

# INTRODUCTION

## *Home and Homemaking in a Time of Crisis*

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### Introduction

A decade ago, the question of homemaking within a mobile global population was an important one. Today, as we grapple with a growing refugee crisis, alongside a hardening of anti-immigration feeling and deepening communal segregation in many parts of the developed world, the issue of the nature of home and homemaking is critical, and is becoming daily more so. Media reports tumble over each other telling of refugees who, whilst seeking home and hospitality in Europe, drown in the sea passages between North Africa and Italy. Such news jostles with reports of a rising tide of political rhetoric about building walls between ‘us’ and ‘them’ at a time when cities in the Western world, including Europe and the United Kingdom, are witnessing racist abuse, some of it deadly. For example, following the murder in the marketplace of Harlow, Essex, United Kingdom in September 2016 of Arek Jozwik, a Polish resident of the town, his friend, Eric Hind, told the journalist Jill Lawless (27 October 2016): ‘It’s just not nice to live in a country where you don’t know where you stand . . . if you don’t know what will happen tomorrow, if someone will come to your door and say “OK, time for you to pack your bags and go home”.’

Such testimony reveals a variety of assumptions that our collection seeks critically to scrutinize: *inter alia*, that home is associated inexorably with place of birth, that homes made and/or remade by people on the move are thought to be in some way less than fully rightful or authentic, and that migration is inherently destabilizing. These assumptions appear to render hostility legitimate (thus making it possible for hostility towards ‘migrants’ to make regular appearances in tabloids) in a way that subverts the foundational principles of hospitality.

Consideration of these and comparable claims is not made easier, either at an academic or policy level, not so much by the fact that the idea of home has been under-discussed and/or under-theorized, but rather that it has been the subject of reflection by such a wide body of different and disparate writers and thinkers across disciplines and genres of social thought. One of the consequences of this is that the concept has come to appear rather like a loose holding company for a diverse range of ideas, scales and registers used in a broad expanse of conceptual ground. The problem here is that the term is in danger of becoming unmoored to specific lived realities. As anthropologists concerned with the subject from the point of view (in the main) of travellers, we ground our thinking in this volume in closely observed and particular ethnography.

Within such a diverse literary and theoretical landscape, then, how do our authors help to focus our thinking? First, they point us towards using the idea of home to encompass attachments to spaces and places (seldom singular in the case of the ethnographies presented in this volume) by both individuals and collectivities. Second, they invite approaches that enable the term to cope both with the fixity that the idea of home seems to promote and the necessary fluidity of a notion positioned within a contemporary global system with movement, including movement of labour, at its heart. Third, since many of the chapters are haunted by notions of the 'unhomely' (a term used by a number of authors including Prakash (2015) and Sugars (2004) writing in 'postcolonial' modes used and personified by Homi Bhabha (2012)), we need to ensure that, whatever else we do with it, the definition of home emerging from this book needs to include attention to experiences of those categories of migrants in 'unhomely' states of being. Indeed, reporting of the shameful treatment in 2016/2017 of asylum seekers by U.K. authorities (Travis 2017) should increase our determination to search for definitions of home that encompass lessons to be learnt from the homeless. Fourth, the idea of home derives much of its potency by being one of those rare terms in the social sciences that finds a place in both external and internal worlds. In brief, studies of home and homecoming, exemplified by the chapters in this volume, allow and encourage analysis to move between inner feelings and emotions, on the one hand, and spaces and places in the outer world, on the other. In this sense we can find the term nestling on the threshold between the two.

The remainder of this Introduction, the aim of which is to draw out further the thematic framework of the volume as a whole, is grouped under subtitles that have been chosen to follow the concerns of our authors, each grouping opening with short references to previously published work.

The section that follows these opening paragraphs, 'Regular Doings versus the Migrancy of Identity', addresses a theme underlying all the chapters,

namely the relation between fixity and fluidity in our definition of home. Is home, as Douglas had it, a notion that speaks of routine, comfortable familiarity, and fixed patterns of thought and action over generations? Is it, as Rapport and Overing have argued, a notion that is carved out of the movement of everyday contemporary life? Or does it encompass both?

The section that follows the above, 'Family Histories and Materials of the Everyday', takes inspiration from Colin Murray's assertion in this volume that family history is a stimulating route into history. Movements of families through generations, and sometimes territories, provide us with a rich source of indications on how best analytically to use the term 'home'. Reference to 'materials of the everyday' partly follows Shuhua Chen's distinction between the 'everyday life' of her Chinese migrant interlocutors, for whom 'home' is the place visited for an annual holiday, whilst 'everyday life' – with its 'everyday materials' (houses, land, objects, physical bodies and so on) – applies to times, places and things lived in throughout the working year.

