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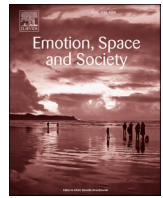
Remembering, forgetting and (dis)enfranchised grief in everyday settings in English and Welsh towns: Migrants' and minorities' translocal and local memories associated with funerary spaces and practices

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A B S T R A C T

In this paper we explore migrants' and minorities' memories and memory-making associated with death, funerary and remembrance practices, with particular attention to how this intersects with experiences of migration and/or being part of a cultural or religious minority. The paper examines different spaces including bodies, homes, translocal networks, cemeteries and crematoria, centred on insights from focus groups, biographical and key participant interviews in four medium sized multicultural towns in England and Wales. These case studies afford an exploration of the complex and dynamic 'ecologies' of migrant and minority memories and sense of citizenship in relation to death, bereavement and remembrance spaces and practices. Participant accounts highlight memories of past practices, (post)colonial marginalization, disenfranchisement, changes in practices, the strains of transnational grieving, pragmatic compromises and collaborating to improve funerary provision as endeavours of everyday citizenship. These are explored through two broad interlinked themes: firstly, translocal memories of past and evolving funerary and remembrance spaces, customs and practices; and secondly, relationality and autonomy through the choice of where to situate the dead, and implications for associated future memory-making.

1. Introduction

'Sometimes we had nice material that we shared, for the dress or something […]. So we used to exchange those things …. So every time I see that, I remember her [and] that she gave it to me.' (Muzhirah, Interviewee of Pakistani origin).

This paper explores the ecologies of everyday memory established by migrants' and minorities' experience of bereavement, burial, cremation and remembrance in Huddersfield, Newport, Northampton and Swindon, four towns (medium sized urban settlements) in England and Wales. We interrogate memories in the context of increasingly diverse multicultural communities found in smaller urban areas, reflecting on the everyday spaces of the body, home, and cemeteries and crematoria (near and far) as sites of evolving remembering, forgetting, memory-

making, and autonomy in cultural practices. Through a focus on 'first generation' migrants and 'established minorities' (the children or descendants of migrants and historic religious-cultural minorities), this analysis contributes to more nuanced understanding of the geographies of spaces and practices of memory within multicultural societies. In these dynamic spaces, (re)formulations of personal and local collective memory reflect the underlying social-cultural dynamics within communities and neighbourhoods, including mechanisms of change such as evolving demographics, and responses to those changes. Focusing on the lived experience of bereavement and associated memories in particular everyday localities, we highlight the need for attention to translocal networks and attachments (Conradson & Mackay, 2007) and 'plural and contested senses of place' (Amin, 2002: 959). Further, that choices about burial, cremation and 'repatriation' of the dead reflect relationship to

locality, national socio-cultural and political relations and wider diasporic translocal identities, constituting an important element of what Tolia-Kelly (2010) describes as the landscapes and ecologies of memory, identity and citizenship. Clearly this intersection of memory, attachment, bereavement, the disposition of the dead, and remembrance practices are emplaced, embodied and highly emotional-affective, reflecting varied religious beliefs, worldviews, preferences and practices of diverse multicultural societies and communities. They are also shaped by the ways in which these intersect with the affordances and autonomies of local funerary service provision. Here the term 'disposition' is used to refer to the final placing of human remains, whether through burial, cremation, the placement of cremated remains, or other methods.

The following section outlines the key concepts of everyday and memory in geographical and related literature, with particular reference to migrant and diasporic experience.

2. The everyday, memory and place attachment

Galvanised by work from within and beyond geography, notably de Certeau's (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*, it is argued that truly *human-centred geography* needs to attend to the everyday (Skelton 2017); and that a focus on the everyday places and experiences offers insight to 'the space of pedestrian rhetoric … of weaving complexity and difference into the texture of mundane everyday life' (Watson 2009: 1582). The everyday contains the potential for the surprising as well as the mundane (Skelton 2017), and is the context of lived experience, locality and politics (Eyles 1989). It is the taken-for-granted situated and practiced reality of day-to-day lived experience which provides the backdrop, and the norms, opportunities and constraints of practice and meaning, for both individuals and collectives. Everyday activities and practices are the key site of identity and attitude formation (Amin 2002), and reveal much about cultural attitudes and norms, as well as the intersection between abstract rights and individual and interpersonal experience (Amin 2002, 2012). As such, everyday settings and interactions are highly political; i.e. the everyday reveals the hidden workings of power (Dowler and Sharp 2001). Within this context, the everyday is an important context for understanding autonomy (Naylor 2017); and a person's sense of belonging and rights are grounded in the local spaces of everyday practices and inhabitation as well as national-level state-given status and processes (Dixon and Marston 2011; Kallio et al., 2020). In the context of multicultural societies, the everyday context can be shaped by a sense of social and cultural 'throwntogetherness' (Massey 2005) and 'living with difference' (Amin 2002) for both minority and majority groups. Therefore, the negotiation of difference within local everyday interactions are crucial sites of study for understanding urban interculturalism (*ibid.*).

