Chapter 25

Landscapes of Home

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Introduction

Home is a complex and ambiguous word. Because it bears such a weight of meaning in everyday life it can be considered one of the most emotive and powerful words in the English language. As Gathorne-Hardy (1999: 124) points out, "the word home can be seen as a vessel in which a tangle of abstract, cultural concepts are found." One would be hard pressed to think of a more important idea to people than that of home (Sopher 1979). One can read this importance in the notion of homelessness; a term which has come to stand for a condition of abjection, an indictment against affluent societies that are so uncaring as to allow so many of their citizens to go homeless (Somerville 1992). It is ironic, given the affective significance of the concept, that the home has until recently received only a modest amount of attention in the academy relative to that devoted to the public realm. There still appears to be a lingering sense that the home, as a site of reproduction or bourgeois pleasure, is trivial compared with the public worlds of business, politics, or even public pleasures. Staszak (2001b) argues that geographers have paid little attention to the home because they are uncomfortable working at such a small scale. Or perhaps academics shy away because of the very ambiguity of the term. For home, as Benjamin (1995: 2) points out, is "at once both concrete and abstract"; a place where one lives and a feeling of comfort – of feeling at home. Moreover, it is spoken of in ways that, without a sense of contradiction, range in scale from a mental state, to a house, to a continent (Bowlby, Gregory, & McKie 1997). A term that is made to do such work, which is stretched to such an extent, is probably going to be intellectually flabby (Rapoport 1995). And yet, it would be unproductive for academics to narrow its usage in the name of intellectual rigor, for in doing so they would lose much of its social meaning (Lawrence 1995).

Now with increased interest in the everyday, the production of space in a globalizing world (Massey 1994), with feminist destabilizing of the private–public dichotomy (Duncan 1996; Bondi 1998) and theorizing of unpaid domestic labor (Christie 1999), as well as renewed interest in the body (Nast & Pile 1998), emotions (Anderson & Smith 2001), and psychoanalysis (Sibley 1995; Bordo, Klein, &

Silverman 1998), the home as a topic of interest to geographers is beginning to come into its own. The concept of home has recently been explored in a number of edited collections. Benjamin (1995) draws together scholars working within an environmental design framework, Cieraad (1999) and Miller (2001) adopt more ethnographic perspectives, Staszak (2001a) brings together the work of Francophone anthropologists, architects, and geographers, and Mezei (2002) provides a forum for a wide variety of research on the home from within the humanities, social sciences, and design professions. McDowell (1999) and Bennett (2002) provide useful summaries of research on the notion of home. Classic work on changing conceptions of home by historians includes Davidoff and Hall (1987), Hareven (1982), and Hayden (1981). In this chapter we explore what we see as some of the more interesting cultural geographic questions concerning the idea of home. In doing so, we will range widely in scale, both temporally and spatially. We begin with a review of geographical approaches to the notion of home as the house or homeplace (such as one's neighborhood) and then attempt to broaden out the concept of homeland as composed by a "constitutive outside." Finally, with specific reference to the British Empire, we will address the issue of nostalgia for home and the "domestication" of nonmetropolitan spaces.

Geography of Emotions

One major focus of research on home has been the link between the home and the emotions. Structural anthropologists following Lévi-Strauss have tended to assume a connection between the house and the structure of mind. His (1967; 1972) classic work conducted among the Bororo and Sherente of Brazil and the work of others in the structuralist tradition (Bourdieu 1973; Tambiah 1969) are generally seen as ingenious but now mainly of historiographic interest due to the collapse of the Lévi-Straussian conception of mind. Within cultural geography, Lévi-Strauss's work has had little impact, a notable exception being Tuan's (1974) rather loose use of the perspective. An offshoot of structural analysis of the home survives (although one could hardly say that it flourishes) in the form of semiotics (Preziosi 1979). Like Lévi-Straussian structuralism, it is highly abstract and formalistic, but by remaining agnostic about the origins of the structures that it posits, it has survived where the former has foundered.

Another line of research, the phenomenological, has been inspired in part by the work of the philosopher Gaston Bachelard (1969: 72). For him, the house is a "psychic state," a site and bringer-into-being of deep feelings of value and caring. Within geography such a perspective has again been championed by Tuan (1974) whose notion of "topophilia," or love of place, has had wide appeal both within the field and within the cognate fields of architecture and landscape architecture. More recently Seamon and Mugerauer (1989) and Pallasmaa (1995: 143) have conducted more explicitly phenomenological research on home in which they argue for a "phenomenologically authentic" architecture that incorporates "the memories and dreams of the inhabitant."

Bell hooks (1990), like the phenomenologists, sees the home as a place of warmth, caring, and safety. For hooks the home is a powerful site of resistance where black women can fashion a space of solidarity and difference from a white racist society.