'The Political Economy of Homemaking in the Contemporary World' draws particularly on the chapters by Nicola Frost and Marina Sapritsky, as well as every other chapter, in insisting that understanding home involves global, regional and local politico-economic contextualization. Thus, Frost's portrait of families belonging to a diaspora of migrants from Maluku, Indonesia begins with a description of their feelings of desire for a homeland and despair at the violent political upheavals in that homeland, both of which are set within a framework of Indonesian and Australian immigration policies as well as the violent political upheavals in Maluku itself. Homemaking in Odessa by Jewish families returning from Israel, as described by Sapritsky, requires us to consider how these activities are interwoven with and shaped by states, the relevant economies through which migrating families pass, as well as personal fortunes and misfortunes along the way.

Consideration of 'Symbols and Connotations' of home is a rich field for anthropological enquiry. Thus, Yuko Shioji's eyes light upon saucepans and other cooking utensils, tea services, gardens and examples of noteworthy architecture as aspects of complex symbolic worlds that enable residents of Chipping Camden to shape their notions of home and its landscapes, populated as this is by long-term residents, incomers, developers and others.

'Self as Mirror of Home',<sup>1</sup> the penultimate section, responds to Chand Starin Basi and Kaveri Qureshi's poignant interpretation of the feelings of young gay men they worked with whose families have close links to the Indian subcontinent. The issue they are concerned with is how to resolve or articulate allegiances to sexual orientation, on the one hand, and territory that parents view as 'homeland', on the other. The pain of split and fractured identity is also the subject of Ilana Webster-Kogen's reading and listening to the Palestinian rap group DAM. Criticized on social media for focusing

in one of their songs on an honour killing within a Palestinian family, the group, well known for their political work opposing Israeli occupation, was accused at the time (November 2012) of releasing their song 'If I Could Go Back in Time' of watering down resistance by looking inwards at features of Palestinian society and culture as well as outwards towards Israeli occupiers. There are echoes here, that we will touch on below, of contemporary European experiences that render the Palestinian dilemma familiar: is resistance necessarily circumscribed by exclusive focus on occupation or are there also moments in which resistance engages both the other and ourselves?

Finally 'Home, Language and Meanings' acknowledges that our work in this volume involves thinking through the place of the English word 'home' in anthropological discussion, whilst terms in other languages make us consistently aware that the idea of home has multiple connotative variations. However, Chen's tender and historically framed examination of Chinese ideographs for home shows how approaches to the meanings of our subject need not necessarily be lost in translation.

We end this chapter by 'Thinking Ahead'.

### **'Regular Doings' versus 'the Migrancy of Identity'**

Rapport and Overing (2007: 156–62) observe that the term 'home' did not figure greatly in traditional anthropological work, except as a synonym for 'house' or 'household'. They report on Mary Douglas' (1991: 289) attempt to understand the notion of home in terms of the routinization of time and space and thus of 'pattern(s) of regular doings, furnishings and appurtenances, and a physical space in which certain communitarian practices were realised' (1991: 157).

One classic ethnography (much praised by Douglas, incidentally) of home composed in terms of 'pattern(s) of regular doings' is Bourdieu's (1979) 'Kabyle House or the World Reversed'. Bourdieu's essay tells of the daily comings and goings of the people in an Algerian peasant house and relates these everyday routines to such monthly, annual and lifetime rhythms as sleeping and waking, menstruation and lovemaking, cooking and eating, giving birth, marrying and dying, with all their associated rituals, relating all these, in turn, to the coming and going of light and shade as days begin and end.

In the present book there is one ethnographic example – very different from Bourdieu's masterpiece to be sure – within which we can recognize Douglas' conceptions at work. In several senses all sexual activities are periodically grounded in 'pattern(s) of regular doings'. Thus, Starin Basi and Qureshi place home within the dynamics of sexual and cultural dispositions

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worked out by twentysomething gay men with South Asian family backgrounds in the United Kingdom. These tell a story in which sexual doings and solidarities assert themselves at the expense of often taken-for-granted assumptions about the pull experienced by British/Asian second generations towards what their parents might regard as their Indian/South Asian 'homeland'. The authors describe feelings held by some of their interlocutors about their homes being 'unhomely' in their heteronormativity. The 'gay Asian scene', on the other hand, formed partly within a cradle, or in the mirror, of white British gay youth culture, is reported to be a cultural space in which new senses of 'homely' home could flourish and develop, although these do not follow inevitably. This is an example of sexual imperatives and idioms asserting themselves within or alongside homes defined in national and/or ethnic terms.

