of fieldwork, Jasseh used to work as a kitchen volunteer and lived in the social flats paid for by Emmaus. As previously analysed, he interacted with "white friends" at Emmaus (especially women, see section 6.3.1.2) more than with his "black ones" after work (interview, 22-12-2012). At first, Francisco would not greet or speak to the migrants. Zuni, for instance, told me that "*no me quería porque era inmigrante*" [he did not like me because I was an immigrant] (interview, 22-03-2012) and would not let her work. Zuni told me in a matter-of-fact way that he was "*un poco racista*" [a little racist], an interpretation shared by Rita as well. Over time, he had grown used to sharing table with the migrant men and they developed a relationship based on race-inflected banter. As an illustration, he called black men "*chocolate*" and playfully took the water away from them, and Jasseh replied tongue-in-cheek or with a lesson in human rights, telling him that they have "*sangre igual*" [the same blood] (fieldnotes 21-03-2012). Massin sometimes participated in the mock (?) fights along

the lines of the male banter based on religious traditions at the *rastre* (see section 6.3.1.1).

The preceding ethnographic vignette of a Tuesday lunch casts light on the different types of conversations, and contingent symbolic capital required to participate in them, at each section of the table. Companions spoke about on-going projects and recycling work in connection to their transnational mission, whereas longstanding volunteers typically discussed politics, the Catholic Church, other grassroots projects they participated in and even common acquaintances in the city. By and large, peripheral members and newcomers preferred to joke with each other and talk about their shared situations, especially among undocumented migrants and elderly housewives. They lacked knowledge of the Emmaus transnational imaginary and the local projects and might not have any local connections to the parishes, associations and acquaintances that the senior volunteers participated in. In fact, the vast majority of peripheral members, including companions Francisco and Pere, did not participate in volunteer assemblies, with the marked exception of Paqui and occasionally, some women volunteers in the *taller de nines* and the kitchen.

7.3.2. Participation in assemblies: Legitimacy, consensus and disagreement

The local assemblearian tradition among Leftist movements comes together with the transnational *emmausien* preference for community meetings to make decisions at Emmaus Barcelona. Emmaus members, especially inner circle companions, were expected to participate in many assemblies to negotiate their own interpretation of the Emmaus mission and specific actions under the local socio-political and economic circumstances. At the time of fieldwork, there was an official "volunteer meeting" after lunch every first Tuesday of the month. These assemblies were the busiest and most diverse, with over 30 volunteers and companions attending them. Companions also held a closed-door "community meeting" every Friday after lunch, which I was not allowed to attend. This was when they voted to decide major issues, such as accepting a new companion and my access as an ethnographer (see section 2.4.1). The group of four *responsables* (Miquel Àngel, Rita, Alberto and Àngels) had a meeting every Wednesday to discuss how the community and the cooperative were running. There were also weekend-long retreats called "reflections" for the companions and a

few invited volunteers once or twice a year. The focus of this section will be on the interactional construction of consensus and legitimacy in volunteer meetings.[1]

Rita insisted that volunteers participate in "volunteer Tuesdays" and invited them to join lunch and assemblies. The after-lunch meetings socialised newcomers in Emmaus values, dispositions and discourses via talks, joint reflections and meetings with other activists. This is how Paqui was socialised as a volunteer into the transnational discourses and networks that this community participated in. In the early days, Rita told Paqui that she was entitled to have lunch as a volunteer and encouraged volunteers to participate in after-lunch discussions, which later evolved into the assemblies. Paqui characterised these discussions as "*después de comer hacíamos una reunión que era como una revisión de vida ¿no? y cada semana se hablaba de una vida muy interesante, de religión, de cultura, de espiritualidad*" [after lunch we would have a meeting that was a sort of life review, wasn't it? And every week we would talk about a very interesting life, religion, culture, spirituality]. Note that the term *revisiones de vida* and the practice itself are typical in Freirean and Liberationist circles.

The combination of imagination as part of a social movement and engagement in situated socio-political action results in a reflexive practice epitomised in assemblies. For example, I attended two different volunteer assemblies on the topic of "why do we do it?" to discuss motivations among activists (see Excerpt 19). However, not everybody spoke out and shared their motivations, especially among the recent recruits and some volunteers. In this communicative space, *Drapaires d'Emmaús* also justified their proposals for new voluntary projects at a time of economic, social and political crisis in late 2011. Planning for new ventures in assemblies departed from their immediate engagement with social projects as a site for imagining, negotiating and implementing future alternatives. As a case in point, the existing volunteer *espai*

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1 I have also attended many coordination meetings for local Emmaus projects with Rita. She chaired, together with the designated "*pal de paller*", the *amic lingüístic* meetings among volunteers involved in language exchanges or the Catalan classes meetings among voluntary teachers. The residential project for homeless migrants (terminated in late 2011) required many coordination meetings with local migrant-support NGOs, the city hall and networking with similar projects in the province (see section 4.3.4.1). Today, Emmaus Barcelona funds two smaller residential projects, one for evicted people and another one for former migrant participants in the previous project. Both are managed by committees of companions and longstanding volunteers that meet regularly. Once a month, the managing committees meet with the users of these projects. I sporadically participated in the committee for the social housing project for migrants.

terapèutic was used as a model to find alternatives to run grassroots projects when the residential project for migrants was terminated (see section 4.3.5). Alberto and I often talked about the changing profiles of people who engaged in socio-political activism, the role of civil society in advanced neoliberal societies such as the UK and the evolution of the Emmaus movement. He invited alter-globalists such as Arcadi Oliveres, to discuss these topics, forcing Alberto to distance himself from his own experience at Emmaus.

The notion of *negotiability* refers to the ability and legitimacy to take responsibility for and shape the meanings that matter in assemblies and generally in the Emmaus community (see Wenger, 1998, p. 197). Therefore, these comprehensive assemblies are a window onto social structures and relations in the layered onion that shape and are shaped by *economies of meaning,* which establish what can be talked about, when and where, and crucially who can talk (Foucault, 1972). Massin's status as a recent companion who used to participate in the residential project for migrants positioned him as a learner in terms of the transnational movement, the local languages and host culture, and the local Emmaus practices. In the interview excerpt below, Massin repeatedly refers to "historical legitimacy" (lines 16 and 24) as a basis for expressing opinions and making decisions in meetings, for instance, about the *drapaires'* relationship to the city council. In this local economy of meaning, the people who are *responsables* (line 8)*,* namely middle-class ideologues (see section 7.4.2.1 for a definition) such as Ramon and Alberto contributed more to the meetings because in his view, their opinions are better informed than his (see line 37).

Excerpt 65. Historical legitimacy bearing on assembly participation. Interview with Massin, recently become a companion at Emmaus Barcelona. 15-03-2012. My translation from Catalan.

1	*MRG:	com funciona la comunicació entre les persones que hi viuen?
	%tra:	how does communication work among the people who live there?
2	*MAS:	nosa:ltres que funciona així: que: tenim reunions cada: cada divendres.
3		we: it works in a way tha:t we have meetings every: every Friday.
	%tra:	
4	*MRG:	ah sí!
	%tra:	oh yes!
5	*MAS:	doncs de: xx el dia a dia +…
	%tra:	so abou:t xxx day-to-day +…
6	*MRG:	aham.

7	*MAS:	la convivència en el dia a dia # també:: hi ha mm hi ha # el ser- hi han
8		responsables.
	%tra:	coexistence in the day to-day # also:: there are mm there are # the ser- there are *responsables*.

| 9 | *MRG: | aham. |

10	*MAS:	quatre crec que són quatre o cinc-. # que fan reunions cada dimecres ells
11		també-. #0_2 llavors entre: entre les hi ha: cada cada any fem un- una una
12		reunió una mica gran per a: per avaluar l'any # i mirar les perspectives de
13		una mica del futur i de tot això #0_1 a més a més de: d'això que # que: hi
14		han persones que no sé-? que tenen més més mm de més legitimitat o algo:
	%tra:	four I think they're four or five-. # who meet every Wednesday they do too-. #0_2 so: between:n the there are: every very year we have a- a- a big-ish meeting to: to evaluate the year # and to look into future perspectives a little and all that # 0_1 besides all this there: # there are people who dunno-? Who have more more legitimacy or something +…

| 15 | *MRG: | sí::-? en quin sentit? |
| | %tra: | really::-? in what sense? |

| 16 | *MAS: | és com l'històrica o xx |
| | %tra: | it's like historical or xx |

| 17 | *MRG: | +^aha! |

18	*MAS:	jo no sóc com exemple com la Rita que porta trenta anys que va muntar o
19		com l'Alberto com el Ramon o com l'Àngels o: # que ja porte:n temps aquí
20		ja: saben # ja saben com funciona ja saben la societat d'aquí què és ja # ja:
21		coneixen més a l'entorn.
	%tra:	I am not like for example like Rita who's been doing it for thirty years who set this up or like Alberto like Ramon or like Àngels or: # who have been around for a while who already know # already know how it works they already know about the society over here what it's like already # already know the environment.

| 22 | *MRG: | +^sí. |
| | %tra: | +^yeah. |

| 23 | *MAS: | a l'entorn més que jo # llavors potser que porten més més idees # 0_2 |
| | %tra: | the environment more than I do # so maybe they can contribute more ideas # 0_2 |

[…]

| 24 | *MAS: | per això refereixo abans a la legitimitat històrica. |
| | %tra: | that's why I referred before to historical legitimacy. |

| 25 | *MRG: | mmm clar! |
| | %tra: | mmm sure! |

| 26 | *MAS: | no és que l'altre ho té més que jo. |
| | %tra: | it's not that the other one has more [legitimacy] than me. |

| 27 | *MRG: | no # clar # perquè potser ho sap i tu no |
| | %tra: | no # right # because s/he might know and you don't. |

| 28 | *MAS: | és que ho sa:p # el entorn com a exemple # la relació amb l'ajuntament # |
| 29 | | què entenc jo? |

	%tra:	but he does know # the social environment as an example # the relationship with the city hall # what do I understand?
30	*MRG:	bueno +…
	%tra:	well +…
31	*MAS:	+^m'entens?
	%tra:	+do you understand me?
32	*MRG:	però alguna cosa entendràs home!
	%tra:	but you'll surely understand something!
33	*MAS:	però no!
	%tra:	but I don't!
34	*MRG:	ja ja # que no veus tota la trajectòria.
	%tra:	alright alright # that you don't see the whole trajectory.
35	*MAS:	jo veig que Alberto que porta més això que en sap més que jo.
	%tra:	I realise that Alberto who's been in this for longer knows more than I do.
36	*MRG:	mmm.
37	*MAS:	llavors mm potser la seva opinió: porta més que que la meva opinió.
	%tra:	then mm maybe his opinion carries more than my opinion.

Nevertheless, Massin makes it clear that "we are all the same" among companions in keeping with Emmaus egalitarian discourses. He presents senior companions as knowledgeable about "the society over here" (lines 18-21) by virtue of their local social and cultural knowledge in contraposition to him a new companion (see lines 28-29 and 35). He claims that their knowledge stems from their longer experience in this Emmaus community rather than the fact that they are Spanish members and in some cases, local Catalans (lines 18-21 and 35). As a token, he refers to the fact that Alberto "who's been in this for longer" knows more than he does (line 35). As a result of unequal degrees of experience and local knowledge among companions, this Amazigh companion contributes very little to volunteer meetings, but at the same time, he feels that he can share his opinion about a topic as an equal (line 26).

The "volunteer meetings" were actually assemblies whose goal was to construct shared meanings and reach consensus, resulting in deeper commitment among companions and volunteers. As in other Leftist movements in Spain and Italy, the concept of *assembly* refers to a political tradition based on participatory deliberative practice (Flesher Fominaya, 2010, p. 384-385). The maintenance of this local community of practice depended on the different assemblies to make decisions, plan actions and projects, and distribute tasks among the members. These events were internal for legitimate social actors and became affective spaces that included them

emotionally, connected them to other activists and integrated newcomers into the group. That's why "volunteer Tuesdays" consisted not only of monthly assemblies but also weekly lunch and after-lunch discussions, which tended to spill over to other social activities and relationships beyond Emmaus.

The organisation of joint activities and collective decision-making reveals both the social inclusion of all participants and the social stratification in a community of practice as two sides of the same coin. As an illustration, I will refer to the book sales organised every term at a local university, an initiative by longstanding volunteers with the help and resources of the community. Assemblies were the place to allocate tasks, decide on procedures and make joint decisions about the proceedings. The excerpt below is taken from a volunteer assembly attended by thirty people sitting in a circle in the dining room (fieldnotes, 08-11-2011). The community founder, Rita, usually chaired these assemblies and took notes in her notebook. They jointly discussed uses for the money raised in the book sale and, more specifically, argued for and against Dolo's proposal. In the first extended turn, Rita asks participants how to invest the money they made in the last book sale. She explicitly wants to discuss this "now that we are all gathered" (line 4). She reminds everyone that the money has been dedicated to the social flats for homeless migrants lately but now there is only one left. Dolo, a senior companion, proposes to use the money to repair the damages to the flat that they are going to return. Interestingly, only a handful of longstanding volunteers, most in this project's committee, and senior companions argue for and against this proposal. Apart from these eight people, the rest of participants do not contribute their opinions, even if they participated in the book sale or migrant-support projects.

Excerpt 66. Reaching consensus and developing a common positioning. Volunteer Assembly, Emmaus Barcelona. 08-11-2011. My translation from Catalan and Spanish.

@Begin
@Participants: DOL (Dolo, senior companion), UNK (unknown), RIT (Rita, *responsable* and founder), LAU (Laura, volunteer psychologist and committee member), MIQ (Miquel Àngel, companion and *responsable*), FRA (Francesc, migrant-support volunteer), ALB (Albert, longstanding volunteer and committee member), CAT (Caterina, lifelong friend and early volunteer), ROS (Rosa, longstanding volunteer and committee member) and COM (communal voice).

1	*RIT:	després lo següent era preguntar a què a què destinem aquests diners # perquè
2		els últims temps sempre s'ha sempre s'ha: dedicat al projecte dels immigrants
3		dels pisos no el de aquí a casa sinó el dels pisos # ara en aquest moment només
4		hi ha un pis ehh l'altre continua però bueno ehh ja que ja que estem reunits i en

5		parlem tant se val o sigui: els diners estan a dins del sobre a l'espera de parlar-
6		ne o sigui que parlem-ne-! i aixi:ns no sé +…
	%tra:	moving on the next thing was to ask what what to put aside this money for # because lately it has always been earmarked for the project of the flats for immigrants not the one here at home ehh the other one continues but well ehh so now that we are gathered and we're talking about it anyway so: the money is here in an envelope waiting for us to talk about it so let's talk about it-! and like this I dunno +…

7	*DOL:	bueno habrá que cubrir los desperfectos del piso que se ha dejado.
	%tra:	well the damages should be covered in the flat that was left.

8	*UNK:	mm sí desperfectos
	%tra:	mm yeah damages.

9	*RIT:	bueno desperfectos xxx+/.
	%tra:	well damages xxx+/.

