Introduction

'Now, We Are Here'

Anchoring in the Meantime

Um Bashir[1] had been fussing all morning. She moved the tables back and forth to make space for the two builders carrying their tools and a long ladder through the café to the upstairs flat. Two patrons were deep in conversation. They sipped their sweet mint tea, oblivious to the commotion around them. For the past three weeks Um Bashir had been overseeing the refurbishment of her flat. The work on an extension of one of the bedrooms and an additional bathroom was almost done. She was hoping that the project would finish by that evening in time for the two sofa beds that were arriving the next day. She had particularly chosen designs that were big enough to accommodate her grandchildren and other family members who needed to stay with her. 'Listen', her daughter Manal told me in her usual mischievous tone as we sat with her parents and her brother to have a quick lunch. 'Other women seek hobbies like knitting … drawing, maybe … or arranging flowers … you know, lovely things like that. My mother? Never! *Subhān Allah*!' Giggling through her sentence, she continued, 'her hobby is construction sites!'

This was not the first time Um Bashir had embarked on renovating the flat in the two years since her arrival in London with her husband Abu Bashir. 'If you ever lose my mother', Manal teased, 'you are sure to find her in IKEA or a second-hand antique shop. Apparently, these places help improve her

English!' Taking her daughter's teasing in her stride, Um Bashir nodded with a beaming smile, perhaps recognizing some truth in the picture her daughter was painting. After all, she did have plans to redecorate the café, which was attached to their flat. Al-Zaytuna was the business that Um and Abu Bashir had started for their family in London and were hoping to upgrade and expand now that it was up and running. 'Well, how else would all the children fit?' Um Bashir asked. She was referring to her children and grandchildren, who in that year, and in different combinations, stayed in that same flat as they sought, in their turn, to settle in London: two unmarried sons, an unmarried daughter, a son with a wife and three children, and a married daughter with her three children. 'Now, this is our family home [*dār al-ʿāʾila*]', she added. The project of making home was sure to justify the financial, physical and emotional investments at stake in such a mission. As if absorbing the gravity of his wife's words, Abu Bashir responded with what sounded like a poetic proclamation, 'London!' After a pause he added rhetorically, 'Who would have thought the Gazzawis[2] would make a home in London!'

'No one knows where we will be tomorrow', Um Bashir sighed in response to her husband, confirming the uncertainty that haunted their migration. 'But now … we are here. This is where we have anchored [*arsayna*].'[3]

What does it take to 'anchor' in a place in which one had not intended to settle? This book documents the processes of 'anchorage' of the Gazzawi family, whose migration to London was accidental. Um and Abu Bashir were no strangers to the UK, a country they had been visiting to check on three of their children, who had been living in different cities: one of their daughters had been living in Glasgow, Scotland since 2001, with her husband and three children, and two of their sons were doing postgraduate studies in London and had stayed on when they found good jobs after graduating. As conditions of life worsened in Gaza, particularly with the 2007 Israeli blockade, their youngest son sought asylum in the UK. Um and Abu Bashir were hoping that, by joining his brothers, their son would make a life away from the violence and risks young men faced under occupation. On one of their usual visits to see their children in 2007, the couple was unexpectedly stranded in London due to a siege that the Israeli military enforced on Gaza, which involved the closure of all border crossings, prohibiting the passage of goods and people. The intended short visit was extended numerous times. Giving in to their sons' pleas, and without much choice, the couple applied to stay in the UK and they were granted a five-year residence permit based on a humanitarian protection scheme.

Um and Abu Bashir envisaged their stay in London to be a liminal and temporary phase that would soon end with the reopening of the borders. But a few months into their stay, Israel launched its 2008 war on Gaza, thus complicating the idea of return. Frustrated at first and troubled by the fate of their house and business back home, the couple accepted that they may have

to stay longer than they had intended. In the year and a half that followed, and as life became untenable in Gaza, their unmarried daughter sought asylum in the UK, followed by her married sister, who wanted a safer life for herself and her family. As the months went by, Um and Abu Bashir immersed themselves in the lives of their children and in their new city. While they still hoped to return to Gaza one day soon, London was to be their home – at least for the time being. The refurbishments were a means to make this new place homely for a family that was now displaced.

What makes home, and how is it refigured in the temporary? In documenting the labours of (re)creating home in conditions of uncertainty, this book tells a universal story of migration, by drawing out the everyday practices and projects that embed migrants in their new social worlds, the rhythms and sociabilities they pursue to forge a sense of security and stability, the challenges they face in learning how to navigate new social rules and bureaucracies, and the affects and sensibilities that govern these experiences. But the book is also a particular story. It is an account of Palestinians who find themselves displaced and dispossessed from home, having to make new lives in what Arabs refer to as *shatāt* (forced dispersal), the particular predicament of Palestinian removal from their land, the scattering of their families and communities around the world and the denial of their legal and moral right to return. Israel's war on Gaza in 2008, not unlike the series of wars that followed over the period of fifteen years, had devastating effects on Palestinian communities. As I write this Introduction, Israel, with unwavering support from the United States, the UK and other European countries, has waged yet another war on Gaza in 2023, carpet bombing major parts of the city and razing entire neighbourhoods to the ground. The death toll has surpassed 40,000 civilians,[4] nearly half of whom are children. The violence, loss and injustices that led to the displacement of home in 2008 no doubt hovered over the Gazzawis' concerted efforts to settle in London. But this is by no means a story of victimhood. Nor is it an account of the exilic experience that has a rich documentation in the literature on diasporic Palestinians (Said 1988; Suleiman 2016; Loddo 2017). Rather, the book focuses on the ways these migrants embraced the sense of possibility in the UK and found ways to thrive by actively shaping their new social worlds and by 'bringing a bit of Palestine to London' through everyday acts and practices of emplacement.

Privileging Palestinian Experience

This book shifts perspectives away from the representations of Palestinian migrants in mainstream British discourses as problematic figures who are unable to integrate and who struggle to belong. Palestinians living in the UK

have endured tired orientalist tropes. The image of the threatening terrorist is regularly reproduced by mainstream media that often conflates Palestinians, Hamas, Hizbollah and ISIS, reducing the subjectivity of Palestinians to violence.[5] In this sense, Edward Said's contention that Western prejudice against Palestinians has rendered them 'a synonym for trouble … mindless, gratuitous trouble' (1992: 7) still rings true. Hostile migration policies, counter-terrorism programmes (Kundnani 2014) and, more recently, the silencing and criminalisation[6] of protestors speaking out against Israel's genocide on Gaza in 2023/2024[7] have all played a role in reinforcing these tropes as well as Palestinians' awareness of always being suspect (Allen 2009). On the other end of the spectrum is what Scarlet Harris calls 'the falafel identity' (2017: 939), which emerges out of trivializing Palestinian culture and representing it as 'absen[t] of great cultural achievement' (Said 2003: 289). My intention in this book is not to directly engage with these discussions with a mission to 'correct' such diminishing, flawed and dehumanizing representations. Rather, I employ ethnography to trace the ways in which the Gazzawi family members made their lives in London viable through the thick and thin of an uncertain migration.

