

The Topic and the Book

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Migrants of identity' was the phrase that Theodore Schwartz used in the mid-1970s to describe the continual search by American youth for an identity that they found 'acceptable and authentic' (1975:130). Individual identity was always and everywhere dynamic, Schwartz suggested, always something 'problematic', something calling for a resolution that was never wholly acquired, because it was through the search that the individual *per se* came to be defined. However, what he felt was particular to the search of contemporary Americans was the location of that search in time as well as space; individuals increasingly used time as an anchor for their identity, as a means of bounding and expressing their membership of groups, so that cultural difference became synonymous with generational difference. Certainly, as global travel and communications made distinctive identities set up purely in terms of place and geographical difference (geophysical criteria alone) less viable and attractive, Schwartz concluded (1976:217-21), so 'authentically different identities' encompassed other, new kinds of difference.

Since Schwartz wrote, much ink has been spilled in anthropology concerning 'modern cultural identity'. Schwartz was not the first to consider space-time co-ordinates, or to hypothesize a play-off between time and space in the constitution of modern identities (*vide* Innes, McLuhan); but his ideas certainly resonate with what has become of major anthropological import: an appreciation of the practices of identity-formation in a world (modern, late-capitalist, postmodern, *fin-de-siècle*, supermodern) where processes of globalization (creolization, compression, hybridity, synchronicity) have made traditional conceptions of individuals as members of fixed and separate societies and cultures redundant.

This is a book about contemporary identity; it is a book where identity is treated as a search, either physical or cognitive, and is conceived of in terms of fluidities – of time and space, time or space. It is also a book that explores the implications of such fluidity for anthropological theory. More precisely, in place of traditional anthropological classifications of identity, we discuss and analyse the search for identity in terms of conceptualizations of 'home'.

Comprising eight substantive chapters, plus a polemical introductory essay and a concluding critique, the book intends to offer a new slant on questions of identity in the modern world in two main ways. First, identity is treated in relation to, even as inextricably tied to, fluidity or movement across time and space. Second, the book is animated by the claim that traditional anthropological classifications of identity fail to convey this movement. Hence, the book calls for the anthropological appreciation of 'home' as a useful analytical construct: as a means of encapsulating, linking and also transcending traditional classifications.

Furthermore, the dual approach of examining contemporary identity in terms of home and of movement enables the book to treat migrancy both physically and cognitively. 'A world of movement' can be understood in terms of actual physical motion around the globe and also as an imagination: an awareness of movement as a potentiality and a vicarious knowledge of movement as a phenomenon of overriding impingement.

In short, this volume explores physical and cognitive movement within and between homes, and the relations between the two; in treating analytically a contemporary 'migrancy of identity', the book examines individuals and groups in movement within and between conceptions of home.

A World of Movement

A traditional concern of anthropological description and analysis has been the identification of socio-cultural 'places': fixities of social relations and cultural routines localized in time and space. Societies were identified with cultures conceived as complete wholes; here were localized universes of meaning, with individuals and groups as their transparent components, their representative expressions.

Of late, this localizing image of separate and self-sufficient worlds (of relations, culture, identity and history) has come in for much criticism, from perspectives professional, epistemological and political. At the root of this criticism is the claim that the image may never have been more than a useful ideology that served the interests of (some) local people,

and a provisional myth that was animated by the practices of (some) anthropologists. For example, at one level, the image has been compounded by claiming fieldwork – in its traditional sense of going to a place, undergoing a process of acculturation, and returning from that place – as a professional rite of passage. The point is that the transition metaphor becomes meaningless if cultures are not seen as separate entities that can be entered and exited.

At another level, the image is compounded by anthropology's traditionally authoritative, realist and objectivist style of writing (cf. James *et al.* 1996:1). The separate socio-cultural place, usually expressed as the 'field', has its uses as a trope of authority. It is represented variously as the locus of a panoptical gaze, as a part through which one can represent the cultural whole, and, evoking the authoritative tones of natural science, as a pseudo-laboratory (cf. Clifford 1992:98–9). In this respect, too, the narratives of entry and exit that the idea of separateness facilitates are crucial, for it is distance that is seen to enable objectivity (cf. Pratt 1986).