The phenomenologists, however, fail to recognize this politics of the domestic realm. Furthermore, unlike the phenomenologists, hooks is more careful not to overgeneralize and does not attempt to speak for a general black female experience. In fact, she points out that for black families there is often an ethic against public intervention and distrust of police scrutiny and control; hence black homes like white homes can sometimes be sites of domestic violence, a refuge perhaps for men, but oppressive for women who may be unable or unwilling to call on the often less than sympathetic public authorities. Much of this work, however, is based in philosophical and literary analysis, and tends to be empirically light.

There is also a small but significant literature on the loss of home, some of which is more empirically grounded. The classic statement in this area remains Fried's (1963) "Grieving for a Lost Home," a scathing indictment of the emotional damage wrought by urban renewal in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. The theme of a sense of loss has been taken up more recently and extended cross culturally by Porteous (1989; 1995) and extended back in time within the context of British colonialism in India by Gowans (1999) and Thomas (2002). The latter two studies demonstrate how feelings of loss and memory intertwine in complex ways the notion of home as one's house with the notion of home as one's nation. Another fruitful line of research has been on the fear of needing to leave one's own home to live in an institution for the elderly or infirm. When such moves do occur, they tend to be characterized by an overwhelming sense of loss or even banishment (Wikstrom 1995; Hugman 1999; Valentine 2001). On the other hand, research by Mowl, Pain, and Talbot (2000) demonstrates that sometimes older men experience home less positively than women, associating it with the end of their productive lives in the public realm; consequently some retired men seek to avoid spending much time at home. Grieving for a particular home can be compounded by a move to a different style of dwelling. Collignon (2001), for example, documents poignant feelings of loss experienced by older Inuit women in the Canadian Arctic who were removed from traditional igloos into Anglo-Canadian style social housing. As Chapman (1999) demonstrates, one can even experience the loss of a home one does not actually leave. He argues that the experience of burglary for many people entails not simply the loss of household objects, but the "spoiling" of the identity of the home. Similarly home is often so closely associated with family. The loss of family members who either move away or die diminishes the fullness of a sense of home for many.

While most people associate it with caring and security, the home can also be a site of fear and danger as feminist and other researchers have pointed out (Gathorne-Hardy 1999; Massey 1992; Rushdie 1991; Duncan 1996; Goldsack 1999). Monk (1999: 160–1), for example, drawing on Klodawsky and Mackenzie (1987), argues that the contemporary notion of home as sanctuary (which draws on nineteenth-century romanticism) must be tempered by the knowledge that private homes are often sites of violence against women by their partners and are statistically more dangerous for women than public places. Dobash and Dobash (1992) claim that domestic violence against women, including marital rape, often stems from a man's perception that his partner has failed in her domestic duties. Klahr (1999a: 126) points out that domestic violence is in fact a primary cause of homelessness in women. One reason, of course, that the issue of the home as dangerous is not of greater concern to the general population is that the violence is privatized;

it may be much more common, but it is not as unpredictable as violence against women by strangers. Just as some women know they are in danger in their own homes, many other women know they are safe. If the violence were more randomly experienced, it would be a more highly publicized issue and would undoubtedly be more effectively controlled.

One of the largest-scale studies of the home and the emotions was conducted by Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981). They interviewed 315 Americans of various ages about their degree of emotional attachment to various objects in their homes. Bourdieu's (1984) similarly large-scale study of the French, although focused primarily on class as distinction and household objects as evidence of what he refers to as cultural capital, also explored emotional attachment to such objects. On a much smaller scale, Pennartz (1999) explores the emotional attachment to home as a site of "pleasantness" defined in opposition to the alienating realm of public space. The pleasantness of home may appear banal, but he concludes it is the central locus of emotional well-being.

Gender and Sexuality

During the nineteenth century in Britain and the United States, the spatial separation of men and women particularly in cities and suburbs increased significantly as men were seen to naturally occupy the public sphere and women an idealized domestic sphere (Hayden 1981). Although this is clearly the general pattern, recent work on the middle class in England by Tosh (1999), extending that of Davidoff and Hall (1987) and Hall (1992), shows that the relation of men to the home was fraught with tension and varied considerably during the course of the nineteenth century as gender relations evolved. The relations between gender and domesticity have continued to be complex, fluid, and contested. It is unrealistic to speak of such fluid and transforming gender relations abstractly, however. There is always a geography to social relations. Gender relations are very much embodied and thus "take place" in literal, material ways. As Butler (1990) and others have emphasized, gender is performed in places which are never merely backdrops, but which themselves help to constitute social relations. As a primary site of the transformation of gender relations, the home should be central to the study of the history of gender relations, work that must, of course, avoid reproducing the mind/body, public/private, and male/female sets of dualisms. Social relations are embodied everywhere not especially in the home, although it may be an especially important site to study the negotiation and transformation of gender relations.