Memory incorporates recollections of the past that are (re)articulated in present day places. Identities can be built through individual, familial, and collective practices, traditions, or narratives that define who we are, including how memory is mobilized by migrants to create homespace (Ratnam 2018). Moreover, we argue that, for migrants and minorities, decisions about burial, cremation, repatriation and other spatial practices of remembrance are meshed with and shaped by translocal memories, reiterative acts of remembrance, and past-present-future memory-making that surround narratives of home.

Memory is shaped by everyday objects (Owen 2021), experiences and practices as well as 'memorable' events. Memories can be conscious, sub- or un-conscious (Damasio 2000), and may be to varying degrees defined and biddable, or embodied-psychological affective traces which may surface in unpredictable ways. Scholars of memory processes distinguish between declarative memory, which includes semantic memory of what is remembered and episodic memory of autobiographical experience, as well as procedural memory of implicit and routine activities; and each of these types of memory plays a part in different forms of place attachment (Lewicka, 2014). Situated everyday

experiences and routine activities, which constitute quotidian memories, are central to shaping personal, collective and place identities; likewise, individual and collective memories create narratives and ground attachment to place. Memories work through connection (moreau and Alderman, 2012) and are part of the everyday world which we inhabit, and where we gather experience, live relationally and make meanings. This was illustrated by the quote opening this paper, in which Muzhirah's memory of her late dear friend and their shared experience of migrant life is triggered by fabric which they bought to share and sew together.

Whilst memories are stored in synapses, they are more generally *embodied*, with physiological-psychological-emotional-affective responses triggered within the body-mind by particular people, places, material artefacts, sounds, smells and practices. Bodies are intrinsic to, as well as being sites of, *accumulated* memory (Ahmed 2004), and to performative memories and acts of remembrance (Griffiths 2021). Thus, (auto)biographical corporeal and associated emotional and affective experiences, beliefs and world views are at the heart of memory, positive and negative, and relation to places and communities. As Jones and Garde-Hansen (2012: 2) articulate ' …. memory, geography, place, identity and becoming form filigrees of connections and disconnections in lived experience. Thus, memory is inherently geographical, situated (Nora 1989) and contextual (Stock 2010), constituting a critical relationship between the geographies of memory and place (Höelscher and Alderman 2004; Jones and Garde Hansen, 2010).

Memories are particularly important constituents of the dual co-producing spatial and temporal elements of place identity and one's sense of place and belonging within a given locale. The anchoring of memories to place is a near universal activity for both dominant and subaltern groups (Höelscher and Alderman 2004). Indeed, '(s)enses of place, belonging, and dwelling all rest on memory within location [. …] Places are also arenas where the differing memories of individuals, families and larger social groups fold together in a range of ways' (Jones and Garde-Hansen 2012: 86). Personal and collective memories are part of the 'affective circuitries' found in everyday landscapes and places (De Silvey, 2012), and they coalesce 'to provide the frame of reference we all use to meaningfully interpret our past and our present experiences and orient ourselves towards the future' (Stock 2010: 24). Collective memory both reflects and creates imaginative geographies and shapes individuals' understanding of one's place in the world (Said 2000), and this has particular pertinence for transnational and diasporic identities, and translocal networks and place attachment. Naturally, it is common for those who have lived in more than one place/country to experience a dialogic set of memories and memory narratives associated with their place of origin or heritage and those associated with their current home, resulting in complex notions of home and feeling 'at home' (Stock 2010).

Migrants embody personal and communal biographies and histories, which may incorporate any combination of privilege, security, empowerment, (post)colonialism, exile, trauma, marginalization or subjection. Within behavioural studies, place attachment has generally been attributed to duration of residence in a place and a consequent sense of genealogical 'inherited place' which has accreted in situ through a combination of everyday procedural and autobiographical memories (Lewicka, 2014). However, this approach, which implies a necessity for longevity in place, privileges temporality over experience and significance in both memory-making and associated place-attachment, which is challenged by communities and societies characterised by mobilities (ibid). Embodied biographical accounts effectively situate memories and narratives of the past (De Nardi, 2014), and experiences of (post)colonial citizenship shape present day relation to place and citizenship (Tolia-Kelly 2010). Nonetheless, 'active' engagement with a place creates a sense of genealogical connection (Lewicka, 2014), as evident in processes of cultural agglomeration whereby places are repeatedly (re)inscribed by cultural practices, such as the symbolic accretion of ritual in sacred places (moreau and Alderman 2010) – including cemeteries, crematoria and other sites of memorialisation.