At another level still, and somewhat paradoxically (given that the anthropological construction of separate socio-cultural places as coherent universes of meaning grew out of an entirely laudable concern to challenge the implicit ethnocentrism of Western modes of understanding), the image resonates with a series of politically reactionary discourses: from the idea of primitive cultures perfectly attuned to their usually remote and marginal environments (cf. Ellen 1986), to hegemonic discourses of sedentarism, and modern-day and exclusionary nationalist ideologies (cf. Foster 1991:91; Kapferer 1988:88).

Finally, the image is reinforced by anthropology's own exclusionary practices. In an era characterized by challenges to its territory from other disciplines, anthropology appears often torn. On the one hand, there is a recognition of the need to develop methodological practices that come to terms with the global interconnectedness of societies and cultures (e.g. Marcus 1995). On the other hand, anthropology engages in a defensive strategy whereby its distinctiveness is defined ever more in terms of a methodological commitment to spending an appreciable time in one local setting (cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1997:4).

Having said this, our interest here, however, is the substantive critique: the image of socio-cultural 'places' rests on a conceptualization of time and space that, it is widely held, contemporary movement in the world now overwhelms and relativizes. As John Berger phrased it (1984:55), market forces, ideological conflicts and environmental change now uproot such a number of people that migration can more and more be portrayed as 'the quintessential experience' of the age. At the least, mass media of

communication, a global economy (of individual entrepreneurship), global politics, ease of travel, global tastes, fashions, texts and entertainments – in a word, a global eclecticism – now more and more make of the world an actual ‘oyster’ in the way Shakespeare had Pistol, four hundred years ago, boast of it, metaphorically, to Falstaff. Hence, from an ideology of totalizing ‘places’, one moves to an actuality of individuals and groups entering and leaving spaces. Or, in the terminology of Marc Auge, it is ‘non-places’ that have become the real measure of our time (1995:79). Here are transit points and temporary abodes: wastelands, building sites, waiting-rooms, refugee camps, stations, malls, hotels, where travellers break step and thousands of individual itineraries momentarily converge. It is not, Auge admits, that socio-cultural places (groups, goods and economies) cannot reconstitute themselves in practice, but that place and non-place now represent ongoingly contrastive modalities. Certainly in terms of individual awareness, even if not of universal practice, movement has become fundamental to modern identity, and an experience of non-place (beyond ‘territory’ and ‘society’) an essential component of everyday existence.

Home

If population movement, travel, economy and communication make the globe a unified space, then, for Auge, no place is completely itself and separate, and no place is completely other (cf. Massey 1991, 1992). And in this situation, people are always and yet never ‘at home’: always and never ‘at ease with the rhetoric of those with whom they share their lives’ (Auge 1995:108). In John Berger’s commentary, in a quintessentially migrant age, the idea of ‘home’ undergoes dramatic change at the least.

Salient among traditional conceptualizations of home was the stable physical centre of one’s universe – a safe and still place to leave and return to (whether house, village, region or nation), and a principal focus of one’s concern and control. Even if the potential mobility of home was attested to – the tent of the nomad – still the focus was on the necessary controlling of space. ‘Home’ easily became a synonym for ‘house’, within which space and time were structured functionally, economically, aesthetically and morally, so that the coordinated workings of home were seen to give on to an ‘embryonic’ or ‘virtual community’ (Douglas 1991).

As Douglas elaborated, home could be defined as a pattern of regular doings, furnishings and appurtenances, and a physical space in which certain communitarian practices were realized. Homes began by bringing space under control and thus giving domestic life certain physical

orientations: ‘directions of existence’ (Douglas 1991:290). Homes also gave structure to time and embodied a capacity for memory and anticipation. In short, homes could be understood as the organization of space over time, and the allocation of resources in space and over time. Then again, the routinization of space–time was also aesthetic and moral; it provided a model for redistributive justice, sacrifice, and the common, collective good. Homes were communities in microcosm, which coordinated their members by way of open and constant communication, a division of labour, rights and duties, a commensal meal, and a rotation of access to resources. They encompassed total prestatory systems that exerted possibly tyrannous control over their members’ minds, bodies and tongues in their search for solidarity.