By the mid-twentieth century, suburban housing developments in the United States had extended the scale of the privatized home from the house to the whole suburban landscape and thus suburbia came to be seen as a feminized, private realm of the family as distinct from the masculine, urban spaces of the public realm (Hareven 1993). The twentieth century also saw a continuation of the nineteenth-century endeavor to create the "ideal home" as a site of domestic reproduction organized by the "house wife." Silverstone (1997: 7) points out that as a result of middle-class women having experienced work outside the home during the Second World War, "post-war suburbanization was buttressed by a concerted effort by public policy and media images to re-socialize women into the home, and into the

bosom of the nuclear bourgeois family." The idea of the "dream home," however, was criticized by feminist authors such as Friedan (1965) and Hayden (1981; 1984). More recent cross-cultural work continues this line of argument (Monk 1999) positing the nuclear family home as a site of patriarchal power, constraining as it is protective. The delegated organizational role of the woman in the home has tended to be circumscribed by the expectations of men of their home as a haven from the public world of work.

Housework, defined as "the work that ensures the smooth running of the domestic economy" (Christie 1999), has traditionally been defined as the realm of women. However the increasing move of women into paid employment outside the home has not necessarily brought about a radical shift in the gendered nature of housework (but see Lewis 2000). Many women feel that they hold two jobs, one paid and the other unpaid (McKee & Bell 1985; Morris 1993; Summerfield 1998; Christie 1999). Yet, some research suggests many women are untroubled by the disproportionate amount of domestic labor that they do (Valentine 2001; Baxter & Western 1998). And as Gregson and Lowe (1995) show, increasingly middle-class women who work outside of the home hire working-class women to clean their homes and serve as nannies for their children. There is an unfortunate irony in middle-class women, some of whom have adopted feminist perspectives, escaping housework by paying working-class women to stand in for them (on paid domestic workers and employers, see Pratt 1998). As McDowell (1999: 83) points out, "paid domestic work within the home not only challenges the socially accepted meaning of the home and its association with the private and the familial, but also makes plain the complex intersections of domesticity, class position and racial difference that distinguish women and create divisions between them."

Although in recent centuries in the West, the ideal middle-class patriarchal home has been defined as spatially separate from any labor other than female reproductive labor, economic restructuring has begun to produce an increase in piecework labor in the home (Klahr 1999b; Meulders et al. 1994). While homework has long been common among poor women especially in highly feminized industries such as garment manufacture (Phizacklea & Wolkowitz 1995) it is now more common among the middle class as well in the form of telemarketing (Oberhauser 1995) and various other forms of telecommuting.

It is interesting to see how gendered ideals of domesticity have been diffused, contested, and transformed in different contexts (Blunt 1999; Sinha 1995). For example, in the context of colonial India, Grewal (1996: 25) tells us that:

> In India the English *memsahib* is seen as idle, useless, and too free in her associations with men; the Indian nationalists construct the Indian woman, a reconstruction of a middle-class Victorian woman, as the moral and spiritual opposite of the Englishwoman. Many Indians, especially those with an English education, used Victorian values to suggest Indian women as morally and spiritually superior and thus the proper symbol of "home."

In her studies of youth, gender and the family home, McNamee (1998: 204) believes that the notion of the house as a feminine space has been empowering in certain ways. She says that teenage girls resisted the boy's domination of the streets, by creating their own spaces to develop youth culture in their homes, especially their

own bedrooms. Increasingly now, boys, especially middle-class boys with their own computers and video games, are reasserting their claims to homespace. She argues that the increased presence of boys in the home erodes the power of girls. She thus implies that the traditional gendered separation of the public and private spheres has in fact been empowering for girls. Gregson and Lowe (1995: 227) argue that with the increasing participation of women in the labor market and the increased participation of men in domestic work, "the home is no longer the primary space identified with women but rather one space amongst many, a situation which has contributed to the multiple, frequently contradictory nature of women's identifications."

The home is not only a site of gendered power struggle and intergenerational conflicts, it has also been traditionally been thought of as heterosexual space. Research by Valentine (1993), Johnson and Valentine (1995), and Elwood (2000) explains the difficulty of living a gay or lesbian life within the heterosexual family home. In this sense, as Valentine (2001) points out, the home fails to provide a basis for privacy or the development of one's own distinctive identity. While the creation of separate gay and lesbian households is a way of fashioning space for gay lifestyles and resistance to heterosexist norms, this solution is not unproblematic due to the not infrequent homophobia of neighbors who see homosexuality as "deviant" within a family residential area (Valentine 2001).

