Reveries of Home

Reveries of Home:
Nostalgia, Authenticity
and the Performance of Place

Edited by

Solrun Williksen and Nigel Rapport

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has germinated from a conference at the University of Tromsø, in May 2007, where two colleagues from the University of Trondheim (Anne Kathrine Larsen and Solrun Williksen) organized a workshop during the annual conference of the Norwegian Association of Anthropology. The overall theme of the conference was *Tid, Sted og Rom* ('Time, Place and Space'), and our workshop was entitled 'Cultural Heritage, Place and Expressions of Memory'. The participants in the workshop approached the theme from a variety of angles: from the importance of exchanged objects to life-histories, family cottages, houses, sites and memorial festivals. Three of the participants at that workshop are now represented in this book: Ingrid Rudie, Jan Ketil Simonsen and Solrun Williksen.

Anne Kathrine Larsen was at the time engaged in a study of family cottages and Williksen had for some time been interested in the themes of *nostalgia* and *topo-analysis* as discussed by Gaston Bachelard in his 1958 book, *The Poetics of Space*. Having been inspired by the discussions at the workshop in Tromsø, Larsen and Williksen decided to continue the quest into the evocative (and, as it appeared very active) field of memory research, and determined to undertake fieldwork together in an area of eastern Norway called Finnskogen ('The Finn Forest'), and to time it to coincide with a well-known mid-summer festival there. The fieldwork that summer delivered a powerful demonstration of the impact of landscape and place in the construction of memory, and the nostalgic musing on the past. Music, dance, food and traditional objects were all part of the celebration of *coming home to*, and *being at home in*, this particular landscape. It seemed that everything that possibly could be used as means and modes of evoking and expressing memory was used, to good effect, to affirm and sustain a sense of belonging and authenticity. The celebration was a splendid occasion for the participants to experience both temporal and spatial nostalgia.

Ensuing discussions between Larsen and Williksen during fieldwork, and with other colleagues at the Trondheim Department of Social Anthropology, led to further reflections upon memory, sites and landscapes both at home (in Norway) and elsewhere. Larsen and Williksen started to play with the idea of arranging an international conference where these themes would be centre stage. In discussion with

the then Head of Department at Trondheim, Jan Ketil Simonsen, the practical means for a conference were assured, should a set of participants be interested in joining the discussion. There was an awareness that the theme of *memory* had for a long time been a key concept in academic discourses within the social sciences and humanities. Neither was *place* a new theme. Yet, Larsen and Williksen felt justified, seeing the flourishing practice of both memory and place in the surrounding world, and particularly how it had been observed in the Finn Forest, to look at these themes once again, and with emphasis on new ethnographic details. The title finally arrived at for the international symposium embraced a challenging theoretical field: *Place, recollection, dream, nostalgia and performance*. With these concepts in mind we now started to approach people we thought might be interested in a discussion. Nigel Rapport joined in at an early stage of this planning.

In the late summer of 2007, positive responses had been received from colleagues abroad as well as within Norway. The symposium would go ahead and be placed within the framework of The Biennial Trondheim Colloquium in Social Anthropology.

With the exception of a few persons, the participants at the November symposium are all represented in this book. One participant we miss with regret is Anne Katrine Larsen, having played an inspiring role when the project first started to take form. As editors of this book, Williksen and Rapport are grateful for her cooperation at the initial stage of the work.

We are further very grateful to the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim, particularly to the Department of Social Anthropology, for providing the funds for a successful symposium —and, by extension, for this volume.

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INTRODUCTORY

THE THEME AND THE BOOK

NIGEL RAPPORT AND SOLRUN WILLIKSEN

The Theme of the Book

Reveries of Home: Nostalgia, Authenticity and the Performance of Place considers the diversity of understandings of home in the world today, and the techniques by which homes are assured. In particular, the volume explores the relationship between globalisation and the ways in which home-making entails acts of symbolic emplacement in landscapes felt to be meaningful and authentic.