Memories are a frame of reference to interpret the past and present and influence views of the future (Stock 2010). Memories form the filigrees of lived connection and disconnection (Garde Hansen and Jones, 2012) and this understanding of the role of day to day life and memories provides insight to the ways in which 'the accumulation of affective values shapes the surfaces of bodies and worlds' (Ahmed 2004: 121). This allows us to use everyday life, including embodied social interactions, to understand the social construction of cultural norms (Ahmed: 2012) – and how these persist, can be challenged and/or changed. In the case of death and associated mourning, 'an individual's experience of bereavement changes their relation to particular spaces and places and [….] this becomes a dynamic map of shifting patterns of emotion and affect, both painful and comforting' (Maddrell 2012: 58). Thus, the relationship between memory, place and belonging is a complex and evolving affective-emotional ecology (Drozdzewski et al., 2016; Jones and Garde Hansen 2012; Tolia-Kelly 2010), and for many migrants and minorities, the presence of their dead in situ can be a significant part of ties to place (Ansari 2007; Hunter 2016). The degree to which bereaved people feel entitled to experience and express their grief in appropriate ways constitutes a form of emotional enfranchisement. Further, the idea of disenfranchised grief, typically associated with the marginalization of non-family mourners (Doka 2002), can be expanded to include those migrants and minorities who are unable to express or fulfil their cultural-religious funerary obligations.

Materially situated story telling is an important site-act-process where memories, place and identity intersect and become part of individual and collective narratives (Rishbeth 2014; Drozdzewski et al., 2016), prompting participant- and biographical-centred research methods. After a brief overview of these methods, the remainder of this paper explores the complex interleaving of varied migrants' and minorities' everyday life, memories, disposition of the dead and future memory-making.

3. Demographic context and methods

The findings discussed here are drawn from a wider interdisciplinary case study and participant-centred research project. The research methods were devised to include insights from both funerary service providers and users from various minorities, and to identify the diversity of needs and experiences within these complex multicultural contexts. The research methods for this work were designed to respond to the changing demographics of England and Wales which is characterized by historic trajectories of outward migration, settlement and colonization, as well as more recent net inward migration reflecting post-colonial and intra-European mobilities. The 2011 census for England and Wales revealed 13% of the population were born outside of the UK, and approximately 20% of the population identify their ethnicity as other than 'White British'.

Religious affiliation is significant to funerary preferences. Census data evidences a postsecular society characterized by parallel trends of increased secularization *and* increased religious diversity, with 59% of the population identifying as Christian (all denominations), 15% as belonging to other religions, and 25% recorded no religion or no answer (ONS, 2012). Participants in this study who self-identified as belonging to a religion included: Baha'i, Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh and Taoist, as well as identifying with specific nationalities, ethnicities, denominations or castes, reflecting the co-existence of diverse religions and the secular, and both *inter*religious and *intra*-religious pluralism. For context, this diversity is set against a majority culture funerary sector grounded in Judeo-Christian culture and overseen largely by the Established Church and municipal provision by local authorities, the latter being the main provider and focus here. Evolving majority funerary practices include the dominance of cremation since the 1960s, and more recent shifts to increasingly individualized funeral practices (in both faith-based and secular funerals), the growth of private cemeteries and crematoria, and the growing use of civil celebrants.

Dedicated minority religion burial areas are common in contemporary municipal cemeteries (e.g. Jewish and Muslim sections), and some crematoria accommodate Hindus and Sikhs who wish to witness the charging of the cremator.

Fieldwork was conducted in four case study towns: Huddersfield, Newport, Northampton and Swindon (2017-18), chosen for their broad comparability. Each municipality has a population of approximately 160,000 to 220,000 residents, including 7-17% of the residents self-identifying on the census as ethnic minorities. Data collection incorporated those from the key migrant-minority groups in each case study by countries of origin or heritage, religious groups, and/or longstanding established ethnic minority communities (e.g. post 1945 Caribbean, Italian, Polish, Pakistani and Indian communities), and clusters of recent migrants from within the European Union (EU) (e.g. Poland, Greece and Lithuania) and beyond (e.g. Mauritius). Smaller communities, e.g. Chinese migrants and Gurkhas from Nepal, were not were necessarily present in *all* case studies but were represented in the combined data from across the four case studies. However, not all migrant or minority groups which are numerically significant elsewhere in England and Wales were evident in the selected case study towns, e.g. Filipino, Somali or Spanish migrants, and the experience of these groups merit further research.

