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TEA GOLOB
School of Advanced Social Studies, Nova Gorica

Imagining a Home in a World of Flux: Challenging Individualisation and Transnational Belongings

Abstract: Article attempts to discuss the significance of individual consciousness, people's motivation to pursuit their ends and the extent of their freedom from exterior influences, while focusing on relationship between migration processes and belongings among diasporic groups. It draws on insight from the in-depth interviews with migrants who are a part of Slovene and Irish transnational diaspora, and thus aims to represent certain transformations in social reality embraced by the ideas of individualisation, while being simultaneously aware of particular weaknesses of those ideas. The focus is on their conceptualisations and perceptions of home, as a useful concept in considering individualisation that undermines the traditional meanings of tradition, family relations, ethnical and national belongings. What seems to be important is that in the era of increased individualisation, traditional social categories remain salient although contested and social forces still represent influential components in migrants' negotiation of the selves and the others. The conceptual lens, which could capture the contested relation between agency and structure in migrants' live, is that of transnational social fields.

Keywords: individualisation, agency, social structure, home, transnational migration, social fields

Introduction

> "Being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed;
> being mobile is not necessarily about being detached."
>
> (Ahmed et al. 2003: 1)

The article attempts to consider transnational belongings and identifications in the light of contemporary social phenomena which challenge ideas of individualisation (Giddens 1991; Beck 1992; 2002). In the stake is the relation between migration and dislocation, belonging and identification, which is to a large extent linked to the ongoing relationship between social forces and individual's power to (re)define and to resist those forces. The problem of structure and agency, which has come to be seen "as the basic issue in modern social theory" (Archer 1988: ix) has accelerated in academic attention in line with the 'cultural turn' that sensitised the role of individuals in constitution of their social world. Accelerating 'time-space compression', pointing to the idea that both the logic of capitalist growth, and the availability of technologies of instantaneous communication have radically transformed our perception of the world (Harvey 1989), forms a condition for social change reflecting a dynamic between agents and social structure on different global and local levels. The influence of

the rapid flow of mass-mediated images, scripts and sensations has brought about "a new order of instability in the production of modern subjectivities" (Appadurai 1996: 6), while networks of social relations, cultures of adaptation, and political and economic institutions work also on global and transnational levels. According to the theories of increasing individualisation (Giddens 1991; Beck 1992; 2002), the power of tradition and social structure is withering away and individuals are capable to influence a social system with their everyday activities (Giddens 1994). Family, class, and neighbourhood have been marked as zombie categories, which still exist but are rather being dead than alive (Beck and Beck Gernsheim 2002: 203). Focusing on the ways that migrants adapt to, identify, or resist the new social context through which they move, migrants should be considered as individuals that can make decisions about their life whereas strategies with which they take control of their life are of great importance. However, they are simultaneously embedded within networks of social relations, cultures of adaptation, and political and economic institutions. There is a circulation of social, cultural, economic, and as Urry argues (2007), network capital, which plays a certain role in that respect. They participate in a global space through transnational channels and networks, while simultaneously the desire and need for belonging to a certain place are still strongly present among them and the homeland as a physical and imagined territory remains an important element in their belongings and identifications.

In what follows, we attempt to discuss the significance of individual consciousness, people's motivation to pursuit their ends and the extent of their freedom from exterior influences, while focusing on relationship between migration processes and belongings among diasporic groups. We draw on insight from the in-depth interviews with migrants who are a part of Slovene and Irish transnational diaspora, and once emigrated from Slovenia or Ireland in the course of their life and then returned. And there are their descendants who were born and grew up in a Slovene or Irish community abroad but decided to migrate to Slovenia or Ireland. The focus is on approaching migration within the framework of transnationalism which contemplates processes, activities, individuals and their identifications across national borders and connects them within a broader space, both physical and cognitive. Contemporary migration constitutes a complex socio-cultural phenomenon, not solely because it entails geographical mobility. It produces a whole range of personal and social transformations even though it is delimited by diverse internal and external cultural, economic and socio-political factors. We believe that narratives of those migrants could capture the contested relationship between transformed social structures of late, liquid or second modernity (Bauman 2000, Beck 1992) and encouraged individuals pursuing 'life of one's own' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). It is argued that a 'late modern' epoch of 'de-traditionalisation' and 'individualisation put to the front the 'project of self', with an emphasis on individual self-fulfilment and personal development, which comes to replace relational, social aims (Duncan and Smith 2006). The era based upon a nation-state society, on given collective identities such as classes, families, and ethnicities is in that regard nothing but a past. However, the examined migrants' experiences and perceptions illustrate quite a dif-