10	*DOL:	tuvieron que pintar y hay que [>] <pagar al que ha pintado o:>
	%tra:	they had to paint and the person [>] <who painted must be paid or: >

11	*RIT:	<xx el va pintar> [<] ehh suposem que amb
12		totes les retallades doncs ara es deuen volguer estalviar els pintors i allavors #
13		perquè nosaltres ja havíem tingut dos de pisos d'aquests i mai ens van demanar
14		que els pintéssim.
	%tra:	<xx painted it> [<] ehh we suppose that with all the budget cuts now they must want to save [the cost of] the painters and then # because we had already had two of these flats and they never asked us to paint them.

15	*UNK:	noo.

16	*LAU:	+^ i: i: perdó ho dic de memòria em sembla que no estava gaire ben pintat quan
17		el vem agafar.
	%tra:	+^ a:nd a:nd sorry I'm speaking from memory but I think that it wasn't very well painted when we got it.

18	*RIT:	això és el que valdria que féssim entre tots.
	%tra:	this is what would be worth doing among all of us.

19	*MIQ:	+^ [>] <això ho dèiem>!
	%tra:	+^ [>] <this is what we were saying>!

20	*LAU:	<cl:ar> [<]
	%tra:	<su:re> [<]

21	*RIT:	perquè segons com # ells # com que tenen el xip de que els donen [>] <lavados
22		y planchados ## però és que aquest hi havia viscut el Geobert fins al dia
23		abans>
	%tra:	because depending how # they # because they have the idea that they give them [>] <washed and ironed ## but in this one Geobert had been living there until the day before>

24	*LAU:	<pues no-! °xxx°> [<]
	%tra:	<then no-! °xxx°> [<]
	%com:	LAU talks to a person sitting next to her.

25	*LAU:	mira # vem anar amb l'Agbor # no sé si us en recordeu ˙que vam anar a
26		acompanyar l'Agbor perquè deia que es quedava a dormir allà i aquell pis la
27		veritat em # pintat no estava!

	%tra:	look # we went with agbor # I don't know if you remember that we went to accompany Agbor because he said that he would stay to sleep there and that flat in reality em # wasn't painted!
28 29 30	*RIT:	i a i a l'habitació que dormia el guarda de seguretat em sembla que estava precisament no sé si el matalàs o el coixí molt brut i com si estés inlús el llit trencat no sé.
	%tra:	and in and in the bedroom where the security guard slept I think that it was precisely I don't know if the mattress or the pillow were very dirty and even as if the bed was broken dunno.
31 32	*LAU:	jo això no- no sé si vaig entrar allà però: vaya vam estar una estona més a més # no sé si ho recordes?
	%tra:	I don't don't know if I got in there bu:t gosh we were there for a while on top # I don't know if you remember?
33	*RIT:	+^doncs+/.
	%tra:	+^then+/.
34	*LAU:	bueno clar venia la Tere i érem la Tere:
	%tra:	well of course Tere came and it was Tere:
35	*UNK:	°sí:°
	%tra:	°yes:°
36	*LAU:	ehh l'Agbor tu jo i algú més # l'Albert # Bert tu vas venir aquell dia no?
	%tra:	ehhh Agbor you me and someone else # Albert # Bert you came that day didn't you?
	%act:	someone rings at the door
37	*DOL:	debe ser Francesc!
	%tra:	It must be Francesc!
38 39	*LAU:	érem tres o quatre persones que vam acompanyar l'Agbor i aquell pis no estava pintat # bueno # no ho sé # net no estava!
	%tra:	it was three or four of us who accompanied Agbor and that flat wasn't painted # well # I don't know # it wasn't clean!
40	*RIT:	ja n'acabarem de parlar en aquí en un altre moment.
	%tra:	we'll finish discussing this here at some other time.
41	*LAU:	xxx
42 43	*RIT:	perquè per seguir amb la reunió però jo m'interessa molt però jo no tinc tanta memòria vull dir ara ja: +…
	%tra:	because to continue with the meeting but I am very interested but I haven't got as much memory I mean now no: +…
44 45	*ROS:	que a més després # jo lo que he vist després el pis tampoc no reunia cap condició:
	%tra:	and on top of it later on # I what I saw the flat wasn't in good condition:
46 47	*LAU:	no: és que a mi m'agradaria saber quins desperfectes [>] <a ver si quieren que se lo dejemos> +…
	%tra:	no: I would like to know which damages [>] <now they'd want us to leave it> +…
48	*ROS:	<porque en el pis- en l'habitació de les nines per exemple > [<]
	%tra:	<because in the flat- the room of the dolls for example > [<]

| 49 | *ROS: | havia les parets vull dir que no: +… |
| | %tra: | there were the walls I mean that they didn't +… |

| 50 | *RIT: | segurament per demanar |
| | %tra: | surely just to request |

| 51 | *ROS: | això no no era l'ús eh? |
| | %tra: | this wasn't wasn't [from] use huh? |

52	*LAU:	és que no sé # a mi me sabe eh la verdad Dolo # ahora dejar este dinero para
53		que [>] <quede un piso mejor>
	%tra:	it's just that I don't know # I actually feel uh really Dolo # now earmarking this money so that [>] <we leave a better flat>

| 54 | *TON | <val la pena deixar-ho> [<] |
| | %tra: | <it's worth leaving it> [<] |

| 55 | *RIT: | bueno no però: |
| | %tra: | well not bu:t |

| 56 | *DOL: | +^pero si nos obligan! |
| | %tra: | +^but we are made to! |

| 57 | *LAU: | ya si obligan lo entiendo pero: +… |
| | %tra: | yes if they make us do it I understand bu:t +… |

| 58 | *ALB: | el cert era per a imatge també ara ja les dues coses. |
| | %tra: | actually it was for our reputation now also both things. |

| 59 | *FRA: | bona tarda! |
| | %tra: | good afternoon! |

| 60 | *COM: | bona tarda Francesc! |
| | %tra: | good afternoon Francesc! |

61	*RIT:	més bé del que estava # almenys que m'interessa que cara a l'ajuntament per
62		pròximes.
	%tra:	better than what it used to be # at least I am interested in that in terms of the city hall for the future.

| 63 | *LAU: | sí al tema sí xxx lo van a renovar! |
| | %tra: | yes to this topic yes xxx they're going to renovate it! |

| 64 | *DOL: | no lo van a ocupar ese piso no? |
| | %tra: | they aren't going to occupy that flat are they? |

| 65 | *RIT: | ah yo creo que sí: +… |
| | %tra: | ah I think so: +... |

| 66 | *DOL: | ah yo pensé que estaban para hundir. |
| | %tra: | ah I thought that they are going to be demolished. |

67	*RIT:	claro: eso es lo que pensamos nosotros # ellos no piensan lo mismo # o sea
68		incluso el ayuntamiento por parte de: digamos no es exactamente servicios
69		sociales pero es quien se ocupa de: # de hacer el contacto entre HABITSA y
70		las familias que necesitan # pues la la del ayuntamiento lo cree esto también #
71		pero los de HABITSA se niegan como a reconocer que aquel piso tiene
72		reamente dificultades grandes pero no aquel nuestro todos.
	%tra:	of cou:rse this is what we think # they don't agree with it # so even the city hall on behalf o:f let's say it isn't exactly social services but it's whoever is in

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charge o:f # of making contact between HABITSA [public housing department] and the families who need it # so the the woman from the city hall also believes it # but the ones from HABITSA refuse to recognise that that flat has really big difficulties but just ours all of them.

73 *DOL   +^todos
    %tra: +^all of them

74 *ROS: no tienen ojos.
    %tra: they have no eyes.

75 *LAU: pues se comportan como como las inmobiliarias normales y corrientes que tu
76   dejas el piso y siempre le encuentran un defecto y siempre te dicen que no te
77   devuelven la fianza porque le falta nosequé.
    %tra: they behave as regular high street real estate agents that when you leave your
               flat they always find a fault and always tell you that they won't return the
               deposit because this and that is missing.

               […]

    %com: RIT narrates her encounter with a council representative to value the damages.
               The project committee members co-construct her description of dangers in the
               building (Minutes 12:20-14:35)

78 *RIT: i al final se n'han d'encarregar ells # i llavors el di:jous que és quan hi torno a
79   anar amb aquest mateix senyor # a fer la revisió última # do:ncs li diré mira
80   això # perquè l'altre dia vaig veure algú que: va estar a punt de: # és que debò
81   fa fàstic-! # inclús+/.
    %tra: and ultimately they must take charge of it # and then on Thu:rsday which is
               when I go back with the same gentleman # for the last check # so: I'll tell him
               look at this # because the other day I saw someone who was about to: #it is
               really disgusting! # even+/.

82 *CAT: però però no diuen que els han de tirar a terra?
    %tra: but don't they say that they have to demolish them?

83 *RIT: no no # això això ho creiem nosaltres.
    %tra: no no # this is what *we* think.

84 *CAT: ah.

85 *RIT: també ho havien dit abans [>] <havien dit que el xxx>
    %tra: they had also said so before [>] <they'd said that the xxx>

86 *FRA: <els pisos aquests s'han de tirar a terra> [>]?
    %tra: <these flats have to be demolished > [>]?

87 *RIT: ehh si allò era terreny de l'escola però és clar ara en comptes d'allò de les
88   retallades i altres doncs no no no tenen diners per ampliar col·legits ni no sé
89   què # per això ho havien dit que +/.
    %tra: ehh this used to be part of the school but of course now instead of that because
               of budget cuts and so on so they don't don't don't have money to enlarge the
               schools and whatever # so that's why they had said that +/.

90 *CAT: si han d'anar a terra no sé per que us hi gasteu cèntims!
    %tra: if they have to go down I don't know why you spend money on them!

91 *RIT: ja però # és que si no ens els gastem +/.
    %tra: I know but if we don't +/.

92 *CAT: +^ni ells ni vosatres!

%tra:	+^neither them nor you!	

93	*RIT:	si no ens els gastem es quedaran la fiança i serà lo mateix # tant per tant
94		aquests diners que serveixin per arreglar-lo jo què sé.
	%tra:	if we don't spend them they'll keep the deposit and it'll be the same thing # at the end of the day this money will serve to fix it I dunno.
	%act:	whispering in the background.

| 95 | *MIQ: | o construeixen xxx |
| | %tra: | or they build xxx. |

96	*RIT:	bueno: do:ncs això # ehh la destinació aquesta i passem en un altre punt ehh
97		queda que: que que: ho fiquem de moment en en això?
	%tra:	we:ll the:n this # ehh this earmark and then we move to another point ehh so it is agreed tha:t tha:t tha:t we put it aside for this?
	%act:	some whispers agree.

| 98 | *ROS: | molt bé. |
| | %tra: | very well. |

| 99 | *LAU: | si no hi ha més remei! |
| | %tra: | if there is no other choice! |

100	*DOL:	también podemos hacer una fiesta.
	%tra:	we can also have a party.
	%act:	DOL laughs

| 101 | *LAU: | a mi em fa ràbia. |
| | %tra: | it makes me mad. |

| 102 | *RIT: | val més que sigui per això ficar-ho al compte corrent que paga les despeses. |
| | %tra: | It's better to earmark it for the bank account that pays for the [flat] bills. |

| 103 | *LAU: | sí sí # perquè sigui menys de +/. |
| | %tra: | yes yes # so that it's less than +/. |

104	*ANG:	però llavons es recuperarà la fiança i una cosa anirà per l'altra # tampoc seran
105		sigui els diners de la universitat poden sevir per avançar-ho i quan recuperem
106		la fiança: +…
	%tra:	but then we'll get the deposit back and one thing will make up for another # it won't be so the university sale money will be to advance it and when we get the deposit back +…

| 107 | *LAU: | si recuperem la fiança! |
| | %tra: | if we get the deposit back! |

| 108 | *UNK: | si es recupera # quizás ponen pegas. |
| | %tra: | if we do # maybe they'll give us trouble. |

109	*RIT:	és igual # xxx fem diners de butxaques i hi ha un compte corrent dels pisos es
110		posa en allà i ja +…
	%tra:	it doesn't matter # xxx we put money into different pockets and there's a bank account for the flats we put it in there and that's +…
	%act:	someone rings at the door, ending the discussion.

@End

In this interaction, there is a disagreement between Dolo, who was a senior companion, and Laura, who formed part of the social flats project committee,

regarding whether to use the money to pay for damages in the old social flat. Laura interrupts, overlaps and latches with other people's contributions to argue against this, owing to the initial run-down state of this accommodation. She taps onto collective memories among the project's committee and tries to bring in other participants, such as Albert, Rosa, Tere and Rita. Only Rosa sides with her and co-constructs the narrative. At first, Rita says that they should paint it all together (line 18) and does not align with Laura's description of the flat conditions owing to lack of memory (lines 42-43). In fact, Rita, Albert and Dolo insist that they are legally bound to comply with the contract and repair the damages. When Dolo says that the flat should be demolished, Rosa and Laura agree with her and both sides reach a consensus about the need for demolition and blame the local administration for lack of maintenance (lines 66-7).

At this point, Rita tells a long story of her visit to the flat with the council official (deleted in this excerpt). In this way, she reinforces the incipient consensus and resolves the open disagreement through a common stance towards city hall politics. They jointly criticise the dangers in the block of flats and the lack of maintenance on the part of the local administration. Rita evaluates the flat story with "*fa fàstic*" [it's disgusting] (lines 80-81) and blames the budget cuts on maintenance problems in social flats (line 88). Caterina defies the fragile consensus with an argument that it is not worth investing in a flat that needs demolishing (line 90), but Rita replies that they had better cover the costs of the repairs in order to get their deposit back (lines 93-94). When Rita hesitantly asks for agreement (lines 96-97), some voices whisper in agreement and Laura acquiesces but makes it clear that "*a mi em fa ràbia*" [it angers me] (lines 99 and 101). Dolo then puts a touch of humour with her proposal to have a party with the money as an alternative (line 100). Finally, Rita and Àngels explain that the money will be kept in this project's account and that it will be replaced with the deposit money. In any case, the collective money just changes pockets.

This last excerpt shows that the assembly as a participatory event is an important arena for social cohesion among diverse members who might disagree. Assemblies serve as rituals for tackling difficult and controversial debates or decisions since they affirm a shared identity and thus a commitment to working things out. In times of crisis and disagreement, face-to-face rituals enhance cohesion among members and allow them to construct a consensus interactively, be it with their open

support, acquiescence or, for most participants, whispering and silence. Nevertheless, the illustration above also reveals social stratification in the community because only legitimate members express their opinions and argue for them. Rita is the community manager who chairs the meeting and works for consensus. The people involved in the social project being discussed bank on collective memories to construct social cohesion and at the same time, exclusion of those not involved but present at the assembly. Most people remain silent and go with the flow, so to speak. Only Caterina, a lifelong volunteer, gives her opinion despite not being part of the project. As a result, disagreements are resolved through a common stance towards the city hall and the community's shared interest that nobody contradicts. Interestingly, it is Rita's proposal that gets accepted in this case, which indexes her central position as the person with most "historical legitimacy" and who acts as an interpersonal hub.