This book therefore privileges my interlocutors' own experiences and perspectives in their story of migration. The focus on the emic has for long been one of the hallmarks of ethnography. Yet, there is a particular urgency for a focus on experience in the current climate surrounding movement in the Western World. In the British and European contexts, discourses of 'crisis' in migration since 2015 have but exaggerated the 'global apartheid regime' (Hage 2016; Besteman 2019), in which countries in the Global North have increasingly undertaken measures that are military, technological and epistemic to deter the mobility of people from the Global South. By 'nurtur[ing] xenophobic ideologies and racialized worldviews' (Besteman 2019: S26), this regime has entrenched hierarchies of deservingness and brought to the fore the inequalities underlying the ability to move (or to stay put, for that matter) for people in different parts of the world (Holmes and Castañeda 2016). Current discourses of migration tend to omit the contexts, histories and regimes of power that lead to migration in the first instance. They reduce migrants to 'metaphorical figures that have little to do with their actual lives' (Tošić and Lems 2019: 3).[8] With the best of intentions, the way we write about migration as scholars 'risk(s) replicating all-too-familiar logics of apartheid and marginalization' in what Heath Cabot calls the 'business' of academia (2019: 262).[9] In this sense, privileging emic idioms and concepts and a 'return to experience' (Tošić and Lems 2019: 6) become not just ethical and political imperatives but also intellectual ones that open up new avenues for theorization.

As the following chapters will show, the pursuit of a viable life tends to be messy, contradictory and fluctuating in ways that are not always amenable to

theoretical organization. Some of the established academic concepts available to us do not adequately cover the complexities of the worlds we are writing about.[10] Critical scholars of migration have shown that a phenomenological focus on experience, in its attention to hopes, affects, dreams, desires and disappointments, points to the existential nature of migration (Hage 2009, 2021; Jackson 2013; Schielke 2015; Lems 2018). Detailed ethnographic portraits can lay bare the processes and intersubjective ways in which people make sense of what is happening in their lives, particularly how they navigate ambiguity and uncertainty. Emic expressions, concepts and metaphors can be generative in this regard. As Lakoff and Johnson (2008: 3) argue in *Metaphors We Live By*, 'our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people'. In this vein, and moving away from conceiving migration as routes (Clifford 1997), or from considering settling in a new place as an event, I take Um Bashir's expression of '*arsayna*' as a starting point to develop the concept of anchorage as a novel lens to understand migration, home and place in ways that account for fluidity, temporariness and serendipity.

Capturing the depth of these experience requires not only an openness to new theorization but also a particular style of writing. I follow a scholarship that has been committed to forms of radical empiricism that 'zoom in' (Tošić and Lems 2019: 2) on the vagaries of human experiences and that analyse and comment on them without a 'radical split' from them (Desjarlais 1992: 35). The value of ethnography, as Michael Jackson has long argued, is not in its guarantee to reveal some hidden knowledge of others but in the 'intersubjective process of sharing experience, comparing notes, exchanging ideas, and finding common ground' for understanding (1996: 8). My aim in this book is to develop an anthropology of anchorage that documents and understands the everyday practices that create a sense of holding fast in otherwise fluid times and places. A focus on the ways migration trajectories unfold in time and place brings to the fore the motivations, aspirations and agencies that drive migrants in new places, where they seek to create home. As this book documents the experience of Palestinian migrants, radical empiricism is all the more needed. At a time when Palestinians are facing annihilation, writing about Palestinian life, whether at home or in the diaspora, becomes an ethic of presence and a subversion of colonial erasure.

A Palestinian Diaspora?

'The Palestinian is a refugee!' (*al-Filistīnī lāji'*),[11] Um Bashir told me once. Her anxious married daughter Widad had just left the room. She had returned upset from an unsettling meeting with the immigration lawyer handling her

asylum case, and her mother had been trying to console her. A potential rejection of Widad's application would be devastating for her family. Um Bashir was hopeful that her daughter would be granted refugee status. This would certainly alleviate her immediate worries. Yet, the feeling of being a refugee remains a recognizable existential condition among Palestinians worldwide. Regardless of legal status or location within or outside the territories of historical Palestine, Um Bashir was pointing to the universal predicament of Palestinians: as long as they were away from their land, they would remain refugees. Um Bashir's statement condenses a drawn-out history of forced displacement. At the heart of this history were the devastating events of the Nakba, which saw the flight and exodus of some 700,000 Palestinians from their homes, lands and villages in the 1948 war that led to the creation of the state of Israel. The catastrophe – the English translation of Nakba – was the destruction of Palestinian society. With hundreds of villages obliterated and with the forceful dispersal and fragmentation[12] (*shatāt*) of the Palestinian population, the lives of Palestinian individuals, their families, communities and the Palestinian nation were all irreversibly transformed (Sa'di and Abu-Lughod 2007; Masalha 2012).

Scholars of Palestine have argued that the Nakba is not a mere political event with a distinct ending. Unlike disasters explored in what Rosemary Sayigh calls 'the trauma genre' (2013: 56),[13] the Nakba is ongoing. It is not just a traumatic memory; 'the suffering caused by the Nakba has to be understood in terms of a *continuing* state of rightlessness [original italics], with all the varieties of abuse and violence that rightlessness exposes people to' (2013: 56). Sayigh argues that the Nakba repeatedly generates new disasters that deprive Palestinians of a sense of security, not only in the present but also in the future.[14] It is this continuity that is expressed in Um Bashir's and other Palestinians' notions of an 'ongoing Nakba' and the predicament of living in perpetual refugeehood.