However, to understand homes in this way – as being synonymous with Durkheimian notions of solidary communities and coercive institutions in microcosm – is anachronistic, and provides little conceptual purchase on a world of contemporary movement. A broader understanding is possible and necessary, one concerned less with the routinization of space and time than with their fluidity and with individuals’ continuous movement through them (cf. Minh-ha 1994:14). In essence, a far more mobile conception of home should come to the fore, as something ‘plurilocal’ (Rouse 1991), something to be taken along whenever one decamps. As Berger describes, for a world of travellers, of labour migrants, exiles and commuters, home comes to be found in a routine set of practices, a repetition of habitual interactions, in styles of dress and address, in memories and myths, in stories carried around in one’s head. People are more at home nowadays, in short, in ‘words, jokes, opinions, gestures, actions, even the way one wears a hat’ (Berger 1984:64). ‘Home’, in Bammer’s words, ‘is neither here nor there (. . .) rather, itself a hybrid, it is *both* here *and* there – an amalgam, a pastiche, a performance’ (1992:ix). Or else, in a reactionary refusing of the world of movement, one is at home in a paradoxical clamouring for ‘particularisms’: in a multiplicity of invented, ‘primordial’, places for which one is perhaps willing to kill and die (Auge 1995:35; cf. also Harvey 1989). Here, in Robins’ depiction (1991:41), is ‘the driving imperative to salvage centred, bounded and coherent identities – placed identities for placeless times’.

Through different case-studies of contemporary identity, its local conceptualization and management, we shall explore ideas such as Auge’s and Berger’s on the relations between notions of home and movement across the globe, and on the changing nature of these notions. We examine home as part of local discourse. We study the ‘narratives’ of home of various kinds (orderly spoken scenarios, official communiqués, habitual

social exchanges, routine behavioural practices) that individuals today 'write' (transcribe, enact, embody) for themselves. One writes, as Strauss puts it (1984:103), 'in order gradually to create for oneself an intellectual home (*eine geistige Heimat*)'. To traverse the globe with their informants, then, is for anthropologists to record the 'moving' homes of various kinds, behavioural and ideational, that individuals construct and enact. Here are routine practices and narrations that do not merely tell of home, but represent it: serve, perhaps, as cognitive homes in themselves.

We also discuss the viability of 'home' as an analytical construct. Our reasons for this are rooted in the expressive deficiencies of traditional classifications of identity, such as locality, ethnicity, religiosity and nationality. First, none of these terms conveys the universally affective power of home. While it may sometimes come laden with reactionary resonances, 'home' should not be ceded to the political Right; 'home', as Torgovnick argues (1992:133), is one of the few remaining utopian ideals, and does not need to be replaced by more abstract analytical terms. Secondly, and as importantly, in a situation where traditional classifications of identity often fail to provide adequate understandings of proximate behaviours — adequate appreciations of individual actors' world-views and their drives to new (often multiple and paradoxical) sites and levels of association, of incorporation and exclusion — 'home' may be of use.

'Home' can serve to encapsulate, but also to link and transcend, traditional classifications. Similarly, as a concept, 'home' can and must compass cultural norms and individual fantasies, representations of and by individuals and groups (cf. Wright 1991:214); it can and must be sensitive to numerous modalities, conventional and creative, and to allocatings of identity that may be multiple, situational and paradoxical. 'Home' brings together memory and longing, the ideational, the affective and the physical, the spatial and the temporal, the local and the global, the positively evaluated and the negatively. As Simmel sums it up, 'home' involves a 'unique synthesis': 'an aspect of life and at the same time a special way of forming, reflecting and interrelating the totality of life' (1984:93–4).