ferent picture, which points to the idea that pre-existing social structures have not gone away. Migrants' global involvement in transnational flows and their concomitant attachments to a particular country reveal a certain degree at ambivalence in their everyday life, which inspired the present discussion. Drawing on empirical material, we attempt to represent certain transformations in social reality embraced by the ideas of individualisation, while being simultaneously aware of particular weaknesses of those ideas. We ensue from critics of individualisation pointing to its exaggerated generalisation (Brannen and Nilsen 2005). According to Duncan and Smith, who explored family individualisation, structures of economic necessity, social groups and moral codes have not gone away, although they may have changed. Further, people consider connection and commitment to others to be just as much important as before and if there is individualisation, "it is within social bonds, not away from them" (2006: 3). We suggest that conceptual lens, which could capture the contested relation between agency and structure in migrants' life, is that of transnational social fields. The idea of the latter emerged from migration studies, focusing on transnational identities formation and migrants' ties to home while their countries of origin and settlement are geographically distant (Fouron and Schiller, 2001: Lewitt and Glick Schiller 2004). The transnational social fields comprise different social forces, which consist of the relational topographies of networks, the institutional rules prevalent in the field, and cognitive frames structuring the perceptions of agents (Beckert 2010). The later does not mean that the role of agency is neglected, but it is put in the frame of social arenas where "actors gather and frame their actions vis-a-vis one another" (Fligstein 2001: 108).

Concept of Home in a World of Movement

In order to illustrate the contested relationship of individual agency and social forces in the era of individualisation, we ensue from conceptualisations and perceptions of home. It seems to be a useful concept in considering individualisation, which undermined the traditional meanings of tradition, family relations, ethnical and national belongings. 'Home' has always been a concern of scholars exploring various issues relating to the ideas of intimacy, family, kinship, gender, ethnicity, relations of production and consumption and many more (Mallet 2004: 84). The etymology of the word itself is actually a narrative to be explored. One can see ideas that language presents an inevitable part of social forces influencing people's lives to be still the most relevant (de Saussure 1910; Geertz 1973; Levi- Strauss 1976; Bernstein 2000; Brannen and Nilsen 2005). In English, the term 'home' is derived from the Anglo-Saxon word 'ham' in the meaning of village, estate or town (Mallet 2004: 65). The unabridged Oxford English Dictionary has at least two dozen different definitions of home including locations of various levels of scale referring to individual dwelling, a village, a territory, region, or nation-state. Home can be one's birthplace, the place in which a person feels comfortable, and to which he/she feels a sense of belongings (Hammond 2004: 37–41). In the Slovene language, the notion of home—*dom*—also

embraces the variety of meanings. According to the Dictionary of the Slovene Standard Language (1980), it can denote a place of living, a family formation, a homestead, or particular institutions. Further, it can also be used as an expressive metaphor for a homeland—*domovina*. The meanings of the term are very similar in both languages, while both terms originate from the Indo-European 'kei', meaning lying down and something dear or beloved.

Reviewing the literature on the topic (see Mallet 2004: 65), one can notice that traditional sociological perspectives considered the notion of home mostly as a synonym of a house or household. Home referred to a physical shelter, territorially bounded in a certain location where daily routines and family relations were embedded in a fixed environment. Home presented a place where space and time were controlled and "structured functionally, economically, aesthetically and morally" and where domestic "communitarian practices" could be realised (Rapport and Dawson 1998: 3). Considering home as a physical place, another issue comes out, although on a different scale, referring to a country, nation-state or homeland (Ahmed 1999; Armbruster 2002). Such a conceptualisation of home is explicitly territorially based and predicated upon the nation-state acting as the primary container for people's lives (Lukas and Purkayastha 2007: 244). Furthermore, a sense of belonging to a specific place often accompanies a wish to reproduce and/or reinvent traditions and cultures associated with home. "It is not only national, cultural and social belongings, but also a sense of the self, of one's identity, which corresponds to various conceptualisations of home." (Al-Ali and Koser 2002: 7).