7.4. Social categorisation: Intersection between personal and activist trajectories in discourse

Socialisation into this Emmaus community included learning how to act, behave and interact in daily activities with others as well as how to talk about one's experiences and the other participants. In order to explain social categorisation in this community, it is necessary to document both everyday social practices that are constituted in discourse, such as collective meals, and explicit categorisation, such as *"el moro"* (Excerpt 67 below), *"flamenca"* (see section 7.3.1) or *"amigos de la casa"* (see section 7.1). Discourse does not merely reproduce social reality but actually constitutes it. Implicit categorisation in daily activities and explicit labels, especially in reflexive discourse, mutually constitute each other. A migrant newcomer sits at the far end of the table because he learns by example from peers about where to sit and behave according to his social classification as a "project participant" or a "Muslim". In order to understand how social difference and explicit labels construct and stratify this community of practice, I will explore the following questions: How did the informants discursively account for different degrees of participation and spatial arrangements in the rituals analysed above (section 7.3)? Which labels and social distinctions among participants did they construct in reflexive discourse (mostly interviews)?

Despite the clear-cut "layers" in the onion image, there were differences that members discursively constructed within emic categories such as "companion" or "volunteer." As an illustration, among volunteers, it was not the same to do voluntary work for ideological motivations than to do it for affective needs. Besides, it is true that there seemed to be a degree of permeability between layers. For instance, some migrant men such as Jasseh or Duwa, who participated in the social housing project, also worked as volunteers in the recycling cooperative and shared meals with the companions day in and day out. Were they categorised as project participants, volunteers and/or friends of the house? This section will centre on companions and volunteers (and not on migrant participants) because my ethnography concentrated on the central layers, i.e. "the community", and the residential project was terminated only four months into my ethnography. Among companions and longstanding volunteers, the core of the community of practice analysed, I will describe the ways in which their symbolic capital and life trajectories shaped, and were shaped, by their participation in this Emmaus community and the broader social movement.

This section on social categorisation will start with an enlightening ethnographic vignette that shows how everyday practices, here during table talk, and explicit labels, related to social class in this case, are interrelated. This vignette offers a glimpse into class tensions among companions. Then, I will explore which forms of symbolic capital bring about different categories of participants in my interview data. Firstly, I will centre on discursive reflexivity about the motivations to become a *drapaire* and secondly, I will explore the intersection between educational capital and activist trajectories in the Emmaus movement. Next, I will consider social labels of volunteers inflected by the same forms of symbolic capital that index class, namely, motivations, education/occupation and life trajectories. The closing discussion on people's trajectories provides a more nuanced picture of the Emmaus "onion" as a community of practice.

7.4.1.   Ethnographic vignette: Tensions over class distinction in a Lent celebration

Excerpt 67. Lunchtime: Social class in a conversation about Carnival and Lent. Fieldnotes, Emmaus Barcelona. 15-02-12.

During lunch, I decide to sit at the far end of the table to interact with Francisco and the guys from the *pisos* (Alpha, Jasseh, Samba and Duwa). It pays off because Francisco interacts mainly with me and Zuni. He comments on today's news and doubts the truthfulness of the 350 dead in a Honduras prison because of a mattress that caught on fire. He says that the media lie to us to make us pity other people. He also comments on economics as well. The rest of the table is rather quiet. Alberto and Rita are away for two days, as Alberto does not have to work, and there are only Lucía, Josep T., Dolo and Miquel Àngel, Marc, Àngels, Esther, Pere and Massin, who is late because of his driving test. I have never seen so few people at this table.

Dolo calls me from the far end to tell me that Duwa would like me to correct something on his CV. He gives me his pen drive and leaves the room at 14:50 without saying goodbye. When Massin arrives, everybody is really excited about his result and he does not say straightaway and even bluffs saying he hasn't passed. They all congratulate him and cheer. He wants to sit next to me, although there is no plate, but Jasseh tells him that there is a spare plate at the far end- where Rita usually sits.

Today it's *dijous gras* [mardi gras] and Àngels [*responsable*] has bought some *coca de llardons* from Comas (an expensive bakery in the centre). While we have coffee, Dolo tells them that she does not think this is celebrated in Castille [where she comes from] and Àngels says that it is in France (but Marc [French companion] does not say anything in this regard). Then, Dolo and Lucía tell me about the traditions when they were kids - especially *dimecres de cendra* and the *entierro de la sardina*. To bring Esther into the conversation, I ask her if the *dia de la truita* is also celebrated in Galicia. When she asks me what it is, I start telling her what schools do before Carnival but Àngels interrupts me saying that they are very *ignorant* in *Sarrona* because it's actually *dijous gras* because you can eat eggs during Lent but that it centres on finishing off the pork left from Christmas before penitence. Josep T [secular monk] also explains Catholic traditions of fasting after Carnival. Àngels' reaction makes Esther leave and the rest look at her in contempt, as a know-it-all person who is too erudite. In fact, the conversation gets reduced to only 4 interlocutors: Àngels, Massin and Josep.

Dolo asks me how interviews are going and then asks me if I have interviewed *el moro* [the Moor] and points at Massin. I say that I have an appointment with him this afternoon and she says that he is very interesting.

In the end, we are just a small party having coffee, actually just Massin, Àngels and me (with Dolo at the far end reading a newspaper). When I tell Àngels that I am interviewing Massin today (who is very quiet and does not speak to her), she says that he is *responsable i conscient* [reliable and aware] since he went to university and studied law. She points out that she can tell a great difference between those who have university education and those who don't (she refers to their *nivell* [level]). I don't agree with her and say that it depends on their experiences too. I can tell that Dolo does not seem not pleased with her comment.

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> We talk about Àngels' friend, who is a university lecturer who is losing her memory and does not know how to interact with others about mundane matters (such as football) because she has always been in an academic, learned environment. We comment on the fact that this person has always lived within a closed circle and how absorbing intellectual work can become. Àngels says that she knows it too well because she comes from *una família d'intel·lectuals* [a family of intellectuals] (adding that her father spoke 5 languages and was a teacher of English) and she herself sometimes makes comments that people don't understand, like the history of Lent which Miquel Àngel did not stay to listen to even though he had asked. Her opinions, she says, sometimes shock people and she recognises that her background can make her *classista* [classist] and self-centred.

This ethnographic vignette shows the class tensions in daily social interaction in this local Emmaus community. On Thursdays, only the companions, a former resident (Josep T.), the cook Zuni, and the migrant men who lived in the council flats had lunch at the community. Some members had lunch out, causing the numbers to drop. Contrary to volunteer Tuesdays, this particular lunchtime was quieter and more intimate. Jasseh's point that Rita's absence had an impact on talk seemed to be exemplified on that day (see above). This lunch on *dijous gras* allows me to zoom into the subjectivities and tensions among companions. My presence as an outsider might have forestalled an argument or modified Massin's behaviour, since he was waiting for me to interview him after lunch.

My choice to sit at the far end allowed me to observe Francisco's construction of his political subjectivity vis-à-vis current news in the media and the neoliberal economy. This came to show that even seemingly peripheral members were socialised into political identities at Emmaus, even though Francisco's point about the prison fire might be dismissed as subjective and perhaps somewhat off the mark. Francisco tried to show that he could also analyse economic and current affairs from a critical perspective in front of a rather silent audience composed of people from the margins of the community. This marked a sharp contrast to his regular joking around (including racist jokes) with migrant men (see above). In connection with the lunchtime analysis above, Massin also decided not to sit at Rita's spot despite her absence and chose to sit next to me, even though there was no plate. This echoes Toñi's hesitant agreement to sit next to the founder in what she termed the "cursed/shunned seat" (see Excerpt 64 above).

On *dijous gras*, Àngels bought a traditional Catalan *coca de llardons* to celebrate this holiday before Carnival and Lent. The fact that she brought it in from a well-known expensive *forn de pa* in the city centre is already a mark of distinction (à

la Bourdieu, 1984). While we were eating a piece with a cup of coffee, Dolo did not recall having celebrated this holiday in her native Castile and this opened up the floor for sharing pre-Carnival traditions in our childhood. When Àngels said that this tradition was observed in France, Marc – the only French person - did not even reply. However, my mention of *el dia de la truita* [the omelette day], as we called it in my primary school, launched Àngels' lecture on religious traditions before the observance of fasting during Lent. Josep T., a secular monk, joined in her explanation of the origins of this day's tradition of eating pork *botifarra* and *llardons*. The rest of us, who were previously sharing our personal experiences with each other, were silenced. In a way, high culture prevailed over low culture.

The air was thick with tension. Esther actually left the room glaring at Àngels immediately after she interrupted me, when I was incidentally asking Esther a question about her experiences in Galicia. The couple Miquel Àngel and Dolo moved away shortly after, too. In fact, Dolo sat to read the newspaper at the far end of the table, from where she could hear us. During my fieldwork, she had had disagreements and tensions with Àngels over collective decisions in assemblies. In the end, only Massin, Josep, Àngels and I remained at the table. In our interview, Esther describes her lack of common ground with Àngels as *dos puntos separadísimos* [two very distant points] (interview, 01-03-2012). In fact, Esther was an alter-globalist Galician in her late 20s with post-secondary education, whereas Àngels was a local woman in her early 60s with an academic career.

Let us go back to the ethnographic vignette of *dijous gras*. After everyone left, Àngels addressed me as her interlocutor because Massin would not speak. She categorised him as "realiable and aware" because of his university education. Àngels differentiated between those with and without a higher education by referring to their "level". This distinction seemed to sit badly with Dolo, who did not have a higher education diploma. Afterwards, Àngels claimed to be aware of her own "classist" positioning in Emmaus Barcelona due to her privileged academic family background. She was aware of Miquel Àngel's reaction to her learned comments, which not everyone understood and/or appreciated. Crucially, her social categorisation of companions marks a divide according to family background and educational attainment, regardless of nation-state origin in the case of Massin. Àngels' overt discussion of "social class" was rather unusual among my informants, who would talk in terms of the unequal engagement in the community of practice owing to their life

trajectories. Let us now turn to the analysis of implicit class categorisations in this Emmaus community.

7.4.2. Social distinctions based on class backgrounds

Diversity and stratification seem to be at the core of any Emmaus community. People's involvement in collective events such as assemblies and their relationships with other members socialise them as members and at the same time, stratify them in this community. However, structuration processes are often discursively cast in terms of personal choices and abilities (Wenger, 1998, p. 219). But how did members talk about these processes in this community? Which types of participants were constructed in my informants' discourse? And what was the relationship of labels to different (i.e. unequal) forms of participation in assemblies and meals? I claim that the theoretical concept of *social class* (see section 7.2. above) serves to explain both social practices and category labels in this Emmaus community. Social class appears to be relevant in lived experiences and as a label for my key informants. I will analyse how the construct of social class is mobilised to explain which forms of capital are valued for participation in this community of practice. As an illustration, the ethnographic vignette from the preceding section reveals the relationship between everyday talk in this Emmaus community and labelling practices in reflexive discourse. These practices jointly account for the class tensions experienced between companions.

Personal trajectories, linked to class positions, seemed key to understanding the explicit indexing of people's different "abilities" and "choices" in Emmaus Barcelona. In my interview data, two indexes emerged from interviews as central for social categorisation of participants, which in turn stratified participants in this community of practice. The first one was their capacity for discursive reflexivity on their motivations to be part of Emmaus. This clearly stratified those people who lacked symbolic cultural or educational capital enabling them to participate in this type of discourse from those who were articulate in assemblies and interviews by virtue of their class and activist backgrounds. The second dimension of categorisation was the intersection between length of participation in the Emmaus movement and educational attainment, with their concomitant symbolic and social capital. Socialisation into this community sometimes trumped underprivileged social

backgrounds or lack of higher education. Length of participation in rituals and commitment to the Emmaus mission became more important than educational, linguistic and cultural capital over time. For example, Francisco's legitimacy resided in his trajectory of over twenty-five years as a companion despite his lack of active participation in the negotiation of new initiatives in volunteer assemblies and socio-political demonstrations (which he did not attend). Yet, I would like to explore in what ways the accumulation of legitimate capital for full participation categorises and stratified members in the community.

In this sub-section, I will first explore reflexivity and motivations for becoming a companion. Second, I will examine the complex intersection of education and activism in relation to companions. Third, I will turn to volunteers, whose explicit categorisations are discursively constructed on the same forms of symbolic capital or "abilities and choices" as those of companions.

7.4.2.1. Reflexivity and motivations for becoming a *drapaire*

The first social difference constructed in discourse is between those companions who were reflexive about their alter-globalist "lifestyle choice" (Giddens, 1991) and those companions who did not consciously make a choice and might not ascribe to Leftist motivations. In fact, it was the more privileged members who freely chose to become *drapaires*. These members, Rita, Ramon and Àngels, also happened to be those who reflected most on this social distinction. In the excerpt below, Rita connects people's life trajectories ("*la vida que ha fet*", lines 3 and 15) to their capacity for socio-political analysis in justifying their participation in the social movement. This connection implicitly constructs a contrast between "privileged" people who come from middle-class backgrounds and "those less fortunate" who have had a precarious life in material terms.

Excerpt 68. Social class background and lifestyle choice in Emmaus. Interview with Rita, Emmaus Barcelona founder and *responsable*. 21-03-12. My translation from Catalan.

1	*RIT:	**lo que passa és que # en fas la teva vida # uns d'una manera més conscient i els**
2		**altres de manera més inconscient** # perquè hi ha gent que ha fet això d'això la
3		seva vida sense saber que ho ha fet # per exemple # **hi ha gent que # per la vida**
4		**que ha fet #0_1 tens més capacitat de reflexió # no?**
	%tra:	**what happens is that # you make your life out of it # some in a more conscious**

way and the others in a more unconscious way # because there are people who have made this [Emmaus] their lives without knowing that they have # for instance # **there are people who # because of the lives they have led #0_1 you have more capacity for reflection # right?**

5 *MRG: aham.

6 *RIT: **més capacitat de fer una anàlisis de com està el món i de per què les coses van**
7   **com van** # jo què sé # el Francisco el mateix Pere no fan aquest tipu d'anàlisis #
8   allavors es troben que aquí s'hi troben bé i s'hi queden # però sense haver fet una
9   opció conscient per exemple # conscient almenys de la mateixa manera que
10   nosaltres # i allavons coses tan simples com el fet de poder ajudar en els o sigui
11   amb diners en projectes # d'acollir a immigrants no sé què # totes aquestes coses
12   nosaltres és pro- a vegades producte d'una reflexió de dir el món va malament # per
13   què-? perquè el capitalisme fa víctimes en el primer món # en el tercer món el
14   comerç just # per què vénen els immigrants? perque allà per les colònies se'ls hi ha
15   expoliat tot # **tot això no els hi demanis amb ells perquè # per la vida que han**
16   **fet # no han pogut fer aquests anàlisis**.
   %tra: **more capacity for performing an analysis of what the world is like and why**
          things go the way they go # dunno # Francisco even Pere don't make this type of
          analyses # then they find that they feel comfortable here and stay # but without
          having made a conscious choice like for instance # conscious at least in the same
          way as we have # and then things as simple as the fact of helping out with that's to
          say with money to projects # sheltering immigrants I don't know # all these things
          we for us sometimes it is a product of a reflexion of saying the world is going badly
          # why-? because capitalism makes victims in the first world # in the third world fair
          trade # why do immigrants come-? because there because of the colonies they were
          totally pillaged # **all this you can't ask them because # due to the lives they have**
          led # they haven't been able to make these analyses.

17 *MRG: sí.
    %tra: yes.