The paradoxes surrounding the concept of home may be of a number of kinds. Firstly, there is the paradox, already alluded to, that an increase in movement around the world, and the freeing up of restrictive boundaries to travel, is accompanied by an increase in renascent particularisms. In Hobsbawm's terms (1991:63), home as an essentially private and individual routine, fantasy, memory, longing or presence — *Heim* — is impacted upon by *Heimat*: an attempt publicly and collectively to impose home as a social fact and a cultural norm to which some must belong and from

which others must be excluded. Hence, 'exiles' and 'refugees'; and hence, too, tramps and 'bag-people' expelled from the ranks of those felt deserving of combining house and home.

There is also the paradox that it is perhaps only by way of transience and displacement that one achieves an ultimate sense of belonging. To be at home 'in one's own place', as Kateb (1991:135) puts it, it is necessary to become alienated and estranged to some degree, mentally or spiritually. Exile is a resource inasmuch as it gives on to that vantage-point from which one is best able to come to know oneself, to know oneself best (cf. Sarup 1994:96). It is for this reason too that home 'moves' us most powerfully as absence or negation (cf. Hobsbawm 1991:63; Rapport 1994a).

Finally, there is the paradox concerning whether the movement to which home is party is linear or circular. Chambers (1994a) is definite that the migratory processes of the world are linear, since no returns are possible or implied. The journey of our lives is not between fixed positions, and there is no itinerary affording routes back again. And yet, while it may be true that 'the destiny of our journeys' is not circular, still home represents both 'the place from which we set out and to which we return, at least in spirit' (Hobsbawm 1991:65). We engage in ongoing transgression partly out of a desire to overcome it, and find our end in our beginning.

Perhaps it is part-and-parcel of an appreciation of the way that individuals live in movement, transition and transgression, that its conceptualization, as 'home', is to be similarly paradoxical and transgressive. 'Home', we suggest as a working definition, 'is where one best knows oneself' — where 'best' means 'most', even if not always 'happiest'. Here, in sum, is an ambiguous and fluid but yet ubiquitous notion, apposite for a charting of the ambiguities and fluidities, the migrancies and paradoxes, of identity in the world today.

The structure of this book is as follows:

In an introductory chapter, 'Home and Movement: A Polemic', the volume editors speculate in greater detail upon some of the possible relations between movement (physical and cognitive) and identity (individual and social), and how these relations may be seen to be changing in a contemporary cultural milieu of globalization. Beginning with Batesonian notions of the connections between movement and perception, and perception and the ordering of identity, the piece proceeds with a consideration of anthropological appreciation of movement, traditional and current. This is followed by the introduction of 'home' as

a phenomenon, that 'mysterious atmosphere of a personal kind', in Stanley Spencer's word-painting, by which procedures and surroundings are made known as one's own.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the classic sociological text, *The Homeless Mind*, where, some twenty years ago, P. and B. Berger and H. Kellner sought a link between modernity and a particular kind of consciousness. In transit between a plurality of life-worlds, they contended, modern individuals come to be at home in none. Hence, the loss of an absolute reality in a unified traditional life-world gives rise to 'homeless minds'. Rapport and Dawson argue, however, that while this remains a challenging thesis, it is ethnographically ungrounded. Being 'at home' and being 'homeless' are not matters of movement, of physical space, or of the fluidity of socio-cultural times and places, as such. One is at home when one inhabits a cognitive environment in which one can undertake the routines of daily life and through which one finds one's identity best mediated – and homeless when such a cognitive environment is eschewed. Most common, then, is to find individuals at home in the story of their lives: in the narrative of identity with which and through which they traverse their social environments (cf. Sarup 1994:95).