Housing and Identity

Homes and residential landscapes are primary sites in which identities are produced and performed in practical, material and repetitively reaffirming ways. Here we use the term perform as Austin (1975) defines it: productive, in contrast to denotative; and also as Butler (1990) uses it: to mean everyday self-constituting practices, embedded in a spatial context that is constituted by social practices while it is equally constitutive of them. Homes and residential landscapes evoke powerful sentiments, helping to constitute family and community values and playing a central role in the performance of place-based social identities and distinction (Bourdieu 1984; Duncan 1973; 1981; Duncan & Duncan 2003; Firey 1945; Hugill 1989; Miller 2001; Pratt 1981).

Moving to new homes can also mark changes, both positive and negative, in cultural identity. For example, Gelezeau (2001) shows how the shift in the 1990s in Korea for many families from the traditional hanok-style semidetached or detached house to western-style apartments is taken to be a way of acting "modern" and gaining social status. But she also shows how the adaptation to a new cultural type of spatial layout is tempered by a series of behavioral adaptations on the part of residents to make the space more Korean. Collignon (2001), on the other hand, shows that when cultural change is made under duress, although adaptations are made to new housing styles, identity can be severely undermined.

Valentine (2001: 63) reminds us that the home is a key site of contemporary consumption. Indeed, ever since the 1920s sociologists have explored the manner in which class identity is performed through objects in the home (Lynd & Lynd 1929; Chapin 1935; Warner 1953; 1963; Junker 1954; Davis 1955; Laumann & House 1970; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1981; Bourdieu 1984; Hummon

1989). Drawing inspiration from this work, anthropologists, geographers and historians have explored the role of home in the performance of class-identities in North America (Duncan 1973; Duncan & Duncan 1997; 2003; Hugill 1989; Pratt 1981), in Europe (McKibben 1998; Clarke 2001; Garvey 2001; Gullestad 1992; Dolan 1999; Cieraad 1999; Saarikangas 2002) and in South Asia (Duncan 1989; Duncan & Duncan 1976a; 1976b). People produce their identities in and through places, especially homeplaces: houses, gardens, neighborhoods, and towns. Such identities are defined not only in terms of attachment to one's home place, but also in large part in contrast to and *against* an outside world, real or imagined (Clarke 2001; Chapman & Hockey 1999), what some have termed "a constitutive outside." It is this quality of identity as produced both within the homeplace and in relation to other home places that can render place-centered identities insecure. Ironically, this can happen even among those with the resources (time, money and skills) to create what appear to outsiders to be ideal settings in which to substantiate desired social identities (Duncan & Duncan 2003).

Duany and Plater-Zyberk (1992) state that American suburbanites are "happy with the private realm they have won for themselves, but desperately anxious about the public realm around them . . . the late-20th century suburbanite's chief ideology is not conservatism or liberalism but NIMBYism: Not In My Back Yard." These residential landscapes of privilege serve as positional goods and in capitalist societies where identity is linked to possessions, the aesthetic plays a role in the depoliticization of class relations (Harvey 1989). Class relations have become aestheticized in the home realm redefined as lifestyle, taste, patterns of consumption and appreciation of the visual. As David Harvey (1989: 292) says, "the revival of basic institutions (such as the family and the community), are signs of a search for more secure moorings and longer lasting values in a shifting world." The retreat into the residential realm is often manifested in the celebration of the home and of a sense of homeplace that tends to be exclusionary, simultaneously a site of security and social injustice.

Transnational Homes and Communities

The word "home" clearly encompasses more than the house, neighborhood or home town. It includes homeland or nation, a country where one resides or perhaps more importantly where one "comes from." The notion of home can include a tension between these two meanings particularly for immigrants, exiles and expatriates of varying types. In his essay "The Migrant's Suitcase," Morley (2000) discusses objects which act as synecdoches for lost or unreachable homes. House keys (Seed 1999) and suitcases, full of mementoes and clothes, fulfill this function. Sometimes immigrants even buy and furnish houses in their countries of origin in hope of eventually returning. The notion of home as the place one comes from can extend over more than one generation and the country of origins can still be home, even among those who had never set foot there.

A recent chapter in the story of the production of transnational homes and communities has been elaborated in ways never before possible: e-mail and relatively less expensive telephone calls and airline tickets are allowing Latino immigrants to the US to maintain dual senses of home and of community. Politicians and other

influential decision-makers in both the communities of origin and destination sometimes participate jointly in community decision-making by holding conference calls. Some countries are so anxious to maintain a close transnational community that they even allow emigrants to vote in elections (dependence on *migradollars*, of course, plays a role in this). Mike Davis (2000: 77) says, "To earn their living and reproduce their traditional solidarities, hundreds of *ejidos*, *rancherias*, villages and small towns in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean have had to learn how to live like quantum particles in two places at once." He says that unprecedented amounts of investment in US homes and businesses should not be mistaken for diminished commitment to immigrants' other homes and cultures. In fact, this is seen as necessary to facilitate transnational ties. He writes (2000: 80):

> The new logic of social reproduction under conditions of rapid and sometimes catastrophic global restructuring compels traditional communities to strategically balance assets and population between two different, place-rooted existences.

