Narratives of "Welcome Culture"

The Cultural Politics of Voluntary Aid for Refugees

This article discusses how narratives were used by volunteers providing humanitarian aid to refugees in the migratory movements of 2015. It draws on an ethnographic and discourse-analytic study of humanitarian activities that started at the railway station of a medium-sized German town in September 2015.[1] Tens of thousands of refugees passed through the station between September and December 2015 and were provided with food, clothing, information, and accommodation by a self-organized network of volunteers collaborating with the authorities.

I argue that the volunteers used different kinds of narratives during the event to advance and establish their views on the migration movement and voluntary work with refugees. Moreover, a collective narrative in terms of a cognitive structure evolved that shaped the volunteers' self-image and their view of the local and public authorities. This narrative was employed by the volunteers on different occasions when interacting with authorities and other audiences.

In a first step, I outline my field of research and the political dimensions of self-organized voluntary work with refugees. Subsequently, I explain how the civic engagement developed during the sometimes conflictual relationship between the

NARRATIVE CULTURE, VOL. 6, NO. 1, SPRING 2019, PP. 19–43.

volunteers and the authorities. After defining my understanding of narrative, I argue that the volunteers created a collective action frame and, in doing so, used different kinds of narrative as rhetoric devices. Furthermore, I illustrate how a collective narrative of the civic engagement developed during the event.[2]

"Welcome!" Voluntary Work with Refugees in the Migratory Movements of 2015

In 2015, when the European border regime was put under pressure by migratory movements, civic support for refugees took various forms, from protest marches and privately organized transport to the basic provision of food, clothing, and accommodation (Della Porta). Humanitarian aid for refugees at this railway station and many places throughout Europe was basically provided by volunteers and civic solidarity networks. According to a survey undertaken by the Social Scientific Institute of the Protestant Churches in Germany (Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland), more than 10 percent of people above the age of fourteen were involved in such activities at the end of October (Ahrens; cited in Karakayali and Kleist 7). Some scholars call this event "the summer of welcome" (Karakayali and Kleist), given the vast civic engagement and large numbers of volunteers involved.

The key role played by civic engagement in the state's provision of assistance for refugees was emphasized and subjected to critique following the migratory movements of 2015. The issue of the "neoliberal instrumentalization and appropriation of humanitarian aid" (Steinhilper and Fleischmann 67) for refugees by the state was raised. According to recent studies, most services provided to refugees in the more recent migratory movements to Europe were delivered by volunteers. The devolvement of humanitarian provision to volunteers has been seen as part of a comprehensive change in the welfare state toward one that activates rather than acts, in which the "the community-as-resource" is deliberately deployed, even while there is a simultaneous "underfunding of public infrastructure and administration" (Van Dyk and Misbach 209). According to this view, state benefits (welfare payments) are "outsourced" to an unpaid voluntary sector as part of neoliberal welfare policy (Pinl). Recent studies have come to various conclusions regarding the transformation in volunteer motivations and practices. Some indicate that many currently active volunteers define their work in emphatically political terms,

choosing political forms of action and therefore have to be conceived as a new kind of social or citizen movement (see Schiffauer). By contrast, others suggest that the spread of civic engagement brought with it a rather depoliticized understanding among volunteers of what they were doing (see Aumüller, Daphi, and Biesenkamp; Daphi; Hamann and Karakayali; Hamann et al.; Misbach; Mutz et al.; Speth and Becker). Elias Steinhilper and Larissa Fleischmann argue that a new "humanitarian dispositif of helping" has emerged (Steinhilper and Fleischmann), since the civic engagement for refugees involved more and more committed citizens beyond those "faith-based circles of left activist networks" (ibid.) who shaped engagement in previous years. According to them, this new dispositif "consists of an ensemble of sense-making processes that evolve around the claim to provide ('apolitical') help to people in need and are accompanied by an impetus to relieve human suffering" (Steinhilper and Fleischmann 20).

Local Negotiations of Welcome Culture between Volunteers and Authorities

The volunteers at the main station of Middletown[3] played an important role within the provision of humanitarian aid for refugees from the beginning. The initial point of the event was a breakdown of the local public transport system in September 2015, which interrupted the travel of more than 100 refugees on their way to neighboring countries. The authorities had canceled all departing trains on this day, so the newly arrived refugees were compelled to spend the following night at the station. Within hours, news of this, together with photographs of people sleeping on the concourse floor, had spread throughout social media, such as Facebook. Soon, a large number of helpers gathered to provide the refugees with food and clothing.

The volunteers occupied and appropriated the railway station for their own purposes from the first days of the event and converted it into a space of humanitarian aid. They reconstructed the entrance hall by equipping it with furniture and different signs and symbols. They carried out these changes initially without any official approval from the German railway company "Deutsche Bahn." In addition to converting the entrance hall, the volunteers built a well-stocked clothing chamber, filled with donations from local people and private companies, in an empty storeroom adjacent to the hall. Over the subsequent days and weeks, volunteers set up a comprehensive humanitarian aid infrastructure that was self-organized

and received donations from the local community and local entrepreneurs. Their assistance consisted principally of providing refugees with clothing, food, information, accommodation, and even free train tickets. To maintain their self-organized infrastructure, the volunteers divided into different teams, each of which had different tasks, such as providing information to the refugees, running the kitchen and the clothes chamber, or organizing and coordinating the various work processes. Over a period of months, the railway station became a place of almost continuous social interaction for the volunteers. For the refugees, it generally remained a place of transit: they arrived in an exhausted state and used the location for just a few hours to sleep and get clothing, food, and information for their onward journey, while waiting for a connecting train.

Some authority employees confirmed to me that they had been initially surprised by the extent and speed of the volunteer engagement. At first, they felt only partially responsible, since the arrival and temporal stay of the refugees was not classified officially as a humanitarian case of emergency or a security problem. They started collaborating with volunteers during the event by providing some equipment and electricity. The fire brigade and the German Red Cross, together with the municipality, provided accommodation, transport, and hot meals for those refugees who arrived late and had to stay for the night in Middletown. The police usually monitored the event within and in front of the station.