Following this introduction, Part II of the book comprises eight substantive chapters, each of which approaches the notion of 'home' from the vantage point of, and in relation to, a particular symbolic universe. The chapters stretch across a broad ethnographic range: the Cayman Islands (Amit-Talai); an Israeli development town (Rapport); the diasporic contexts of Yugoslav *émigrés* (Jansen); the Czech Republic (Holy); an English Midland town (James); households in Greater London (Hirsch); inner-city London (Wallman); and coal-mining towns of north-east England (Dawson). They focus upon a range of levels of sociation (from individual to community), and treat a range of discourse types (from formal (official) ideology to everyday conversation). Thus 'home' appears as a dominant symbol with polysemic content in a variety of contexts of use: Home and the Expatriate (Amit-Talai); Home and the Immigrant (Rapport); Home and the Dissident (Jansen); Home and the Nation (Holy); Home and the Child (James); Home and the House (Hirsch); Home and Urbanity (Wallman); Home and Community (Dawson).

Notwithstanding the above manifoldness, it may be objected that the chapters' ethnographic foci concentrate upon narrowly 'Euro-American' populations. However, we would challenge the analytical appropriateness of an essentializing, 'occidentalizing' demarcation of this kind (cf. Carrier 1994). What comes across strongly in the ethnographic accounting is not the homogeneity and coherency (historical, social or cultural) of

behaviour that may be identified as 'Western' so much as its diversity and incoherency: 'homogeneity' and 'coherency' speak more to the prejudicial concerns of those epistemic communities that come together to study particular 'culture areas' than to anything more real (cf. Appadurai 1988; Fardon 1990). What also becomes clear is that deriving actors' identities and experiences from supposedly deterministic general sociological categories is a hangover from an analytical style that is no longer adequate: it is to confuse form with meaning. Part-and-parcel of an appreciation of contemporary migrancy ought to be an eschewing of vulgar, totalizing ways of theorizing identity, then, and an acceptance of its potentially radical individuality (cf. Rapport 1997). To adapt E. D. Hirsch (1988:258), 'the distance between one [socio-cultural milieu] and another is a very small step in comparison to the huge metaphysical gap we must leap to understand the perspective of another person in any time and place'.

At the core of the book is each chapter's consideration of the attainment of home as an individual search, involving either or both physical and cognitive movement. However, they also come together through exploration of a series of additional but related and interconnecting themes. One of these is 'home-making'. A range of the media and types of resource that people utilize in making their homes are considered: physical, from iconic imagery in architecture (Holy) to the clothes people wear (Jansen); textual, from autobiographical monographs (Jansen) to poetry (Dawson); verbal, from the orchestrated performance of song (Dawson) to routinized conversation (Rapport); and conceptual, from the state's imagings of the nation as home and family (Holy) to individual imaginings of new forms of collective identity (Jansen).

A second issue is that of the 'politics of home'. The chapters consider a range of sites in which people struggle to make and define home. There is the global labour market, in which individuals seek, often fruitlessly, to secure a home against the background of an absence of infrastructural protection (Amit-Talai). There are statal (Jansen, and Rapport) and local governmental (Wallman) visions of home that are resisted by communities and individuals. There is the material culture of heritage museums, in which class-based groups seek to freeze, in perpetuity, competing visions of the home community (Dawson). And there are the struggles involving children, parents and teachers over the imaging of the household home from which the child's identity is read (James), and the intrafamilial struggles surrounding new computerized technologies that shape and pattern family home life (Hirsch).

Finally, since the search, the making and the struggle for home do not

necessarily result in resolution, a further issue is that of homelessness. Both Jansen and Rapport explore how the centralizing and essentializing practices of nation-states attempt to deny individualized senses of home. And, most poignantly, Amit-Talai problematizes the often rosy picture of the cosmopolitan; she depicts the modern-day labour migrant as facing a situation where neither place of origin nor work role constitute an adequate basis of identification through which to cultivate a sense of home.

More precisely:

1. In *Risky Hiatuses and the Limits of Social Imagination: Ex-Patriacy in the Cayman Islands*, Vered Amit-Talai provides an examination of the interaction between globalization and protectionism in the Cayman Islands: the way in which Cayman is home to both 'true' Caymanians and long-standing 'temporary residents', in a situation of highly mobile financial interests. The Cayman Islands are today home to one of the world's largest offshore financial centres and a thriving tourism industry. To meet the labour needs of these sectors, Cayman has recently shifted from being a population exporter – traditionally, most Cayman men would go to sea, in other countries' merchant marines – to importing a substantial part of its labour force. Nearly 40 per cent of Cayman's long-term residents are now 'temporary': foreign contract workers and their families. As a result of this, coupled with the return to Cayman of former expatriates who had meanwhile settled in other parts of the Caribbean, the United States and Canada, the Cayman population has increased threefold over the last three decades.