Some villages in Latin America have half their population living in one neighborhood in the US. Suro (1998) offers the example of Randall's, a supermarket chain in Houston, which hires more than 1,000 workers from a few neighboring villages in Guatemala. He (1998: 45) tells of finding "out amid the freeways and strip malls a thriving Mayan village improbably housed in a cluster of faux Georgian low rise apartment houses." For some the hybridity of transnationalism has lead to fuller cultural and economic opportunities, but for many others transnationalism is equated with a type of homelessness. Many forced migrants often find little sense of home or welcome in their adopted country and yet also feel estranged from the home they came from. Differential attachment to the adopted homeplace between generations also produces an unhappy ambivalence within families. Duncan and Duncan (2003) describe the feeling of homelessness of many Guatemalan men who say that can survive but not truly "live" in the New York State town where they have come to work. Constituted as "other" by a large percentage of the local non-Latino population they have difficulty achieving a sense of being "at home."

Home and Empire

The complex interplay between notions of home and the experience of transnationalism is not a new phenomena, nor it is associated only with contemporary processes of globalization and postcolonial movements of people. It was also a feature of the settlement and colonization that characterized Western imperialism from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries. Much research in this area has tended to emphasize the importance of "difference" in the experience and imagination of imperial projects (Said 1979; Hulme 1986; Rabasa 1993). For instance, Arnold (1996) argues that "torrid" or "tropical" environmental otherness was important to the colonial vision of the non-European world. Nevertheless, Blunt (1999: 94) reminds us that:

> Imperial power and legitimisation relied not only on imaginative geographies of "other" places (Said 1979) but also on imaginative geographies of "home," both between . . . [metropole and colony] and within . . . [the colonial periphery] itself.

While early European contacts with other parts of the world may have been characterized by an initial "shock of difference," a persistent theme of European colonialism has been the domestication of the exotic, particularly before the emergence of Romanticism, through the translation of "New World" phenomena into "Old World" terminology (Greenblatt 1991; Pagden 1993). The empire was never simply a site of otherness, and the spaces of "home" and "away" did not exist in absolute separation. Indeed, one of the impulses of imperialism was the imaginative and material relocation of empire in the metropolitan core. This involved diverse activities ranging from the representation of colonial landscapes in exhibitions, pageants, adventure stories, travel writing and scientific studies (Ryan 1999) to the cultivation of exotic plant species in British gardens as a way of familiarizing unknown tropical lands (Preston 1999). Metropolitan cities were transformed into imperial cities, not only in ceremonial and monumental spaces, but also in the commodification of empire and the imperial labeling of suburban streets (Driver & Gilbert 1998). All these activities brought the empire "home" and represented one aspect of the impact of empire on metropolitan culture (cf. Schwarz 1996; Stoler & Cooper 1997; Burton 1994; Hall 2002).

Also of interest is the connected but somewhat reverse impulse: the transformation of colonial "terra incognito" into "landscapes of home," or what might be thought of as the domestication of empire. This involved the transference of a whole range of objects and ideas, from architectural styles and plant material, to legal systems and aesthetic visions. The emphasis here is not on an untroubled projection of homespace, however, and the recovery of the troubles of domestication exposes the imperial landscapes of home as a contested terrain rather than a confident imposition (cf. Colley, 2002).

Domesticating empire

A key form of the domestication of colonial spaces was their envisioning through the lens of metropolitan aesthetics. Places such as the Kandyan highlands of Ceylon and hill stations across British India were viewed and described in terms of metropolitan landscape models (Duncan 1998; Kenny 1995). Rural, pastoral and georgic idioms were particularly important in the familiarization of the exotic (Gilmore 2000; Sandiford 2000). In part, this had much to do with a nostalgia for the metropolitan home and pointed to feelings of loss amongst the settler populations. But this familiarization was also an act of imaginative colonialism and served specific political and cultural purposes by collapsing the difference between "home" and "away." For example, Seymour, Daniels, and Watkins (1998: 313) argue that the accommodation of the plantation landscape of the Caribbean through "conventional modes of representing and managing British landed estates," such as the pastoral, was important in the "assimilation of the islands as British colonies and in the integration of those with colonial interests into British elite society." Sandiford describes such strategies as "negotiation," whereby those who resided or had interests in the Caribbean sought to "win a tenuous and elusive legitimacy for an evolving Creole civilization, conflicted by its central relation to slavery and its marginal relation to metropolitan cultures" (Sandiford, 2000: 3). The imaginative domestication of empire extended into the postcolonial world; Dodds (1998), for example, argues that the reimagining of the Falkland Islands/Malvinas through rural aes-

thetics was an important part of the British government's attempt to mobilize popular support for the 1982 war to recapture them from Argentina. Dodds also notes that these imaginative geographies often collapsed under first-hand experience and there were clearly limits to how easily empire could be imaginatively domesticated. Within the "torrid zone," for instance, it tended to be sites of "ambivalent tropicality" (Duncan 2000), such as Barbados in the Caribbean or the more temperate highlands of India and Ceylon, that allowed such readings of colonial space as "home."