The relationship between the volunteers and the authority employees relaxed soon after the event began, even though both sides perceived and interpreted their relationship with each other ambivalently. On one hand, the volunteers called repeatedly for support from the authorities. On the other hand, they insisted on maintaining their self-organized humanitarian aid. The authority, in turn, perceived some of the activities taking place at the station rather skeptically. As far as I could understand from the data available to me, they welcomed the volunteers' activities as a relevant resource, as they could acquire a much higher amount of donations, or as a positive and relaxing effect on the refugees' mental condition. In fact, I had the impression that a "liminal" situation (Turner) had evolved in the first few weeks of the activities around the station, in which in some of the participants' certainties (i.e. daily routines), their perception of authorities up to political power relations were questioned and to some extent had become an object of negotiation. Within the relationship between authorities and volunteers, the latter could partially and temporarily gain the position of a broad scope of action. Consequently, some of the volunteers used their existing social and cultural capital (Bourdieu) and their

social reputation and prestige, which they had gained by previous official political functions, among other ways. Those volunteers could achieve an exposed and somehow "charismatic" position during the event by making use of these resources. Most of these charismatic volunteers were part of the team that, among other things, was responsible for communicating with the authorities and moderating the volunteers' Facebook page.[4]

Narratives were involved in this process on various levels. Using narratives, the volunteers created a "collective action frame" (Benford and Snow), which suggested certain views on the civic engagement. Narratives helped the volunteers empower themselves on a symbolic-discursive level and strengthen their collective identity. Furthermore, they employed narratives as rhetoric devices during their negotiations with authorities.

What Does *Narrative* Mean?

Before exemplifying the different forms and functions of narrative, what the term *narrative* actually means needs to be clarified. The interdisciplinary state of research and the variety of theoretical concepts of narrative seem to be comprehensive and sometimes confusing. This is so because narrative inquiries range from the analysis of literary narratives, such as novels, to the study of the political meaning of grand historical narratives, such as "the nation," to the sociological and ethnological examination of narrative as a form of everyday communication. Because of this multitude of approaches, I only draw on those concepts linked to my object of research in the following. Therefore, as a first step, I outline a minimal definition of *narrative*. Second, I draw on a sociolinguistic concept of narrative, and finally, I use the vast state of research on narrative as a framing device of political grassroots activism and social movements.

MINIMAL DEFINITIONS OF *NARRATIVE*

The following minimal definitions of *narrative* seem to be quite consensual and are used comprehensively by different disciplines. Narrative is a linguistic-discursive form of representation of the social world. According to the influential and manifoldly quoted definition of Gerard Genette, narrative is understood "as the representation of an event or a series of events" (Genette 127; cited in Ryan). Abbott

sees the event as an essential element of narrative that distinguishes it from other linguistic forms of representation, such as "description," "exposition," "argument," or "lyric" (Abbott 13). Referring to Maines, Davis argues that narratives consist of at least "three irreducible elements: events, sequence, and plot," and that narrative explanation works through "emplotment" (Davis 11f.). Furthermore, narratives have human or human-like characters (Polletta et al. 111). The narrative's particular events are ordered into a meaningful sequence that includes only those events that are meaningful to the narrator. According to Polletta and colleagues, narrated events are brought into a causal relationship, whereas the causal links are determined by the plot of the story (Polletta et al. 111). Davis argues that "to understand an event, even to explain what caused the event, is to locate it within the temporal and relational sequence of a story, linking it with both previous and subsequent events over time" (Davis 12). According to Shenhav, narrative discourse is distinguished from other forms of discourse by its temporal sequence. He refers to Labov's definition of minimal narrative "as a sequence of two clauses which are *temporally ordered*: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation" (Labov 226; cited in Shenhav 80).

SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND PRAGMATIC DEFINITIONS: EVERYDAY NARRATIVES OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

In addition to these general and minimal concepts of narrative, I employ sociological and ethnological definitions that refer to the sociolinguistic theory of oral narrative of personal experience developed by William Labov and Joshua Waletzky. An analysis of everyday and biographic storytelling referring to the work of Labov and Waletzky, as well as to German functional pragmatics (see Ehlich and Rehbein; Rehbein 1980), has developed particularly in German folklore studies (Volkskunde) and European ethnology as an influential approach of narrative inquiry (see Groth; Lehmann; Meyer; Michel). According to this approach, narrative is defined as a specific type of linguistic action that can be distinguished from other types, such as reporting or portraying, by its structural organization, linguistic means, and social purpose (see Rehbein 1984). Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann argue that the most general characteristic of narrative is the representation of temporal change by sentences brought into a linear order (see Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 21). The structural center of narrative is a represented event that causes temporal change. Narrators usually present this change as an unexpected and extraordinary

incident that interrupts the normal course of things and, in doing so, can excite the audience (ibid. 22).

A narrative is basically structured in different sections or elements. As an idealized form, it begins with an "abstract," which consists of a brief summary of the story. It is followed by the "orientation," which orients the listener regarding the main characters of the story, place, and time. The subsequent section is the "complication" or "complicating action," which consists of the actual events of the narrative and is often presented as a dialogue between the main characters. Another important element of narrative is the "evaluation," the actual reason the narrative is told. It can be followed by the "resolution," which is the narrative's conclusion. Finally, there may be a "coda," where the narrator makes explicit the narrative's normative point. The coda is, so to speak, the moral of the story, which can be generalized beyond the narrated event.

Narrative can be employed as a type of linguistic action to achieve different social goals. According to functional pragmatics, its main purpose is to create a shared view of the social world (Ehlich 382). Narrative is an effective device for persuading the listener to adapt the narrator's point of view as presented in the story due to its elements and linguistic means. The narrative's structure and means are particularly effective to navigate listeners' attention and to involve them emotionally in the narrated event. Schwitalla argues that the narrative construction of a shared view of the social world aims at creating a relationship based on solidarity between the narrator and the listening audience (Schwitalla 111). The mutual assurance of narrator and listener thereby fosters the creation of a collective social identity. Furthermore, narrative can have an effect on the narrator's personal identity, as it involves them emotionally in the linguistic reproduction of the incident (Rehbein 1980, 84) and lets them undergo it once more. In doing so, it enables the narrator to reflect and reassess the event or, in the case of hurtful experiences, overcome it emotionally (e.g., Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 149; Rehbein 1980, 79).