Although the Nakba marks the fragmentation of Palestinian communities, many agree that it was also a key moment for the birth of a collective Palestinian consciousness and the consolidation of a national identity defined by a history of suffering and the struggle for recognition (Doumani 1992; Khalidi 1997; Lindholm Shulz and Hammer 2003; Sa'di and Abu-Lughod 2007). As Ilana Feldman writes, 'the political value of simply being (being Palestinian, claiming Palestinianness)' has been a vital part of the now seventy-six-year-old struggle (2012: 158). It goes without saying that to claim that all Palestinians in the world have a homogenous identity or political subjectivity would be inaccurate. Being Palestinian in the West Bank is not the same as being Palestinian in a Lebanese refugee camp (Allan 2013), in Denmark (Schiocchet 2022), in Chile (Bawalsa 2023) or indeed in the UK (Loddo 2017). What it means to be Palestinian, or what forms

Palestinianness take in different social and political contexts, can be topics of dispute and contention, as I show in Chapter 5. However, Palestinians in all these places, in spite of diversity of expression, *do* feel united in their profound sense of social belonging to a broad and global Palestinian community and cause.[15]

Despite the different expressions of this communitarian space, scholars of Palestine and Palestinians themselves are cautious in their use of the category 'diaspora' to represent the Palestinian experience. Diaspora has come to have many meanings in the literature (Clifford 1994; Brah 1996; Gilroy 1999; Brubaker 2005; Quayson and Daswani 2013). With the shifts in emphasis in its conceptual development, it is often unclear how exile and different forms of displacement sit in the frameworks of diaspora studies (Lindholm Shulz and Hammer 2003). As Julie Peteet argues, the 'uncritical invocations of diaspora risk minimizing the range of traumatic conditions that fuel displacement and the way these shape sociocultural formations and subjectivity' (2007: 629). In this sense, diaspora may negate both the internationally recognized legal category *and* the identity of 'Palestinian refugee', deflecting attention from the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. In the same vein, Abbas Shiblak warns that the use of diaspora might indicate an acceptance of Palestinian dispersal and risks the assumption that they are 'no longer refugees uprooted from their country by force' (2005: 8). Moreover, scholars have indicated that the permanence implied in understandings of diaspora as 'essentially about settling down [and] putting roots "elsewhere"' (Brah 1996: 182), does not chime with the exilic experience of 'liminality', the 'state of constant alert' or the existential refugeehood described by Palestinians living abroad (Lindholm Shulz and Hammer 2003; Suleiman 2016: 4; Schiocchet 2022). This critique and problematization have not necessarily led to the abandonment of the use of diaspora as a category.[16] However, it does call for a 'critical politics of mobility' that 'examines and ethnographically grounds its use of diaspora' (Peteet 2007: 630). This issue, of course, does not apply to Palestinians alone. Treating people as 'representatives' of 'types' of displacement (such as forced versus voluntary) tends to create problematic moral judgements (such as deserving and undeserving), not to mention that the boundaries between 'forced' and 'voluntary' migration are often themselves questionable (Jansen and Löfving 2009: 8; Glick-Schiller and Salazar 2013; Holmes and Castañeda 2016).

The Gazzawis provide a very good example of the futility of these labels. A Palestinian family of ten, five of the children, as well as the parents, moved to London at different times over the course of ten years, after one sister had already settled in Scotland. Among the eight who were in the UK, they combined an assortment of legal statuses: student residencies, asylum claims, refugee statuses and British citizenship. Their arrival stories range from the

ordeal of crossing various borders for one brother to travelling on a business class ticket for another. For all of them, however, the premise of their displacement, despite its logistical execution, relates to the living conditions they were subjected to in their city, Gaza, as a result of the structural and actual violence inflicted on the Palestinians by the Israeli state. A main repercussion of the blockade on Gaza, for example, was the closure of a thriving business that the Gazzawis owned. Other drivers were life-threatening events during the Israeli war on Gaza in 2008 and the overwhelming sense of entrapment inflicted on the general population of residents.[17] If we take on board that displacement can result from staying put as well as moving across space (Hage 2009; Kelly 2009; Cabot and Ramsay 2021; Obeid 2023), then the displacement of the Gazzawi family may have started long before their move to London.

My aim from this discussion is to bring to the fore some of the problems and the loss of complexity that arise when we use certain mobility labels, particularly in the case of Palestinians. What might be more generative is to think of diaspora as a 'a way of being in the world and a way in which the world comes to be' (Hage 2021: 2). The starting point of this book is that the Gazzawis are agentive actors, embedded in the social, political and historical contexts that make up their worlds. Through an ethnographic approach, the book sets out to detail the ways in which different members of this family strove to make their worlds, as individuals, as a family and as a community, viable in London. This viability is made possible with the (re)creation of home, for it is in home that 'the intimate and the global, the material and the symbolic' (Long 2013: 334) tend to converge.

A Palestinian Home in London

Um Bashir often spoke to me about her family home in Gaza. Um and Abu Bashir had built their home through blood, sweat and tears. It was luxurious and spacious, with two large living rooms (*salonayn*!). Um Bashir longed for the bustle of relatives, neighbours and friends coming in and out of their house and she missed *istiqbāl* (offering hospitality). The three-bedroom flat in London was small in comparison and lacked the comforts of the Gaza house. When her children and grandchildren stayed with her, they crammed into shared rooms and sofa spaces. 'It was but a temporary arrangement', she consoled herself. She and her husband would sooner or later return to Gaza. And yet, Um Bashir continuously invested in that small flat. She did so materially, through decorating and embellishing the flat with ornaments, handmade cushions and curtains, chairs she herself upholstered and, socially and affectively, by turning the flat into the node that connected the different

households in this extended family. I often teased Um Bashir about her busy social life. It did not feel like her life in London was all that different from the one she described in Palestine, I would say. Her life seemed just as busy, judging by the flow of people who dropped by for a *ziyāra* (visit): classmates from her English and swimming classes; neighbours she had met while shopping at the local grocery shop; Palestinian friends from London; not to mention the big feasts she prepared for her family and friends on weekends and on occasions such as *Īd*. *Al-dār*, home, Um Bashir would say, is something you must 'create' (*biddik tikhlaqīh*). While aware of what was left behind in Gaza – a house, a rich social life, routines, attachment to place, etc. – Um Bashir believed that one could, through certain processes, and in time, (re) create some of the things that would lead to feelings of comfort and security (*rāha* wa *amān*), in other words a sense of homeliness. To put it simply, we can think of homemaking as a set of agentive practices through which people work on making a new place familiar (Rapport and Williksen 2010).

Home, in this sense, is much more than a material dwelling, even when it needs to be 'materially anchored' (Boccagni 2017: 51). It is an 'affective space, shaped by emotions and feelings of belonging' (Blunt and Dowling 2006: 22; Lenhard and Samanani 2019; Boccagni, Mercia and Belloni 2020). We often articulate this as the '*feeling* of being at home', which we experience when we feel a sense of security, familiarity and autonomy; when we gain spatial knowledge of the places we live in and when we feel able to communicate with others, to build relationships and to belong (Hage 1997; Boccagni 2017). Ghassan Hage highlights an important existential aspect of homemaking, that it involves a set of forward-looking practices that rely on the feeling of 'a sense of possibility', where one can discern opportunities for a better life (1997: 102–3). Rather than defining what home is, then, the literature has approached home as a dynamic set of everyday processes[18] that have diverse meanings and articulations. Particularly for people who are displaced and who long for homes they lost, home can be a representation, an 'imaginative space' (Lenhard and Samanani 2019: 13), in which the past and its memories are woven into the present, the future and idealized versions of home – a home one aspires to. Home therefore stretches across different temporalities (Mallet 2004; Jansen and Löfving 2009; Brun and Fabos 2015). Here I extend these arguments to explore the entanglements of home with homeland. As a metaphor of belonging, home traverses different spatial, temporal and relational scales interlocking individuals with families, neighbourhoods, communities and nations.