The book builds on an earlier one, *Migrants of Identity: Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement* (Rapport and Dawson 1998). The work of *Migrants of Identity* was to establish 'home' as a viable concept in anthropological analysis; also to query the relationship between social identity and social stasis, and to examine the possible relations between home and movement, and being at home in movement. *Reveries of Home* offers deeper exploration of the way that homes exist in time: in moments of individual and collective performance which are both mundane and memorial (ceremonial). An emphasis on the potentially diverse relations between home and space, a recognition of the diversity of ways in which notions of home can connect with notions of place, is here complemented by a focus upon the continuous generation of notions of home in particular moments.

Home-making is a continuous work, and there is a continual relationship between home and time. *Reveries of Home* also examines the way in which the continuous relationship between home and time —the continuity of home-making— expresses itself in the form of a continuous *emplacement*. Migrants of identity who move between homes, who form homes in movement, do not necessarily thereby sacrifice identification with places. It is rather that 'place' is not taken for granted, is not a given, is not a thing-in-itself, is not exclusively singular, and is not once-and-for-all. Hence the necessary emphasis on 'emplacement': the way in which the place of identity, of self and society, is continually generated by acts of home-making.

The volume treats the different kinds of acts, different *techniques* or strategic practices, by which emplacement eventuates in home-making. These include rituals of a personal or collective kind, played out in city streets and country locations, taking the form of ceremonial revivals and mundane routines. Home is inscribed in postcards, house furnishings and bodily habits. Home is the achievement of a nostalgic mood, it is a hoped-for future, and it is a sense of continuity. The volume focuses on the variety of acts which can be appreciated as those techniques that individuals and collectives habitually deploy in the making of their homes, including: visiting a particular personal or historical site; watching or taking part in a community ritual; indulging in evocative smells, tastes and touching; inscribing a sentiment on the land or on paper.

Techniques of emplacement may be manifold, spanning an arc from individual to collective, from formal to mundane. They incorporate a range of sensory deployments (visual, olfactory, tactile), and a variety of engagements with the passage of time, a variety of performances in space. To identify home-making in *reverie* is to bring to the fore the creative, imaginative and interpretative qualities involved in home-making. Home is performed in the head and body as much as on the land, in the past and future as much as the present, by way of absent landscapes as much as present ones, by way of doubts and longings as much as certainties and achievements, through the construed offices of others as well as by the self.

Lastly, if home-making is a continual work of placing migrants of identity in time and in space, then the success or otherwise of the work, the efficiency of the techniques, is to be understood as a matter of judgement and by way of 'internal' rather than objective criteria. While a particular material frame or the sensory impact of a special landscape may be instrumental, the making of home resides ultimately in the eye of the beholder(s). Hence the necessity also to be aware of the felt *authenticity* or otherwise of the procedure: the judgement of home-making entails an insider's knowledge of truthfulness, origination, and the establishing of a subjective connection (then evoked, brought to new life, by a variety of conscious acts). Emplacement is not a process determined by seeming objective features of space; it is an interpretative work generated by means of a human facility with symbolic media. Emplacement situates the home-maker in an *authentic landscape* —where 'landscape' emphasises the viewing of a territory from a particular perspective (that of the viewer) and calling for a particular methodological imagination on the part of the anthropologist.

In sum: *Reveries of Home* takes an analysis of home into new and necessary territory, relating it in nuanced fashion to the concepts of time and space. The key words 'home' and 'reverie' are complemented by 'nostalgia', 'performance', 'technique', 'emplacement', 'landscape' and 'authenticity'.

The Structure of the Book

The book comprises ten substantive chapters and case-studies, providing an illustrative array of acts of home-making. Geographically the case-studies juxtapose Norway against West Africa, against the mid-western USA, Egypt, Scotland and elsewhere. They depict events in the lives of rural communities and occupational communities, individual recollections of personal life-histories, and the policies of diasporic ethnic groups. They include contexts of conflict, third-world development, religious institutionalisation, ceremonies of remembrance, heritage and the touristic gaze. *'Home-making' comes to be presented as a ubiquitous practice assuming different forms at different moments*. The volume concludes with an epilogue where the different threads are drawn together written by Vered Amit. The project of the volume as a whole is critically evaluated, placed within the broad context of anthropologically apprehending contemporary global social discourses and milieux.