NARRATIVE AND FRAMING AS A PRACTICE OF POLITICAL GRASSROOTS ACTIVISM

Further research on narrative as a social practice, which is of importance for my analysis, derives from the area of social movement studies, which has examined narrative since about the 1980s. From the stance of social constructivism and referring to the work of Erving Goffman, narrative was conceptualized and analyzed as

"signifying work" and "meaning construction" (Benford and Snow 613) or as "politics of signification" (Hall 1982). Furthermore, scrutinizing narrative as a cultural practice of social movements was fostered by the insight that the action repertoire of social movements also comprises the construction of "shared meanings" and interpretations (Davis 7).

Scholars of narrative in the area of social movement studies also draw basically on the sociolinguistic concept of Labov and Waletzky (Polletta and Chen 8; Polletta et al.). Davis emphasizes the capacity of narrative as a device of social movements to create relationships between the narrator and the audience. Because of this capacity, it enables the generation of solidarity and the formation of social movements as a collective actor. Salman and Assis point out that storytelling as a practice of political activism contributes to the construction of social movements as "memory communities" (Salman and Assis), because they actualize their own history and memory, and their remembrance of political successes, mistakes, and defeats. Thus, narrative presentation of previous political events is part of an ongoing learning process among political activists that has an impact on their views, values, and subjectivities and therefore on their future strategies, political positions, and alliances (Wahlström).

The social movement studies' approach to narrative inquiry is particularly linked to the analysis of "collective action frames" (Benford and Snow). Social movements are understood from this perspective as "dynamic collective actors" (Vicari 506) or "signifying agents" who produce and maintain meaning (Benford and Snow 613). Following Erving Goffman, signifying work is defined as "framing" in terms of a (sometimes contentious) practice of constructing reality (Benford and Snow 614). Frames are conceptualized as "schemata of interpretation" that enable people "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" occurrences within their life space and the world at large (Goffman 21). Benford and Snow adapt Goffman's approach to social movement studies by introducing the concept of "collective action frames," defined as "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization" (Benford and Snow 614). Collective action frames are conceived of as a strategy of social movements to convince potential followers of their ideas and to mobilize them (Gupta 152). They usually consist of "diagnostic," "prognostic," and "motivational" components (Polletta and Chen; Snow and Benford).

Effective and persuasive frames very often draw on already existing and popular beliefs and ideas or "discursive opportunity structures" (Koopmans and Statham).

They resonate with "people's everyday experiences" and their perceived reality. Considering this and following the Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony (Gramsci), the terrain on which social movements act by designing and using collective action frames can be conceived of as "common sense" that consists of the self-evident and normal-appearing interpretations of the social world. According to Gramsci, Stuart Hall, and Alan O'Shea (among others), in capitalist societies, common sense is the central terrain on which political conflicts—that is, disputes about governance, participation, and exclusion or about the organization of production and the distribution of goods—take place between civil society and the state and institutional actors. Thus, it is the arena where cultural hegemony is reproduced and contested because its attainment and maintenance is based fundamentally on enforcing and establishing one's political ideas and views of the social world as self-evident and normal-appearing everyday perspectives.[5] Operating within the realm of common sense, collective action frames also accord with "familiar stories, myths, and folktales" and "cultural narratives" (Polletta and Chen 4; Snow and Benford 210). Therefore, Polletta and Chen see narratives as "powerfully persuasive devices" with which activists aim at changing people's opinions (Polletta and Chen 1).

Narratives as Framing Devices of "Welcome Culture"

How did the volunteers use narrative during their engagement at the railway station—intentionally or without a strategic goal? The engagement was shaped by a variety of discursive-symbolic practices, such as equipping the entrance hall with signs, symbols, and even paintings, and media activities. The local press reported on the voluntary activities in numerous articles and featured individual volunteers in biographical portraits, including photographs and reports on TV. The volunteers did their own reporting as well. A small group of local activists had already set up a Facebook page prior to the events at the station because of increasing movements of migrants through the town and announcements of demonstrations by extreme right-wing groups. This page became the volunteers' main medium during their activities and attracted thousands of "likes" by December 2015.[6] The volunteers used the Facebook page to gather donations, for which purpose they posted a list of needs at the start of the page, which was regularly updated and via which donors could obtain information. They also aimed at generating publicity and rendering the volunteers' activities visible by posting short reports on their engagement, photographs

taken of one another, media articles, and YouTube clips produced by the media or a local filming group. Furthermore, they used the Facebook page to make political demands of the authority, criticize governmental migration politics, or send out calls for solidarity with refugees and action against right-wing extremism.

The activities on the volunteers' Facebook page can be understood as signifying work by which they contributed to the collective action frame that emerged during the event. The volunteers worked on a certain self-image by creating this frame: they aimed at legitimizing their engagement and attempted to mobilize donors and supporters. By doing so, they worked on their collective identity as "the volunteers from the station." In addition to other discursive and symbolic forms, the engagement's collective action frame created on their Facebook page consisted of different types of narrative. I concentrate on two different types in the following: links to narratives of popular culture and narratives of personal experiences.

LINKING VOLUNTARY WORK WITH REFUGEES TO NARRATIVES OF POPULAR CULTURE

The volunteers published a short post in the middle of September. In it, they linked a short text to a photograph taken from the entrance door of the railway company's service center in the entrance hall of the station. Someone had pasted up an even bigger sticker below the label of the railway company, Deutsche Bahn, showing the volunteers' logo. They commented on the picture as follows:

> Another day slowly recedes into night, and yet everyone down at the main train station is still busily occupied. The atmosphere is so intense that there is little desire to return home. Not only the crews at the clothing store, caterers and chemists, interpreters, infrastructure and coordination administrators, but also the Malteser assistant services, DRK [German Red Cross], voluntary fire services, the federal police force, the German rail security, taxi drivers and bus drivers, cleaning services, professional fire brigade, our reliable and engaged contact persons from the administration and, no less, the station personnel, all form something like one big family, a familiar village, an oasis of hospitality.
>
> The year is 2015 A.D. All Europe is hemmed in by borders . . . All Europe? Well, not entirely . . . The indomitable village of Middletown still holds out against inhumanity.