For the Gazzawis, the project of home was anchored in the everyday, in routine chores, activities and economic projects that aimed to reproduce a *Palestinian* home in London, even when the nature of these activities were themselves transformed or renegotiated in the diaspora. It is not my intention

here to present an essentialist argument about identity. The 'fetishization' of the homeland and the preoccupation with the idea of 'origin' have received well-articulated critiques (Clifford 1994; Axel 2002). Such critiques, however, ought not dissuade us from paying attention to people's attachments to notions of the homeland, the times and places in which such attachments intensify and the ways that the nation percolates into the nooks and crannies of everyday life. For Palestinians, as for others, the national extends far beyond national territory. What it means to be Palestinian, and perhaps Palestine itself, are 'dynamic processes of becoming, rather than [perceived] through fixed static identity politics' (Johnson and Shehadeh 2013; Richter-Devroe and Salih 2018: 16). It is in the context of daily life that national subjects are constructed. In the recreation, negotiation and even invention of familiarity and sociality in London, there was a strong sense that aesthetic, sensorial and social practices that promoted homeliness were guided by a Palestinian habitus – my interlocutors would stress Arab or Gazan sensibilities at times, depending on the social context, and eventually a 'London' sensibility as they settled. Once reunited, family members began to undertake practices and activities that made life feel 'normal': cooking food together, cleaning the house, calling each other several times a day, shopping together, taking their mother to a doctor's appointment, looking after grandchildren while their parents were at work, taking a trip to Scotland to see their sister, discovering London's attractions and so on. These activities 'temopralised everyday practices' (Boccagni 2017: 69), but they did so precisely because they were approached in similar ways to how they were done back home, *'al-tarīqa al-Filistīnia* (the Palestinian way), as my interlocutors would say. Mundane activities, in the ways that they (re)created everyday sociality and familiarity for the different family members, imbued their new place with meaning and enhanced their processes of emplacement.[19]

The interlacing of home, family and nation was especially prominent in the establishment of a family business, a Palestinian café that offered 'home-made' food. As a savvy businesswoman, Um Bashir saw a niche in the Arabic foodscapes of London. While there was an abundance of Lebanese, Moroccan and other Arab eateries, there were very few Arab and Palestinian restaurants across London – particularly in the area of South London in which her sons lived. 'What better way to introduce London to Palestinian [culture] than food?' And not just restaurant food, but 'real home-made food in London'. It is no surprise that food played a crucial role in producing familiarity. Food is one of the most powerful markers of identity. It facilitates a sense of continuity with the past, but it also enables the creation of new relations, particularly in a city like London where food in its diversity has come to be an important measure of multiculturalism. As a site that would facilitate *lamm al-'ā'ila*, the uniting of the family, as Um Bashir referred to

her project, the café anchored the Gazzawis financially, affectively and, as the business became stable, politically. By re-creating a Palestinian national cuisine in London, and by turning the café into a site in which Palestine and its culture were represented, the Gazzawi family aspired to contribute to a politics of presence that aimed to sway political opinions in the metropolis. The chapters of this book (1, 2 and 6) detail the ways in which this project of a Palestinian café was realized and how it deepened the links between home, kinship and nation for this dispersed family. That the café and the new Gazzawi accommodation were part of the same property only amplified these entanglements.

Outside of the café itself, the Gazzawis created a network of social relationships. Some of these were with other Palestinians dispersed around London.[20] But on an everyday level, most of these relationships were emplaced in their very mixed neighbourhood and were built around the café. The shops in the vicinity were owned by a diversity of people: a Moroccan owned a butchery, an English man a fishery, an Indian a fruit and vegetable shop, a French family a bakery and a Lebanese the next-door Italian restaurant. Apart from some special Arabic ingredients that they ordered from Arab shops or imported from Palestine, the Gazzawis bought most of the café supplies from these neighbours, thus embedding the café in the neighbourhood economy and strengthening neighbourly ties. These shop owners and their families would often be seen at the café during the day and were also invited to some Gazzawi family festivities. This 'social field' facilitated a sense of familiarity outside of the house/café and exemplifies the 'modes of incorporation' that Nina Glick-Schiller and Ayse Çağlar (2006: 614) referred to when they argued for an approach that looks beyond migrants' interactions with their own 'community', ethnic or national group. The sense of feeling at home for the Gazzawis was fostered by the familiarity created in the home, through their work in the café and through the economic and social relationships they forged on their immediate street. As the chapters that follow will show, while home in its various scales is a site of familiarity, affective belonging and social reproduction, it is also a 'site of contestation and creativity' (Lenhard and Samanani 2019: 12) in which personhood, family and nation are all negotiated and recast.

At Home with the Gazzawis

Um Bashir and I sat down in the afternoon around a plate of her home-made *basbūsa* (a Palestinian coconut cake) and a pot of mint tea. Abu Bashir was sat at his usual table by the window, sipping his tea and quietly observing the street. Their youngest daughter Manal had just returned famished and

was having a late lunch that she assembled from the café fridge. This was around late afternoon on a weekday when the café did not expect customers. Yet, it was anything but quiet. I had promised Um Bashir to help her with her English homework and we had only been through a few irregular verbs before her daughter-in-law Reem started chasing after her three young children, Layla, Nizar and Yasmine, who were running around the tables, asking them to calm down. 'Do you want a snack, my darlings?' Um Bashir cooed at them before she got up, prepared three wraps of *labna* (strained yoghurt), which she gave to the children and returned to her homework. Minutes after that, her youngest son Khalid entered the café with a strange haircut, causing a commotion in the room. The back of his head was shaved unevenly; locks of different lengths dangled from his head. They all teased him that the family reputation on the street would now be compromised, thanks to his new look! One of Widad's children was sent to fetch me. Widad, Um Bashir's eldest daughter, was on the phone with the bank in the upstairs flat and she needed help with translation. When the call was resolved, Widad, her two daughters, who were watching TV, and I joined everyone in the café. We returned to the homework, or at least attempted to, before their other son Salih emerged from another room with a tablet. A videocall from Gaza! Updates from relatives about some official papers that the family were awaiting. Two customers came into the café. They seemed unsure whether it was full, now that almost every table had family members occupying it and the noise was reverberating to the street: Um and Abu Bashir, Salih, Widad and her three children, Reem and her three children, Khalid and me. A spontaneous reshuffling immediately began. The children were moved out of the way to free up a table. 'Come in, come in!' Abu Bashir beckoned. In his broken English and playful manner, he explained, pointing his index finger in the air with exaggeration, 'All these people … one family! Only you [are] the customers!' to everyone's laughter.