The case-studies are paired in terms of five key areas: i) Home-Making and Ceremonial Revivals; ii) Home-Making and Heroic Traditions; iii) Home-Making and Memory Work; iv) Home-Making and Sensory Evocations; and v) Home-Making and Symbolic Centres.

Looking ahead to these in more detail:

The section, *Home-Making and Ceremonial Revivals*, begins with a chapter by Solrun Williksen entitled 'The Finn Forest: An Imaginative, a Nostalgic and a Real Space'. Finnskogen is a vast forested area along the Norwegian/Swedish border. With its closely grown fir trees the forest gives the impression of being impenetrable. The area is, as it were, bounded: signboards are indicating where the forest begins, as if one is coming into a room, a space that can be clearly demarcated as *inside* versus an *outside*. There are little far-flung hamlets, some nearly abandoned, as many young people seek work in the cities rather than in the forest.

Some of the people inhabiting the forest are descendants of Finnish people who settled in the forest in the 17th century; so-called Forest Finns. But some of the inhabitants come from outside and have just found a niche and a home emotionally or professionally among the trees. What the two

categories seem to have in common is a feeling of belonging to the forest and being to a certain extent outsiders to the Norwegian society beyond. This is demonstrated most emphatically during the 'Finnskogdagene': a ceremonial each summer, taking place in the 'capital' of the forest, *Svullrya*; the forest is now declared 'The republic of Finnskogen', with its own supposed prime minister, ministers of different offices and its own flag. The affiliation with Finland rather than with Norway is given prominence by the fact that the Finnish Ambassador is invited to open the celebration. During these three days, people from both inside and outside the area, including emigrants to North America, return to the place. In this connection it is important to note that the area was given 'minority status' by the Norwegian government in 1999, which means that the tradition of the Finnish immigrants from long ago is given due respect and funding for cultural purposes. The method of slash-and-burn cultivation, the drying huts for rye *(ria*), the house-building techniques, the myths, the narratives, the food, are all now carefully documented, and whenever possible given room in a newly established museum.

The annual festival comprises a whole range of experiences and activities in which the notions of locality and authenticity come to the fore, with a background in forest images and metaphors. Focusing on the festival, the chapter discusses how feelings of belonging to a place and to a community are expressed and confirmed through its various activities, but also how they are placed in the context of larger national and international worlds.

The section of the book continues with Jan Ketil Simonsen's chapter, 'The revival of the Mambwe-Lungu first-fruits ceremony in Zambia'. Postcolonial Africa, it has been suggested, is in the midst of a memory crisis. The 'crisis' has resulted in a boom of popular nostalgia and inventions of traditions for an imagined authentic past. In Zambia, much popular nostalgia has taken the form of a revival of court cults. This chapter discusses the revival of the royal *umutomola* first-fruits ceremony of the Mambwe and Lungu-speaking people living at the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika and along the Zambian-Tanzanian border.

In the late 1990s, an urban elite of Mambwe and Lungu descent in the capital Lusaka formed a Cultural Association for the 'preservation of Mambwe and Lungu culture for future generations'. The focal point of their association was to revitalise the *umutomola* first-fruits ceremony which they regarded as extinct. The first 'revived' ritual was performed collectively by a group of chiefs in June 2000 on the shores of Lake Chila in the district capital Mbala – the lake being the repository of a great water spirit and a site of much folklore and history. The performances employed

a hybrid ritual form, based on the organisers' imaginations of the past. This is a common format both for contemporary public functions and for earlier inventions of tradition in colonial and post-colonial Zambia.

The chapter discusses the revitalisation in a context of the relationships between the changing social significance of history in modern societies and memory and identity. In modern, literate societies, groups are no longer carriers of history, and individual and group identity –a sense of sameness across space and time– is sustained through remembering. But collective memories have fallen away in the face of written history: to recapture memory it is necessary to represent it in new ways. It is argued, then, that the revived court cult of the urbanized Mambwe and Lungu can be seen as a site of externalised and performed memory, and as a vehicle of the reinvention of tradition.