18 *RIT: però una vegada aquí tampoc els fan # tampoc els fan # i llavons # hi ha gent que
19   està aquí vivint aquesta realitat sense estar d'acord amb amb la manera de fer
20   d'aquesta realitat # o sigui es conformen diguéssim amb el fet que un està en aquí
21   és la teva casa # fas aquest treball fas no se què però sense mm fe:r o sigui
22   combregar amb tots els objectius diguéssim.
    %tra: but once they are here they don't make them either # they don't make them either #
           and then # there are people who are living this reality without agreeing with the
           way of doing things in this reality # that's to say they get along with the fact that
           they're here it's your home # you do this work you do whatever but without mm
           do:ing fully accepting all the objectives let's say.

23 *MRG: +^ja # ja t'entenc # amb el projecte global si vols.
    %tra: +^ I get # I get you # with the global project if you like.

24 *RIT: clar eh donar diners en projectes forma part de la filosofia d'aquesta casa.
    %tra: of course giving money to projects forms part of the philosophy of this house.

25 *MRG: aham.

26 *RIT: acollir immigrants forma part de la filosofia d'aquesta casa poder acollir immigrants
27   en un moment donat forma part de la filosofia d'aquesta casa # perquè sabem per
28   què el món va aixís de malament # **criticar el capitalisme i ser més d'esquerres** #
29   sense carnet.
    %tra: sheltering immigrants forms part of the philosophy [ethos] of this house to be able
           to welcome immigrants at a given moment forms part of the philosophy of this
           house # because we know why the world goes this badly # **criticising capitalism**
           and being more Leftist # without a membership card.

30   *MRG: sense: partit no-? allò que dèiem que es apartidista.
       %tra: without a party right-? what we were saying about being non-partisan.

31   *RIT: forma part d'aquesta casa # ser antimilitarista també i en canvi eh- jo què sé el
32   Francisco va ser legio- legionari.
       %tra: it forms part of this house # being antimilitarist too and however uh- I don't know
            Francisco was a legionnaire.

33   *MRG: en sèrio-? sí:?
       %tra: really-? was he?

34   *RIT: hi ha persones en aquesta casa que diuen que lo millor que els ha passat en la vida
35   és el temps que van fer el servei militar # i en canvi l'Alberto és antimiltarista: és
36   anti no sé què # és objector de consciència saps?
       %tra: there are people in this house who say that the best thing that ever happened to
            them was the time when they served in the military service # however Alberto is
            antimilitarist he's anti whatever # he's a conscientious objector y'know?

37   *MRG: però llavors com cases? +…
       %tra: but then who do you reconcile? +…

38   *RIT: exacte # com cases doncs-? # això és lo que passa # que la realitat fa que hi hagi
39   coses en les que tot vagi com una seda i altres que sempre seran motiu de dificultats
40   # per exemple les mateixes reunions # fer reunions i parlar de les coses i parlar dels
41   temes # **això hi ha gent que ho viu súper malament # el Pere mateix és**
42   **antireunions # no les aguanta: i és més un un problema d'aquí de: de por de**
43   **que li demanin coses que no sàpiga contestar # no ens dediquem a fer aquestes**
       %tra: **reunions # però bueno**.
            exactly # how do you marry then-? # this is what happens # in reality some things
            go smoothly and others will always be a source of difficulty # for example meetings
            themselves # having meeting and talking things over and talking about topics # **this**
            is something that some people experience very badly # Pere himself is
            antimeetings # he cannot bear them and it's it's more a problem from here of
            fear of being asked things he does not know how to answer # we don't devote
            our time to having this kind of meetings anyway # but well.

44   *MRG: no és un examen.
       %tra: it's not an exam.

45   *RIT: però és la prova de que hi ha coses que vivim d'una manera o sigui és com quan
46   l'Alberto diu # aquest tren va a tal puesto # llavors com que es posa a ploure la gent
47   que està a l'estació X # per la que passa el tren pugen # i fins al cap de molt temps
48   no se n'donen de que no van cap allà on ells volen anar o cap a no sé què # però
49   bueno fem un tros de camí junts i si arriba un moment que para de ploure poden
50   baixar i anar cap a la direcció que ells volien # no passa res!
       %tra: but this is the proof that there are things that we live in a way that's to say it's like
            when Alberto says # this train goes to such place # then it starts raining so people
            who are at the station X # when the train comes get on board # and for a long time
            they don't realise that it's not going where they wanted to go or wherever # but well
            we share a part of the trip together and if there comes a moment that it stops raining
            they can get off and go in the direction they wanted to # it's fine!

51   *MRG: clar # i això és una mica el que és Emmaús.
       %tra: sure # and this is a bit what Emmaus is like.

Companions' awareness of their *drapaire* lifestyle choice might be unconscious and motivated by the community as an affective space where they felt comfortable, rather than global socio-political analyses. Rita exemplifies this point with two former rough

sleepers who had lost contact with their families, Pere and Francisco. As a consequence, there are members who do not engage in the alter-globalist analyses (lines 12-15) that justify their local projects and activities, such as the residential project for homeless migrants, and even reject them. For exemple, Francisco and, to a lesser extent, Pere overtly rejected the migrant men participating in the residential projects. On the other hand, Ramon differentiated the people who had freely chosen to join Emmaus (Rita, Alberto and himself) from the rest who had initially become companions because of material concerns, being on the brink of homelessness.

Excerpt 69. Material versus ideological motivations for becoming a companion. Interview with Ramon, Emmaus Barcelona companion. 12-01-12. My translation from Catalan.

1	*MRG:	quan diu ser-hi # és ser-hi pels altres?
	%tra:	when you [respectful form] say being there # is it being there for the others?

2	*RAM:	hi han dos perquès d'estar en aquesta casa # un perquè tu hi vols estar i has decidit
3		de ser-hi # l'altre perquè ho necessitaves # les dues maneres perquè s'està aquí # uns
4		hem vingut i hi som i mantenim el ser-hi perquè volem # tots et diran el mateix #
5		tots hi són perquè vull # la raó per la que varen venir no és aquesta # un problema
6		perquè estaven sols al carrer # la raó va ser buscar un aixopluc i un caliu #
7		necessitats primàries van motivar que piquessis a la porta.
	%tra:	there are two reasons to be in this house # one is because you want to be here and have decided to be here # the other one is because you needed it # both reasons why people are here # some of us have come and we are here and we keep being here because we want to # they will all tell you the same # all are here because I want to # the reason why they came is not that # a problem because they were on their own on the streets # the reason was to find shelter and warmth # basic needs moved you to knock on the door.

Of course there is an actual continuum between ideological motivations by those from more privileged backgrounds and this presumed lack of socio-political analysis by those who were worse off. For example, Ph.D. Àngels arrived as a result of a divorce and later on, she realised that her life was there, that this was "*una nova etapa a la seva vida*" [a new stage in her life], and embraced this life choice (fieldnotes, 19-01-12). In the Lent vignette above, Francisco engaged in economic commentary with the migrant men at the table despite his lack of higher education. This comes to show that even those people who joined because of "basic needs" (line 7 above) were socialised into the justifying socio-political discourses, albeit to a different extent on the basis of their own capital.

In Excerpt 68 above (lines 45-50), Rita uses Alberto's recurrent metaphor of Emmaus as a train with a fixed destination (read "mission") that rescues passengers

from the rain (read "companions in a bind") and when it is sunny, some might not stay because their original destination was a different one, as in Esther's case. However, companion *responsables* drive the train to the Emmaus "destination" through the well-trodden railways set in the Universal Manifesto (1971, see Appendix 1). In particular, participation in assemblies seemed to be a sore spot for Pere and Francisco, and in my observations they usually did not attend "volunteer meetings" and even if they were around, they did not join the circle or talk. According to Rita, they did not want to talk and they were afraid of being put on the spot to produce responses that required intellectual and ideological capital (lines 42-43). Nonetheless, participatory assemblies were the train engine of Emmaus activities. As a result, all companions had to "talk things over" (line 40) and had to vote in community assemblies on Fridays.

7.4.2.2.   Intersection between educational capital and activist trajectories among companions

Perceived social class was constructed out of life trajectories and educational levels, as we saw in the ethnographic vignette above. The ideological and practical engagement in the Emmaus transnational mission was linked to educational and activist trajectories. Many companions held university degrees (Miquel Àngel, Àngels and Massin), higher vocational training (Lucía, Marc, Rita and Esther) or theology studies (Alberto and Ramon). Nonetheless, companions did not use their education as markers of distinction, perhaps except for Àngels. In fact, full socialisation into the Emmaus movement overrode this symbolic marker, as in the case of Dolo, who held a central position in the "onion". Although social class background partly intersected with legitimate capital for full participation, length of participation in this particular community (namely "historical legitimacy") could trump classed life trajectories, at least partially.

For example, Dolo narrated her self-transformation thanks to socio-political awareness acquired through Emmaus and extended to all the other spheres of her life (interview, 09-02-12). This allowed her to craft an affective self, "*el trapero emocional que llevo dentro*" [the emotional rag-picker which I carry inside]. Yet, despite her 14-year trajectory as a companion, she did not want to become a *responsable* because she felt she was not as "smart" and "experienced" as Rita and

Alberto. She claimed to lack initiative to start new projects and "politically correct language" to communicate with the administration. Dolo's contribution to the community was, in her view, her everyday silent work for the shared mission. By way of contrast, her husband Miquel Àngel joined the community after her but later stepped forward as a *responsable*.

Dolo's narrative comes to show that class backgrounds do not (necessarily) coincide with activist legitimacy and central positions at the core of this community. According to Àngels, Alberto and Rita, in the 1990s there were more marginalised people with unstructured lives, like Pere and Francisco, in the Emmaus community. In the past, some companions shunned the volunteers who approached the community because they felt that they were taking resources away from them, such as their work and communal food. For volunteer Paqui, it was a problem to have lunch with the community at first because companions who had experienced difficult life conditions felt she was not entitled to eat their food (interview, 20-03-2012). During my fieldwork, I witnessed such class tensions on the part of Francisco, who would give orders to volunteers and get in their way at the *rastre*. He exercised his authority by virtue of his seniority and being a companion in the first "onion" layer. Francisco's actions show his consciousness of stratification on the basis of experience and historical legitimacy, which overrides his marginal past trajectory in child care institutions.

One day, for example, Àngels asked Francisco to lend me a hand moving encyclopedias and when he came over, he asked Vladimir (then a newcomer with limited proficiency in Spanish) to do it while he chatted to us (fieldnotes, 15-03-2012). He turned off the lights while Vladimir and I were moving heavy volumes to the top of the shelves, an action that endangered us by causing us to lose our balance. He also told me off because I was throwing away old books and I did not dare answer that it was actually Àngels who had asked me to do this. On the reverse side of the coin, he resisted Àngels' and Massin's authority when they were in charge of the *rastre* (fieldnotes 01-03-2012 and 15-03-2012). The ethnographic illustration above shows that Francisco, comfortable in his role as an old-timer, ignored Àngels's request. That same day at lunchtime, Alberto explained to me that Rita did not approve of Francisco taking food before the bell rang, as he was doing (fieldnotes, 15-03-2012). Alberto justified this attitude, saying "*és que porta molts anys*" [he's been here for many years].

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At the time of fieldwork, this alter-globalist community had become, by and large, more ideologically-oriented with a majority profile of "committed" people (see section 7.4.2.1 above). After her visit to Emmaus Cambridge, Àngels told me that most people there were men who had had real problems and had slept rough, and *responsables* were professional social workers instead of people who had made a life commitment to Emmaus (fieldnotes, 14-10-2011). In Barcelona, there was constant interaction between people from more privileged and less privileged social backgrounds in rituals and workspaces that involve all layers of the "onion". For exemple, Àngels, Francisco, Massin, local elderly volunteers and younger migrant participants all worked together in the *rastre*. This embodies the central encounter that Emmaus fosters between "men (sic) who had become aware of their privileged situation and social responsibilities in the face of injustice and men (sic) who no longer had any reason to live crossed paths" (Universal Manifesto, Preamble). When "men who no longer had a reason to live" joined this community, however, they seemed to have a harder time participating in the community rituals and relating to more peripheral members such as occasional volunteers or migrant men, whom they might have perceived as diminishing their material resources.

7.4.2.3. Social class cleavage among volunteers

The discursive difference between those who were aware of the mission by virtue of their activist trajectories on the one hand, and those who primarily looked for an affective space in Emmaus on the other, also applies to volunteers in this Emmaus community, Esther's second layer. In my fieldwork there was a sharp distinction between longstanding Emmaus volunteers who were vocal in assemblies and sat on project committees, such as Laura, Albert, Josep C. and Rosa, and those "regular" volunteers who provided a service in work spaces like the *rastre* but did not often participate in rituals that socialised them into the transnational mission, discourses and the local projects. The only exception were the kitchen volunteers who stayed for lunch and assemblies on volunteer Tuesdays, but they behaved as legitimate peripheral participants as in Toñi's case above (see Excerpt 64).

Discursively, the first group of volunteers were "friends of the house" who helped set up and run the community as well as some of their social projects (see section 7.1). Most were Catalan-speaking, middle-class professionals moved by faith-

based motivations. Àngels singled out the fact that they have *"una certa formació universitària"* [some kind of university education], especially in the fields of health and education (interview, 09-02-2012). There were also volunteers who primarily needed an affective space, such as those derived by the (also volunteer) psychologists at the *"espai terapèutic"*, and who were *"gent amb pocs mitjans"* [people with few resources] according to Àngels. The *"voluntari normal"*, in Àngels words, was a person who was retired or unemployed but wanted to feel socially active and valued. S/he was not moved by ideological motivations and typically did not have an activist trajectory like the first type. Àngels, who had run the *rastre* for some years and had recruited many new volunteers there, described these three types of volunteers as "elite", "therapeutic" and "ordinary".

This social categorisation of volunteers along class lines matches the participation patterns analysed in the previous section on social practices both in meals and in assemblies. In the onion metaphor which was our departure point, social class seems to position middle-class "elite" volunteers near the inner core of longstanding companions, with a degree of permeability, whereas "therapeutic" and "ordinary" ones seem to be more peripheral in the second and third layers. Note that the former participants in the residential project, some of whom lived in the association's social flats, are not considered volunteers. They form a category of their own since they are in a grey area between project beneficiaries in the third layer and semi-residents in the second layer.

7.5. Discussion: Trajectories, reflexivity and lifestyle in a transnational movement

In late modernity, there is an increasing interconnection between globalising influences, here the transnational Emmaus movement, and personal dispositions, which are increasingly reflexive and political. According to Giddens, "In forging their self identities, no matter how local their specific contexts of action, individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications" (1991, p.2). Situated socialisation into the Emmaus social movement transcends the nation-state frame where *drapaires* are considered to be declassed individuals. These activists make a lifestyle choice and shape their

identities in the socialising process into social and symbolic capital that circulates across the Emmaus transnational network. As a case in point, Massin moved from being considered a declassed, homeless migrant in the Spanish state to being a transnational social activist who made a lifestyle choice as a *drapaire d'Emmaús*. Rituals, identities and narratives connected in space and time penetrated everyday consciousness in this particular community of practice and in many similar localities around the globe.