In contemporary sociological perspectives home can still refer to a house or a nation-state. Nevertheless, views on the notion have changed. The growth of global communications, media, consumerism and popular culture has greatly affected the contemporary world situation. It has been argued that traditional understandings of home as fixed and territorially-based entities are anachronistic, and provide little conceptual purchase in the world of contemporary movement. New ideas about home have been postulated indicating perspectives which are concerned less with the routinisation of space and time and more with their fluidity and with individuals' continuous movement through them (Rapport and Dawson 1998; Rapport and Overing 2003; Ahmed 1999; Mallet 2004; Lukas and Purkayastha 2007). Accordingly, a concept of home embraces "various modalities, as for instance memory and longing; the conventional and the creative; the ideational, the affective and the physical; the spatial and the temporal; the local and the global; both positive evaluations and negative" (Rapport and Overing 2003: 157). Increasingly, individuals are seen as moving between multiple present homes. Therefore, not only can one be at home in movement, but that movement can be one's very home. There has been a move away from the notion of bounded socio-cultural units of analysis in favour of an appreciation of individuals who move cognitively and physically through their lives; who throughout their lives move shorter and greater distances across the globe, and who imagine communities of belonging (and invent their traditions) on their way (Anderson 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; see Mallet 2004: 69).

Home and Transnational Belongings

Alongside the growing awareness that transnational processes have changed the ideas about migration and belongings, new conceptual ideas concerned with *home* have come to the fore. In that respect, it is not just the distinction between a homeland (a place of origin to which one feels emotionally attached) and a home (a stable place of residence where one feels secure, comfortable, and familiar) that seems to be crucial. Seeing that transnational migration not only introduces a disjuncture between people and their homeland, but also between their homeland and their homes, migrants may create more than one home not necessarily attached to a homeland (see Tsuda 2004: 125). The challenge herein is to capture the connections between imagining and constructing a home (or homes) and defining a self, while considering this disjuncture. It is argued that finding oneself may be equated with finding a 'home', as the concept could denote a house, a family, a locus of belonging and/or imagined community (Basu 2004). Furthermore, the social constructions of home, place and belonging simultaneously depend on ethnicity and ties to an imagined homeland, and upon a legal and social status and economic and political relations in both locations (Ahmed et. al. 2003: 8). That implication indicates contested homes, and ambivalent, multilayered identifications among migrants. In imagining homes and constructing identities, it is the connection between the two places, 'here and there' that is of paramount importance (Clifford 1997).

The concept of home, which is at stake herein, is two-fold. First, it refers to home-making regarding external images and social practices within places where migrants construct a home, and the other is a home-coming referring to imaginative constructions of what migrants actually perceive as homeland. We intend to approach to migrants' perception of home via their relation to ethnic origin, homeland and their activities to sustain their culture, heritage, language, and national consciousness while living abroad and after having returned. We assume that searching for ways in which "homeland "of the mind" (Rushdie 1992, cited in Basu 2004: 151) becomes materialised presents a crucial component in understandings of migrants' belongings and self-perceptions. Meanwhile the process of home-coming offers an invaluable conceptual lens in exploring the forces and motives that drive immigrants and their descendants back to places of origin. Following migrants' routes, we presume that their arrival to Slovenia or Ireland signifies the direction to 'home', but the notion in a way still remains contested for them. By considering the concept of home-coming as an analytical tool, it is the attempt to reveal migrants' imaginative constructions of what they actually perceive as homeland. While examining migrants' perceptions of home, the issue of individualisation and their dependence on 'traditional' social categories come to the fore. Their social practices convey simultaneous presence of two places and constant movement across borders while creating certain social memories, discourses and feelings of belonging. Migrants, regardless where they choose to immigrate, present a part of transnational diaspora that carries a different meaning as it was presumed before the meaning of transnational flows was recognised. In articulating transnational diaspora, it becomes evident that emigrants do not make a sharp break with their

homelands. According to Lie, rather pre-migration networks, cultures, and capital remain salient. Moreover, along with the complexity of crossing, the pre-migration backgrounds highlight the diversity of migrant identities and belongings (Lie 1995: 304).