Memory studies often focus on collective memory rather than the experience of individuals, but it is individual memories which underpin such collectives of memory (Garde Hansen and Jones, 2012). Our research project conducted interviews with stakeholders such as cemetery and crematorium staff, varied clerics and community leaders. This was followed by 15 focus groups (122 participants) representing different countries of origin/heritage, faiths and local community interests, plus 16 individual biographical interviews from across the four case studies. These participants were recruited to represent diverse established minority and migrant backgrounds. Some focus groups included members of a particular faith, some were single gender, and the remainder were recruited via an open invitation to local minority community members. Combined, the focus groups and interviewees represented key migrant and minority ethnic-religious groups in the case study towns (e.g. migrants or those of migrant heritage from South Asia, the Caribbean and Eastern Europe, including those of the Baha'i, Sikh, Muslim, Christian and Jewish faiths). Focus groups were conducted primarily with members of existing local community groups, e.g. national-heritage community hubs, faith and civic groups, such as lunch clubs, plus one cross-generation extended family group. Biographical interviews were used in order to situate participants' experience of bereavement, funerary choices etc. in the context of their wider life experience, trajectories, memories and narratives. The influence of existing municipal cemetery and crematoria provision and governance upon local residents' options for the disposition of the mortal remains of their deceased, as well as how this inflected their lived experience of mourning and associated practices, was a key focus. Participants are given pseudonyms and specific locations are not identified in order to protect anonymity, but where this doesn't jeopardize confidentiality, relevant details of age, gender, any religious affiliation etc. are provided, in order to contextualize their comments and allow identification of diversity within cohorts e.g. gendered or generational differences between focus groups.

In the discussion below, participants' own cultural self-identifiers are used to contextualize their quotes. Our project team of five plus a short term field assistant, included researchers of different ages and career stages incorporating varied ethnicities, religious and secular backgrounds; all but one are migrants or their parents were migrants to the UK. As discussed elsewhere, in the context of exploring often personal and sensitive emotional-affective topics, we responded to topics and respondents, and participants responded to us as differently-positioned researchers, in varied ways (see Beebeejaun, 2022). Ultimately, our research benefitted from generous and collaborative participants, researcher team work (e.g. with focus groups) and reflexive practices that involved researcher discussion and reflection (see Mathijssen et al.,

2021).

The following discussion turns to participants' different experiences, expressions and formulations of memory associated with bereavement, funerals and remembrance. The focus is on the relationship between memory, mourning, and the disposition of the dead for migrants and minorities. These are explored through two broad interlinked themes: firstly, translocal memories of past and evolving funerary and remembrance spaces, customs and practices; and secondly, relationality and autonomy through choosing where to situate the dead and associated future memory-making.

4. Translocal memories of past and evolving funerary and remembrance spaces, customs and practices

Translocal memories, i.e. those that blend memories associated with place of origin and current home, were exemplified by Elena, who migrated from Greece in the 1950s, and is now in her eighties. Elena remembered both funerary practices observed in her youth in Greece prior to her migration, and her first personal experience of bereavement and funerary practices in Britain. She described how funerals in Greece were prompt because of the heat and the lack of refrigeration, with the bodies of the dead displayed at home for community viewing prior to burial: 'the coffin is […] in the parlour. In our country it is called the *celloni*. The lounge. Not in the family room, in the lounge in the home. And the door is more or less the outside door.' Elena explained that the front room was the 'best' room, so used to lay out the body as a mark of respect for the dead, and access from the front door made it easy for those visiting to pay their respects. She also described memories of her beloved grandmother, who still appears in her dreams, and the body preparations undertaken by the family when she died in the 1950s. 'Now, in those days, if you were lucky enough and your loved one died at home […] the daughters, […] my mother and my auntie, would […] wash her with warm water and vinegar. The vinegar is, […] really for the smell. And then, […] they put her best dress, then the funeral director comes, who places the body in the coffin … I'm talking in [the 19] 50s, it is not done anymore. But that was my first experience' (Elena, Orthodox/Roman Catholic interviewee of Greek origin).

Hindu focus group participants, who originally migrated from India and East Africa, also highlighted the continuity of some remembered funerary practices and the loss or 'forgetting' of communal memory-knowledge of others amongst migrant communities in England. This 'forgetting' was particularly attributed to the absence of migrant elders who would typically act as keepers and teachers for those traditional customs and practices. The women had reflected on these challenges, brought home by recent bereavements within their pre-existing community group, which had prompted them to collate bereavement and funeral education guidance notes for their wider faith-heritage communities and to provide a mutual aid support network for themselves and their children. They also recounted common memories of traditional funerary practices such as hiring professional mourners as a mark of respect for the dead. These recollections prompted humorous anecdotes, but little regret at being free of those traditions in England:

'[P2] In India you have the professional mourners.