This lively scene exemplifies the centrality of the café as a living space for the Gazzawi family. The feeling that a patron has just entered a family living room was one of the appeals of Al-Zaytuna that emphasized the homeliness of the place. Family members ate together in the café, hosted friends, did their homework, conducted business and spent a good portion of the day chasing the little children out of the way, especially when the café was busy. Upstairs were a sizeable living room decorated with photos of the family and Palestinian embroideries, three bedrooms[21] that miraculously fitted everyone's belongings, and two bathrooms. Since the upper part of the property did not have a kitchen, the family used the café kitchen, separated from customer tables and chairs by a display fridge, to prepare their own food. It was not uncommon to see members of the family going into the kitchen in

their pyjamas to make a latte, to fry an egg or even to heat some food from the display fridge, as Manal did.

When I began my research, the upstairs flat attached to the café hosted Um and Abu Bashir and their three unmarried children – Salih, Manal and Khalid (see Figure 0.1). Their two eldest sons were abroad. Bashir, a medical doctor, had been living in Canada since the early 2000s with his wife and daughter. Their second son Walid was living in Gaza with his wife and four children. Their eldest daughter Zahra was living in Scotland with her husband and three children. In London, Salih had just found a job after graduating from university, Khalid had just been granted refugee status after a two-year wait and Manal had arrived earlier that year when she applied for asylum after her life in Gaza became increasingly overbearing. Soon after, Widad and her three children followed suit and, as the asylum application was being processed, they also stayed temporarily with Um and Abu Bashir until the family was granted housing in another area of London (Chapter 3). Their son Muhannad had been in London the longest. He had a good job, which he juggled with Al-Zaytuna after he and his wife helped Um Bashir set up the business. Although he, his wife and children lived in a flat about forty-five minutes away from Al-Zaytuna, they spent most of their time in

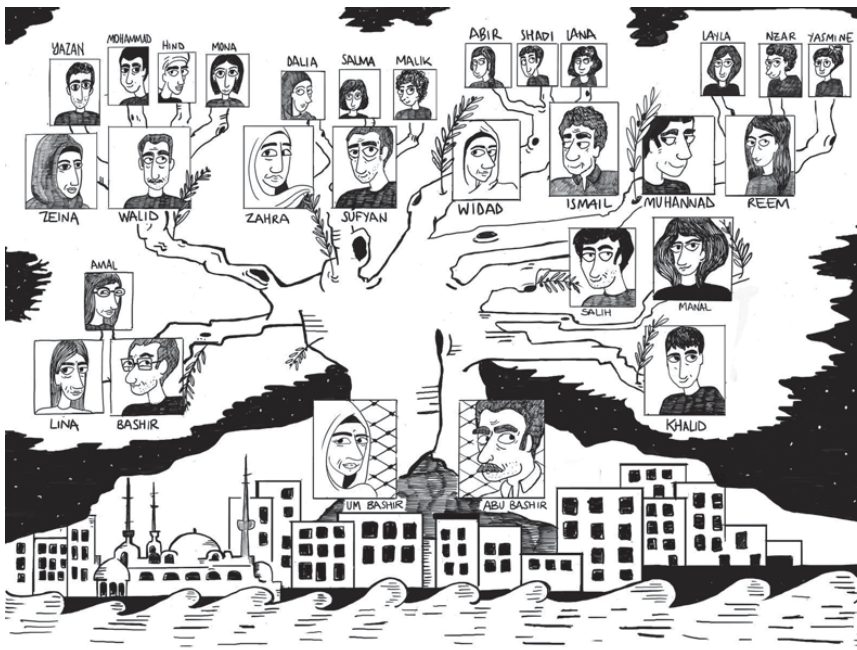

Figure 0.1. The Gazzawis: A Family Tree (illustrated by Letizia Bonanno)

the café, partly because Reem played an important role in the business, and partly because the children were attached to their grandparents. Soon after I started my research, Muhannad was offered a job abroad and decided to try it out while his wife and children remained in London. Reem and her two children moved to Al-Zaytuna.

I had met Muhannad through London's Arab community. A few friends and I had visited the new café a number of times and enjoyed Muhannad's gushing hospitality. When I started my field research, I was interested in Arab migration to London and had envisioned a street ethnography that would capture migrant experiences outside of the concentrated Arab hubs of Central London (e.g. Edgware Road). Greenway Lane seemed ideal since there were a few Arab restaurants and grocery shops in that multicultural street nestled in a neighbourhood in South London – an area where there was a small but burgeoning Arab community. I was counting on Muhannad to introduce me to shopkeepers, and I began to hang out in the café as I familiarized myself with the street. At that point, Muhannad was anxious about leaving London. His parents and Khalid, with the help of his wife Reem, were doing well in running the café, although Reem had signed up to a course and was finding it difficult to commit more of her time. Given that Um and Abu Bashir could not speak English, and Khalid's was still basic, Muhannad was looking for someone to help, especially with communication. I volunteered to spend a few days a week in Al-Zaytuna and started helping out after Muhannad trained me on the basic operation processes of the café. My café work led me to meet regular patrons and to appreciate the trials of sustaining a family business. I had the pleasure of spending time with different family members. I accompanied Abu Bashir to a nearby street market that he was fond of; I sipped tea with Um Bashir and her friends in the flat; I flipped through job and university websites with Manal, who was trying to plan her new life; I accompanied Manal and Reem to charity shops they liked, searching for the next bargain; and I hung out with Khalid and the different porters who were 'on duty' at different times, listening to music, cooking and, as Khalid would say, 'plotting' (*nu-khattit*) in relation to his plans to improve the café.

Just before his departure, Muhannad expended a lot of energy on supporting his sister Widad in her asylum case. He escorted her to meetings with lawyers and government officials, he researched schools for her children when she was granted housing in North London and continued to offer advice on Skype after he left. Still, there was a mountain of bureaucratic labour required to ensure that she and her children were settled, until her husband Ismail was able to join them later that year. I tried to fill Muhannad's shoes and began to accompany Widad to her meetings, translating and explaining processes, many of which I was discovering for the first time. Our friendship blossomed as I was incorporated into her family and as I became a *khālto* (auntie) to her children. It was a privilege to

share Widad's experience as a new migrant facing the maze of British bureaucracy. It was even more of a privilege to gain an insight into the tolls of migration on children and the ways they exercise their own agency in making a new life.