This chapter traces the interaction of two principal consequences of this transformation of economic and social organization. On the one hand, Cayman appears to be an archetype of globalization. Its economy is dependent on foreign labour and capital; its inhabitants maintain extensive personal and professional networks outside Cayman. On the other hand, access to full enfranchisement and rights of residency on Cayman are rigorously husbanded, and seen as the prerogative only of 'true' Caymanians. Thus the prosperity and claimed political stability ushered in by economic globalization has been accompanied by a sub-text of uncertainty and insecurity: the insecurity of a sizeable proportion of 'temporary residents', the uncertainty of 'full Caymanians' in danger of being overwhelmed.

At the core of the chapter is an exploration of the conditions faced by the temporary residents and an engagement with recent literature on migrancy and cosmopolitanism. Amit-Talai questions whether spatial

displacement engenders new forms of imagined community or home. She argues that in the case of the temporary residents of the Cayman Islands, at least, few people possess adequate mobile bases for identification, while the category of homelessness itself is by no means an automatic condition for new forms of affiliation.

2. In *Coming Home to a Dream: A Study of the Immigrant Discourse of 'Anglo-Saxons' in Israel*, Nigel Rapport examines attempts to reconstruct cognitive and physical homes by a set of recent American immigrants in the small Israeli development town of Mitzpe Ramon. He explores the way in which these newcomers deal with their immigrant status – how they maintain ties to the United States, reformulate their decision to emigrate, organize and build local community boundaries around themselves.

In particular, the chapter analyses 'mother-country imagery': the way old homes in America are brought into metaphorical contact with new so as to afford bases of commonsensical expectation in the present, concepts of propriety and possibility, and sources of self-image; it is through a distilling of the essence of their past American selves that new migrants begin to be at home and imagine futures for themselves in Israel. To live in Israel is, in short, to come to terms with paradox: the dream of 'Next Year in Israel' is now; they are 'Anglo-Saxons' in the Middle East.

Hence, paradox comes to be enunciated as something of a national and ethnic trait: a wily Jewish way of getting around rules, furthering self-interest and feeling at home in marginal social settings. It is in recognizing their self-contradictions that these American immigrants come to realize their identities as new Israelis.

3. In *Homeless at Home: Narrations of Post-Yugoslav Identities*, Stefaan Jansen explores the interplay between the narratives of the new Croatian and Serbian states and the personal narratives of a group of privileged, non-nationalistic refugees from the former Yugoslavia.

He demonstrates how, through the states' narrations of a discursive break between before and after the national project, the refugees face a threefold crisis. First, they are delegitimized as 'Yugo-Zombies', nostalgic for a Yugoslavia now gone, and unwilling to participate in collective processes of amnesia that seek to obfuscate pan-nationalist Yugoslav history. Secondly, cultural homogenization and collectivization serve to rob them of their chosen forms of identification and their senses of individuality. Finally, the combination of these processes, aligned to the erection of national borders where once none existed, leaves the refugees feeling an ambiguous sense of being 'homeless at home'.

Jansen then goes on to explore the myriad ways in which the refugees

confront their crises: through minute acts of resistance, such as the wearing of non-nationalist styles of dress; through clamourings for new forms of collective identity, such as refugee, East European and writer; and, most importantly, through the act of writing personal narratives. These last provide a means of continuity to a pan-nationalist past and, in effect, serve as new cognitive homes.

4. In *The Metaphor of 'Home' in Czech Nationalist Discourse*, Ladislav Holy examines the way in which Czechs rhetorically equate 'home' and 'homeland'. Amidst the ambiguity surrounding place brought about by the end of the Czechoslovak Republic, Czechs have seized upon an understanding of home as referring to a specifically sentimentalized place. This chapter explores the political implications of employing 'home' in this strategic and spatial sense in the context of the new Czech Republic.