"Our identities form trajectories, both within and across communities of practice" (Wenger, 1998, p.154). Trajectories are continuous social constructions that connect the past, the present and the future. Past personal trajectories had an impact on class-inflected categorisations and mutual engagement in practices in this community of practice. Nevertheless, social categories on the basis of past trajectories also shaped individuals' future within Emmaus Barcelona. A person's accumulated expertise and experience in this community of practice, which belonged to the wider social field of the Emmaus movement, was a source of legitimacy and authority among other members (Giddens, 1991). Legitimate symbolic resources could be collectively disseminated, negotiated and transformed in social interactions, such as participatory assemblies. Thus, future dispositions and actions were reflexively imagined and organised through the continuous flow of information and knowledge day-to-day.

In the context of a face-to-face community of practice, Wenger (1998) proposes "peripheral trajectories" which allow limited access to the community but never lead to full participation, in this case as resident companions. This would apply to Esther's second layer of volunteers by choice or by necessity. Of course, many insider volunteer trajectories, such as that of Josep or Laura, continued to evolve with new challenges, new generations and new demands. Their peripheral participation became significant enough to contribute to their reflexive identities, together with their participation in other civil society groups. Moreover, "outbound trajectories" led members out of the community eventually and afforded forms of participation and learning that prepared them for the next phase. A case in point is the trajectories of (former) residential project participants, who were homeless migrants whose transnational mobilities temporarily intersected with those of companions and volunteers. New companions, such as Massin or Vladimir, by way of contrast, had "inbound trajectories" with the prospect of becoming full participants after engaging

in socialisation practices. Their present participation might have been peripheral, in some respects similar to that of the migrants', but their identities were invested in future participation as full companions. Visitors and collaborators, as outsiders, are included in Wenger's "boundary trajectories" as they made linkages with other communities of practice, such as the local Caritas branch.

All participants in this community of practice, even peripheral ones such as Massin, Jasseh or Esther, substantially overlapped in their accounts of who belonged and their social categorisations. Although they might have had a restricted involvement or no access to all to the practices in the Emmaus community, they shared a common image of the layered "onion" and an imagined sense of community. In fact, socialisation afforded opportunities for learning through legitimate access to practices with multiple levels of involvement. Peripherality can include observation, but it can also involve actual engagement. This is where social stratification comes in, because old-timers and more "privileged" members socialised newcomers. In this process, all participants mobilised symbolic resources acquired throughout their life trajectories. Newcomers internalised the social norms of this habitus, which included ways of participating in rituals and of presenting oneself and the Emmaus movement, normatively as (passive) Spanish-Catalan bilinguals (see Chapter 6).

Focusing on socialisation in a social movement reveals a post-modern break with naturalism, which links certain social groups with certain forms of symbolic capital and essentualised identities. Becoming a *drapaire d'Emmaús* is not an identity you are born into (even if you are actually born into an Emmaus community, like Rita and Alberto's children), but one that requires a (secondary) socialisation process that takes individual effort to craft a reflexive self. The reflexive project of the self, as a *drapaire d'Emmaús*, consists of developing a coherent and continuously revised biographical narrative and to adopt a lifestyle made of a coherent cluster of Emmaus social practices and discourses. Giddens (1991) defines *lifestyle* as a more or less integrated set of practices that an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity (p. 81).

These routinised practices include ways of talking, dressing, behaviour and interaction, which are reflexively open to change in the light of on-going socialisation processes. This means that sitting in a specific section of the common table constructs your self-positioning and as you become more socialised into the Emmaus community,

you might self-actualise and change your habits. Each small decision to interact in a certain way contributes to lifestyle choices and the (re)making of one's identity as a member of this community of practice. This reflexive identity might be discursively extended to other social milieux, as in Dolo's case (see section 7.4.2.2 above), and articulated as "commitment" to the Emmaus social movement.

Social inequality is partly defined in terms of differential access to forms of self-actualisation, namely symbolic capital and practices. Lifestyle also applies to decisions and actions under conditions of socioeconomic hardship and material constraints, such as those by the marginalised members who join the Emmaus community. However, some members from underprivileged backgrounds experience personal meaningless, that is to say, believing that they have nothing worthwhile to say/offer, and consequently may not discursively articulate their lifestyle choices (Giddens, 1991). This affective and psychological aspect of class seemed to affect peripheral members in this Emmaus community, who might choose not to contribute to discursive production, e.g. in meetings. In fact, one of the "regular" volunteers and two companions (Pere and Francisco) refused to have an interview with me, on account of their self-perception. Within a "lower class" lifestyle, this community to a large extent rejected widespread forms of consumption, interaction and behaviour in favour of alter-globalist alternatives that raise moral issues calling for political engagement (Giddens, 1991, p.9). It was the members with a middle-class background who discursively justified this socio-political call as the basis of their Emmaus lifestyle. An illustration would be Alberto's account of the "lower class" nature of the shared table above (see section 7.3.1.).

So what makes an "authentic" *drapaire d'Emmaús*? In a nutshell, authenticity resides in the common repertoire of languages, discourses, ritual engagement and affective dispositions that new members were locally socialised into. These forms of symbolic capital linked the transnational social movement with personal identities in a two-way relationship. Multiple militancy in social movements and civil society organisations (see section 4.3.2) integrated people's life experiences within a coherent reflexive self. Therefore, participation in Emmaus Barcelona did not mean the same to a middle-class "elite" volunteer active in other local charities as to a homeless migrant who was in touch with migrant-support associations as a beneficiary. Being socialised into this Emmaus community resulted in the social stratification of participants across two axes. Old-timers were distinguished from novices, in terms of their experience in

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Emmaus. And those who came from more privileged social backgrounds were distinguished from those who had experienced social marginalisation in their life trajectories.

Conclusions

Language, transnational activism and utopia

Ella está en el horizonte.	It lies at the horizon.
Me acerco dos pasos,	I draw two steps closer,
ella se aleja dos pasos.	It moves two steps away.
Camino diez pasos y el horizonte	I walk ten steps and the horizon
se corre diez pasos más para allá.	runs ten steps ahead.
Por mucho que camine,	However much I walk,
nunca la alcanzaré.	I will never reach it.
¿Para qué sirve la Utopía?	What is the purpose of Utopia?
Para eso sirve: Para caminar.	That's what it is for: for walking.

(My translation from Spanish)

Text written by Eduardo Galeano based on filmmaker Fernando Birri's response to the question "What is the purpose of utopia?" in a talk they gave together in Cartagena de Indias.

Emmaus speaks of utopia. Chasing a utopia in our imperfect daily realities makes all the people who appear in this story move forward in our intersecting projects. Utopia as a goal is unreachable by definition, but it is all about the path, walking towards it. This is what makes it real. It shapes dreams, projects and identities for many women and men who participate in social movements, and in particular in the Emmaus solidarity movement. This thesis has tried to show that the Abbé Pierre's utopia lives on, in different localised forms, since many people have found a new lease on life that rejects social isolation and/or seeks social justice in the local communities investigated here. Simultaneously, this thesis has demonstrated that the social realities analysed are far from the ideal of a transnationally-oriented, horizontal Emmaus community. We could extend this claim to civil society as a whole. A reflexive and ethnographic viewpoint reveals ongoing processes of social stratification and even unintended consequences of exclusion through social interactions. All social actors in

my ethnography, including myself as an ethnographer, navigate webs of meaning in the local communities. Our personal projects intersect somehow in the collective utopia of making the world a somewhat better place with our everyday work, be it sorting clothes, cooking a meal for thirty people, writing fieldnotes on an assembly or teaching Catalan to newcomers.

Utopia in this transnational movement might have different meanings for social actors in different positioning and geographical locations. In this thesis, I have attempted to grasp the myriad contradictions and tensions that arise from different understandings of this social movement. For the Emmaus "*aventuriers*" in Barcelona, the idea of utopia was to (re)produce the original encounter between Georges Legay and Henri Grouès, the Abbé Pierre, in a globalising world where he no longer exists. This community was an anti-capitalist alternative to neoliberal hegemony, which did not seem to have a clear generational renewal except, perhaps, for alter-globalist youth whose values seemed to be much more individualist. On the other hand, the Emmaus "*gestionnaires*" in London wanted to provide effective welfare services for the homeless in order to socially re-insert them on behalf of the retreating state. Their utopia was to foster solidarity among individuals so that each person contributed back to society and helped others get back on their feet. The focus on individual reinsertion and skills contrasts with the collectivist ethos in Emmaus Barcelona, well attested in my difficulties with informed consent (see Chapter 2). Despite their recent expansion and institutional support, their provision was a drop in the ocean of rising homelessness in the UK.

My utopia as an ethnographer committed to social justice is to raise awareness about the role of language in the making of social inequalities in the current economic, political and institutional order through an analysis of Emmaus. Emmaus is a social movement that hinges upon the meeting of "those less fortunate" with those who "seek social justice" like me. However, it reproduces power asymmetries in interactional and discursive practices, among which we find this thesis as an academic artefact. As a critical and socially committed ethnographer, I have found it difficult to to make sense of the complex and contradictory role of language and discourse in the Emmaus transnational social movement, which is heterogeneous and inclusive, yet at the same time, stratifying and excluding. Just as Birri's and Galeano's heteroglossic text about utopia, Emmaus is an intertextual formation that gets reentextualised and

discursively appropriated in local communities for different sociopolitical purposes in the era of globalised problems and utopias.

What's the (hi)story? Learning about transnational social movements

The long history of the Emmaus social movement has had a marked transnational orientation since the early days. As we know, "Emmaus" was born as a transnationally oriented youth hostel that the Abbé Pierre opened on the outskirts of Paris in 1947 for post-war reconciliation. It quickly developed into a France-wide movement and then into today's transnational social movement, with visible French origins. My thesis historicises late modern social movements from a discursive viewpoint through the particular history of Emmaus. It becomes a window into the transnational expansion, the growing institutionalisation, the development of internal trends and the discursive transformations typical of 20th century social movements. Contemporary transnational activist networks are the product of global processes and today they are major players in the emergent post-national order, alongside supranational bodies, state governments and corporations. These networks have discursively articulated global problems and discursive tropes that nation-states and individuals take up in their everyday lives, such as the greenhouse effect or external debt in underdeveloped countries. In Europe, Emmaus visibilises economic migrants from the Global South who become homeless, among other social issues.

My story has sought to illuminate aspects of transnational social movements that policy makers, researchers and even activists tend to take for granted or disregard. It has revealed the centrality of language and discourse in (re)creating social movements as uneven, heterogeneous and stratified ideoscapes. Departing from the idea that Emmaus constitutes a transnational imagined community, I have shown that social activist networks are uneven ideoscapes based on foundational text(s) and discursive tropes that shape everyday activities and people's dispositions in different ways and to a different extent. In the case of Emmaus, the nexus of articulation is (re)telling and embodying the Emmaus founding story in situated events for specific socio-political purposes. This founding narrative is entextualised in the widely-circulated and translated Universal Manifesto of the Emmaus Movement (1971), which lays down the shared premises for action for all local groups worldwide.

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This thesis explores how a social movement develops discursively, semiotically and linguistically from a single original locality, historical moment and founding actors into a well-articulated transnational network of localities over time. As analysed in detail, discursive localisations of a social movement simultaneously create sameness within the movement and difference across multiple sites. Emmaus is like modelling clay that takes different forms according to the geopolitical locality, the trajectories of activists and the discursive genealogy of a specific group. What this thesis brings to the fore is that there are conflicting discursive appropriations of shared elements by heterogeneous local groups belonging to the same social movement. The various discursive orientations that emerge out of the growth of a social movement undergo processes of *fractal recursivity* (Irvine and Gal, 2000). In the Emmaus movement, the opposition between the discursive trends of *"aventuriers"* and *"gestionnaires"* (terms that I borrowed from Lefèvre, 2001) that was salient in France was projected onto a transnational level. These transnational trends are actually produced, negotiated and transformed in situated local interactions. What is new in my approach to social movements is the focus on the situated processes of socialisation through and into language that result in the (re)production of the transnational movement, on the one hand, and in the (re)creation of different ideological orientations within it, by means of discursive and linguistic connections with other social arenas, on the other.

In my fieldwork, I soon realised that that the Abbé Pierre's founding story of the Emmaus movement shaped not only the stories that I was told, with recognizable intertextual and chronotopic elements, but also the members' dispositions to re-enact this narrative in the local communities daily. The founding story defines a chronotope, that is to say a space-time, personhood and moral, which crosscuts storyworld and storytelling contexts. My first finding is that these interconnected stories of self, us and now (as I called them following Ganz, 2010) construct personal identities, collective affiliations and public action in social movements. As we have seen, the two communities investigated shared the Emmaus founding story's person-types marked by self-transformation, the moral worth of solidarity, and biographical causation, namely finding "reasons to live" in the encounter with others. These chronotopic elements had different weight in local constructions of the movement. Emmaus Barcelona centred on the encounter with others in the community epitomised

by the icon of Abbé Pierre whereas Emmaus London emphasised the value of solidarity with others to the detriment of the figure of Abbé Pierre.

During my multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork, I discovered that the Emmaus movement encompasses considerable grassroots heterogeneity, since no two Emmaus communities are exactly the same. My second key finding is that the recreation of a transnational social movement hinges on common narrative, communicative and semiotic elements that allow for a wide range of discursive and linguistic appropriations in multiple communities of practice. When the shared Emmaus founding story gets transposed across time and space, it is recontextualised, recycled and *clasped* with other situated discourses in local communities. For decades, this social movement has brought together distinct discursive trends that localise the common mission of solidarity. In my study, Emmaus Barcelona denounced structural causes for poverty and held the administration responsible for universal welfare rights, while Emmaus London appealed to individualist work ethics within a neoliberal, selective regime. Moreover, Emmaus London underwent a thorough process of religious erasure to partner with the secular British state, but Emmaus Barcelona clasped its faith-based inspiration with alter-globalist movements that engage in activism. The everyday fabric of social movements is intertextuality between local appropriations that have different discursive clasps with other social arenas and, as we shall see next, linguistic practices.

My participant observation within the local communities offered an entry point into the daily interactions of a group of diverse people who came from different linguistic and social backgrounds. My third main finding is a denaturalisation of the common-sense connection between transnational social movements and multilingualism, on the one hand, and horizontal participation, on the other. As I have shown, socialisation into the Emmaus movement entailed social stratification through situated communicative events between novices and experienced members. In this transnational movement, people were socialised through language into legitimate resources, mainly a set of discourses and shared narratives, to craft their affective and communicatively-transformed selves. In the physical and symbolic space of the Barcelona community, stratifying dynamics and tensions arose in seating arrangements in communal meals and active participation in assemblies on the basis of symbolic capital. Modernist language ideologies positioned English in London, and Catalan and Spanish in Barcelona, as requisites for full participation in local

communities. In London, there was an ideological erasure of multilingualism among members, even French as a lingua franca in the movement. Despite the ideological centrality of Catalan, Emmaus Barcelona accepted bilingual hybrid practices in daily interactions and the use of Spanish, French and, to a lesser extent, English as linguae francae.