Constructing a Home Abroad

Slovene and Irish communities abroad represent social spaces where immigrants define and construct their collective identities in terms of emphasising their 'roots'. Migrants have passed down a very special image about their homeland to their descendants. They picture homeland as an "idyllic country, a dream place, and as a heaven on the earth." They put a great effort into sustaining and transmitting certain ideas, images and social memories about the homeland among their members in order to preserve national identity. Migrants' attempts to preserve and transmit ideas of *homeland* actually contribute to the ideas about *home*, and so Slovenia or Ireland becomes a substitute for a *home*. They use different strategies in order to maintain what they perceive as Slovene or Irish. With various practices they do not just preserve but simultaneously produce social reality in which they recognise themselves as Slovene or Irish. Home can be a physical place with certain decoration that refers to nationality. Usually, the walls of the homes were decorated with calendars showing the Slovene or Irish landscape, with pictures presenting churches, villages and with motives referring to everyday life in their homeland. According to Walsh, especially in homes of expatriates, landscapes could have an important function as mnemonics, anchoring belonging explicitly in geographical space. These pictures could present a home as nation, a romanticised celebration of connection with homeland. The decoration thus refers to a powerful marker of belonging (2006: 6):

Instead of external image the social praxis inside the home can be even more important in creating home sphere. Therefore, home is not necessary the place where someone lives, but imaginative space. For instance, migrants did not recognise physical place of living abroad as a true home, a true home was Ireland or Slovenia for them. To migrants home represents a component of their national identity. They have preserved memories on the homeland and roots with specific external and internal image and social practice in domestic environments and other places. The latter has marked them as different and put them in opposition to the "Others." Home is a place where through primal socialisation individuals receive information that orientates their self-identification. Therefore, social and cultural practices inside their homes have emphasised Slovene or Irish identity.

Coming Home

Defined as a personal narration of identity and belonging, the concept of home is a useful tool of analysis to examine processes of territorialisation, deterritorialisation, and reterritorialisation (see Svašek 2002: 514). The idea of home as a country is manifested in domestic environment encoded with complex symbolic meanings. Furthermore, the relation between home and homeland is developed and sustained

also in different environments, where Slovenianess or Irishness is produced, and is manifested in physical objects and social and cultural practices.

Arguing that migrants produce idea of home as a country, another issue comes to the fore. Seeing that Slovene and Irish migrants were sustaining the idea of homeland with different practices of home-making, one should question if the return to Slovenia or Ireland (or immigration of emigrants' descendants) actually means a way back home. The process of home-coming offers an invaluable conceptual lens in exploring the forces and motives that drive immigrants and their descendants back to places of origin. In the process of assimilation the idea of home as a substitute for a country is gradually disappearing in someone's imagination of the self. When talking to the informants, the idea of home as homeland is still felt as remained salient and it presents one of the various reasons influencing their decision to come to Slovenia or Ireland. Nevertheless, the reasons of migrants' arrival to a country they perceived as a country of origin were often very complex and overlapping. They depended on each particular immigrant country where they came from, and on personal circumstances, as well.

The Slovene independence in 1991 held a meaningful shift for the Slovene communities. Many of them have returned because they wanted to accomplish their dreams or dreams of their parents and thus partly to fulfil the myth of return. Nevertheless, exploring for instance Slovene migrants in Argentina, one can see the majority of them came after 2001, led not only by personal reasons but also due to the economic situation. It is often impossible to separate social or cultural factors from economic ones, as the social context, within which economic factors arise, contributes to their importance. Narratives of migrants offer an interesting insight into the influence of transnational connections in perceiving and imagining multiple homes. In response to transnational circumstances, migrants experience home as multi-dimensional, pluri-local, and characterised by regular movements across. Migrants changed their perception of home while migrating to Slovenia and simultaneously transformed their self-identifications. They have two homes now, not just a mythic home, as in the case of Slovene emigrants living abroad. They sustain regular connections with both of them. They have multi-layered, complex, ambivalent identities relating to more than just one home in one country. According to Huttunen (1991), immigrants have to negotiate their relationship to their new countries of settlement, but at the same time, relationship to the past and to the country of origin is renegotiated. Migrants, while settling in a new society, borrow new characteristics and elements from it and consequently reinvent elements of home country traditions (amongst others) thereby transforming them. Furthermore, transnational connections played a crucial role in that process. It seems to be important that a world-wide social network and its communication points such as Facebook, Skype, and Messenger enable a rapid flow of information and thus make possible to establish new connections and preserve the old ones between transnational users. Transnational connections based on personal contacts are of great importance while emotional connections among family members and friends enable regular flow of information and goods between the states.