The (re)naming of colonial space after landscapes of home was another aspect of domestication. This arch-imperial gesture was part of an attempt to efface pre-colonial cultures (see Berg & Kearns 1996). Perhaps the ultimate manifestation of this kind of naming was the description of Barbados by visitors and settlers alike as "Little England" or "Bimshire," as though Barbados was a tiny fragment of England that had floated off into the Caribbean Sea (Greene 1987; Puckrein 1984; Lambert 2002b). This imagining of Barbados as "Little England" was greatly facilitated by the rapidity of colonial development, including land clearance and settlement (Watson 1979). This serves as a reminder that the domestication of empire was a material as well as imaginative process, which involved the introduction of European property laws, forms of planning, architectural styles, and agricultural practice. Kenny (1995) notes that the projection of British landscape models on to Indian hill stations influenced the actual development of these spaces in terms of the introduction of metropolitan varieties of trees, flowers and vegetables, as well as the architectural features of an elite pastoral landscape model based on a romanticized vision of pre-industrial England. The translation of such landscape models from their cultural and historical contexts lent them heightened ideological and political significance (Duncan 1989). Indeed, the construction of hill stations was just one of the strategies adopted by the British in India to strengthen imperial rule by countering the perceived threat to the colonizers posed by prolonged exposure to the tropical climate and native population. Such concerns were part of the "acclimatization" debate about the environmental limits to European expansion in tropical areas (Livingstone 1991; Kennedy 1990). Whereas sending children to be educated in Britain and periodic home leave for those serving and living in India involved returning to the landscapes of home, the construction and anglicization of hill stations involved cultivating aspects of home – 'English' aesthetics, more temperate conditions, white demographic dominance – in India.

The material transformation of empire was also part of the effort to utilize natural resources, and processes such as clearance, settlement, and planning both drew on and facilitated domesticating visions. Attempts to domesticate the tropical were often scripted in heroic masculinized discourses as part of a struggle to tame nature, a struggle in which women and children were seen as particularly vulnerable (Duncan 2000). Yet, this was not the only framework through which domestication was understood. The discourse of "improvement," which Gascoigne (1994) characterizes as the more efficient use of resources based on reason and the elimination of waste, transformed colonial space into a landscape of home by making it useful (Drayton 2000; Grove 1995). This was polite enlightenment rather than heroic taming and involved farming, breeding and cultivation. Blunt has also discussed the more feminized domestic discourses that framed the establishment of

"homes" as part of the colonial project (Blunt 1999). Efforts to introduce white women to many colonies, especially from the mid-nineteenth century, were linked to a determination to emphasize racial divisions between colonizer and colonized, and also stemmed from fears about miscegenation and degeneracy – both fueled by the rise of scientific racism (Stoler 1992; 1996).

Material inscriptions of colonial space served ritual and symbolic purposes. Sites such as the grass lawn, the rose bed, and the hill station itself lay at the intersection of a series of environmental, aesthetic, political, and technological projects intimately bound up with colonialism. The cricket field is an illuminating example. First played across the empire by British soldiers during the Napoleonic Wars, the popularity of cricket was immense, particularly amongst white settlers, and pitches were laid across the Victorian empire. Participation in cricket was a way in which white settlers could "play at home" by reinforcing their links with metropolitan society and demonstrating that they had not succumbed to cultural or bodily degeneration (Beckles 1995; Stoddart & Sandiford 1998). The cricket field itself assumed a ritual purpose, being an example of what Baucom, after Nora, terms a "*lieu de mémoire*" – a place "where an identity-preserving, identity-enchanting (sic), and identity-transforming aura lingers, or is made to appear" (Baucom 1999: 19). Such sites were seen as sustaining the Englishness of settlers and colonial agents, *and* as a potential method for anglicizing colonial subjects. Certainly participation in cricket, particularly as spectators, was encouraged amongst black West Indians to legitimize the local and imperial social hierarchies. The cricket field was to serve as a metaphor and metonym for self-control, submission to rules and the acceptance of rank (Baucom 1999: 135–63; Beckles 1998a).