In this passage, the author initially presents the situation at the station from the view of someone standing in the middle of the entrance hall, describing the events as they are happening. In doing so, she rhetorically reduces the distance between the volunteers and the audience and virtually places them in the entrance hall. Furthermore, the author does not present the events from the distanced and uninvolved position of a reporter but describes them very emotionally. She emphasizes the emotional gravity of the atmosphere that keeps her and the participants from going home. Furthermore, she cheers the solidarity among the different participants, whom she defines as "family," "village," and a "hospitable oasis." She performs rhetorically and therefore reinforces the emotional involvement of the voluntary aid for refugees as described by other scholars as a major characteristic and motivation of the civic engagement during the migratory movements of 2015 (Kleres; see also Sutter).

The text ends with a passage that is marked as a citation. This passage is an adaption of a quotation from the popular comic books *Asterix and Obelix*, which starts every episode with the following sentence:

> The year is 50 B.C. Gaul is entirely occupied by the Romans. Well, not entirely . . . One small village of indomitable Gauls still holds out against the invaders.[7]

By quoting the comic series in this post, the author links the volunteers' engagement to the usually cheerful residents of the small village in ancient Gaul, who resist the occupation of the Roman Empire successfully thanks to a magic potion. Referring to the comic's popular narrative, the volunteers stylize themselves as small but strong defenders of freedom against the "cruel" closure of Europe's borders.

In addition, the volunteers posted a short video clip on the 100th day of their engagement at the station; this was an adaptation of the starting sequence of the movie series *Star Wars*. Playing the movie's famous and emotive soundtrack, the volunteers' logo appears in outer space like a space shuttle vanishing into the distance only seconds later, followed by a text passage that flies onto the screen. The text in the original starting sequence of *Star Wars* at the beginning of every new episode explains the series' initial plot to the audience, which is the heroic struggle of rebels against the "dark side of the Force" and the "Galactic Empire." The text passage in the volunteers' video, referring stylistically to this narrative, goes as follows:

> One hundred days—of raging war, poverty and hardship. There is an ongoing exodus of sixty million people worldwide, and many turn away and refuse them help: these are dark days for humanity. However, we witness everywhere volunteers coming together in a struggle for humanity. To resist these dark forces, Middletown has also erected a base at the train station. Thanks to the support of the local population, for the last 100 days it has been possible to provide a daily average of hundreds of refugees with warm clothing, food, medical aid, advice and translation services. It is through actions such as these that a small contribution can be made to the grand network of solidarity that helps refugees achieve a semblance of dignity and hope—and, thus, hopefully, makes the world a place worth living in . . . Many thanks must go to all those who have supported us over the last 100 days! And greetings and solidarity, too, to those many advocates of greater humanity throughout Europe. May the force be with you!

The author again links the volunteers' activities to a famous narrative of popular culture that tells about the apparently desperate struggle of a small group of insurgents against an evil and allegedly superior opponent. At the same time, she addresses the volunteers' donors as members of the "vast network of solidarity" that aims at struggling for "humanity." By doing so, both references to popular culture employ the subjacent myth of David against Goliath, which is deep-rooted in Western Christian ideology. The way the authors of these texts refer to narratives of popular culture is also striking by the fact that they do not cite or copy them extensively. Instead, they suggest the reference by only quoting short but familiar sentences or copying a limited set of symbols. They refer to it not explicitly but in the way of an allusion, treating the story as already known by the audience. Polletta and Chen argue that this usage of stories might be especially effective because it requires the audience's "interpretive participation" and demands to work "to resolve ambiguities" (Polletta and Chen) and "to anticipate the normative conclusion" (ibid.). In selecting these popular narratives, the volunteers ensured that the effect was achieved among as many recipients as possible.

LINKING VOLUNTARY WORK WITH REFUGEES TO NARRATIVES OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Another article, posted in November 2015, was linked to photographs showing volunteers, female refugees, and children, and it started with an indicated reference

to the TV series *Game of Thrones*. The series tells the story of a medieval fantasy world, where humankind fears the coming years-long winter and, with it, the threat of being wiped out by an army of undead, led by the so-called white walkers: "Winter is coming!"

After the reference to the TV series, the article continues with a political statement criticizing the European migration regime and border politics as cold-hearted, demanding equal rights for refugees, and diagnosing a more comprehensive political climate change to the disfavor of refugees. It criticizes the opponents of refugees as cold-hearted, contrasting their political stance with an individualizing perspective on needy and grateful refugees. The article ends with the following passage:

> We hope, with our work, not only to assist the refugees, but to contribute to a greater understanding of their situation. We wish to express heartfelt thanks to the volunteers for making available the images of encounters at the train station listed above. The image below [Au note: the image showing the female refugees with their children] was provided by John with a big thank you to all volunteers.
>
> In John's words: "I established contact with this family from Iraq and managed to talk with them at some length. The father at the train station with two infants held in his arms caught my attention. On asking him for a photograph, he led me to his wife and sister-in-law in the clothing store: Twins suddenly became triplets. The infants are three-months old, and the family has been fleeing overland for the past 40 days. Their destination was the neighboring country. I sent the photographs to the family. On Saturday night, around 12.44, I received the following mail from the father: 'Hi John am karim we are naw in neighbouring country tomorrow i will send to you photo if u want.' Thank you to all those who made this possible."

In this passage, the author expresses the volunteers' goal not only to help the refugees but also to fuel empathy for their situation. After having thanked the volunteers for providing the photographs, the article highlights one particular picture, saying it was shot by John, who provided the picture to thank the volunteers for their commitment. The author then seems to quote the message John sent together with the picture. The quote contains the narrative presentation of John's encounter with a refugee family at the station. In the climax of the story, the encounter concludes with a happy ending, as John receives an email from the family's father telling him that all have arrived safely at their destination. John ends his message thanking "all

who made this possible" and therefore reveals his evaluation of the story. In this post, I argue, the narrative presentation is used to verify the moral rightness of the volunteers' engagement and their view of the refugees. Staging the information as a narrative of personal experience fosters the involvement of the audience emotionally and thus persuades them to adopt not only the author's view of the narrated situation but also his critique of the changing political and societal mood about refugees fleeing to Europe.