So what? Broader conclusions and sociolinguistic implications of this thesis

My story contributes to the field of sociolinguistics theoretically and methodologically. First, this ethnography on language, interdiscursivity and stratification in the Emmaus movement has wide theoretical implications for the emerging sociolinguistics of transnational formations, which includes social movements across borders and transcultural flows in popular culture. Similarly to other transnational formations such as hip-hop, Emmaus simultaneously involves transcultural flows that articulate multiple, heterogeneous nodes and the appropriation of shared elements in local communities through situated interactions. Interdiscursivity lies at the heart of the local (re)production and diversification of a transnational imagined community. As we shall see, the two Emmaus communities in my study appropriated in different ways the Emmaus movement's French origins, that is to say, Francophone networks, Catholic references and the Abbé Pierre as an icon.

Within the sociolinguistics of transnationalism, Emmaus as a social movement epitomises discursive, linguistic, narrative and semiotic interconnection in transnational activist networks. These networks are based on grassroots activities of people across national borders that question the "zombie" categories of language, community and identity in non-national and non-ethnically imagined communities. This recent research strand investigates "globalisation from below" (Appadurai, 2000), which creates cultural and linguistic flows, as well as social mobilisation, which are independent from the nation-state system and corporate capital. In the analysis of social movements, this multi-sited ethnography questions the methodological (inter-) nationalist bias and a conception of globalisation from above, as defined by big corporations, major multilateral agencies and national governments. It investigates the situated and contingent construction of language, community and identity within the Emmaus transnational network.

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Unlike migration circuits, diasporas and multi-national companies, the Emmaus transnational imagined community mainly hinges on transcultural flows and interdiscursivity rather than actual mobility of activists and objects. In this respect transnational activist networks, such as Emmaus or Occupy (Martín-Rojo, forthcoming) have some commonalities with popular culture such as salsa communities (Schneider, 2014) or hip-hop (Pennycook, 2007). All these transcultural flows are appropriated by diverse people in multiple contexts, where they are transformed through their articulation with other cultural, linguistic, discursive and semiotic counterparts available locally. At the same time, these transcultural flows retain common features that make them recognisable as the "same" (e.g. hip-hop) in a localised form. Language plays a key role in the uptake of transcultural flows since hybrid, creative practices are contingent on the locality and linguae francae such as English become embedded in multilingual repertoires.

As we have seen, the core of Emmaus is intertextuality with the founding story chronotope across local nodes. This process recreates the transnational imagined community and interdiscursivity in local appropriations that clasp common elements with particular, local meanings. Similarly to transnational pop culture, we get divergent understandings of Emmaus in the transnational network owing to the interdiscursive clasps with historical, political and social discourses in a given geopolitical position. The key point for a sociolinguistics of transnationalism, as I called it above, is that intertextuality and iteration are important elements in the reproduction of power structures since only those discursive elements that are mobile, that is to say quoted and appropriated, gain credibility and power. My analysis contributes a situated account of how certain intertextual chains, such as the causality of "reasons to live", and linguae francae such as French gain currency in a transnational imagined community such as Emmaus or even in a partial trend within the movement. Similar cases include the trope of authenticity in hip-hop and the hegemony of Spanish as a lingua franca in some salsa communities in Schneider's study.

What is new in my ethnographic analysis of a transnational activist network, as compared to transcultural practices, is the centrality of the founding story that defines a common social objective for all the participants translated into different languages. In hip-hop and salsa communities, there does not seem to be a foundational text, narrative or song akin to the Emmaus founding story. These

cultural forms are based on leisure and artistic motivations that are largely individualistic, even though they might intersect with social critique and even social movements in their local appropriations. Another key difference that emerges from my analysis of Emmaus is the weaker role of linguae francae in social movements, as is also true of the Occupy movement. International linguae francae like English are limited to the communities in a given geographical region and discursive trend within the Emmaus movement. As pointed out above, localities are brought together through intertextuality and narratives translated into different local languages, with some mediators. By way of contrast, for music genres, a dominant language typically forms part of individuals' truncated repertoires. For example, hip-hop constructs English as *the* "connectin' language", often used in hybrid, multilingual raps constructing an imagined community worldwide.

This thesis is also a contribution to the study of civil society across national contexts, with their sedimented discourses, socio-cultural traditions and ideologies of language. Understanding Emmaus as a social movement entailed discerning local civil society, especially requirements for NGOs and the mixed economy of welfare, in England and in Catalonia. The localisation of transnational advocacy networks reveals multi-faceted discursive uptakes, either uncomfortably complicit or violently opposed to governments, corporations and supranational bodies. When transnational social movements such as Emmaus settle in a given locality, they have to adopt NGO-like legal structures to carry out their activities in the nation-state. Civil society entails participation in alternative economies (e.g. fair trade, recycling), neoliberal governmentality of the underprivileged (mainly through welfare provision) and post-national politics in a local discursive and linguistic regime. My theoretical point for critical sociolinguistics is that the ways in which social movements get configured as NGOs in local/national contexts shed light on this relatively new type of institution, which simultaneously participates in transcultural flows and the changing nation-state order.

Emmaus as a social movement is an enlightening case study of processes of localisation, typical of transnational formations, which (re)produce transnational internal "*courants*" in interaction with national discourses. In Emmaus, the founding story and the figure of the Abbé Pierre has reinforced the weight of the (imagined) French origins of transcultural flows. However, local Emmaus communities appropriate "original" French elements in their transnational orientations to the

movement differently. Recall that this social movement expanded thanks to Francophone networks and it still remains better known in French-speaking circles, as the existing literature about Emmaus attests. Brodiez-Dolino's (2008) distinction between centrifugal and centripetal trends in Emmaus, together with the role of the nation-state discussed above, largely accounts for the local appropriations of the movement's French origins regarding French as a lingua franca, Abbé Pierre as an icon and *altermondialiste* discourses prevalent in French Emmaus groups.

I have shown that Emmaus London seemed to belong to the centripetal trend, which is more inward looking and centred on the (re) production of Emmaus through professionalised management, following the French UCC and Emmaus International model. In the London context, Emmaus as a national NGO reinforced banal nationalist discourses, which constructed an English-only arena and did not appropriate and even erased French elements in their nationalist construction of Emmaus. Discursively, my London site was embedded in the British mixed economy of welfare and did not have any discursive clasps abroad except for Emmaus International information in English and the annual Paris Salon. A consideration that emerges for further debate is that Emmaus London questions the frequent coupling between social movements and political alternatives or socio-political dissent found in *altermondialiste* discourses or scholarly accounts of post-national politics.

By way of contrast, Emmaus Barcelona belonged to a more centrifugal trend which is outward-looking, following the Abbé Pierre's transnational perspective and the *"aventuriers"'* spontaneity. This community had connections with alter-globalist grassroots groups within and outside Emmaus and across borders. In order to communicate with a wide array of groups and diverse people locally, there seemed to emerge a post-national language ideology that has strengthened hybridity and non-standard forms of Catalan, as well as the increased use of linguae francae, as we saw in detail. *Altermondialisme* questions national borders and the capitalist system that stratifies people at a global scale. The point here, which I frame as a question to open the doors to further research, is whether alter-globalists in this community are timidly starting to question linguistic hegemonies that tend to be taken-for-granted in social movements such as indignad@s.

The two Emmaus communities in my study, taken as representative of the trends described by Brodiez-Dolino's (2008), might serve as illustrations of the discursive tensions between individualism and collectivism in civil society. I have not

set out to investigate this in depth in my thesis, but both discursive constructs crosscut the differences between business and community orientations within Emmaus London, as well as between the different generations of activists in the broader Emmaus movement. More research is needed on collectivism and individualism as discursive constructions that could differentiate localisations and generations of social movements. By and large, my ethnography and the literature review suggest that collectivism as a discourse could characterise first wave social movements from the 20th century that are generally more centred on collective rights and practices, such as unionism or the early Emmaus *"aventuriers"*. This pattern contrasts with the second wave of transnational activism that has emerged at the turn of the twenty-first century in movements such as Occupy or the newer Emmaus *"gestionnaires"* and tends to be more individualist.

My second contribution to the field of sociolinguistics is a challenging methodological design that combines traditional participant-observation ethnography with narrative inquiry emerging from observed social interactions and discursive genealogy of the two focal sites. This design has allowed me to understand discursive differences between my two research sites, as well as common elements shared with other Emmaus communities. Narrative within ethnography has revealed which transnational elements all Emmaus communities seem to share as an articulation of a common belonging to the movement. Instead of detailed linguistic analyses of narratives, my contribution is a cultural approach to narrative analysis, in terms of iconography and dispositions, which depict and shape everyday social interactions in my participant observation. Agha's *cultural chronotope* brings together ethnography and narrative. As discussed in the findings above, I have applied Bakhtin's concept of chronotope (literally *timespace*) not only to the founding story (the storyworld) but to my ethnographic context (the storytelling world) where participants orient to the shared chronotope in their social interactions.

Storytelling reveals discursive clasps, crafts person-types and justifies (communicative) activities in a given locality. From a historicizing perspective, I take oral and written discourse as the place for the negotiation and materialisation of the positioning of different social actors and Emmaus communities forged over time. Discourses, ideologies and knowledge production are embedded in the constraints of various socio-political interests. Thanks to a historicising perspective in this *longue durée* ethnography, I have been able to explain the heterogeneity and even ideological

contradictions between my two research sites, which belong to the same Emmaus "family" but have weak discursive and linguistic ties. In the broader movement, discourses overlap one another chronologically and ideologies are part and parcel of historical developments. The situated production of discourse and knowledge is always contingent on historical conditions that allow them to emerge and circulate in a transnational ideoscape that becomes a "*complexio oppositorum*" that brings together contradictory trends.

These wildly different sociopolitical appropriations of Emmaus take me to my point about the need to provide a complex, situated and limited account of the Emmaus movement through the researcher's own ethnographic gaze. In other words, this study analyses a small part of the social movement from my own experience with individuals and sites that become windows into broader processes, orientations and tensions in the social movement. Thanks to attention to actual events and trajectories, my ethnography reveals nuance, complicating the celebratory and homogenising representations of social movements However, I have to acknowledge the partial nature of this ethnography in two senses. First, it is delimited by my own trajectory in the Emmaus field, across certain sites and not others, and my ethnographic gaze shaped by my research interests relating to language, discourse and stratification. Second, it is partial in the sense that my identity as a social actor and my socio-political stance have shaped my rapport with informants and attention to certain phenomena such as the interactional construction of social exclusion.

Since this thesis is my own partial narrative of the Emmaus movement, it is my ethical responsibility as a researcher not only to disseminate the findings among the scientific community but also to continue the conversation with my informants. My intention is not to criticise the individual people and the communities investigated in any way, but to disseminate how social differences and inequalities are constructed in social interaction as unintended consequences of people's daily acts. I agree with Codó (2008) that it is very easy to overemphasise the role of individual agency in institutions, so we should bear in mind that structural inequalities that are embedded in the community's makeup constrain the actions of social actors in both sites. In fact, I never doubted their goodwill to make a significant change in the lives of those who are underprivileged and their hard work and dedication to the Emmaus solidarity mission in the context of local discourses. Generally, my informants were unaware of their socially excluding practices, since they acted within historical and social

constraints in their discursive and socio-political context. Nonetheless, the senior informants in Barcelona were reflexive about their actions and the Emmaus movement.

What now? The story continues

As we have just seen, ethnography is a *sine qua non* for nuanced, complex and situated accounts of transnational processes. At the same time, it merely offers an artificially still image of what is in reality a moving picture. There have been developments in both Emmaus communities investigated since I finished my intensive fieldwork in 2012, which have initiated new projects and changed some faces around the Emmaus shared table. These after-fieldwork developments seem to reinforce the *altermondialiste* centrifugal trend in Barcelona and the welfarist centripetal orientation in London, both discussed throughout in this research.

Today, some of the protagonists of this ethnography have moved on in different directions. The social reinsertion of companions has different values in each research site. Emmaus London has succeeded in reinserting a number of formerly homeless people into the national labour market, generally in entry-level jobs. For instance, Clive is now working as a concierge in a London hotel. A special case is Michael, who has recently become a live-in community staff member in a new satellite Emmaus community. This shows that the British charity can employ former clients if they undergo training and show the right affective skills with companions. Nevertheless, Scots Markie has become homeless again after having secured a manual job in a supermarket branch. The community in Barcelona, by way of contrast, has an alternative view of reinsertion that directs people towards voluntary projects and unconventional paths. This group is a family-like stable community of fewer than 15 people, so the turnover has not been as high as in London. As an illustration of post-Emmaus trajectories on alternative paths, Lucía is making recycled dresses in Central Catalonia as a volunteer, with the support of a religious order. The youngest companion in my story, Esther, has been touring Europe for two years thanks to odd jobs. She plans to set up an organic agricultural project with underprivileged people in the future.

The local discursive and socioeconomic processes analysed in this thesis have continued their course in both sites. Emmaus London is expanding their business as a London charity with the collaboration of the council, in keeping with its centripetal orientation in the movement. As far as expansion is concerned, this Emmaus group has opened a new second-hand shop on council-owned premises and is currently setting up a new satellite community in a different borough. Since the first community has become economically sustainable, the centripetal pull has called for a new community to shelter more marginalised people in the current crisis. The business orientation to the Emmaus solidarity mission also materialised in collaboration contracts with the borough. Emmaus London's increasing collaboration with the Borough Council was already in motion in 2012, with the collaboration agreement to provide catering services at a local homeless shelter, run by Bill, rotating companions and external volunteers, as we have seen. In 2013, this charity secured a contract with the Borough Council to deliver Emergency Support Scheme on their behalf. Emmaus supplies electrical goods and furniture to residents in emergency situations for their council homes instead of the cash grant that the borough used to give them.

In parallel, the transnational orientation in this young British community is slowly developing, with an awareness of their (collective) language limitations. This Emmaus community has continued to participate in Emmaus International events in Paris, such as the 60th anniversary commemoration of the Uprising of Kindness on February 1st, 2014. The delegation was comprised of the general manager, a new member of staff, the volunteer coordinator and a companion whose "collective French was unable to cope with a translation" (blog entry) of the speeches in French. They recognised that the French members' English was better than their French. I interpret this as a reflexion that their multilingual competences are lacking for transnational communication in a social movement that remains largely Francophone. Additionally, this community's solidarity offered support to an orphanage in Moldova, in the form of volunteers (more specifically, a recent staff member) for two weeks. Although it might seem anecdotal, this initiative signals a change of orientation that moves beyond the British Isles or France.

The worsening crisis in the Barcelona area, coupled with a major political scandal in the city hall, has reinforced the politicised and independent ethos of the local Emmaus community. This community has maintained their centrifugal orientation with Progressive Catholicism and alter-globalist networks both locally and

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abroad. Following the volunteer-run and self-funded model of the "*espai terapèutic*", the psychology office run by two professional volunteers, the *drapaires* have gone back to grassroots projects that are independent from city hall and imbricated in civil society networks. For example, the "*espai terapèutic*" has started offering psychological support for families undergoing eviction in collaboration with the local *Plataforma d'Afectats per la Hipoteca* (PAH) and has given talks about depression and anxiety in local Christian circles. Moreover, this office has expanded its volunteer staff to three psychologists and one homeopath.