[P6] […] they used to wear a long black skirt and a white top and a big scarf, you know. They are professional mourners, called *Rudaalis*, and the people used to buy [pay] them […]. But I don't think there is such thing now. But especially in Rajasthan, it was very popular at that time […]. And they used to hire [them], especially when a big or a celebrity person died, it would be one hundred Rudaalis, […] sitting on the front row.

[P1] Creating the atmosphere.

[P6] [laughs]' (Focus Group Participants, South Asian women's group).

Two of these participants also shared positive memories of a sensitive and supportive local funeral director and doctor respectively, and how these service providers helped them and their families cope during bereavement. Sita, who was widowed shortly after she migrated to England, described a local mainstream funeral director who helped her navigate legal requirements and municipal support systems, as well as funeral rituals and dealing with her own grief:

' …. that guy, he helped me so much […] More than my family and my friends. It is an emotional thing anyway, but if somebody is there and you can talk, you just get out of this trauma a little bit quicker. The memories don't go […] but still it helps you […] It is very important to have somebody you can trust and can talk. You know, you cannot talk to everyone. […] And that was 31 years ago. […] 'Do you know your rights Ms. X' [he asked]? And I said: 'What rights?'.

This experience of thoughtful professional guidance and support not only remained as a vivid memory, but influenced her plans for her own funeral:

' …. even after 31 years, that memory is very sharp. And I always told my daughters, you know, if I go, make sure that is the funeral director I want to have' (P6, Hindu participant, South Asian Women's Group).

Another participant in the same focus group recounted how a doctor had kindly taken time to talk to her children when their grandfather was dying: 'he came twice, and he would take my children out into the garden and sit and have coffee, and he would talk to my children […]. and when they passed away, both [my] children were standing by us, strong.' (P2, South Asian women's group focus group).

As the examples above illustrate, dealing with bereavement, everyday remembering the dead, and acts of remembrance are woven into ordinary life, sites and practices, and are not limited to the cemetery or crematorium. The home is a natural focal point for the creation of many reiterative memories and daily practices of remembrance, such as kissing a photo or the recitation of prayers for or to the deceased, which reflect and facilitate a sense of ongoing connection to the deceased (see Richardson 2001). The meaning and sense of (a new) home is also strengthened through these positive memories which affirm place belonging and attachment.

Domestic shrines or household altars are commonly created in the homes of those following Hindu, Shinto or Taoist religious practice, as well as a Southeast-Asian-influenced trend in Western Christian and secular homes documented in the Netherlands (Wojtkowiak and Venbrux 2010). Two Chinese Christian women, originating from Hong Kong and now living in England, described their remembrance practices in contrast to those of other Chinese relatives and friends who would place food and other offerings for their ancestors:

'[X2] …. in the older generation, they think whatever they put in front of the photo [of the deceased], they [ancestors] would come and enjoy it'

It is interesting to note that these beliefs and their move away from them was attributed to regional differences in education rather than simply a matter of generational difference, exemplified by the traditional beliefs held by contemporaries from mainland China:

'[X1] I think it is not because of the age. It is because the kind of education you received. Because uhm, some very young families from mid China now, they are still very traditional. They are only in their thirties, forties, but quite traditional. But because we are from Hong Kong' (Interviewees, Chinese Christian Women)

Memory can also serve to fossilise remembered funerary practices as 'required' or authentic. A South Asian women's focus group highlighted how certain customary funerary practices had evolved in India while British Hindus had maintained the funerary practices they remembered from their youth as sacrosanct. For example, one participant recounted how on returning to India to attend a family funeral they discovered that ritual cleansing rituals after a funeral had evolved during intervening years, and this experience gave her 'permission' to make similar changes in England. For other participants, change represented improvements in local funerary provision to meet specific religious-cultural needs. A Muslim focus group participant in his fifties reported a shift from uneven cemetery and funerary provision for Muslims in his locality, to greater standardisation of grave type and orientation, timely burial etc., largely

through the coordination of faith groups and liaison with local municipal providers: 'there was a lot of inconsistency in how things were done, the size of coffin, the type of burial. And so on. We now have about four different Islamic organisations in [the area] […]. So we wanted everyone to get together. So we've been working with the council for a year now, to get all that formulated, a standard' (P1, Muslim participant, Interfaith Group focus group). Thus, memories of inconsistent practices in this locality have been replaced by a greater confidence in agreed standardised services.

Memories are relational to people, place and experiences, and both positive and negative memories can shape decisions about the disposition of loved ones as well as individual and collective experience of bereavement, as discussed in the following section.