There are more posts of stories about the volunteers' personal experiences with refugees, often highlighting the latter's gratefulness, be it in a written form or a video clip showing volunteers talking about their engagement at the station. The post above was shared many times and viewers commented on it emotionally, for instance, using emojis or answering it with sentences such as, "I got goose bumps. Great description" or "I have tears in my eyes." These reactions may indicate the effectiveness of narratives as persuasive rhetorical devices of collective action frames. Due to its structure, emplotment, and linguistic means, narrative may be more likely than other forms of discursive representation to create an emotional relationship and solidarity between the author or the speaker and their audience (Davis).

The volunteers achieved a high degree of public resonance and recognition because of not only their commitment at the station but also the framing of their engagement in social media and media coverage. Local politicians visited the station to thank the volunteers and inform themselves. A regional newspaper honored the volunteers, based on a vote of its readers, as the most important social commitment of the year. Subsequently, some of the volunteers were invited to public discussions or as interview partners. They became temporarily involved in institutional committees and working groups as experts and activists.

Following Speth and Becker, among others, Fleischmann and Steinhilper argue that the "welcome culture" initiatives had an impact on debates on migration politics at the local level (see Steinhilper and Fleischmann). This was also evident regarding the volunteers from the station. Some were active as advocates of their commitment during the engagement even beyond the station and, by doing so, endeavored to disseminate their views on the engagement and related topics. Although they were far away from discursive hegemony, they could gain a visible and audible position as speakers in the local political and media discourse on migration. Combining political messages with the narrative presentation of personal experiences may have contributed to this achievement.

The Collective Narrative of the Voluntary Aid for Refugees at the Station

During my research, I came to the impression that in addition to these different forms of narratives as part of the media framing, another narrative had formed in the first few weeks of the event. This one worked more in terms of a cognitive structure that shaped the view of many volunteers on the chronology of their engagement. As such, it highlighted certain events and established some causal links between them. Following Michael Bamberg, this structure could be conceived of in terms of a "master narrative" or "dominant narrative." Accordingly, it is not a narrative in the true sense of the word, but is "structured like a narrative: It entails beginnings, middles, and ends; it follows a plot or storyline; and the characters in these plots are clearly defined as protagonists or antagonists regarding the values that connect into a coherent unit" (Bamberg 1300). Polletta et al. use the phrase "collective narrative" to denote "a collection of stories with similar themes told by group members" (Polletta et al. 84) that can appear as a common theme in different stories. Because it is shared by different members of a group, a collective narrative articulates and amplifies their collective identity. Although I take Bamberg's idea of the dominant narrative as a narrative-like cognitive structure rather than adhering to Polletta and colleagues' narrow concept of story that draws on Labov's definition, the phrase "collective narrative" seems to be more accurate to signify the volunteers' specific view of their commitment, which was revealed on different occasions.

As I would argue, the volunteers' collective narrative in terms of their specific discursive representation of the event's chronology also served as a framing device and was involved in collaborations and negotiations between civil society actors and authorities. First, it revealed this in the interviews that I conducted with the volunteers, who did not usually reproduce it in the same way but picked some of its elements and applied them to the presentation of their personal experiences and interpretation. I have reconstructed this collective narrative in my own words as follows:

> People, mobilized via Facebook, came to the station spontaneously with the feeling of being obliged to help. The gathering of the many different people at the station was a spontaneous assembly; you did not know most of the other people at the station before then. Arriving at the station, you were emotionally overwhelmed

> by the sight of not only the refugees but also the many volunteers and the wave of helpfulness. You had not expected that. In the beginning, the situation at the station was rather chaotic and confused. Mountains of clothing and food piled up everywhere. Thanks to the volunteers, an infrastructure developed in the first few days. At the beginning, the infrastructure was built mainly by the volunteers and was self-organized; the authorities were initially only slightly involved. It was only gradually that a very good cooperation developed between the volunteers and authorities. Now there is good cohesion among the different participants, almost like in a "family."

Focusing on the narrative's relevance concerning the relationship between volunteers and authorities, the following elements are of particular interest. First, it is of importance that many of the interviewees presented their participation in the engagement as a spontaneous and unplanned impulse. Consequently, the commitment was presented as action that was less based on political ideas or even existing political networks, but more on "common sense" or a self-evident attitude of "humanity." In her studies of narratives in the US civil rights movement, Francesca Polletta has shown how such a framing of political commitment as a spontaneous and unplanned act helped legitimize it regarding a public audience that, based on an anticommunist attitude, appeared suspicious of all organized political action. Staging the commitment at the station in this way established it not as an activity fueled by ideology but as the normal reaction to refugees in need.

Second, another important element of the collective narrative is the representation of the sequence of events as a development from a chaotic and messy situation to an ordered structure. Using this representation of the event, the volunteers emphasized their ability to organize themselves without professional support from the authorities. This image of the volunteers is fostered by another element of the collective narrative which says that the authorities did not participate in the construction of the infrastructure until the most extensive reconstruction work had already been carried out by the volunteers. The creation of such a self-image may have revealed and supported the volunteers' self-empowerment.

Third, the presentation of the event as a process toward a structured order culminating in a happy ending, which includes, among other things, the harmonious cooperation between volunteers and authorities as in a family, is relevant. In this plot, the collective actor of engagement is constituted as consisting of the volunteers and the authorities. This plot of the collective narrative structuring the volunteers'

view of the event may have ideologically supported their significant collaboration with the authorities.

The collective narrative, as reconstructed here, refers mainly to the first days of engagement. Those volunteers who applied the narrative's elements during the interview used them particularly when answering my question of how the civic engagement had begun for them personally. Following Jarret Zigon, the interviews may have shown the employment of narrative as a device in "the ethical process of attempting to regain moral comfort in the world by charitably negotiating moral breakdowns" (Zigon 205). Referring to Paul Ricoeur, he argues that narrative may help a person "constitute her very identity as a moral subject" (Zigon 207). Regarding the civic engagement taking place at the station, this may be so because especially the first days of the event, the hitherto unknown and emotional experience of engagement, the physical encounter with the refugees and the personal experience of the effects of global political crises, which are often perceived only by the media, may have had the character of a liminal situation, calling into question the apparent self-evident order of everyday life. The collective narrative of the engagement may have served as a rhetorical device for the symbolic-discursive and therefore ideological restoration of this order. It also suggests that a process of self-empowerment has arisen in this situation on the part of those who evolved as volunteers during the event. The development of the collective narrative may have contributed to this process as a cognitive structure shaping the volunteers' view of the event.