More generally, the domestication of empire was often accompanied by attempts to control the colonized both through the segregationist strategies that attended the creation of hill stations and European suburbs in colonial cities (Kenny 1997; Dossal 1991), and in the encouragement of assimilation through the promotion of metropolitan lifestyles (Duncan 1989). Urging colonial subjects to adopt European models of household organization and domesticity was key to this. Hall (1993), for example, discusses the attempts made by white missionaries to fashion a new society in the postslavery Caribbean through the establishment of "free villages" carrying the names of the pantheon of British abolitionism ("Sturge Town," "Clarkson Town"). These supposedly highly-ordered spaces were to be sites at which formerly enslaved black people could be anglicized – made Christian, hardworking, conforming to the gender roles of the English middle class and loyal to the "mother country" (Bhabha 1994; Blouet 1981; see also Scully 1997: 63–80).

The impact that the various attempts to domesticate empire had on colonized people is, of course, a moot point. It is perhaps significant that the West Indian poet, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, chooses the idiom of an idealized but misplaced landscape of home to characterize and criticize the persistence of colonial mimicry in the postcolonial Caribbean – this is the "snow was falling in the cane fields" way-of-thinking that he sees as typical of the educated West Indian imagination (Brathwaite 1974). Nevertheless, domesticating projects often failed or had unexpected effects, perhaps by sowing discontent within those sections of the colonized population excluded from the spaces and discourses of imperial domesticity (Duncan 1989). Moreover, as Baucom notes, "the pedagogical field can be made

into a performative space" (Baucom 1999: 39), and a *lieu de mémoire* could also be a "contact zone" of transculturation, creolization, and hybridization (Pratt 1992). For example, the "free villages" fostered the development of an Afro-Caribbean political culture, which broke from the humanitarian networks that had helped to incubate it, and the cricket pitch became a place "to beat the master at his own game" (Beckles 1998b). This suggests that colonial "landscapes of home" were the sites of a complex interplay of inculcation, display, performance, and subversion.

Troubles of settlement

The reproduction and location of "home" in an imperial context was not untroubled. There were difficulties in attempting to separate "home" and "away," of defining a boundary between metropole and empire (Fletcher 1999). Nor was the imaginative and material transformation of colonial space into "landscapes of home" unproblematic. Rather it was attended by a whole series of anxieties, some of which stemmed from the very attempt to reproduce landscapes of home. Some arose from fears about the vulnerability of settler populations on the frontiers of empire (Colley 2002), others were predicated on environmental theories of white degeneracy and the concern that home could in fact never be reproduced in the tropics.

The transformation of colonial space often involved the use of colonized labor and this was frequently a source of anxiety. The presence of free or unfree nonwhite people in the empire belied the notion that the colonies were a copy of a racially homogenous "home" (itself a fiction, of course – see Fryer 1984; Lorimer 1978). Although their role in providing labor power or knowledge was marginalized in myths of settlement and colonization (Stewart 1995; Spurr 1993), this could never be fully achieved. Unfree labor was often seen as necessary because of doubts about the suitability of white labor in tropical climates and yet, at the same time, the presence of enslaved and coerced nonwhite labor was a striking manifestation of how the colonies were *not* home: slavery "symbolized the otherness of the tropics" (Arnold 1996: 160; see also Seymour, Daniels, & Watkin 1998). This would become a major issue from the late eighteenth century when plantation slavery came to be seen as a "problem" requiring metropolitan and humanitarian intervention (Davis 1996). Indeed, the participation of white settlers in slavery became a marker of their "un-Englishness" (Greene 1987) and of the "aberrant" status of the tropical "slave world," in contrast with a temperate "free world" and its developing wage-labor norms (Davis 1975; cf. Pope Melish 1998). The presence of unfree labor also undermined the claims of those who relied on it to share an identity with their metropolitan counterparts (Sandiford 2000; Lambert 2002a). On a different scale, Blunt (1999) and Stoler (1995) have discussed the imperial anxieties about the presence of nonwhite servants *within* colonial households, particularly those raised by practices of breastfeeding and childcare of white children by nonwhites. Various strategies were used to regulate the domestic other. For example, Kennedy (1987) notes that in the British settler colonies of Kenya and Rhodesia, where African men made up the majority of domestic servants, their infantilization and desexualization as "boys" was an expression of concerns about the safety of the domestic landscape of home and was symptomatic of the elaborate regulatory forms of behavior expected of both black men *and* white women.