5. Relationality and autonomy through the choice of where to situate the dead, and implications for associated future memory-making

Memories and experiences of landscape intersect with ethnicity, religion and attachment to country of origin or heritage, all of which are commonly identified as strong factors in migrant and established minority intersectional identity (Tolia-Kelly, 2010). Confluences of memories, identity and place attachment play a role in end of life and funerary wishes, such as a migrant's desire for the repatriation of their body or cremated ashes to a place of origin or heritage, e.g. attachment to a childhood home or the 'ideal' emotional-affective environment of a favoured holiday destination (Maddrell 2009) . However, the experience of choosing idealised memory-based symbolic time-spaces can be far from ideal in reality. This was illustrated in Jassal's (2015) account of two sisters who grew up with their Indian parents in London, but whose father subsequently remarried and re-emigrated to Australia. After his death there, they each brought back a handful of his ashes in order to symbolically and materially place some of his remains in a park associated with their everyday memories of childhood, family and shared history. However, the experience of informally depositing their father's ashes in the park proved to be underwhelming – too mundane.

For many, it is the appropriate placing of the remains of the dead, plus any required material memorials and spiritual practices which are central to respectful remembrance of the dead. While minorities often lack representation in material heritage collections and museums, their presence may be read in the built environment, especially in places of worship (Tolia-Kelly, 2010) or dedicated graveyard sections. Building on Ansari's (2007) argument about the presence of nineteenth century Muslim graves in Britain, we argue that the local disposition of the dead, including cremated remains, by migrants and established minorities contributes in highly significant and symbolic ways to an accumulation of personal and community heritage in situ. Nonetheless, some choose 'repatriation'.

The practice of repatriation of the dead is associated with migrants who for reasons of familial or place attachment, in which memories plays a significant part, and/or religious imperative, have been returned to their country of origin or heritage for burial, cremation and/or the disposition of cremated remains. Repatriation of migrants living in Britain is particularly associated with those of South Asian heritage, but numbers of repatriations among this group has declined over the last two decades, as evidenced in this study and previous work (Gardner 1998; Hunter 2016). Nonetheless, continued repatriation was reported by some participants of South Asian origin or heritage in this study (see below); occasional repatriation was also reported amongst Caribbean and Chinese participants, and across all case studies in the case of the death of young European economic migrants whose families and ties were still principally in their country of origin e.g. Poland.

Negative memories can prompt or perpetuate repatriation over local disposition of the dead, as could be seen in the case of repeated rejections of plans for a Hindu temple in one case study town. Such temples are significant for adherents because they 'act a religious sign for

Hinduism and a sign for territorial sense of being, belonging and citizenry' (Tolia-Kelly, 2010: 287) and are a necessary religious space for fulfilling as many as 16 lifecycle rituals common in Hinduism, including those associated with death. The repeated rejection of applications for planning permission for the temple, over a near two decade period, created reiterative memories of marginalization and disenfranchisement in comparison to local citizens of different faiths. As Deepak articulated with a deep feeling: '*The town has plenty of Sikh and Muslim facilities. Plus 150–200 churches, and they asked why we need one Temple. I said that there are 12,000 Hindus in X and surrounding area. It wasn't easy to convince them. I think because we are the minority, people didn't understand.*' (Interview, Deepak).

In cases such as this, the accumulated memory (Ahmed 2004) of these experiences can also tap memories and histories of colonial inequalities. A repeated sense of marginalization and hurt, year on year, can cause slow existential harm to minorities' spiritual lives, their obligations to the dead, and to their current sense of citizenship (Maddrell et al., 2021). In this case, as Deepak's continued bitterness indicated, the prolonged process was still experienced as a persistently painful memory, even after this particular Hindu community and local Planners reached a compromise and the temple was finally established. Thus, repeated experiences of rejected planning proposals by local state agencies served to instil a reiterative communal memory of marginalization, creating a present day postcolonial 'logics of human hierarchy … of who matters and who does not' (Mayblin et al., 2020: 111; Beebeejaun et al., 2021).

The growing demand for migrant and or minority burial or cremation in England and Wales highlights the need for appropriate diversity-sensitive municipal cemeteries-crematoria infrastructure. Varying gender, family, religion, memories, place attachment and future remembrance obligations shaped interviewees' accounts of their family practices and plans for their own burial or cremation. Specific memories can also play a significant role in discursive text on memorials both within and outside of cemeteries-crematoria, which serve to materialize key biographical information, including significant places in the life of the deceased (Maddrell, 2012; 2013; McClymont 2018). Geographical preferences for disposition can reflect local, regional or transnational place-based memories, and or those memories centred on people, which have geographical imperatives, such as a family grave or childhood home.