In addition to the interviews, I observed the volunteers' use of some of the narrative's elements in other situations. A few months after the peak of the engagement, some of them, all former members of the volunteer team in charge of organizing and coordinating the work processes and the volunteer Facebook page, met with a small delegation from a foreign migration authority. The delegation was on a tour to several cities in Germany for a few days to exchange information with authorities about cross-border migration management. On this occasion, the delegation met with civil society initiatives helping refugees obtain information on expected future migration flows and migration routes, among other reasons. The volunteers from the station, in turn, hoped that the meeting would help draw the authorities' attention to a number of issues they considered to be important and help them get useful information. After welcoming the official delegation in the volunteers' premises at the station, one of the volunteers began to present their commitment and concerns to them. He used a PowerPoint presentation to support his talk that consisted of images of past events, some of which were published in the media and

some of which were posted on the volunteers' Facebook page. His retrospective presentation was not identical to but to some extent characterized by the sequence of the collective narrative. In addition to the pictures and in accordance with this narrative, he emphasized that many of the volunteers did not know each other at the beginning of the engagement, that the whole political spectrum was represented, and that the volunteers could help faster and less bureaucratically than the authorities could. Unfortunately, I missed the chance to ask him directly about his intentions regarding the composition and usage of the presentation. Nevertheless, I would argue that he presented the engagement during the meeting along with the collective narrative not only to inform the delegation but also to empower the volunteers and thus to legitimize them as competent actors and interlocutors. He tried to gain the delegation's acceptance to establish a less hierarchical relationship in the following conversation.

On another occasion, I observed how the collective narrative contributed to the volunteers' memory work. One year after the start of their commitment, the volunteers organized a kind of anniversary celebration on the station's forecourt. The party was visited by many volunteers and by some of the staff from the municipality and other organizations who had been involved. Some of the volunteers had set up an exhibition in the entrance hall of the station and in the passageway to the tracks. The exhibition consisted of fifteen displays with more than 200 photos, many of which had already been published on Facebook. Copies of newspaper reports about the engagement were also on some of the displays. Although the displays did not conform identically to the sequence of the collective narrative, they contained many of its elements. For instance, one presented the beginning of the engagement as a chaotic situation, followed by three more displays showing orderly food and clothing items and smiling volunteers. Another motif on these displays is that of volunteers together with the staff of authorities smiling as their picture is taken. The following display finally showed the volunteers posing together as a group after being publicly honored for their commitment. In sum, with some exceptions, the exhibition gave the impression of the commitment at the station as a kind of "special event," culminating in a "happy ending." Following Salman and Assis, the exhibition can be interpreted as a contribution to the collective identity of the volunteers in the sense of a memory community. Employing the structure of the collective narrative within the exhibition, the volunteers worked here on their own history and memory. Regarding the collaboration between volunteers and authorities, its harmonizing visual presentation in the exhibition is particularly striking.

Conclusion

Drawing on an ethnographic and discourse-analytic study of an event of voluntary humanitarian aid for refugees at a railway station in a German town, I have shown how volunteers used different narratives during their commitment. I argued that a liminal situation arose in the first few weeks of the engagement at the station in which the volunteers were able to gain the position of a broadened scope of action.

Their repertoire of action included a variety of symbolic and discursive practices of the production of meaning and, thus, the use of narratives. The volunteers created a collective action frame on their Facebook page, among other things, during their engagement. In this context, they also used narratives to generalize and establish their views on the commitment at the station and on political issues related to migration politics. First, they presented themselves as a small resistance group in the fight against an evil and seemingly overpowering opponent by linking their self-image to popular cultural narratives. Second, they linked their political demands to emotional representations of engagement by publishing narratives of personal experience to evoke emotional reactions from their audience. I have argued that by doing so, the volunteers were involved in processes of local negotiation of discursive hegemony by attempting to establish their own views and interpretations of engagement as self-evident and normal-appearing views of common sense.

Furthermore, I argued that a collective narrative of the civic engagement in terms of a cognitive structure was established among the volunteers during the engagement that served as a framing device. In doing so, the collective narrative shaped the volunteers' view of the event, especially their self-image as volunteers. I have shown how the volunteers used this kind of narrative to legitimize themselves as equal interlocutors in a meeting with authorities. In addition, using the collective narrative as a structure for an exhibition, the volunteers worked on a specific self-image contributing to the creation of a memory community of not only the volunteers but also the employees of authorities. However, I could not always identify in my observations whether the narrative practices and other practices of the volunteers' repertoire of action were applied intentionally and strategically or rather out of unconscious routine and habit.

With this article, I attempt to strengthen an approach of narrative analysis as empirical cultural analysis by proposing to examine narratives as symbolic-discursive devices of political action from a perspective of praxeology. This is accompanied by an understanding of narratives as cultural micropolitics, which unfold in complex

interrelationships with macropolitical dynamics. In the case of my study, this means, among other things, considering that current civil society engagement is developing in connection with neoliberal modes of governance that transform the relationship between the state on one hand and individuals on the other, thereby invoking them as self-responsible citizens. How these complex interrelationships can be comprehended in terms of structures, methodically and theoretically, without simply taking them for granted would have to be further elaborated.

Ove Sutter is Assistant Professor and head of the Section for Cultural Anthropology and Folklore Studies (Volkskunde) at the Department of Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Bonn (Germany). He holds a master's degree in cultural anthropology and folklore studies with a minor in German language and literature from the University of Hamburg and a doctorate of European ethnology from the University of Vienna. In 2007–2013 he was research assistant and teaching fellow at the University of Vienna. Since 2017 he has been project leader of the research project "Participative Development of Rural Regions. Everyday Cultural Negotiations of the European Union's LEADER Programme" (funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 2017–2019).