Rapport and Overing (2007: 176) argue that, given a world shaped by migration and movement, Douglas' approach is 'anachronistic, providing little conceptual purchase on a world of contemporary movement'. Therefore, they suggest, we need to find ways of working with notions of home and identity 'that transcend traditional definitions in terms of locality, ethnicity, religiosity, and/or nationality and that are sensitive instead to allocations of identity which are multiple, situational, individual, and paradoxical'. They claim that anthropological notions of home need to be founded on 'the intrinsic migrancy of identity', suggesting that everyday movements of people across national and state borders render the making of simplistic associations between home, nation and the routinization of space and time redundant. They argue that in a world of layered identities, we should adopt the position of being reflexive hybrids. Weber-Feve (2010) also commends the use of the notion of hybridity, frequently linked as this is to the work of Bhabha (1994) and others.

However, the work of our authors suggests that rather than placing time/space regularities at one pole and hybridity at the other – and by so doing implying that we have to choose between them – we may advance the understanding of home by adopting and asserting the necessity of both.

In fact, as implied above, Starin Basi and Qureshi's work provides a powerful illustration. Their young British-Asian interlocutors seem competently to operate within a culturally 'hybrid' universe by adopting sexual ways of doing that are routine and regular amongst the wider gay community. This suggests that Rapport and Overing miss the point. Let us remind ourselves that we live at a time of the burning of Grenfell Tower, increasing homelessness in our cities and the multiple tribulations of refugees. Additionally, and for many reasons, including housing shortages and property price rises, there seems to be a weakening, in some places and in some senses, of more general social (including kinship) solidarities. Given all of this, the challenge

is to find political and intellectual modes of thinking and proceeding in which the homeless can regain the power and capacity to convert 'unhomely' states of being in the world to 'homely' ones.

### **Family Histories and Materials of the Everyday**

In their different ways, Anton Chekhov (2011 [1904]) and E.M. Forster (1973 [1910]) both wrote of the poetics of emotional and cognitive interpenetration of houses and families. Both the Cherry Orchard as an estate and Howards End as a house appear as intimates, almost kin, of the families and their guests who made them homes. Both narratives contain references to persons and families of varying wealth and poverty, and it seems indisputable that both Chekhov and Forster touch on universal processes having to do with relations between homes and family histories across classes, ethnic affiliations and incomes.

Colin Murray writes of his anthropological research in the early 1970s into the family histories of displaced people in the 'remote and desolate rural slum' of Pitse's Nek in Lesotho. Many such families are broken and fractured by the demands for migrant labour in the mines and elsewhere in apartheid South Africa. In his chapter in this volume, he weaves his African research into a search for his own senses of personal and professional belonging during his own life. He describes how, as an anthropologist fashioned by Cambridge anthropology of the late 1960s, his interest in the intricacies of 'kinship' transformed into a concern with 'family history', a shift that demanded a broadening of his theoretical boundaries from anthropology into history and political economy. In Lesotho he became kin to families in Pitse's Nek. In later years, well after his original field research, he came to be regarded by the children and grandchildren of his original interlocutors as a valued expert in their family histories and, as such, was able to help those who wished to know more about their ancestors. As to the thinking about his U.K. home and the sense of belonging that went with it, he describes how his life became associated with a remote and uninhabited Hebridean island that he had visited as a child with his parents and later as a parent with his own children. Late in his professional life, he embarked upon what he called the 'Island Project', which focused upon the relations his family had to other families who also made holiday visits to this Scottish island and who had, like his own family, developed strong emotional attachments to it. He further describes how his professional life had elements of homelessness about it, spending as he did only two years in an anthropology department and the remainder in departments that bordered on political economy, history and development.

In these and allied ways, Murray draws together a number of fine threads to illustrate how place, memory, kinship and scholarship intersect to create senses of home. Furthermore, his chapter shows how a geographically unsettled life may nevertheless be laced with serendipitous and resonant links that made it possible for families whose members are spread over extensive territorial and historical domains to retain and even develop senses of being together.