Expressions of everyday ongoing remembrance and spiritual care for the dead were evident in various participants' accounts. These included regular cemetery visits for prayers, grave maintenance and a sense of 'visiting' the deceased. For many Muslims, the deceased's experience of the afterlife is understood to begin in the grave and prioritising this was a key reason for moving away from repatriation elsewhere, which would delay burial. This has prompted local negotiations with municipal cemetery providers for dedicated Muslim burial areas, with graves orientated to allow the dead to face the direction of Mecca. However, the use of municipal cemeteries by a diverse range of people means there can be disagreement about which practices are appropriate or not. This can range from the practices and memorial objects deemed appropriate at the graveside, but also the treatment of graves. This was identified as a matter of concern by Shia Muslim participants in a focus group, centring on the perceived willingness of those perceived to be 'Christians' to walk over graves, which they considered harmful to the deceased in the grave, and was used to support the case for separate faith sections with distinct boundaries within cemeteries. One participant explained: 'So, we all are the same family, but we just need a bit of separation over there. So that we can perform the ceremonies over here, and we have the respect that we wish to' (P1, Shia mixed gender focus group).

In a South Asian women's focus group, all migrants aged approximately between 45 and 65 years of age, everyone expressed a preference for local disposition. One Muslim woman's husband had already been buried locally, but several of the Hindu women reported that their husbands had stated preference for repatriation to India, as their country

of origin and more importantly for their ashes to be scattered in the sacred River Ganges. For these women, their shared preference was to be close to their children and to avoid imposing any financial or practical burden that repatriation of their remains would place on the next generation.

'[X3] … my children asked me, what we were going to do about our death. So I told them, I'm not going to tell you anything. When it happens, do what you can.

[X1] Make it easy for them.

[X3] But my husband, he insists. He must be taken to the Ganges in India. He insisted. He told me. I said no, for me. I'm easy. Because we have gone through so much [with the repatriation of loved ones], I don't want my children to go through.

[X?] That is a good change, that we can open it up to our children' (South Asian women's group focus group).

Several Hindu and Sikh participants in different focus groups and interviews recounted hiring boats and family outings to disperse cremated remains on rivers. One participant shared how their family chose a favourite holiday destination associated with happy memories for the scattering of ashes of her brother and subsequently her father:

'[X7] […] my second brother, when he died, the boys, they were 18-19-20 years old, they said, we are not going to India, I'm sorry. And my brother loves in Spain. He goes every year, even with his baby, they go to Spain. So when he died, they said we are going to take his ashes to Spain. That's what they did.' (South Asian women's group focus group).

While some Hindu and Sikh participants have campaigned vigorously for dedicated sites for the disposition of cremated remains into moving water as part of their 'everyday citizenship', others have opted for, or been compelled to find, ad hoc alternatives. Participants in a mixed gender Hindu focus group described scattering family members' ashes in the river in the grounds of a local country house, which has been a destination for happy family outings, i.e. a site of past family memories, which would become a place of ongoing attachment and memory-making as a result of this highly symbolic material-ritual-emotional connection to the place.

These examples illustrate the role of place and family attachment, both grounded in memories of everyday family life and events such as outings and holidays. This reflects a trend within Christian-secular majority British culture to choose burial places or to scatter cremated remains in places associated with good memories, happiness and ideal settings such as favourite mountains, scenic landscapes, green cemeteries, childhood homes and holiday destinations (Maddrell, 2009, Maddrell & Brace, 2011).

For some participants, unfamiliar British remembrance practices were welcome, as described by a Caribbean Christian migrant who was offered an opportunity to have her late husband's name added to the hospital book of remembrance. 'At the hospital we were invited to write in a book to remember the person. And you can put your loved one in the book and they open in on the day, either of the person's birthday or their death. I think it was a priest who wrote to me, and they said would you like this, it cost about £10. Then every year say on the 1st of January the page would be open on my husband.' (Participant 8, Caribbean Lunch Group focus group).

In this case, the book of remembrance located remembrance for this woman's late husband at the place of his death at the hospital, and in the micro-space of the book itself which combined individual remembrance and institutionalised collective memory of the dead.

6. Conclusion

'Memory' is filtered, shaped by what is forgotten as well as what is remembered; it is continually being remade in the present, as well as an evolving imaginary which is projected into the future. Migrant and minority participant accounts discussed above illustrate both the costs and benefits of deliberate and unconscious remembering and forgetting, and a reshaping of landscapes and ecologies of memory through the

opportunities and constraints of translocal and/or minority heritage. They also illustrate how sites of memory and remembrance for migrants and established minorities are frequently complex interweaving of translocal memories, place attachment and narratives of family. These include memories of rituals and practices in their country of origin or heritage, everyday memories of childhood and parenthood, welcome and unwelcome changes to remembrance practices, and future trajectories grounded in their place of residence and day-to-day practice. In this, unofficial and everyday spatial practices exist alongside formalised sites of memory, the disposition of the dead, memorialisation and commemoration, which combine to connect local and translocal scales of family, faith, and belonging. Interestingly, this study has shown a significant number of women, notably South Asian women in their fifties and sixties, had a strong preference for local disposition compared to the reported preferences of their husbands, primarily driven by a desire for their disposition to be in proximity to their children, facilitating future formal and informal remembrance. It has also shown that the children and other descendants of migrants generally sought and expressed entitlement to culturally-sensitive local disposition as part of the wider context of their day-to-day lives, communities and associated memories and sense of belonging.