■ NOTES

1. My study draws on several weeks of participatory observation from November 2015 onward at the station and in other initiatives for refugees in the city. I conducted fifty-one semi-structured individual and group interviews with various participants of the refugee relief, including about thirty with volunteers, as well as refugees who had stayed in the city, local politicians, employees of the railway company Deutsche Bahn, and staff and heads of local and public authorities, such as the city administration, the federal police, and the professional fire brigade. My empirical material includes parts of the media coverage on the event, the volunteers' activities in social media, and policy documents from the authorities. Further research results of this study were published in Sutter (2018a , 2018b).
2. I am grateful to the editors and to the anonymous reviewers for their thought-provoking comments and constructive criticism.
3. The pseudonym "Middletown" is used for anonymization. Some more information, including the names and gender of the persons involved, names of other places

or time specification, have been changed by the author to maintain anonymity, as this information was irrelevant to the analysis.

4. I thank Regina Bendix for giving me the idea to grasp the event as a "liminal situation" and the volunteers as "charismatic" persons.
5. For more information on the Gramscian concept of common sense, see Crehan; Gencarella; Hall and O'Shea; Hall 1986; Sutter 2016.
6. Even if the Facebook page was mainly edited by one member of the organization team, most of the other volunteers welcomed, shared, and contributed to its content.
7. Free translation of the introduction to *Asterix the Gaul*; Goscinny and Uderzo, Orion/Hachette, England, 1969.

■ WORKS CITED

Abbott, H. Porter. *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012.

Ahrens, Petra Angela. "Skepsis oder Zuversicht? Erwartungen der Bevölkerung zur Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen in Deutschland." Hannover, 2015. https://www.ekd.de/ekd_de/ds_doc/20151221_si-studie-fluechtlinge.pdf. Accessed September 11, 2018.

Aumüller, Jutta, Priska Daphi, and Celine Biesenkamp. "Die Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen in den Bundesländern und Kommunen. Behördliche Praxis und zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement." Ed. Robert Bosch Stiftung. Stuttgart, 2015. www.bosch- stiftung.de/content/language1/downloads/Studie_Aufnahme_Fluechtlinge_2015.pdf. Accessed October 24, 2016.

Bamberg, Michael. "Narrative Inquiry." *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy.* Ed. Klaus Bruhn Jensen and Robert T. Craig. Oxford: Wiley, 2016. 1295–303.

Benford, Robert D., and David A. Snow. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 611–39.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Capital." *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Ed. John Richardson. New York: Greenwood, 1986. 241–58.

Crehan, Kate. "Gramsci's Concept of Common Sense. A Useful Concept for Anthropologists?" *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 16.2 (2011) 273–87.

Daphi, Priska. "Zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement für Flüchtlinge und lokale 'Willkommenskultur.'" *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 66.14–15 (2016). 35–39.

Davis, Joseph E. "Narrative and Social Movements: The Power of Stories." *Stories of Change. Narrative and Social Movements*. Ed. Joseph E. Davis. Albany: State U of

New York P, 2002. 3–30.

Della Porta, Donnatella, ed. *Solidarity Mobilizations in the "Refugee Crisis": Contentious Moves*. Cham: Palgrave, 2018.

Ehlich, Konrad. *Sprache und sprachliches Handeln*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007.

Ehlich, Konrad, and Jochen Rehbein. "Sprachliche Handlungsmuster." *Interpretative Verfahren in den Sozial- und Textwissenschaften*. Ed. Hans-Georg Soeffner. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1979. 243–74.

Gencarella, Stephen Olbrys. "Gramsci, Good Sense and Critical Folklore Studies." *Journal of Folklore Research* 47.3 (2010): 221–52.

Genette, Gérard. *Figures of Literary Discourse*. New York: Columbia UP, 1982.

Goffman, Erving. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International, 1971.

Groth, Stefan. "Common Ground and Missing Links: German Volkskunde and Language." *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 24.1 (2015): 24–41.

Gupta, Devashree. *Protest Politics Today*. Cambridge: Polity P, 2017.

Hall, Stuart. "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10.2 (1986): 5–27.

———. "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies." *Culture, Society and the Media*. Ed. Michael Gurevitch et al. London: Routledge, 1982. 52–86.

Hall, Stuart, and Alan O'Shea. "Common-sense Neoliberalism." *Soundings* 55 (2013): 9–25.

Hamann, Ulrike, and Serhat Karakayali. "Practicing Willkommenskultur. Migration and Solidarity in Germany." *Intersections* 2.4 (2016): 69–86.

Hamann, Ulrike, Serhat Karakayali, Mira Wallis, and Leif Jannis Höfler. *Koordinationsmodelle und Herausforderungen ehrenamtlicher Flüchtlingshilfe in den Kommunen. Qualitative Studie des Berliner Instituts für empirische Integrations- und Migrationsforschung*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016.

Karakayali, Serhat, and J. Olaf Kleist. "EFA-Studie 2: Strukturen und Motive der ehrenamtlichen Flüchtlingsarbeit in Deutschland, Forschungsbericht: Ergebnisse einer explorativen Umfrage vom November/Dezember 2015." Berliner Institut für empirische Integrations- und Migrationsforschung, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2016. http://www.fluechtlingsrat-brandenburg.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Studie_EFA2_BIM_11082016_VOE.pdf. Accessed October 24, 2016.

Kleres, Jochen. "Emotions in the Crisis: Mobilising for Refugees in Germany and Sweden." *Solidarity Mobilizations in the 'Refugee Crisis'. Contentious Moves*. Ed. Donnatella Della Porta. Cham: Palgrave, 2018. 209–38.

Koopmans, Ruud, and Paul Statham. "Ethnic and Civic Conceptions of Nationhood and the Differential Success of the Extreme Right in Germany and Italy." *How Social Movements Matter*. Ed. Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1999. 225–51.

Labov, William. "The Transformation of Experience in Narrative." *The Discourse Reader*. Ed. Adam Jaworski and Nikolas Coupland. New York: Routledge, 1999. 221–35.