The new initiatives in Emmaus Barcelona are smaller-scale, grassroots projects that require commitment from the broader Barcelona community. After the termination of the residential project for migrants in December 2011, which was mainly funded by the city council and run in conjunction with a migrant-support NGO, the companions and longstanding volunteers decided to respond to the situation of homeless people who needed emergency shelter following unemployment and evictions. A dwindling congregation of nuns let them use their unoccupied accommodations on the outskirts of the city for a small residential project. Several companions and volunteers take turns at spending the night with the five participants. At the moment, the referral of homeless people from the overloaded social services has not worked properly and they are currently rethinking the project. In their transnational perspective, they have continued to support former participants in the residential project, partly through the continuation of the social housing project. In 2014, they logistically helped a Gambian man to go back to his native village and organised a modest money collection among volunteers.

In addition, Emmaus Barcelona has served as an umbrella for voluntary Catalan (and to a lesser extent, Spanish) language teachers who formerly taught in the residential project and have expanded to community centres. Today, this growing group of volunteers is in the process of creating their own literacy association under the auspices of Emmaus. In contexts such as the Basque Country or Catalonia, social activism largely overlaps with language activism in various guises, including socio-political demonstrations, cultural performances and language education for new speakers. Emmaus Barcelona has been a key player in Catalan language education for newly arrived migrants in their city on the outskirts of Barcelona for the past decade. Many teacher volunteers who had been part of the language revitalisation in the Post-Francoist transition period faced a new challenge with transnational migrants living in

the Emmaus house. Voluntary language activism, and especially grassroots education and mentoring, becomes a window onto broader discourses of language, migration and the nation-state that provides an opportunity for collaborative research and hopefully, social transformation.

Future research on transnational social movements, and particularly Emmaus, should examine the intersection between social activism and language. Although it has not been the main focus of my thesis, we have seen that Emmaus Barcelona is an example of *language voluntarism* among retired teachers who organise Catalan, Castilian Spanish and literacy classes and also autochthonous volunteers who participate in language partnerships with migrant learners. Another facet of the role that language plays in social movements is language brokering in transnational and international encounters in the movement, such as the *Salon Emmaüs* in Paris and World Assemblies. In this respect, it would also be enlightening to investigate similar formations where activists from various language backgrounds meet for a short period, such as the community of Taizé in France or the Red Cross international meetings.

Language learning emerges as another interesting area for research on the role of language within transnational activist networks. Tracing activist trajectories moves away from methodological nationalism and essentialised categories to account for grassroots transnational processes. The mobility of some companions across Emmaus communities and work camps requires learning local languages and/or linguae francae for activism and through activism. For example, the shop in Emmaus Cambridge has a bulletin board with pictures and a small introduction from companions. There, a young "Italian" companion who had been in Italian and French communities claims to have become part of this community "to learn English". This resonates with Massin's essay extract, which opens Chapter 6. Charlie, the Brighton and Hove companion whom I interviewed, was learning French to communicate with visiting companions and to go on an exchange in France in the future. In relation to these (would-be) mobile and multilingual individuals, it is also enlightening to explore the role of discursive clasps and institutional networks in shaping activists' biographies, since they affect people's desires for language learning. For instance, Miquel Àngel (a *responsable* in Barcelona) told me that he did not like English because of American imperialism, and in turn, Massin used it alongside other languages for online social activism, mainly to defend Amazigh culture and language.

This thesis seeks to contribute to a reflexive, and perhaps uncomfortable, conversation with the social activists who have acted as my informants. I have attempted to make sense of how an imagined community across borders comes into being in the activists' everyday discursive and linguistic practices. In this conversation among stakeholders, it is important to acknowledge our ideological positioning and goals in order to make sense of our shared and divergent representations and experiences of the Emmaus movement. Sustained dialogue and collaboration will, I hope, open avenues to (re)imagine utopias and move a step closer to the horizon of social justice.

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Appendix 1

Universal Manifesto of the Emmaus movement, © Emmaus International

Appendix 2

Declaración de identidad común. Source: *Traperos de Emaús en el Estado Español* webpage. Original version in Spanish.

DECLARACIÓN DE IDENTIDAD COMÚN

Los grupos de traperas y traperos de Emaús (Bilbao, Granada, Murcia, Navarra, Barcelona, San Sebastián y Vitoria) reunidos en Granada y Murcia, después de expresar las diferentes convicciones y bases ideológicas que impulsan nuestros compromisos y quehaceres, concluimos y acordamos que:

1.- Nuestro nombre proviene de la iniciativa del Abbè Pierre en Francia fundador del Movimiento Emaús que se ha desarrollado por todo el mundo y que tiene como fundamento de su acción "el servicio prioritario a los que más sufren" bajo la formulación:

"Ante cualquier sufrimiento humano, según lo que puedas,
ocúpate no solamente en solucionarlo en el acto
sino también de destruir sus causas.
No solamente de destruir sus causas
sino también de solucionarlo en el acto"

2.- Es por ello que en nuestros grupos acogemos principalmente a aquellas personas más desprotegidas y excluidas y a quienes hacen causa común con estos principios.

3.- Nos reconocemos en igualdad como personas con peculiaridades diferentes sin distinción de procedencia, raza, sexo, cultura o religión y la diversidad como un valor.
4.- Defendemos una relación humana que prioriza el carácter comunitario frente al individualismo: en espacios de ayuda mutua, con un trabajo *"codo con codo"* y un acompañamiento que promueva la participación activa, donde cada persona sea protagonista de su propio proceso y resolución de sus dificultades.

5.- Desde estas convicciones y compromisos unimos nuestro quehacer, nuestras luchas y aspiraciones a las de otros colectivos que trabajan en Redes y luchan contra la exclusión o el deterioro medioambiental proponiendo alternativas políticas, económicas, sociales y ecológicas.

6.- Procuramos que nuestra práctica y propuestas estén en coherencia con una sostenibilidad económica, ecológica y solidaria que posibilite un mundo más justo y sin exclusión.

7.- Buscamos la independencia económica a través del trabajo (especialmente de recuperación, reutilización y reciclaje de residuos) que permita cubrir nuestras necesidades y compartir nuestros recursos con otras personas más desfavorecidas.

8.- Desde nuestras realidades locales impulsamos el internacionalismo y las relaciones solidarias con otros colectivos y pueblos con quienes compartimos recursos, luchas, denuncias y aspiraciones.

En Murcia, en el bonito día del 6 de octubre de 2006

Appendix 3

Amount of data collected during intensive fieldwork period

Data collected from September 2011 to March 2012

Emmaus Barcelona

Field narratives (with keywords)   57

Interviews
Companions (>2 hours)   8
Longstanding volunteers (2 hours)   4
New volunteers (>1 hour)   4
Cooperative employees   2
Itinerant Latin American companion   1

Assembly recordings
Monthly "volunteer meetings" (1 hour)   6

Institutional documents
Media and press archive (1970s-present)
Local "Abbé Pierre" publishing house titles
Recent reports
Members' texts and art
Pictures of posters, boards, symbols and physical spaces

Data collected from April to June 2012

Emmaus London

Field narratives (with keywords)   27

Interviews
Companions (1 hour)   8
Former companion and EUK board member (2 hours)   1
Members of staff (2 hours)   4
Volunteers (informal)   5

Assembly recordings
Morning volunteer meetings (>10 minutes)   12
Weekly companions' meeting (>20 minutes)   4
Emmaus UK meeting for companion representatives   1

Institutional documents
EUK leaflets and newsletters
DVDs produced by different British communities
Emmaus London newsletters
Community reports
Companion guidelines and policies
Pictures of posters, boards, symbols and physical spaces

Appendix 4

Transcription Conventions

The spoken data extracts in this PhD thesis have been transcribed following a slightly adapted version of LIDES (Language Interaction Data Exchange System) which was proposed by Codó (2008a, p. xi-xiii). This notation is exclusively used for audio-recorded interactions and interviews. Other types of written data such as fieldnotes are reproduced verbatim and if necessary presented with their English translations.

Transcription conventions

+^	quick uptake or latching
+. . .	trailing off
+/.	interruption
+//.	self-interruption
xxx	unintelligible material
www	untranscribed material because of confidential information or irrelevance to excerpt
#	pause
##	longer pause (shorter than 1 sec)
#0_1	length of pause in seconds (minimum 1 sec)
[=! text]	paralinguistics, prosodics
ºwordº	lower volume than surrounding speech
[>]	overlap follows
[<]	overlap precedes
[?]	best guess
<>	scope symbols
[!]	stressing
:	lengthened vowel
::	longer lengthening of vowel
-	abrupt cutoff

Intonation countours

.	end-of-turn falling contour
?	end-of-turn rising contour
!	end-of-turn exclamation contour
-.	intra-turn falling contour
-?	intra-turn rising contour
-!	intra-turn exclamation contour

Dependent tiers

%act:	relevant actions during the exchange
%com:	researcher's comments about the main tier
%tra:	free English translation of the main tier

Appendix 5

UAB Ethics Committee approved documentation (Reference: 1519)

Institutional letter (English):

To the attention of the Comissió d'Ètica en l'Experimentació Animal i Humana, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona:

Emmaus London, registered charity number XXXX in England and Wales, AUTHORISES the research assistant Maria Rosa Garrido Sardà, with N.I.F. 44984074-F, to carry out her PhD research in our charity. We have received information about the study through an approved information sheet and a presentation by the main researcher. This research will contribute to understanding the social organisation and management of a community of diverse people which forms part of the Emmaus transnational movement through the analysis of the communicative and discursive processes. Maria Rosa Garrido's research consists in being present at the interactions among the people who live, work and collaborate in the different sociocommunicative spaces at the Emmaus local community.

Emmaus London AUTHORISES Maria Rosa Garrido Sardà to audio record the community meetings which she attends in her quality as a researcher from May 2012. All the participants will have been informed about audiorecording in advance and their rights as research subjects, including their right to stop or erase the recordings at any time. In addition, Emmaus London AUTHORISES Maria Rosa Garrido to take general photographs of the physical spaces and use institutional documents, as long as they preserve the participants' anonymity. The researcher may request one-to-one interviews with staff members, companions and volunteers, which might also be recorded with the participant's informed consent.

The anonymity of participants in this study about Emmaus will be maintained at all times. Their names will not appear in any of the publications which come out of this research. Emmaus London AURTHORISES the researcher to use the name of the movement, "Emmaus", in the research materials and academic publications. The collected data will be kept confidential and used exclusively for academic purposes according to the approved methodology by the Ethics Committee (CEEAH) at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Yours faithfully,

(Signature, date and stamp)

Institutional letter (Catalan):

A l'atenció de la Comissió d'Ètica en l'Experimentació Animal i Humana de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona:

L'associació Drapaires d'Emaús, amb C.I.F. XXXXX, AUTORITZA la investigadora en formació Maria Rosa Garrido Sardà, amb N.I.F. 44984074-F, a realitzar la seva recerca doctoral en la nostra entitat. Hem rebut informació sobre l'estudi a través d'un full informatiu i d'una presentació de la investigadora. Aquest estudi pretén entendre com s'organitza i es gestiona una comunitat de persones diverses que forma part del moviment transnacional Emaús a través de l'anàlisi dels processos comunicatius i discursius. La seva tasca de recerca consisteix a estar present en les interaccions entre les persones que viuen, treballen i col!laboren en els diferents espais sociocomunicatius de l'associació.

Drapaires d'Emaús AUTORITZA Maria Rosa Garrido Sardà a enregistrar en àudio les reunions a les que assisteix com a investigadora des de novembre de 2011. Es demanarà permís individual a les persones que participen habitualment en aquestes reunions, perquè la investigadora pugui enregistrar aquestes reunions i faci servir les dades interaccionals recollides per a finalitats acadèmiques. Prèvia sol·licitud de permís als membres de l'associació, se li permetrà, també, de fer fotografies generals dels espais físics en què no s'identifiquin les persones que participen en l'estudi. A més d'observacions etnogràfiques, la investigadora podrà concertar i enregistrar en àudio entrevistes amb aquestes persones sempre que, prèviament, els demani consentiment formal.

En tot moment es mantindrà l'anonimat de les persones que participen en aquest estudi sobre l'organització Emaus. El nom dels participants en l'estudi no apareixerà en cap de les publicacions que es derivin d'aquesta recerca. Drapaires d'Emaús AUTORITZA la investigadora a fer servir el nom del moviment, "Emaús", en els materials i publicacions acadèmiques. Totes les dades recollides es mantindran confidencials segons el codi ètic aprovat per la Comissió d'Ètica en l'Experimentació Animal i Humana de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Atentament,

(signatura, segell i data)

Tesi doctoral sobre la diversitat social, els discursos transnacionals i les pràctiques comunicatives a Emmaús

Objectius de l'estudi

Aquesta recerca doctoral pretén estudiar com s'organitza i com es gestiona una comunitat de persones diverses que forma part del moviment transnacional Emmaús a través de l'anàlisi dels processos comunicatius i discursius. Aquest estudi respon a un interès sociolingüístic per les organitzacions socials transnacionals i per l'estructura social comunitària que caracteritza Emmaús. Forma part d'un projecte de recerca finançat pel Ministeri de Ciència i Innovació (HUM 2010-26964) i dirigit per la Dra. Melissa G. Moyer, del Departament de Filologia Anglesa de la UAB.

Les preguntes de recerca que es formulen són:
- Quin és el paper de les llengües de contacte internacional, com ara l'anglès i el francès, així com dels discursos internacionals, com el reciclatge i la justícia social, en el manteniment de connexions amb altres grups transnacionals?
- Com es posiciona la comunitat Emmaús estudiada en el context socioeconòmic actual? Quins recursos materials i simbòlics ofereix en el marc associatiu local?
- Quins elements uneixen les persones que formen part de la xarxa social d'Emmaús? Com es gestiona la diversitat lingüística, cultural, religiosa i generacional en una comunitat de persones amb trajectòries de vida diverses?
- Com són les pràctiques comunicatives i les ideologies lingüístiques en les activitats diàries d'aquesta organització no governamental?

Execució

Per a la realització d'aquest estudi s'utilitzarà una metodologia qualitativa, que requereix fer treball de camp etnogràfic. Per poder respondre les preguntes formulades, cal recollir diferents tipus de dades:
- Observacions en diferents contexts i esdeveniments sociocomunicatius en l'entorn del grup Emmaús estudiat, com per exemple el rastre, la cuina, les reunions de voluntaris i events públics.
- Entrevistes semiestructurades amb diferents persones que formen part de la xarxa social d'Emmaús, tant membres de la comunitat com voluntaris i empleats.
- Gravacions d'interaccions lingüístiques en diferents espais sociocomunicatius.
- Documents publicats sobre la comunitat Emmaús local i sobre el moviment Emmaús.
- Documents institucionals produïts per Emmaús.
- Fotografies generals dels espais físics sempre preservant l'anonimat de les persones que participen en l'estudi.