In situation of Irish migrants, transnational connections also stimulated return, while they facilitated movement. Therefore, regular connections between countries

accelerated the adjustment to a new environment and after the return the social network of migrants is not crucially different. Besides, migrants often return because they organise their life to do so. Their participation in transnational social spaces and regular contacts with the family and friends presents a crucial advantage in their return, seeing that personal and familial reasons are the basis of their decision-making (Corcoran 2003). Again, it is often impossible to separate social or cultural factors from economic ones, as the social context influence economic factors and vice versa. Exploring Irish diaspora, the issue of 'coming home' becomes revealed as a legal category. Returned migrants are often not considered to be migrants, but simply 'homecomers' who are returning to where they 'naturally belong (Ní Laorie 2008b: 39). This is reflected in government policy where immigration is the remit of the Irish Abroad Unit in the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and of the Minister of State for Integration Policy. Since the 1990s, there has been a growing recognition and encouragement of close relations between the Irish state and the Irish diaspora. This powerful narrative of return migration as 'coming home' reflects the way in which migration is viewed in Irish society generally. It involves an expectation that return migration will re-integrate into Irish society unproblematically (Ní Laorie 2008b). However, migration experiences and transnational activities have greatly affected their imagination of the 'selves' and the 'homes', which is well-evident after they return. In diaspora they were producing Irishness. When they returned to Ireland, their image of Irishness has become contested.

Discussion

In the era of accelerated technological development, increased mobility and global connectivity, certain aspects of social life have taken on new meanings and conditions. Individuals are assumed to be freed from social structures. According to theories of individualization, it is not actually a matter of choice, but individual is in a way forced to become the agent of his or her own identity making and livehood (Beck and Beck and Gernsheim 2002), while "the self today is for everyone a reflexive project" (Giddens, 1991: 30). Individual is therefore much more capable to influence a social system as the everyday activities seem to have a global impact (Giddens 1994). Social world is characterised by reflexive human actions that have occurred as a result of changes in social order. Intensification of globalization processes and the growing complexity of modern society have conditioned a number of transitions in everyday life, which are reflected in the character of social organization and in the structuring of the global system (Beck, Giddens, Lash 1994). As Urry argues, individuals have to develop these personalised life projects setting them free from social structures, so they extend and elaborate their social networks which are more personalised, more specific to them and less shared (Urry 2007: 195). But this does not mean that traditional categories and structural forces play no role in their lives. Drawing on migrants' perceptions of home, we offered some insights into the relation between individual consciousness, identity, and people's motivation to pursuit their ends in the context of changing social

structures. Two things seem to be important in that regard, which contested ideas of individualization and call for reconsideration of the agent-structure relationship. The first refers to de-traditionalisation of some institutions denying the role of particular categories as nation, ethnicity, family and class. The other considers the actual freedom of individual making their life-choices. We argue there is a substantial influence of social forces, which individual may find invisible. As Brannen and Nilsen argue, in narratives, the structural side of life is often expressed in the silences, seeing that while "the lives people live continue to be processually and contextually embedded, people may find the external and structural forces that shape their lives more difficult to comprehend and therefore talk about" (Brannen and Nilsen 2006: 424). Or as Lash argues, institutions must be comprised primarily of not regulative, but constitutive rules, and thus they may not be recognisable to us as institutions (Lash in Beck and Beck—Gernshein 2002: viii).

Migrants' narratives illustrated various ways in which they produced the physical place where they felt at home and implemented practices that reflect their ideas about home in terms of elucidating their imagining of homeland and sustaining certain national or ethnical identity. Diasporic communities somehow represent social spaces where immigrants define and construct their collective identities in terms of emphasising their 'roots'. The link between Slovenia or Ireland and home was more than obvious. While they were living in diasporic communities, they were referencing Slovenia or Ireland as a synonym for home. Accordingly, they were trying to construct their home abroad in the ways that would actually draw particular country near to them. In both cases, Slovene and Irish, migrants' perceptions ensue from a particular point of view that embraces most intimate feeling of belongings, yet the primary focus was 'home'. The traditional categories of moral codes, family, and nationhood are therefore still most present.