My time with the Gazzawis was spent in a combination of the café, the upstairs flat, and Widad's accommodation, without much more space for a street ethnography. I was at home in the different spaces of this family who shared their life with me. Against the highs and lows of the UK, the Gazzawis armed themselves with a big meal. Food was a language of family, love, nation, the past and the present. Big, late Sunday lunches after customers dispersed were the norm. Spontaneous pescatarian feasts that Widad cooked up – without necessarily needing an excuse – were common, when we were all summoned back to her flat to savour her fried fish in the middle of the week. A graduation, a birthday, *Īd*, an engagement, all called for the closing of the café and rearranging the space to feast with the family, often with neighbours and friends in London.

This book spans the period of twelve months (2010/2011) in which I document the changes in the Gazzawi extended family, with a focus on the family members that laboured to settle in London. The aim of this in-depth portrait of one family is not to generalize or to represent an essentialist Palestinian (or other migrant) experience. Rather, it is to tell a story that, at least in part, will resonate with migrants who strive to make life worth living in the act of anchoring in a new place.

An Anthropology of Anchorage

'We have anchored here now!' This book takes Um Bashir's expression as an invitation to think about how anchorage[22] might advance our understandings of home and migration. What actions, manoeuvres, negotiations and adjustments does anchoring entail? What happens in the 'stops' when people drop anchor? What kind of states (material, social, existential) do these pauses produce? And what temporalities can we unearth in anchoring? For example, at what point does a temporary 'mooring' become permanent? By exploring the investments made in states that appear temporary, these questions push the explanatory power of anchorage as a concept of mobility. While there has been extensive literature on movement since the 'mobilities turn' in the social sciences, anchorage and mooring have received little critical attention, even when they are often used in their conventional sense in the English language to mean stopping a movement or fastening someone to something.[23] One exception is Andrea Verdasco's work with asylum seekers in Denmark. Writing against the sedentarist bias in the migration literature

(Malkki 1992; 1995), Verdasco (2018: 5) uses 'anchoring points' to explore how people create a 'community of meaningful social relations' in uncertain situations. Her aim is to show that belonging, identity and community can be created even when people are not 'permanently grounded in a particular place' (ibid: 5). Building on this generative approach and taking inspiration from literatures on homemaking and emplacement, this book conceptualizes anchorage as an existential state that produces particular modes of being and doing that are mediated by different temporalities. Let us consider the different components of this argument.

Beyond Linear Temporalities

Um Bashir's statement 'we are here, *now*' suggests a form of presentism. Migration, however, is a process that is simultaneously backward and forward-looking. 'By its very nature it involves the migrant in different temporalities of past, present and future' (Pine 2014: S98–99). Being 'here now' is framed by a not-so-distant past and at the same time by the possibility that tomorrow we might not be. Implicitly then, Um Bashir opens the possibility for alternative futures. In time, she and other members of the family might 'sail' again; they might stay in London permanently; they might leave for a while only to return and drop anchor again. Indeed, this was the case with several Gazzawi members who years down the line would return to London after having left, supposedly for good. Even upon their arrival, family members envisaged different temporalities of anchoring. While for Um and Abu Bashir, migration was accidental and temporary, for their children who sought asylum, their plans were different. For their son Khalid, for example, life in London was a permanent plan. For their daughter Widad, who sought a life of order, safety and growth for her family, her aspiration was to give her children a good education. 'My pledge is to get them through university so that they can secure their future', she would say. After that, the future was unknown. In other words, her plans suggested a longer kind of 'temporary' than her parents, but with the possibility of sailing again, nonetheless. In capturing these migratory experiences, anchorage goes beyond the sedentarist bias inherent in arboreal images of roots (Malkki 1992; 1995). It offers a set of possibilities that enable different kinds of mobilities: staying put temporarily *as well as* settling permanently. Serendipity, temporariness and fluctuations are interwoven in these possibilities. They are not, at least from an analytical perspective, exceptions or temporal ruptures. In this sense, anchorage enables us to overcome the determinism that sees migration as a linear process. It encourages us to trace ethnographically the phenomenological experience of anchoring and the existential sense of 'feeling anchored' beyond the temporal frames of pre-migrancy, migrancy and postmigrancy (Çağlar 2016; Bachelet 2019).

Beyond the Liminal Subject

Liminality has produced rich and necessary ethnographic insights into migrant experiences and agencies. This is especially true of refugee studies literature. Yet, it has not managed to do away with the reification of 'the refugee experience'. This is to the extent that, as Georgina Ramsay (2020) observes, anthropologists tend to focus on tragedy even when their aim is to analyse agency. Linear thinking tends to portray migrant subjectivity as an exceptional form of being in which the migrant languishes in liminality and the 'permanence of transitoriness' (Bauman 2002: 438). The underlying assumption here is an 'in-between' mode of existence that would eventually be resolved.[24] Indeed, people fleeing violence face not only the uncertainties of returning home but also the anxieties of attaining legal permissions in host countries. These experiences are very real to displaced people. They were certainly real to Um Bashir's daughter Widad, who struggled with extended periods of waiting, unpredictability, feelings of 'stuckedness' and the threat of deportability – or as she would say 'the torture of bureaucracy' (Chapter 3). In a sense it is difficult to understand waiting without exploring its entanglements with hope, doubt and uncertainty. And yet, the wealth of literature has shown that waiting can be agentive (Hage 2009). It can 'trigger … forms of social energies' (Bandak and Janeja 2018) and a 'state of wakeful navigation and vigilance' for change (Khosravi 2020); in other words, active modes of doing, as I explore in the next subsection. It is also important to note that, while legal status is essential to migrant stability, legality in and of itself does not necessarily guarantee the end of displacement and the beginning of 'existential security' (Ramsay 2020: 395; see also Malkki 1995). Palestinians worldwide, as I explored earlier, consider themselves dispossessed refugees despite their legal statuses.

By asking what relationships, socialities and subjectivities people forge beyond 'the waiting' and 'the liminal' subject, we may be able to excavate an analysis that transcends the 'damaged' (Tuck 2009) or the 'suffering' (Robbins 2013) subject that remains a hallmark of refugee and, one might add, Palestinian studies (Allen 2009; 2013; Sukarieh and Tannock 2013). As this book shows, even in temporary conditions, when Um and Abu Bashir believed they would return to Gaza imminently, they still sought to achieve a degree of stability (*istiqrār*) and to settle. And, as I explore further in Chapter 5, centring joy rather than suffering in public representations of Palestinians was a crucial issue for the Gazzawi family. The book takes food to be a rich and productive way to analyse sociality. Cooking, consuming and selling Palestinian food creates familiarity at home and in the café and connects people with others through commensality and conviviality. Food therefore constitutes an essential aspect of anchoring and contributes to what

I am calling the work of re-Palestinianization, a politics of presence that involves narrating, imagining and constructing a past that has relevance in the present, against a fear of cultural erasure (Chapters 1 and 5). Departing from the lens of liminality, anchorage allows us to explore how people find stability even when they feel their vessels are adrift.