Thus, migrant and minority memories, funerals and everyday remembrance practices have been shown to be an important part of the rich 'ecologies' of memory and identity (Tolia-Kelly, 2010) in England and Wales. In addition to the memories made through situated everyday practice and symbolic funeral ritual performances, the disposition of material bodily remains of kith and kin also literally embed family and community heritage in soil, tombs and rivers, creating even stronger familial and genealogical bonds to place. For those being buried or cremated in English and Welsh towns, both past and future memories shaped funerary choices and practices. Place attachment is a vector for the 'anchoring' of emotions and memories (Lewicka, 2014); further, funerals and the presence of the remains of the dead create new memories, biographical narratives and associated place bonds. Disposition of migrant or migrant-heritage dead can be seen in terms of an 'anchoring' (Höelscher and Alderman 2004) or a 'mooring' (Hannam et al., 2006) in a time-space of personal, family, community or national narratives shaped by transnational mobilities and translocal networks. The presence of the dead from migrant and minority groups may prompt and/or require particular religious ritualization of spaces associated with funerary rites and the disposition of the dead. The presence of the dead and rituals performed for them, religious or secular, can thus further serve to sacralise the space in new and diverse ways.

The more-than-representational practices performed for them can be seen as reflecting evolving ecologies of memory across everyday lives (Tolia-Kelly 2010; Hoskins 2016). These combined with situating – or placing – of the remains of the deceased, are also *constitutive* of those ecologies of memory. This includes ongoing/deepening place attachment, and future imaginaries of kith and kin, constituting a form of what Knudsen and Stage (2012) describe as 'commemorative emergence', i.e., an expression of in situ grounded heritage. This heritage is shaped by diverse translocal everyday practices of memory, especially through family spaces and practices of remembrance, which in turn create new emotional-affective-spiritual-cultural artefacts, and memories, constituting a diverse lived and material heritage written within bodies-minds, homes, places of community, and landscapes, memories and remembrance. The interface of these varied intersectional migrant/minority identities and mobilities, as well as the shifting temporal-spatialities of wider cultural landscapes of memory and memorialisation, challenge simplistic notions of fixed sites of memory. This also challenges notions of homogenous material places or norms framing the memory and memorialisation of the dead in a multicultural and postsecular society. Memorialising the past and past relations, as well as memory-making through ongoing relationality give variety and texture to the deep mapping of local emotional-affective-spiritual geographies (Maddrell 2016). This includes material, embodied and virtual sites, and the

unfolding stories, artefacts, spaces and narrative arcs that make up future cultural heritage. Ultimately, such culturally-diverse memorial deathscapes serve to enrich broader local collective narratives and to create new positive threads of postcolonial cultural heritage for the future; but they can also perpetuate the bitterness of (post)colonial memories and relationality.

This paper places intersecting memories, performative remembrance rites and diversity-sensitive funerary spaces and services at the heart of migrant and minority negotiations of (trans)local memories and ecologies of future memory-heritage-making. However, as also evidenced in participant accounts here, cemetery, crematoria and associated funerary provision is far from uniform in terms of diversity-sensitive infrastructure, services and processes in smaller urban settlements, relative to larger multicultural conurbations. Inadequate funerary provision can disenfranchise the grief of migrants and minorities, who feel disempowered to express their loss and to fulfil required religious and cultural rites that are central to their disposition and mourning processes. Where structural barriers to these rites are embedded in the National Health Service, local Planning processes or municipal cemeteries and crematoria, migrants and minorities also feel disenfranchised as citizens (see Maddrell et al., 2021). This has prompted migrant and minority groups with sufficient local critical mass and resources to create collectives and to lobby and liaise with local government agencies, or to fund their own funerary spaces and services, in order to ensure the proper disposition and memorialisation of their loved ones and community members. Whilst such activities of 'everyday citizenship' (Kallio et al., 2020) have been effective for some groups in some settings, it raises the political question as to what inclusive facilities and arrangements should be in put in place by municipalities in order to serve the disposition and remembrance needs of their diverse communities, whose memories and identities are grounded in their localities.

Acknowledgements

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