One aspect of Murray's writing that arguably forms the ground base of his chapter is found in the references he makes throughout to the material features of life, work and being in both southern Africa and in Galloway. One such material feature is the weather itself and the heat, cool, sun and rain with which it is composed. He talks of the 'hilly, open and undulating landscape' of his first experience in Uganda, the 'hot and arid summer months' in Lesotho and the thoughts of 'soft, driving rain' of the Scottish Hebrides. He draws our attention to other material features of his life, describing the physical bodies of Pitse's residents, his own hut in the township during his research and, further, of the cottage that his family and the others who stayed there in his Hebridean island.

Like Murray, Shuhua Chen also draws our attention in a rather particular sense to the ways in which 'materials of the everyday' play central roles in the construction of a sense of home in the mind of one of her informants. She focuses on the rubbish that builds up in the boarding house she shares with migrant workers in a provincial Chinese city. Her informant explains that in her 'real' home far away in the countryside, such piles of rubbish could not be imagined. Her chapter may be read as showing us an example of material (rubbish in this case) serving as a metaphor to distinguish between place of residence and home.

## **The Political Economy of Homemaking in the Contemporary World**

Much of the literature on the topics of home and homemaking in a contemporary world characterized by the movement of individuals and families starts from the consideration of relationships between local and global political economies of migration, on the one hand, and personal and collective homemaking practices, on the other. Braziel's distilled summary is worth quoting at length. His description of migration and diasporas helps frame our effort to understand homemaking:

Migrations and diasporas are part of global capitalism: the international divisions of labour; the trans-nationalizations of production and finance; the consolidation of

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the 'international' monetary fund; the regulation of world trade in goods and services; and the interstitial relations of development and international (or 'world bank') lending have all led to massive displacements in human capital – some voluntary, some not – as people migrate to work, or flee violence and political repression, and as developing countries strategically export labour and import multinational corporations, or ground national economic development politics within a three-pronged strategy of exported labour, returned diasporic remittances, and imported multinational corporations. Migratory flows and diasporic communities are both produced by the discordant flows of globalisation, even as they are productive of its disjunctures and cultural cacophony . . . global traffic is not one-way; nor is it simply two-laned; its traffic moves through multiply striated vectors and cross-wired flows of myriad exchanges . . . international migrants without cultural capital, and especially those lacking in monetary capital, continue to cross international borders illegally – often smuggled across geopolitical borders in unheated semi trucks, huddled in the backs of minivans, or sewn into the seats, perilously adrift in small boats tossed on waves crossing the ocean. (2008: 2–3)

Throughout the period of writing this Introduction, stories appeared daily in newspapers echoing Braziel's words. On 3 November 2016, for example, it was reported that 15 people, including two children and a baby, had been found in a refrigerated lorry at the Albert Bartlett potato factory in Norfolk. Before their discovery, they were said to have pushed sweet potatoes out of a hole in the lorry to attract the attention of workers in the potato fields in the hope and expectation that help would be forthcoming. However, having been identified by the police, they were taken into the care of the Home Office Immigration and Enforcement Agency. From previous reading of stories of this kind, it is unlikely that their fate will be recorded further in the national press. This is a small episode that is illustrative of a larger and more significant theme, namely the relation between forces of law, order and authority, on the one hand, and the everyday practices of those in search of home and homeliness, on the other.

In one way or another, a majority of our authors frame their chapters in relation to politico-economic processes at the various territorial levels Braziel records. Following the bloody ethno-religious conflict in the Maluku Islands between 1999 and 2002, Frost describes the views of asylum seekers from the islands in Sydney, Australia as they oscillate between regarding their 'homeland' in Indonesia as both idyllic and hellish. As we have already seen, Murray's chapter considers homemaking in southern Africa through the prism of detailed studies of the histories of families living and working within the economic and political conditions of migrant labour in the region. Chen's study is set within a Chinese economy based on widespread internal migration. Starin Basi and Qureshi, and Sapritsky too, describe homemaking driven by global politico-economic processes which have brought Asian families to London and Jewish families to Israel and then back to Ukraine



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containing multiple ingredients including sexual dispositions, nostalgic memories of homelands, everyday experiences of friendships, and conversations between the generations. Although Shioji's Cotswold migrants, with their fine attention to tea sets and elegant front gardens, seem worlds away from some of the other subjects in the volume, they too are subject to a dynamic national political economy giving rise to flights of urban dwellers to country towns and villages, some of whose inhabitants are themselves displaced in the process. Webster-Kogen's rap group's repertoire combines many of the features described above: displacement from homes by incomers, intergenerational negotiations about identity, innovation by youth in thinking and rethinking the nature of home and belonging, and extensive and intensive imagining of homes here and there.