The next section, *Home-Making and Heroic Traditions*, begins with Peter Collins's chapter, 'Putting religion in its place: Remembering Quaker sites'. The chapter is an ethnographically grounded exploration of the relationship between religion and place. Whereas pilgrimage seems, hitherto, to have been the predominant focus of interest in connecting place and religion, the religious Society of Friends (Quakers) present us with a considerably more interesting case-study.

Adopting a narrative approach to social interaction and drawing on a number of theorists of place, including Tuan, Casey and Bachelard, the chapter attempts two things in particular. First are a series of reflections on the constitution of place, in order to indicate the centrality of place in the discourse of religious groups. Second, from this relatively uncontroversial position, the chapter goes on to describe the ways in which subtle and complex constructions of place are partly constitutive of Quaker religiosity while at the same time their faith and practice provides a significant resource on which they draw in their representations of place. The argument has been made that place is central to religion, but this chapter goes further, contending that in imposing one interpretive frame (that of 'religion') on a group (in this case the Quakers of Dibdenshaw), another (that of place) is inadvertently eclipsed. The chapter demonstrates, through the trope of figure/ground reversal, the extent to which Dibdenshaw Quakers in 'doing religion' are simultaneously constructing place. Place enables the skein of Quaker narratives.

The section continues with Sarah Lund's chapter, 'Playing Indians, playing Americans: Enacting commemorative spaces in western Minnesota'. In the European context, heritage was formerly deemed the domain of the aristocracy: the recent establishment of heritage sites

through local history projects has been understood (for instance by David Lowenthal) to be a development of late modernity. In North America, formulating an understanding of heritage as landscape has quite a different history, dependent more on enactment than on physical attribute, more on performing identities than seeing them as exclusively ancestral. The work of creating heritage sites in North America becomes implicated in building communities in relatively undifferentiated terrain and can be seen as part of the settlement process.

Local history has had a rich and evolving role in creating and continuing community involvement in the creation of heritage sites in Kandiyhohi County, Minnesota. This chapter explores the enactment of local history which takes as its focus the Dakota Uprising of the 1860s in west-central Minnesota. The place of the first massacre in Kandiyohi Country is commemorated through restaging events of late August 1862 when Dakota Sioux fell upon and killed settlers who had gathered to worship at the Broberg cabin on Monson Lake. Local farmsteads, inhabited today by Norwegian American descendants of the original settlers, are used as part of the staging of these reenactments, with contemporary family members playing the parts their ancestors held in those original dramatic events.

Preservation of the settler cabin site by the lake was initially of purely local concern for commemorating particular settlers and historical events: through performance, upcoming generations were to remember what happened at that place in the past. Over time, however, the site has evolved into a regional and then state heritage site and state park. The parkland as experiential setting through which to learn and appreciate Minnesota landscapes, as Americans, has gradually overtaken the original focus of local endeavour. The institutionalizing of particular local histories thus parallels the gradual demise of the enactment tradition in the area.

The section, *Home-Making and Memory Work*, begins with a chapter by Ingrid Rudie, ‘The generations of memory and use: A Norwegian house as palimpsest’. The concept of ‘memory-work’ enters anthropological discussion in insightful ways. One concerns the connection between the forms that memory-work takes and the kind of society in which it occurs. Another concerns memory-work as a process of meaning-making, of making sense. ‘Memory-work’ occasions an exploration of the individual’s orientation in space and time: the individual processes the present in the light of past experiences, and also the past in the light of a present situation.

The empirical subject-matter of the chapter can be described as the biography of a house, linked up to the experiential histories and memory-work of four generations in the family of owners. Houses can be both experiential spaces and texts: the experiences taking place in the house are primarily embodied, and, in Connerton's terms, 'incorporating practices'. But the material house itself and its content and surroundings also take on a symbolic character, something through which we communicate; and it takes on a textual character when we work on specific time-markers to reconstruct our elusive past —fix it in a memory place.