Labov, William, and Joshua Waletzky. "Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience." *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1997): 3–38.

Lehmann, Albrecht. *Erzählstruktur und Lebenslauf. Autobiographische Untersuchungen*, Frankfurt: Campus, 1983.

Lucius-Hoene, Gabriele, and Arnulf Deppermann. "Narrative Identität und Positionierung". *Gesprächsforschung—Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion* 5 (2004): 166–83.

Maines, David R. "Narrative's Moment and Sociology's Phenomena: Toward a Narrative Sociology." *Sociological Quarterly* 34.1 (1993): 17–38.

Meyer, Silke. "Was heißt Erzählen? Die Narrationsanalyse als hermeneutische Methode in der Europäischen Ethnologie." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 110.2 (2014): 243–67.

Michel, Gabriele. *Biographisches Erzählen: Zwischen individuellem Erlebnis und kollektiver Geschichtentradition Untersuchung typischer Erzählfiguren, ihrer sprachlichen Form und ihrer interaktiven und identitätskonstituierenden Funktion in Geschichten und Lebensgeschichten*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985.

Misbach, Elène. "'Sich für Gesundheit stark machen'—Solidarische Flüchtlingsarbeit alsgemeinsamer sozialer Kampf um Rechte." *Zeitschrift für Menschenrechte* 9.2 (2015): 122–35.

Mutz, Gerd, Rosário Costa-Schott, Ines Hammer, Georgina Layritz, Claudia Lexhaller, Michaela Mayer, Tatiana Poryadina, Sonja Ragus, and Lisa Wolff. *Engagement für Flüchtlinge in München. Ergebnisse eines Forschungsprojekts an der Hochschule München in Kooperation mit dem Münchner Forschungsinstitut miss*. München: Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften, München, and Munich Institute of Social Sciences. http://www.b-b-e.de/fileadmin/inhalte/aktuelles/2015/10/newsletter-21-abschlussbericht.pdf. Accessed October 24, 2016.

Pinl, Claudia. "Ehrenamt statt Sozialstaat? Kritik der Engagementpolitik." *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 65.14–15 (2015). 49–54.

Polletta, Francesca, and Pang Ching Bobby Chen. "Narrative and Social Movements." *The Oxford Handbook of Cultural Sociology*. Ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Jacobs, and Philip Smith. New York: Oxford UP, 2012. 487–506.

Polletta, Francesca, Pang Ching Bobby Chen, Beth Gharrity Gardner, and Alice Motes. "The Sociology of Storytelling". *Annual Review of Sociology* 37 (2011): 109–30.

Rehbein, Jochen. "Sequentielles Erzählen. Erzählstrukturen von Immigranten bei Sozialberatungen in England." *Erzählen im Alltag*. Ed. Konrad Ehlich. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1980. 64–108.

———. "Beschreiben, Berichten und Erzählen." *Erzählen in der Schule*. Ed. Konrad Ehrtlich. Tübingen: Narr, 1984. 67–124.

Ryan, Marie-Laure. "Toward a Definition of Narrative." *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*. Ed. David Herman. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012. 22–35.

Salman, Ton, and Willem Assis. "Anthropology and the Study of Social Movements." *Handbook of Social Movements across Disciplines*. Ed. Bert Klandermans and Conny Roggeband. Heidelberg: Springer, 2010. 205–65.

Schiffauer, Werner. "Einleitung. Eine neue Bürgerbewegung." *So schaffen wir das. Eine Zivilgesellschaft im Aufbruch*. Ed. Werner Schiffauer, Anne Eilert, and Marlene Rudloff. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2017. 13–35.

Schwitalla, Johannes. "Erzählen als die gemeinsame Versicherung sozialer Identität." *Zwischen Festtag und Alltag. Zehn Beiträge zum Thema "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit."* Ed. Wolfgang Raible. Tübingen: Narr, 1988. 111–32.

Shenhav, Shaul R. "Thin and Thick Narrative Analysis: On the Question of Defining and Analyzing Political Narratives." *Narrative Inquiry* 15.1 (2005). 75–99.

Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford. "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest." *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. Ed. Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1992. 133–55.

Speth, Rudolf, and Elke Becker. "Zivilgesellschaftliche Akteure und die Betreuung geflüchteter Menschen in deutschen Kommunen." *Opusculum* 92. Berlin: Maecenata Institut für Philanthropie und Zivilgesellschaft. www.maecenata.eu/images/resources/2016_op92.pdf. Accessed October 24, 2016.

Steinhilper, Elias, and Larissa Fleischmann. "Die Ambivalenzen eines neuen Dispositivs der Hilfe: Zur Rolle der Zivilgesellschaft und sozialen Bewegungen seit dem langen Sommer der Migration." *Neue Praxis* 13 (2016): 60–72.

Sutter, Ove. "Alltagsverstand. Zu einem hegemonietheoretischen Verständnis alltäglicher Sichtweisen und Deutungen." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde 119 (2016): 41–70.*

———. "'Welcome!'—Emotional Politics and Voluntary Work with Refugees." *Journal for European Ethnology and Cultural Analysis* 2.1 (2018a): 5–25.

———. "Lokale Formierungen des Alltagsverstands in der 'Willkommenskultur'." *Dimensionen des Politischen. Ansprüche und Herausforderungen der Empirischen Kulturwissenschaft*. Ed. Johanna Rolshoven and Ingo Schneider. Berlin: Neofelis, 2018b. 165–79.

Turner, Victor. "Variations on a Theory of Liminality." *Secular Ritual*. Ed. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977. 36–53.

Van Dyk, Silke, and Elène Misbach. "Zur politischen Ökonomie des Helfens. Flüchtlingspolitik und Engagement im flexiblen Kapitalismus." *Prokla* 183 (2016): 205–28.

Vicari, Stefania. "Measuring Collective Action Frames: A Linguistic Approach to Frame Analysis." *Poetics* 38 (2010): 504–25.

Wahlström, Mattias. "Taking Control or Losing Control? Activist Narratives of Provocation and Collective Violence." *Social Movement Studies* 10.4 (2011): 367–85.

Zigon, Jarrett. "Narratives." *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*. Ed. Didier Fassin. Somerset: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. 203–20.