Space enters into the conceptualization of 'homeland' in ways in which it does not enter into conceptualization of 'nation'. This enables Czechs to construct the concept of a homeland that mediates between a naturally constituted 'nation' and an artificially created 'state'. The mediating role of 'homeland' further enables Czechs to draw a sharp conceptual distinction between patriotism (love of one's homeland) and nationalism (identification with one's nation and feelings of superiority towards other nations). It is this positively valued concept of patriotism that then makes it possible for Czechs to engage in a vigorous nationalist discourse while denying their own nationalism, and only ascribing it to 'others' with whom they share Central European space (Slovaks, Germans). By invoking familial and spatial images particular to themselves – ranging from places associated with the earliest Czech history to places associated with the most recent political events – Czechs are today able to construct a nationalist discourse, a discourse of homeland, that is culturally specific.

5. In *Imaging Children 'At Home', 'In The Family' and 'At School': Movement Between the Spatial and Temporal Markers of Childhood Identity in Britain*, Allison James explores how it is, metaphorically, to be a child: what it is to 'be a child' in Britain today. If metaphors provide us with ways of structuring not only how we speak but also how we think and act, then this chapter is an attempt to tease out the current metaphorization of the dependency of 'the child'. Answers are sought with reference to the concepts of 'family' and 'home', particularly as they are articulated by parents, children and their teachers. If 'home' is that conceptual and physical space where identities are worked on, then the child is ideologically at home in 'the family'. Thus, conceptual links between 'home' and 'family' are mutually reinforcing. Moreover, such links protect the concepts from change. The ideal form of the family bears

little resemblance to contemporary family life, to the fluidity and dissolution of ties of kinship and marriage. And yet a traditional family ideology continues publicly to dominate our thinking. This is effected (metaphorically) by the notion of 'home' providing a setting for a normalizing of our understanding of family life and a reconciliation between the actual and the ideal. Similarly, home provides, ideally, a physical and emotional setting for private life; and yet new technologies and conditions of employment blur the boundaries between public and domestic almost beyond recognition. Notwithstanding, 'family life' continues (metaphorically) to reconstitute home even as physical locations and members change.

Finally, 'home' and 'the family' rest metaphorically on the dependency and immobility of the child. To be a child in Britain is to be dependent and non-mobile, and it is through a continued construction of this stasis that the British 'family home' survives.

6. In *Domestic Appropriations: Multiple Contexts and Relational Limits in the Home-Making of Greater Londoners*, Eric Hirsch begins with the observation that a sense of ever-present change and movement, of persons and objects moving speedily both in time and space, is one that continually throws into relief the home as a resting place – 'a haven in a heartless world'. Furthermore, inasmuch as 'we increasingly live with institutions and objects that we do not see ourselves as having created' (*apres* D. Miller), there is a further sense in which the home is a place in which we work to invest such entities with our own agency and direct them towards our own purposes. Through a series of case-studies of seven London families, and in particular their relations with Information and Communication Technologies (telephones, televisions, videos, above all, computers), the chapter examines the veracity of these senses of the home; it points up an important distinction between 'the home' (as house) and 'home' as such, and emphasizes the contextual slipperiness and multiplicity of the latter concept, and also its non-physicality.

The chapter argues, in particular, for a re-thinking of the notions of appropriation and alienation. Using an object (a computer, in a London house) may involve no alienation intrinsic to the operation, but may involve attempting to 'appropriate' other forms of alienation. Inasmuch as the social world is made up of a plurality of overlapping contexts and domains, individuals may find themselves potentially 'alienated', at any given time, in several, partially connected, ways. To the extent that a multitude of different social relations may overlap with and impinge upon the domestic environment of the home, so particular modes of domestic appropriation (using a computer in a London house) may be understood

in terms of treating senses of alienation at work, in the past, with one's children, and so on.