Migrants' social practices convey simultaneous presence of at least two places and constant movement across borders while creating certain social memories, discourses and feelings of belonging. Connections of migrants on transnational scale comprise different cultural, social and political horizons relating to national states, while the increasing complexity of contemporary society simultaneously combines and fragments those horizons on units, which are not limited by national frames. Homecomings in their stories are negotiated between embodied experiences, social networks, and politicised and narrated identities. Homes can be simultaneously constructed in many locations and are negotiated between constraints and possibilities to each location. Therefore, home as a sensory world of everyday experience and home as a place of origin became contested. Migrants' feelings of belonging indicate a certain level of ambivalency, and in relation to transnational activities they have all established multi-layered, ambivalent transnational identifications. One can say that multi-layered and changeable identifications present an essential and effective strategy for migrants. In this context, transnational migration enables migrants to connect to new communities and social networks. Therefore, dual, ambivalent attachments and multi-layered feelings of belongings do not necessarily present a burden for them. Quite the opposite, they create ambivalent identities to make the adjustment easier.

They are able to choose and switch their identities in certain occasions. Accordingly, migrants' life is signified with a set of social projects which are primarily oriented toward creating better, more satisfying future lives. Therefore, we can argue that are transnational migrants the ones who maintain connections, build institutions, conduct transactions, and influence local and national events in both, the country of residence and the country from which they emigrated. The process of home-coming indicates the instrumental value of migrants' identifications. Homecoming as a process is not only a result of a nostalgic relation to homeland and a myth of return, but it also presents "a charter for new social projects" (Appadurai 1996; Stefansson 2004: 3). Nevertheless, as Urry argues, social sciences often concentrate upon subjects interacting together and ignore the enduring systems that provide infrastructures of social life (2007: 11). It is still a system that enables the movement, and provides 'spaces of anticipation' that the journey can be made (ibid.) Migrants are simultaneously embedded within networks of social relations, cultures of adaptation, and political and economic institutions. Their roots and routes depend on the regulations imposed by nation-states and various other opportunities and constraints (such as state-controlled immigration, refugee policies, and institutions in ethnic communities). There is a circulation of social, cultural and symbolic and economic and network capital, which play a certain role in that respect. Ideas of individuals' liberation from social structure seem to be justifiably criticized, seeing that those perspectives partly fail to account the constraints of the social forces as social actors are indisputably embedded within structure (Craib 1992; Adams 2006; Ritzer 2008; Fligstein and McAdam 2011).

As it has been argued, the conceptual frame that seems to be able to capture the dialectic relation between agency and structure in the contemporary social processes is that of social fields. Urry argues (2007) that mobilities develop into a distinct field with characteristic struggles, tastes and habituses. It is a site of multiple intersecting contestations, while the scale at which the habitus is to be found refers more to the scale of potential face-to-face encounters, where bodily disposition is important, and not so much to the original formulation of the concept which is applied more to geographical places (Bourdieu, 1977; Kelly and Lusis, 2006). Drawing upon migrants narratives, we can conclude that they participate in transnational social fields, which are considered as multi-dimensional, encompassing and structured interactions of differing forms (Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc-Szanton, 1994; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004), involving the active production by individuals of a social space exceeding national borders (Low and Zúñiga, 2003). Accordingly, it is important to take account not only of the dispositional and positional but also the interactive dimension of social games. We believe, that in that regard, the intersubjective practice plays a crucial role, which is experienced not just in terms of dispositions to act but also as a relation to the expectations and influence of concrete networks of others. (Bottero 2010: 16). Migrants depend on networks and solidarity ties (social capital) in order to sustain their transnational activities. The transmission of social capital occurs in a number of ways: regular visits of migrants to their homeland or their communities placed abroad after the return, visits of their friends or relatives in their receiving country and vice versa in case if migrants return. It also occurs through many exchanges of letters,

videos, cassettes, emails and telephone calls. Further, there is a cultural capital, which evokes and sustains particular communities and transnational social spheres, which circulates through various migrants' activities, ideas and narratives. Therefore, once again we agree with Duncan and Smith: if there is individualisation, "it is within social bonds, not away from them" (2006: 3).

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Biographical Note: Tea Golob is doctoral candidate and research fellow at the School of Advanced Social Studies in Nova Gorica, Slovenia. Her main research interests are cultural sociology, social stratification, social modernization and migration studies.

E-mail: tea.golob@fuds.si