Modes of Doing

When we think of anchoring, we envisage a stop, a 'fixity' or a pause from movement. But, as I indicate above, this pause is anything but a lull. It is rather characterized by an intensification[25] of activities: finding appropriate housing, establishing a business, getting familiar with new spaces, searching for shops that sell familiar foods, learning new bureaucratic regimes (new financial and educational systems, new terminologies and logics for utility services) and so on. This book sets out to understand what the proverbial dropping of anchor entails. It explores the processes of anchor*ing* that the Gazzawi family embarked on. By this I mean a set of activities, practices and investments that are social, economic, political and affective, which facilitate emplacement and feelings of home – in other words an overall sense of 'being anchored'. Whether this happens two months or two years into migration, or how long this feeling or state persists, are questions to be pursued ethnographically. One might succeed in feeling settled while anchoring. But turbulences in personal circumstances might shake the sense of stability way after one may have begun to feel emplaced. A marriage, a divorce or a job opportunity in greener pastures elsewhere might prompt an 'anchored person' to set sail. We will see, for example, how a job prospect for Muhannad unsettled not just his family but also the sustainability of the entire café project and called for readjustments (Chapter 2). Similarly, external transformations such as a financial crisis or the rise of racism due to political changes might also lead to the desire to sail again – indeed, official government responses to the genocide in Gaza in 2023/24, with their unswerving support for Israel, despite growing protests, has challenged the longstanding security and stability of some of the Gazzawis, who began to experience the UK as 'no longer home' (Conclusion).

The following chapters trace the intensifications of anchorage in two parts. In one part, I focus on the activities, conversations, negotiations and challenges that transpired in running a family business (Chapters 1 and 2). These discussions tease out the different anchoring processes of individual family members who had distinct aspirations and ambitions in the city and were not all able to commit to the café. They also unpack the question of representation, and the political work the family was undertaking in reconstructing a national cuisine in London and turning the café into a site of representation

and cultural exchange that served to correct mainstream misconceptions of Palestine and Palestinians (Chapters 1 and 6). These chapters show how the café served as a familial, communal and political anchor to the Gazzawis.

In another part, I focus on the experience of anchoring for 'new arrivals', detailing Um Bashir's daughter Widad and her children who sought asylum and began their journey of becoming British citizens (Chapters 3 and 4). Here, the intensification is played out in the bureaucratic work needed to understand and sustain legality, entitlements and status and to secure housing and schools. What will become clear is that one's age, gender, legal status and trajectory play an important part in anchoring. The anchorage of some, moreover, might unsettle the anchorage of others. In this sense, my analysis of anchorage considers social differentiations and their intersections. In keeping with my water metaphor,[26] the chapters overall consider the 'social navigation' (Vigh 2007; 2009) required of migrants who are faced with unfamiliar and sometimes challenging social environments that they find themselves having to manoeuvre. In time, as people cultivate a sense of familiarity, home and place, the intensification reduces as people fall into familiar rhythms of life, unless, or until, stormy waters shake their sense of stability.

Modes of Being

If anchoring prompts certain modes of doing with the practical intensification of activities, I suggest that it also creates particular modes of being that also intensify and de-intensify as migrants settle. For new migrants, there is a sense that one is rendered 'a novice' (*mubtadi'*), facing the unknown while eager to absorb novelty and to share parts of oneself. The chapters capture processes of learning that entail faux pas, perplexities, frustrations as well as wonder, humour, friendship and positive exchanges that render the multicultural encounter in London palatable. Like other migrants, my interlocutors from the Gazzawi family experienced mixed affects and emotions in different moments of their migration: longing for Gaza, alienation in the UK, anxiety about getting things right in London, fear of the unknown, concern over legality, worry about children and grandchildren's adjustments, among other things. But these negative emotions and affects were always mixed with hope, excitement, curiosity, vigilance and a sense of possibility in a new city that promised a better future. How do migrants face these tensions, and what conceptual repertoires do they employ to counter them? It is useful to explore how idioms such as steadfastness (*sumūd*) – a key Palestinian concept[27] – and patience (*sabr*), prominent Palestinian, Arab and Muslim virtues, are operationalized in the face of new and uncertain situations and how they facilitate anchorage. In Chapter 4, I focus on *lakhbata,* a colloquial term that I translate as discombobulation – in keeping with the onomatopoeic

sound – which connotes a sense of disorder that leads to confusion, imbalance and ambivalence. In new places, such ambivalence and tension can be productive in the ways that they lead to situated learning (Lave and Wenger 1991) and reflexivity that occur through interactions with others. Through these exchanges, migrants reflect on what might be taken for granted, about how one is and how one ought to be with the self, family, neighbours, community and the state.

Anchorage, I have argued, is an existential state in which people hold fast in motion (by dropping anchor against waves, tides and storms). Anchor*ing* galvanizes particular modes of doing that see intensifications in activities that lead to feeling settled (legally, socially, affectively, economically and politically), in the short as well as the long run. It creates particular modes of being as migrants find themselves novices, having to learn how to exist in a new world. This world does not only shape them. As they bring something of themselves to it, they reconfigure it so that it becomes viable. It is in this exchange that one can begin to feel anchored. My aim through this anthropology of anchorage is to tell a story of how moving people make a life in a world that is itself always on the move.

Notes

1. I am using pseudonyms for all the names of individuals, streets, areas and businesses throughout the book. Some identifying details have also been altered to protect the anonymity of my research participants.
2. The pseudonym 'Gazzawi' literally means from, or of, Gaza. Gaza is by no means a homogenous space. It is home to large refugee populations dispossessed in 1948. The extended family I write about has a mixture of native Gazans and descendants of refugees who still maintain a refugee identity (see the work of Ilana Feldman, for example, 2006; 2008a, 2008b; Filiu 2015; Masalha 2018). Nevertheless, the family has a strong Gazan identity, which was very much pronounced in the diaspora.
3. R-a-s-u is the root of the word – *Yarsī* (to anchor or to moor); *marsa* (anchorage or mooring).
4. This figure, which is used in the media, reflects official numbers from the Health Ministry in Gaza. However, estimates suggest that the numbers are much higher on the ground. *The Lancet* argues that 'it is not implausible to estimate that up to 186,000 or even more deaths could be attributable to the current conflict in Gaza' (Khatib, McKee and Yusuf 2024: 237).
5. This problematic issue is particularly stark in the coverage of Israel's 2023 war on Gaza.
6. For example, the police were seen arresting protestors wearing *keffiya* (chequered black-and-white scarf emblematic of Palestinian nationalism) in London; Home Secretary Suella Braverman considered waving the Palestinian flag as glorifying terrorism; See Hunter (2023) https://link-springer-com.manchester.idm.oclc.org/content/pdf/10.1057/978-1-137-58802-9_4?pdf=chapter%20toc.