The phenomenology of contemporary object-use calls for a subtle appreciation of individuals, attending to their being 'at home' in a number of seemingly discrete social spaces. Appropriating objects, they come to be at home in-between.

7. In *New Identities and the Local Factor – OR When is Home in Town a Good Move?*, Sandra Wallman pursues the notion that 'home' is a proxy for identity and that it is compounded of place and belonging. The notion is explored in terms of the variations, and the conditions of variation, surrounding peoples' constructions of urban homes.

The first level of variation that the chapter considers is cultural. It is approached through the question, 'Is city-ness as such a good or a bad thing?'; and, therefore, is living in the city taken as a sign of success and a source of self-esteem – a positive identity – or a lower-status, negative identity? (Contrasts may be drawn, for example, between English anti-urbanism and Italian suspicion of and contempt for the (literally) uncivilized rural person.) The second level of variation considered is structural, or better, systematic. It is approached through the question, 'Which kind of city-ness do people identify with, feel good about and make a home in?'

Both questions are addressed with ethnographic examples drawn from different London neighbourhoods. Discussion combines cultural ideals with the specifics of each urban milieu, and their differences in terms of: their degrees of 'compression', the 'open-closedness' of their networks, and their distribution of 'resources of identity'. The relationship between people and place is specified according to three modalities: (1) new identities being forged – 'moving in to stay'; (2) old identities being defended – 'refusing to move'; and (3) identity continually redefined – 'keeping moving'.

8. In *The Dislocation of Identity: Contestations of 'Home Community' in Northern England*, Andrew Dawson considers the processes that surround the right to define the 'community' one calls one's home: who owns these rights and how they are seen to be ascribed. Ethnographically, the chapter is focused on a town in the heart of industrial north-east England, where coal-mining has come to represent that central referent of local community. Analytically, the chapter focuses on the competing definitions of community articulated by groups of 'working-class', former mining people on the one hand, and local, 'middle-class' intelligentsia on the other. This definitional competition has come to the fore in recent years as Government has sought the participation of local people in the

design of post-mining 'community development' projects, such as the construction of a heritage museum.

The chapter elucidates two key processes. First, the rights that working-class groups see themselves as possessing to define their home community – based on direct erstwhile involvement in mining – are increasingly under challenge from a middle-class mastery over those cultural forms and symbols still associated with mining. Second, the rights that middle-class groups see themselves as possessing to define their community – based on ideas of unbroken residency of long duration – are challenged by the insistence of working-class groups that a defining referent of local belonging is migrancy.

At the heart of the chapter is a discussion of how definitional competition involves a process of location and dislocation of personal and community identities from their objective referents. This in itself involves engagement in forms of social, spatial and temporal cognitive movement.

Following these substantive case-studies, Part III of the book contains a review of the preceding chapters, or Response, in which overlapping theoretical insights and themes are drawn out. In *Contested Homes: Home-Making and the Making of Anthropology*, Karen Fog Olwig – with experience of Creole identities in the Caribbean (on the American Virgin Islands, and Nevis in the Leeward Islands) and also of diasporic identities (in migrant Nevisian communities in Connecticut and England) – assesses the book's argument concerning the relationship between home and movement, migrancy and identity.

In particular, Olwig draws attention to the important differences between home as a conceptual or discursive space of identification, and home as a nodal point in concrete social relations. Whereas in the life of fairly well-to-do individuals around the world (and their anthropologists) the former understanding of home may bring to mind a somewhat abstract domain of self-knowledge and individual narration, for the less well-off and disenfranchised, home may amount to a contested space of social rights and obligations, of knowledge of self and community that excludes and includes according to the dictates of powerful, significant others. In their studies of home, she concludes, anthropologists must be careful to emphasize the diversity of the different 'identity spaces' that their informants may call home, and how, through movement, informants may make manifest their awareness of this diversity and also their variable abilities to assert and select a home of their choice. In short, in a world in movement, home becomes 'an arena where differing interests struggle to define their own spaces within which to localize and cultivate their identity'.