### Symbols and Connotations

In her analysis of the symbolic relation between windows and women in Dutch social history and seventeenth-century paintings, most notably Gabriel Metsu's (1663) well-known painting *Woman Reading a Letter* (in front of a window looking out on to a seascape of rough water with a boat heaving in the waves that Irene Cieraad interprets in terms of sexual turbulence, implying that the letter the woman is reading is a love letter), Cieraad (1999: 50) writes that 'the hymen as the historically vital physical borderline of the woman coincides with the windowpane as the vital physical borderline between public and private space'. As she acknowledges, her treatment of borders (of house, home and body in this case) leans heavily on the work of Mary Douglas. For the present purposes, Cieraad presents us with an example of the extent to which the spatial characteristics of houses and homes mirror and enter into the connotative structures of the human body. Sarah Pink's (2004) account of how a London family's home is constructed in relation to the objects that decorate its interior spaces and how such objects all carry connotations and associations that bear upon the social relations within the home (Pink is particularly interested in gender relations) is another fine example of how the material features of homes, together with the objects that they house, take part in the shaping of identities.

In their respective attention to the symbolic and connotative roles of rubbish in domestic settings in Shantou City and gardens, thatched roofs, saucepans and baskets in Chipping Campden, Chen and Shioji follow Cieraad's preoccupation with the relation between outer and inner landscapes. Like her, they are concerned to show symbolic associations between bodies, identities and those material objects that take part in the formation of houses and homes.

The more general point for us in this volume is that discussion about home and homemaking in all of our chapters is conducted with regard to material objects and places together with their symbolic connotations: countries, regions and their imagined landscapes (Frost), townships and a Hebridean island (Murray), sexual bodies (Starin Basi and Qureshi), a city (Sapritsky), and the hills and coasts of those living between the Jordan and the Mediterranean (Webster-Kogen).

### Self as Mirror of Home

All of the above leads directly on to considerations of the extent to which ideas of self and of home are intertwined. Clare Cooper Marcus' (2006) *House as a Mirror of the Self* explores the emotional and cognitive processes involved in the shaping of self (from early childhood onwards) in relation to topography of homes. She documents with precision how child development proceeds in relation to the tangible and intangible contours of home, how coming and going, leaving and returning to and from home are part of the struggles of selves for independence, how the home (with its furnishings and decorations) is, inevitably, an active party to the making of such social partnerships as marriage, and how (as in *Howards End*) family homes take part in the construction and expression of individual and collective identity.

The lesson for us stems from Marcus' insistence on the links between senses of self and identity, on the one hand, and ideas of home, on the other. This link is expressed in various ways in our chapters. Frost's description of the ways that her informants find themselves 'between despair and desire' exemplifies how the identities of members of the Moluccan diaspora in Australia are fashioned in large part by deep (and deeply painful) images and imaginative conceptions of the nature of their homes in Indonesia. Webster-Kogen's rappers are caught in between conceptions of home within ethnically defined and delimited space and/or by space unencumbered by ethnic or religious affiliation. The question this begs, in turn, is of central importance to us. Perhaps it is the most important question of all: who controls and determines the natures of the borders and boundaries of our home?

### Home, Language and Meanings

As Shelley Mallett (2004: 65) observes, many scholars have examined the etymology of the word 'home'. Her own reading starts from observing that

‘the Germanic words for home, heim, ham, heem are derived from the Indo-European *kei* meaning lying down and something dear or beloved’, whilst the Anglo-Saxon ‘ham’ refers to ‘village, estate, or town’. These observations suggest a particular place where rest and safety may be achieved within a larger and familiar collective space.

Recent writings of scholarly work concerned with migration, including forced migration, movements of refugees and asylum seekers, go beyond these etymologically drawn linguistic meanings without displacing them. Mallett points to Brah’s (1996) work, picking out her assertion that home refers to the ‘lived experience of a self in a locality’ as being especially illuminating.