The particular house in question represents a common trend in modern Norway: inherited houses that have been turned into holiday resorts as a result of increased geographical and social mobility. Such houses are then seen from different vantage points by different generations, passing from being practical projects to becoming memory places. The bulk of the chapter focuses on the experiential histories and memory work of the two middle generations in the family of owners: the present owner who spent her formative years in the house and later turned it into a holiday home; and her son who became acquainted with the house through frequent visits during his childhood, when his grandparents were still living. The present and the future owners of the house process their past experiences from different vantage points: they have different blends of embodied experience and symbolic or textual markers. For instance, they attach nostalgic feelings to different pieces of furniture that were in frequent use in early phases in their respective childhoods, and therefore have taken on a textual function. The pieces are there, unchanging in themselves, but become subject to different interpretations and evoke rich associative landscapes.

The book-section continues with the chapter by Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, 'Egypt in view: Postcards of nostalgia'. Postcards are small mementoes, witnesses of travels and idealized representations of places one has lived in, visited or dreams of visiting. Implicitly, postcards convey the idea of emplacement, movement, distance and reverie. The chapter investigates how photographic postcards may trigger and sustain the nostalgia of a certain landscape, more specifically visual representations of the Nile. Landscape is viewed in terms of space and topography, as well as a mental and aesthetic projection. Photographic postcards reproduce authentic views of given places. At the same time they offer various subjective interpretations of these sites. As such they serve as interfaces between history, memory and reverie.

As a starting point the chapter posits that postcards reproducing nostalgic views of the Nile are sites of transcultural collective memory

where time and place are interchangeable. Drawing upon Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of 'chronotope', Roland Barthes' idea of '*punctum*' in photography, and Gustavo Giovannoni's notion of '*ambiente*', the chapter investigates the ways in which a landscape becomes nostalgic and dreamlike: how it is fixed in time and in our minds, and becomes part of our collective memory.

The chapter argues further that photographic postcards of nostalgic landscapes are situated at the intersection between reality and fiction, between the private and the public. They do not so much provide an exact reproduction of reality as sceneries that are glossed, staged and poeticised. The views are standardized and reproduced at great numerical scale, and this renders the landscapes familiar to many, even to those who have never visited the places that are depicted. Time and space merge and bring forth a feeling of longing for a lost paradise.

The section, *Home-Making and Sensory Evocations*, begins with Anne-Katrine Brun Norbye's chapter, 'A taste of place: Memory, feelings and emplacement in Hemsedal, Norway'. Experiences of food originate in all our bodily senses, including cognition. Food is always consumed at a specific place as well as in a specific mood. As such, food can be of great significance in the process of remembering, recalling past feelings and places. The chapter explores the mixture whereby food narratives and social practices, including remembering and imagining, become elements in the process of place-making, and re-constituting socio-cultural values and engagements.

Farmers in Hemsedal, Norway, move their cattle and family to the mountain dairy-farms during the summer. The work on the farms is largely undertaken by the women, who assume the status of '*budeier*' (milkmaids), a status of traditionally high prestige due to its expertise in milk-processing and dairy traditions. Milk-processing and touristic activities today come together as means by which contemporary *budeier* may choose to strengthen their household economy. Old and new holiday cottages in the neighbourhood give rise to crowds of tourists and customers who seek a sense of local tradition, buying traditional food at markets and participating in everyday life at a summer farm. The local food (sour cream, butter, whey-cheese, and cow cheese) thus comes to function as a metonym for the summer mountain farm as a place, and symbolic of nature, freedom, peace and quietness —all cultural values connected closely with Norwegian identity.

The chapter analyzes activities at the summer mountain farms and its locally produced food as markers of an individual and common past.

Perceptions (taste, smell, seeing and feeling) nurture nostalgic imaginations, and open up the individual to experiences of personal and collective emplacement within regional and national settings.

The book-section continues with Andrew Irving's chapter, 'Everyday Adventures in London'. The chapter is an attempt to understand the many layers of emotional reverie, mood and memory that are elicited by London's neighbourhoods. How is the city sensed? In particular, the chapter seeks to explore how life with HIV/AIDS was experienced in London before antiretroviral medication became widely available. Here is home-making in a present which is permeated by senses of a lost past.