7. The UK, and London specifically, have had a tradition of pro-Palestinian solidarities and campaigning that traverse local and international groups: from student groups, trade-unions, Muslim and Jewish associations to Palestine Solidarity Campaign and the BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) movement. These campaigns were effective within certain scales, but they had not managed to challenge mainstream political discourses on Palestine. Since Israel's 2023/24 war on Gaza, new forms of protest and visible mobilisations are emerging in the UK and worldwide – for example, student encampments on university campuses.
8. In their special issue, Jelena Tošic and Annika Lems (2019) focus on migration between Africa and Europe. Here I extend their argument to non-White migrants more broadly. Without losing the specificity of their discussions, demonisation of migrants from South Asian, Arab and Central Asian countries also neglect historical connections and legacies that give shape to different mobilities.
9. Cabot makes the point that the refugee regime is a business ('the refugee industry') in the ways it is entangled with political and economic interests. 'Often unacknowledged, however, is that scholarship – itself a business – is also a part of the refugee regime' (2019: 262).
10. See, for example, a critique of the limitations of the concepts and theoretical binaries prominent in the migration literature: agency/structure (Tošic and Lems 2019); emplacement/displacement (Jansen and Löfving 2009; Bjarnesen and Vigh 2016; Lems 2016); transit migration (Bachelet 2019).
11. A similar expression is documented in Sayigh (1977: 21): 'Wherever he is, a Palestinian is homeless.'
12. A division was created between Palestinians who stayed inside the boundaries of what became the state of Israel (today commonly known as 'the 1948 Arabs' or 'the 1948 Palestinians') and the millions rendered outside its borders. In 1967, further divisions ensued when hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were driven out of the West Bank and East Jerusalem into Jordan (see Masalha 2012).
13. The trauma genre began with particular texts in Holocaust studies (Felman and Laub 1992; Caruth 1995; 1996). Sayigh, however, is interested in anthropological work focused on suffering, namely Kleinman, Das and Lock (1997) and Das and Kleinman (2001), which she critiques for its exclusions; for example, of an analysis of colonialism and the Palestinian Nakba as sources of suffering.
14. See Khalidi (2020) for a comprehensive history.
15. Building on the work of Lena Jayyusi (2007), who works with the idea of a 'subjunctive mood' to explore memory work among Palestinian refugees, Leonardo Schiocchet calls Palestinian social belonging a 'subjunctive space of Palestinianness', referring to the ways Palestinians articulate their present in relation to an idealized past (historical Palestine before the Nakba) and a utopian future ('based on dreams of return to an idealised Palestine' (2022: 77).
16. While some advocate for the use of *shatāt* (forced dispersal) or *ghurba* (estrangement; exile), for example Schiocchet (2022), other scholars still use diaspora despite the critique (see Lindholm Schulz and Hammer 2003; Hanafi 2005; Shiblak 2005; Zaidan 2012; Suleiman 2016).
17. See, for example, Roy (1995); Allen (2008; 2012).
18. Paolo Boccagni uses hom*ing* to point to the processes through which 'people negotiate a sense of home vis-à-vis their external circumstances' (2017: 3). See also Ann Christin Wagner (2019), who uses 'homing' rather than homemaking to move away from ideas

of linear movement or the bounding of home to one place in the context of her work on Syrian refugees in Jordan.

19. I follow scholars who take emplacement to mean a set of processes that continuously embed and entangle people in their environment and through which belonging is contested and articulated (Jansen and Löfving 2009; Bjarneson and Vigh 2016; Lems 2016; 2018). This departs from conceptions of place as an a priori location and suggests instead a notion of place as process.
20. Palestinian migration to the UK and Europe began in the 1950s. More Palestinians followed after the 1967 Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Lebanon's civil war, which made life for Palestinians difficult legally, economically and socially. These migrants were mainly students, civil servants and professionals. Estimates published in the mid 2000s suggest a number of 20,000 Palestinians in the UK (Mahmoud 2005; Shiblak 2005; Loddo 2006). See also Majd Abuamer's recent demographic study on 'Palestinians worldwide' (2020).
21. Technically, the flat was considered a two-and-half-bedroom flat. The 'half' was what is known in the UK as a 'box room', intended as a storage space but often used as a small bedroom or office.
22. I am grateful to Andrea Verdasco and Atreyee Sen for initiating this conversation in a workshop with the same title at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark in 2017, as I mention in more details in the Acknowledgements section of this book.
23. A few productive examples are worth mentioning here, not least because they have anchoring or mooring in their titles: Andie Diane Palmer's (2005) *Maps of Experience: The Anchoring of Land to Story in Secwepemc Discourse*; Jacqueline Nassy Brown's (2005) *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail: Geographies of Race in Black Liverpool*; and Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller and John Urry's (2006) programmatic article *Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings*. While these texts, in different ways, aim to interlace motion with location, none of them develop anchoring or mooring as analytical concepts of mobility per se.
24. Ayse Çağlar (2016: 958) is particularly critical of the teleological perspective of the integrationist model of migration in which the migrant, unable to live up to the 'ideal' integration models of the host remains in a 'perpetual state of integrating'.
25. I borrow this notion of 'intensification' from Ghassan Hage (2021), who in his book *The Diasporic Condition* shows how people strategically intensify and de-intensify the multiple realities they inhabit. For example, a person in Lebanon who is about to migrate to Australia will intensify the Australian reality by the activities needed to make that trip happen and de-intensify one's attachments to Lebanon.
26. Water images and metaphors have often been used to express rapid social change and instability. In the European context, metaphors of floods, waves, streams, tides and flows have been mis(used) in public and media discourses to talk about migration in the context of Fortress Europe's punishing border regimes (Ahmed 2004; Holmes and Castañeda 2016; Porto 2022).
27. *Sumūd* is a key term in literature on Palestine and Palestinians. For a sample of its use, see Allen 2008; Schiocchet 2012; Allan 2013; Bascuñan-Wiley 2019; Wick 2023; Taher 2024.