Amongst the chapters presented here, there are several that are concerned with meaning. As noted above, Chen’s chapter is revealing for its capacity to inform us of the historical progress of ideographs for home whilst placing these linguistic insights within a detailed ethnographic analysis of a contemporary dwelling. The chapter is a compelling argument for searching for meaning within the interplay between language, ethnography and historical context. Murray’s text also stresses the centrality in our definitions of historical as well as geographical context and illustrates as persuasively as any that the meaning of home is to be found within the doing and feeling of it, whether in Pitse’s Nek or Galloway. Shioji’s chapter demonstrates the extent to which the meaning of ‘home’ in Chipping Campden is shaped by class and wealth (wealthy incomers have a monopoly on ‘traditional’-looking homes in the town), whilst Sapritsky’s Israeli returnees to the Ukraine find themselves poised between (Israeli) conceptions of home as homeland and feelings that Odessa is not only an elegant city, but is also one that lends itself to homely and familiar networking, reciprocal care and a strong sense amongst individual family members of comforting familiarity.

## Thinking Ahead

How may we draw this Introduction to a close whilst maintaining the sense of movement implied by the volume’s title? Bearing once more in mind that we are looking at the nature of home through the lens of people making journeys of various kinds, what can we contribute to the general and wide-ranging literature on the nature of home?

Our chapters, taken together, suggest to us that in order for the notions of ‘home’ and ‘homemaking’ to take their rightful place at the core of anthropological theory and practice, as well as a central place in discussions of the nature of home, we need to adopt an approach that by now has a number of recognizable features. These include the facts that home and homemaking

are best approached as part of interlocking processes that are at once global and intimate, tangible and intangible, material and symbolic.

Marina Sapritsky's work places her informants' notions of home within a global and/or regional political arena in which material realities of territory and city are fashioned by ideologies of homeland and Jewish destiny, on the one hand, and elegance and familiarity, on the other. Her returnees find themselves in a mobile and changeable world in which home may be found here and there at almost the same time. In this way her ethnography destabilizes any sort of binary of home and away in the context of ongoing movement and simultaneity. Furthermore, attitudes towards home and feelings of 'being at home' can and do change. Many of those she spoke with did not see their return to Ukraine as final, but envisaged moving again, either back to Israel, or on to a third location.

The idea, expressed by our authors in a variety of ways, that individuals may have two (or more) homes is not unique in the existing literature. Charlotte Williams' (2000: 195) reflections on her own movements between the homes of her physical parents in the Caribbean and of her adoptive mother in Wales are a case in point. She describes her Welsh 'white mother', who has a 'language of care and protection', and her own granddaughter 'with her eyes shining like the blue of the Atlantic', and observes that she herself feels 'a sense of the 'presence' connecting us all'. From this she reflects on the role of women as communicators of culture and of their capacity to embrace hybridity, loss, change and transitions as creative forces, and to feel and interpret identity as a process of 'becoming' rather than as fixed and static.

Cases such as those described by Sapritsky and Williams thus encourage us to work with notions of 'home' and 'homecoming' in landscapes of movement, thinking, rethinking and reimagining. They demonstrate that the global and intimate, on the one hand, and politico-economic and symbolic, on the other, need understanding within a system of interlocking relationships that is far from being a direct translation. Shioji shows us how class, wealth and the property market influence attitudes towards 'heritage' properties and opinions of what constitutes appropriate local development, but they do not predetermine it. As her detailed longitudinal ethnography illustrates, attitudes to home also combine very personal questions of taste, memory and experiences. Nevertheless, it does underline the necessity to look not *just* at the symbolic or the politico-economic, but, much more interestingly, at the complex architecture of the relations between them. Frost's description of expatriates from Maluku watching from afar as their region was swept by brutal communal violence, changing voluntary migration into involuntary exile in the process, confirms the point. Not only did (and does)

this experience polarize characterizations of Maluku into images of a (pre-conflict) peaceful paradise, contrasted with a dark and bloody present, but it also brings into relief the relationships between thoughts and feelings about identity that had previously been mostly private and a public discourse involving independence struggles and global political movements.

This collection thus aims to exemplify the theoretical value of thinking about home and homecoming from the perspective of individuals and communities on the move. 'Home' as a conceptual space is in this sense usefully poised between the material (land, buildings and human bodies), the politico-economic (interrelated processes at global, regional and local levels) and the symbolic (identity, memento and practice) realms as well as inner and outer landscapes, as explored above. At a time when a nuanced understanding of these elements (and the implications of their disruption) is increasingly important for effective and empathetic policy-making, we feel that greater prominence for these concepts, both within anthropology and beyond, is not only desirable, but also necessary.

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#### NOTE

1. A subtitle that is also inspired by Clara Marcus' *House as a Mirror of Self*.

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