Methodologically, the chapter offers photographs and accompanying narratives, by volunteer 'buddies' who visited, befriended and provided emotional and practical support for persons living with AIDS, in order to assist recollections of the past and the dead. The photographic narratives mark a meeting-point of self and world, a place wherein idiosyncratic personal acts of remembering, the surrounding city and the wider social history of HIV/AIDS merge into one another.

The chapter deploys concepts of 'surface landscape' and 'interior depth'. We meet the city of London as a kind of body: a meeting-place of people, materiality and the senses which mirrors the complex intertwining of flesh and world. Just as the surfaces of the body cover up a depth that is not ordinarily accessible to the vision of strangers, so the city has a skin that can be broken: made to reveal more than what is immediately presented to the senses. What emerges is an almost tangible, but necessarily fragmentary, sense of life with HIV/AIDS which inserts itself into the gaps between the erstwhile buddies' words and photographs. The chapter suggests the distinctive moods and multiple, overlapping layers of imagination, interior dialogue and reverie that define people's lived experiences of London more than do social facts and statistics. Experience is not constituted by these latter abstract and quantified measures but by the empirical, lived dimensions of thinking and being that accompany people's practical activities and movements around the city.

The final section, *Home-Making and Symbolic Centres*, begins with a chapter by Harald Aspen: ''Home' is the family compound in Banjul: Krio diaspora, property and identity in The Gambia'. The chapter explores the values of family and family compound, and the concepts of home and nostalgia, in the context of the Krio diaspora. The perspective is both historical —concerning with the ordeal of freed slaves— and contemporary, concerning globalised families.

The Krio (Aku) community in Banjul, The Gambia, is a Christian minority with a brief but influential existence as an ethnic group. Descendants of liberated slaves originating from the West African coast, they came under British protection in (what was then) Bathurst. They adopted British religion, education, values, and eventually, at independence (1965), important positions in Gambian administration and business. Most Krios found work as civil servants and formed the middle class in the Gambian capital. Despite their low number, Krios had great impact on the town, not least as landlords. A census from c. 1932 of 'Properties in Bathurst' depicts a crowded town, with recent immigrants from the 'protectorate' and neighbouring countries renting rooms from Krio landlords whose occupation was formally within the civil service, in one of the private banks, or in the hospital.

In recent decades many property-owners have moved out of Banjul to airier suburbs, and Krio houses have been sold to 'strangers'. Furthermore, Krios no longer represent the elite of the country and are discriminated against in the labour market. Many Krio families have become dispersed around the world, forming a diaspora, particularly in Britain, the US, and Scandinavia. But 'Banjul Central' is still a lively Krio stronghold. Core Krio rituals are still observed in the neighbourhood, and the Christian (minority) identity appears stronger than ever. More precisely, at a time of dispersion, dissolution and disempowerment, the *family compound* has strengthened its conspicuous role and central symbolic value. The family compound —in most cases the property of the same Krio family for several generations— has become a central *place*, taken care of by the remaining family members which provides siblings, cousins and other relatives with physical as well as emotional accommodation when they come visiting from abroad. With portraits of the British royal family still hanging in the compound and continuing to add prestige, the family home family also remains strikingly coloured by the colonial experience.

The book-section continues with Nigel Rapport's chapter, 'At home at work in the hospital: How the orderly distances himself from the contagion of the patient'. Set in a large state-funded teaching hospital in a Scottish city, the chapter explores the way in which one particular (predominantly male) part of the workforce, the hospital porters, makes themselves at home in the work-site.

The argument of the chapter is that the porter makes a home for himself at work in Constance Hospital by refusing its professional boundedness and connecting up the 'inside' of its institutionalism to the 'outside' of everyday life. Indeed, the porter becomes the central actor at Constance —according to his own estimation— and intrinsically at home

there, for the way in which he is capable of seeing these spatial and social continuities and living them. *There is one world*: the porter denies hospital exceptionalism, its specialist practices and procedures, its dehumanizing classes and containments. Portering denial is, however, at the patients' expense. Making the porter the centre of a world of active, whole bodies —whether inside Constance, with its operating theatres, wards and clinics, or out— entails an absolute distantiation of the 'contagious' association of the patient.