Anxieties about the presence of native and colonized populations within the "landscapes of home" – be it the colony, the colonial city or the colonial household – centered on fears of racial mixing and hybridity (Young 1995), either the miscegenation that might transform the colonizing population into the "other" or the sexual danger that might accompany anticolonial resistance. Discourses of the home became a means of representing imperial fears of resistance. For example, in her discussion of accounts of the Indian "Mutiny" of 1857, Blunt demonstrates how "the severity of conflict came to be embodied by the fate of British women and the defilement of their bodies and their homes" (Blunt 2000: 403). She also shows how the violation of white femininity in imperial accounts of colonized insurgency was expressed through the theme of domestic defilement, perhaps because of the difficulties associated with representing rape and sexual assault (Sharpe 1991). Similarly, in the British Caribbean in the 1830s, concerns about whether the islands would remain "home" for the white settler population after the formal ending of slavery centered on anxieties about the safety and tenability of white domesticity (Lambert 2002a).

If the menacing presence of the colonized "other" was one source of anxiety about colonial landscapes of home, then concerns about the hybridity and degeneracy of white settler populations were another. Such anxieties often manifested themselves in unexpected ways. For example, Duncan has shown how hill stations became a draw for metropolitan British tourists, especially in the early twentieth century, as they were promoted for the desirable aesthetic mix of English and Indian landscape elements. Yet this was a source of concern for the inhabitants of such sites. As Duncan shows (1998: 152), the notion that their anglicized "home" could become a source of fascination and pleasure because of its hybridity was a real worry:

> The British who were residents in, rather than visitors to, this picturesque place feared that they were part of the cultural decay of the place. They could not unambivalently maintain that distanced aestheticized view of the tourist, for they were not on the outside looking in – they were part of the landscape itself.

The different perceptions of visitors and residents point to a contested geography of "home." Moreover, the concerns of the British residents of Kandy in highland Ceylon point to a broader uncertainty about the place of white settlers in, rather than visitors to, colonial spaces. While the tendency of European settler populations to view the metropolitan country as "home" has been noted, settlement – particularly long-term – did produce a greater ambivalence about where home was. There was often a political dimension to this too, as, for example, in the humanitarian assertions that settler groups were not treating colonized populations in a manner consistent with their claims to be European (Lester 2001; 2002; Lambert 2002b). It is in the light of such concerns that the enthusiastic adoption of metropolitan cultural forms in the colonies can be understood – such as the phenomenal popularity of cricket in the West Indies – as these were means of demonstrating adherence to metropolitan values and of seeking to ensure continuing metropolitan support for settler interests. Nevertheless, this very enthusiasm often reinforced metropolitan notions that their colonial compatriots were "mimic men" and not "English English" (Anderson 1991: 93), or what Stoler terms "parvenus, cultural incompetents, morally suspect, and indeed

'fictive' Europeans, somehow distinct from the real thing" (Stoler 1992: 102). The effort to adhere to metropolitan cultural norms in building styles, the naming of streets after famous metropolitan originals and so on – indeed, the very description of a West Indian island such as Barbados as "Little England" by white inhabitants – added to the impression among metropolitan visitors that this was not a landscape of home, but a pale imitation, a landscape of mimicry.

The imaginative domestication of colonial space was an appropriating, colonising project – it made these places "already white, already home" (Spurr 1993: 31). Nevertheless, the attempt to create landscapes of home in the empire was attendant with concerns stemming from ideas of environmentally-induced degeneracy and the supposedly deleterious effects of proximity to nonwhite people, as well as from humanitarian claims about the brutality of settler populations. Such "tensions of empire" (Cooper & Stoler 1998) between core and periphery were often expressed through claims and counterclaims about landscapes of home. The key question was whether making home in the empire alienated one from the metropolitan home and it is in the light of the ambivalent place of white settler cultures within European empires that landscapes of home and away should be approached. Moreover, the role of the colonized, unfree, and enslaved in subverting the domestication of colonial space and defamiliarising the "landscapes of home" – perhaps through the very *lieux de mémoires* that were seen as sites for the ritual reproduction of "home" – remain relatively unexplored.

Conclusion

The romance and naturalization of the notion of home as "a haven from a heartless world," be it one's abode or one's homeland, highlights a poignancy to the ambivalence inherent in the notion. The idea of home has much cultural, ideological, and psychological work to do: from Thomas Wolfe's maxim that "you can't go home again"; increasing homelessness in the most affluent countries; the lesbian for whom "homophobia" refers to the fear of going home; widespread domestic violence across the socio-economic spectrum; Edward Said, the Palestinian writing from the United States who never feels at home anywhere; Hannah Arendt, the exile who, despite living for years in New York, never unpacked her bags; transnational Latinos living and working in the United States but voting in local elections in their "home" villages in the highlands of Nicaragua; the white West Indian planters for whom the cricket pitch was a link to the "mother country"; to the British residents of Ceylon who feared that their home was a source of voyeuristic pleasure for tourists. As perhaps the most emotive of geographical concepts, inextricable from that of self, family, nation, sense of place, and sense of responsibility towards those who share one's place in the world, home is a concept that demands thorough exploration by cultural geographers.

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