Compromís ètic

Ens comprometem a protegir l'anonimat de totes les persones que participen en aquest estudi. La investigadora principal demanarà consentiment formal abans de realitzar qualsevol tipus de gravació o de fer fotografies. Els participants que vulguin més informació sobre l'estudi poden contactar amb les persones responsables d'aquesta recerca (vegeu a continuació). La metodologia d'aquest projecte de recerca ha estat revisada pel Comitè d'Ètica de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Contacte

Maria Rosa Garrido (mariarosa.garrido@uab.cat), investigadora principal, tel: 657XXXXXX

Dra. Eva Codó (eva.codo@uab.cat), directora de tesi, tel: XX XXXXXXX
Dra. Melissa G. Moyer (melissa.moyer@uab.cat), directora del grup de recerca Comunicació Intercultural i Estratègies de Negociació, tel: XX XXXXXXX

Tesis doctoral sobre la diversidad social, los discursos transnacionales y las prácticas comunicativas en Emaús

Objetivos del estudio
Esta investigación doctoral pretende estudiar cómo se organiza y se gestiona una comunidad de personas diversas que forma parte del movimiento transnacional Emaús a través del análisis de los procesos comunicativos y discursivos. Este estudio responde a un interés sociolingüístico por las organizaciones sociales transnacionales y por la estructura social comunitaria que caracteriza a Emaús. Forma parte de un proyecto de investigación financiado por el Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (HUM 2010-26964) y dirigido por la Dra. Melissa G. Moyer, del Departamento de Filología Inglesa de la UAB.

Las preguntas de investigación que se formulan son:
- ¿Cuál es el papel de las lenguas de contacto internacional, como el inglés y el francés, así como de los discursos transnacionales, como el reciclaje y la justicia social, en el mantenimiento de conexiones con otros grupos transnacionales?
- ¿Cómo se posiciona la comunidad Emaús estudiada en el contexto socioeconómico actual? ¿Qué recursos materiales y simbólicos ofrece en el marco asociativo local?
- ¿Qué elementos unen a las personas que forman parte de la red social de Emaús? ¿Cómo se gestiona la diversidad lingüística, cultural, religiosa y generacional en una comunidad de personas con trayectorias de vida diversas?
- ¿Cómo son las prácticas comunicativas y las ideologías lingüísticas en las actividades diarias de esta organización no gubernamental?

Ejecución
Para la realización de este estudio se utilizará una metodología cualitativa, que requiere hacer trabajo de campo etnográfico. Para poder contestar las preguntas formuladas, es necesario recoger diferentes tipos de datos:
- Observaciones en diferentes contextos y eventos sociocomunicativos que pertenecen al grupo Emaús estudiado, como por ejemplo el rastro, la cocina, las reuniones de voluntarios y eventos públicos.
- Entrevistas semiestructuradas con diferentes personas que forman parte de la red social de Emaús, tanto miembros de la comunidad como voluntarios y empleados.
- Grabaciones de interacciones lingüísticas en diferentes espacios comunicativos.
- Documentos publicados sobre la comunidad Emaús local y sobre el movimiento Emaús.
- Documentos institucionales producidos por Emaús.
- Fotografías generales de los espacios físicos siempre preservando el anonimato de las personas que participan en el estudio.

Compromiso ético
Nos comprometemos a proteger el anonimato de todas las personas que participan en este estudio. La investigadora principal pedirá consentimiento formal antes de realizar cualquier tipo de grabación o hacer fotografías. Los participantes que deseen más información sobre el estudio pueden contactar con las personas responsables de esta investigación (ver a continuación). La metodología de este proyecto de investigación ha sido revisada por el Comité de Ética de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Contacto
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Dra. Melissa Moyer (melissa.moyer@uab.cat), directora del grupo de investigación
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PhD Dissertation about Social Diversity, Transnational Discourses and Communicative Practices in Emmaus

Goals of the study

This PhD research explores how a community of diverse people which forms part of the Emmaus transnational movement is organized and is managed through the analysis of communicative and discursive processes. This study stems from a sociolinguistic interest on transnational social organizations and the communitarian structure that characterises Emmaus. It forms part of a larger research project funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (HUM 2010-26964) and directed by Dr. Melissa G. Moyer, from the English Department at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

The research questions formulated are the following:

- What is the role of international linguae francae, such as English and French, as well as transnational discourses, such as environmentalism and social justice, in the maintenance of links with other transnational groups?
- How does the studied Emmaus group position itself in the current socioeconomic context? What material and symbolic resources does it offer acess to in the local NGO landscape?
- What elements bring together the people who form part of the Emmaus social network? In what ways is linguistic, cultural, religious and generational diversity managed in a local community of people with different life trajectories?
- What are the linguistic practices and ideologies found in the daily activities of this NGO?

Implementation

For the implementation of this study, the researcher will use a qualitative methodology which requires ethnographic fieldwork. In order to answer the research questions above, it is necessary to collect different types of data:

- Observations in different contexts and sociocommunicative events which are connected to the Emmaus group studied, such as the second-hand shop, community meetings and deliveries.
- Semi-structured interviews with different people who form part of the Emmaus social network, including community members, volunteers and employees.
- Recordings of linguistic interactions in the different sociocommunicative spaces.
- Publications about the local Emmaus community and about the larger Emmaus movement.
- Institutional documents produced by Emmaus.
- General photographs of the physical spaces, as long as they preserve the participants' anonymity.

Ethical commitment

We commit to preserving the anonymity of all the people who participate in this study. The main researcher will ask for formal consent before recording any interactions or taking any photographs. The participants who require further information about the study can contact the people in charge of this research (see below). The methodology for this research project has been approved by the Ethics Committee at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Contact

Maria Rosa Garrido (mariarosa.garrido@uab.cat), main researcher, tel: XXXXXXXXX

Dr. Eva Codó (eva.codo@uab.cat), thesis supervisor, tel: XX XXXXXXX
Dr. Melissa Moyer (melissa.moyer@uab.cat), leader of research team *Comunicación Intercultural y Estrategias de Negociación*, tel: XX XXXXXXX

Audio-recorded informed consent model

Catalan

Em dic Maria Rosa Garrido i vinc de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Estic fent un estudi sobre com es comunica un grup de persones diverses que tenen trajectòries de vida diferents i que parlen diferents llengües. M'agradaria fer-te unes preguntes sobre la teva trajectòria transnacional, sobre la teva relació amb Emmaús, i sobre la teva vida diària a *(municipi)*.

Tota la informació que em donis és anònima (no apareixerà mai el teu nom en les publicacions) i la faré servir només per fer recerca dins l'àmbit acadèmic. Les altres persones que participen en l'estudi no tenen accés a aquestes dades confidencials.

La teva participació en l'estudi sobre Emmaús és voluntària i pots retirar-te en qualsevol moment sense donar explicacions. També pots demanar-me de parar la gravadora o pots decidir no respondre alguna pregunta de què no vulguis parlar.

En el full informatiu sobre aquest estudi tens les meves dades de contacte i les de la meva directora de tesi. Ens pots preguntar el que vulguis sobre l'estudi en qualsevol moment.

Bé, em dones el teu permís per fer-te unes preguntes sobre la teva trajectòria i la teva experiència a Emaús? Puc enregistrar l'entrevista en àudio?

Spanish

Me llamo Maria Rosa Garrido y vengo de la Universidad Autònoma de Barcelona. Estoy haciendo un estudio sobre cómo se comunica un grupo de personas diversas que tienen trayectorias de vida distintas y que hablan diferentes lenguas. Me gustaría hacerte unas preguntas sobre tu trayectoria transnacional, sobre tu relación con Emaús y sobre tu vida diaria en *(municipio)*.

Toda la información que me proporciones será anónima (no aparecerá nunca tu nombre en las publicaciones) y sólo la utilizaré para hacer investigación en el ámbito académico. Las otras personas que participan en el estudio no tendrán acceso a estos datos confidenciales.

Tu participación en el estudio sobre Emaús es voluntaria y puedes retirarte en cualquier momento sin dar explicaciones. También puedes pedirme que pare la grabadora o puedes decidir no responder alguna pregunta de la que no quieras hablar.

En la hoja informativa sobre este estudio tienes mis datos de contacto y las de mi directora de tesis. Nos puedes preguntar lo que quieras sobre el estudio en cualquier momento.

Bueno, ¿me das permiso para hacerte unas preguntas sobre tu trayectoria y tu experiencia en Emaús? ¿Puedo grabar la entrevista en audio?

English

My name is Maria Rosa Garrido and I come from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. I am carrying out a study about how a group of diverse people with different life experiences and who speak different languages communicate. I would like to ask you some questions about your transnational trajectory, your relationship with Emmaus and finally, your everyday life in *(town/city)*.

All the information which you give me will be anonymous (your name will not appear in any publications) and I will only use it for research purposes in the academic context. The other participants in my study will not have access to these confidential data.

Your participation in the study about Emmaus is voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time without giving any reasons. You can also ask me to stop the recorder or you can decide not to answer a question that you do not want to talk about.

In the information sheet, you have my contact details and those of my thesis supervisor.

You can ask us anything you want to know about the study at any time.

Well, do you give me permission to ask you some questions about your trajectory and your experience at Emmaus? Can I audiorecord the interview?

Consentiment per fer de subjecte de recerca
Tesi doctoral sobre la diversitat social, els discursos transnacionals i les pràctiques comunicatives a Emmaús
Projecte HUM 2010-26964

Maria Rosa Garrido és personal investigador en formació al Departament de Filologia Anglesa i de Germanística de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Està en procés d'elaboració d'una tesi doctoral sobre la comunicació institucional i la gestió de la diversitat en una comunitat d'acollida que forma part del moviment transnacional de solidaritat Emmaús. Aquest estudi té una durada prevista d'un any (fins setembre de 2012).

La tasca de recerca principal de Maria Rosa Garrido consisteix a estar present en les interaccions entre les persones que viuen, que treballen i que col·laboren en els diferents espais comunicatius del grup local d'Emmaús. Una segona tasca consistirà en gravar en àudio algunes d'aquestes interaccions. Així mateix, en alguns casos es demanarà realitzar una entrevista d'aproximadament una hora, que també serà enregistrada amb el consentiment del participant. La investigadora també demanarà de fer fotografies generals dels espais físics sempre preservant l'anonimat de les persones que participen en l'estudi.

En tot moment es mantindrà el seu anonimat com a participant en aquest estudi sobre Emmaús. El seu nom no apareixerà en cap de les publicacions derivades d'aquesta recerca i els documents es mantindran confidencials segons el codi ètic de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

La seva participació en aquest estudi és voluntària. No ha de participar-hi si no ho vol, ni ha de contestar preguntes que no vulgui contestar. També pot abandonar l'estudi en qualsevol moment sense que això tingui cap conseqüència per a vostè. A més a més, pot sol·licitar més informació sobre aquesta recerca en qualsevol moment si ho desitja.

Maria Rosa Garrido li ha explicat en què consisteix l'estudi i ha contestat les seves preguntes. Si té cap altre dubte o necessita informar-se sobre qualsevol altre tema relacionat amb aquesta recerca, pot contactar amb la investigadora en els següents telèfons o adreça electrònica:

Maria Rosa Garrido   mariarosa.garrido@uab.cat   Tel: 93 XXXXXXX

També pot contactar amb la Dra. Eva Codó, directora de la tesi (eva.codo@uab.cat), o la Dra. Melissa Moyer, directora del grup de recerca Comunicació Intercultural i Estratègies de Negociació (melissa.moyer@uab.cat).

Ha rebut una còpia d'aquest formulari de consentiment per a vostè.

Està d'acord a participar en aquest estudi.

_____
Nom del subjecte   Signatura del subjecte   Data

_____
Signatura investigadora   Data

Consentimiento para hacer de sujeto de investigación
Tesis doctoral sobre la diversidad social, los discursos transnacionales y las prácticas comunicativas en Emaús
Proyecto HUM 2010-26964

Maria Rosa Garrido es personal investigador en formación del Departamento de Filología Inglesa y Germanística de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Está en proceso de elaboración de una tesis doctoral sobre la comunicación institucional y la gestión de la diversidad en una comunidad de acogida que forma parte del movimiento transnacional de solidaridad Emaús. Este estudio tiene una duración prevista de un año (hasta septiembre 2012).

La labor de investigación de Maria Rosa Garrido consiste en estar presente en las interacciones entre las personas que viven, trabajan y colaboran en los diferentes espacios comunicativos del grupo local de Emaús. Una segunda labor consistirá en grabar en audio algunas de estas interacciones. Asimismo, en algunos casos, se pedirá realizar una entrevista de aproximadamente una hora, que también será grabada con el consentimiento del participante. La investigadora también pedirá permiso para hacer fotografías generales de los espacios físicos siempre preservando el anonimato de las personas que participan en el estudio.

En todo momento, se mantendrá su anonimato como participante en este estudio sobre Emaús. Su nombre no aparecerá en ninguno de las publicaciones derivadas de esta investigación y los documentos se mantendrán confidenciales según el código ético de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. No tiene que participar si no quiere, ni contestar preguntas que no quiera contestar. También puede abandonar el estudio en cualquier momento sin que esto tenga consecuencias para usted. Además, puede solicitar más información sobre esta investigación en cualquier momento si lo desea.

Maria Rosa Garrido le ha explicado en qué consiste el estudio y ha contestado sus preguntas. Si tiene cualquier otra duda o necesita informarse sobre cualquier otro tema relacionado con esta investigación, puede contactar con la investigadora en los siguientes teléfonos o por correo electrónico:

Maria Rosa Garrido   mariarosa.garrido@uab.cat   Tel: 93 XXXXXXX

También puede contactar con la Dra. Eva Codó, directora de la tesis (eva.codo@uab.cat), o la Dra. Melissa Moyer, directora del grupo de investigación Comunicación Intercultural y Estrategias de Negociación (melissa.moyer@uab.cat).

Ha recibido copia de este formulario de consentimiento para usted.

Está de acuerdo en participar en este estudio.

_____

Nombre del sujeto   Firma del sujeto   Fecha

_____

Firma investigadora   Fecha

Consent form to be a research subject
PhD Dissertation about Social Diversity, Transnational Discourses and Communicative Practices in Emmaus
HUM 2010-26964 Project

Maria Rosa Garrido is a research assistant at the Departament de Filologia Anglesa i de Germanística (English and German Department) at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. She is completing her PhD on institutional communication and the management of diversity in a local community that belongs to the Emmaus international solidarity movement. This study has an estimated duration of a year (up to September 2012).

Maria Rosa Garrido's main research tasks consists in being present in the interactions among the people who live, work and collaborate in the different sociocommunicative spaces at the Emmaus local group. A second research task will consist in audiorecording some of these interactions. Besides, she will request a one-hour interview with some participants, which will also be recorded with the participant's informed consent. The researcher will also ask for permission from the participants to take general photographs of the physical spaces, as long as they preserve the participants' anonymity.

Your anonymity as a participant in this study about Emmaus will be maintained at all times. Your name will not appear in any of the publications which will come out of this research and the documents will be kept confidential according to the ethics code of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to participate if you don't want to or answer any questions which you do not want to answer. You can also abandon the study at any time without any consequences for you. Besides, you can require further information on this study at any time if you wish.

Maria Rosa Garrido has explained to you what the study is about and has answered your questions. If you have any doubts or need more information about any other research-related topic, please contact the researcher by phone or by email:

Maria Rosa Garrido   mariarosa.garrido@uab.cat   Tel: (+34) XXXXXXXXX

You can also contact Dr. Eva Codó, her thesis supervisor (eva.codo@uab.cat), or Dr. Melissa G. Moyer, leader of the research team *Comunicación Intercultural y Estrategias de Negociación* (melissa.moyer@uab.cat).

You have received a copy of this form.

You agree to participate in this study.

_____

Subject's name   Subject's signature   Date

_____

Researcher's signature   Date