In short: A particular and significant discourse among the porters at 'Constance Hospital', which is predominant in the process of their making a home at work, involves their recognising patients as a threat to the kind of holistic, human, manly identity that the porters would reserve for themselves. This discourse is significant and powerful, insofar as it excuses and explains why the porter must distance himself from the contagion of too empathetic and sympathetic a dealing with the patient.

The Insights of the Book

Without pre-empting the book's Epilogue, or what the reader may take from the book for him or herself, certain overlapping conclusions and insights among the ten case-studies are apparent to the editors and worth signalling here.

The book delivers comparative information on the relations between 'home', 'reverie', 'nostalgia', 'authenticity', 'performance' and 'place'. These concepts can appear as relatively intangible notions, but in each chapter the writers have taken up the challenge to frame the concepts within ethnographic descriptions and discussions. While the chapters resonate theoretically with each other, strongly, the ethnographic contexts are widely different, even when geographically proximate.

In the Norwegian settings of the chapters by Norbye, Williksen and Rudie, the concept *fred og ro* ('peace and quiet') is central to an understanding of how people relate to their own lives and to their environment in a homely fashion. And yet this homeliness can be elusive: the object of a life-long search (Williksen). For others it is more a matter of temporal and geographical specificity: returning to a rural setting of time-honoured agricultural practices at certain times of year (Norbye). And how explicit can the journeying to peace and quiet be? In Rudie's depiction there is a sense in which the old family house is imbued with a homeliness, peace and quiet whose value may not be openly stated.

An *imagination* as distinct from a *practice* of homeliness appear in contributions by Aspen and Naguib. But the complementarity of these

modalities of behaviour is variable. For Aspen it seems that imagination is a resource as practice recedes; for Rudie the dreamlike and sometimes agonising quality of nostalgia accompanies practice as an unexpressed negative image. In Naguib's account, picture postcards become a manifestation of landscapes as being at once real and fictional, historical and remembered objects.

The necessary *performance* of memory is a theme that importantly structures a number of discussions, in particular Collins's, Lund's and Simonsen's. But how structured, how routine, how ceremonial, how individual and collective should this performance be? For Simonsen and for Lund, local and state politics and policies come to be interwoven with individual ideas of history, home and landscape; it is the communal efforts, often over long spans of time, which keep memories of the past from dissipating. For Collins, however, as for Aspen, the collective and official structuration of time and space form a backdrop to a homeliness that remains above all a subjective sense of authentic belonging.

Rudie's chapter introduces the sense in which the homeliness of a shared space gives on to gradation and differentiation between generations: the saturation of nostalgia can be felt to different extents, in different objects, at different times. This is taken up fully in Rapport's chapter, where gradation becomes an explicit and active project: one works one's way into a home space while, and by, working others out. One can feel *more or less* at home, and the project can become a contest: one works to saturate a potentially alien environment with homeliness. And there is no necessary quality to that which homeliness is attached: a hospital operating theatre is a space one saturates with the routines, camaraderie and exclusiveness of one's occupational group.

Finally, the *mundanity* of home-making is a theme linking Rapport's and Irving's contributions. From the unspectacular daily routines of the hospital, the rituals of regular performance that transform space into place, one meets the daily work of the outsider (the newcomer, immigrant, alien, exile and eccentric) whose home-making is end not means. The forbidding, slippery, foreign surfaces of the city are nevertheless those on which one must balance and into which one must delve in order to secure authentic affective bonds: senses of self and community that are homely. It is a mundane work nevertheless conducted in the shadow of illegitimacy, trauma and death.

Home-making —as reverie, as ceremony, as working routine, as collective memory— is a practice in which the anthropological attention must zigzag between the deepest levels of individual interiority and the most flagrant, polemical expressions of collective boundary-marking.

'Home is so Sad', Philip Larkin (1990:119) famously titled one poem: the *ambiguousness* of the emotions that imbue home-making —love and loathing, nostalgia and boredom and ambition— calls for subtle apprehension.

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CASE STUDIES

Home-Making and Ceremonial Revivals