Making home through memories and ritualised social practices

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Abstract (150 words)

This chapter offers an account of a critical and comparative overview of bodies of international literatures on mobilities, materialities, memories and homecomings. The core theme of the chapter focuses on exploring how migrants make home through memories and ritualised social spaces. These elements are addressed through empirical insights into key interdisciplinary debates that tackle the relationships of memories and rituals with how a sense of home and homing for migrants is shaped by gendered belonging. The discussion explores firstly the interplay between materialities and memories through which we conceptualise home, homing and their emotional context; secondly, the gendered understanding of this relationship between memory and materiality gives coherence to how migrant belonging is constructed through experiences, which leads to the third set of insights on how migrant memories are a conduit to understanding migrant ritualisation as a set of social practices that further shape belonging. Finally, the chapter points to avenues for future research from a multi-dimensional perspective, including the global pandemic.

Keywords (6)
Home, migrants, memory, rituals, gender, belonging

Introduction

Social practices involving habitual and ritualised instances shape the lives of groups and communities by reinforcing a sense of shared membership. They are particularly significant for mobile populations because they create opportunities for collective meaning-making of 'home' and identity through performative experiences. Apart from socialisation, identification and homing through celebrations, commemorations and rituals, acts of materialising memories also offer signification to community aspects of shared history and belonging. While distinctive social practices are dynamic in reinforcing a sense of continuity with the past and collective identity, the significance of objects can have an even deeper impact on the affective habitus of migrants. In this context, homing can be conceptualised as a configuration of migrant performances, everyday life practices and mnemonic ritualisations. These ordinary acts can concretise a perception of homing through viscerally embodied experiences but also via material and imaginative renditions of a sense of belonging.

This chapter responds to the Handbook theme of 'Home and Migration' by addressing the sub-theme of 'mobile mnemonic ritual homemaking', in specifically addressing how home for migrants is an outcome of experiences depicted through memories and ritualised social practices. The sections that follow synthesise relevant areas of literatures with the author's empirical contributions to these debates and fields of study, in presenting those bodies of

works to address the threefold relationship of *memory-home-rituals*, through conceptualisations of *mobility-gender-belonging*.

Following this introduction, the main sections address these three themes: firstly, by discussing memories in relation to materialities in how the ideas of home and homing are conceptualised, inclusive of homing in its emotional context; secondly, by aligning with a particular focus on a gendered understanding of such mnemonics of materialities in the construction of a sense of migrant belonging; and, thirdly, by unpacking these framings of memories and materialities to illustrate an understanding of homing and belonging coupled with gendered insights. The last section builds on these foundational themes to exemplify how mobilities and memories are paramount as cultural contexts in understanding rituals as social practices.

This threefold approach links *memory-making* with *home-making* through a discussion of *materialities*, *gendering belonging* and *ritualising social practices* by situating the appropriate literature and key arguments to each section, coupled with the author's relevant research to these themes. Finally, the conclusion recaps the contributions of this chapter to the Handbook and wider scholarship, and offers avenues for new thinking and future research, building on ideas discussed in this contribution to the volume.

Memories and Materialities in Making Home

While authoring this chapter, although affectively feeling more like a 'perpetual and aspiring migrant', on the contrary, at that time, grounded while 'working from home' (WFH) during the then third lockdown in the UK (early 2021) while following government advice to restrict the spread of COVID-19, a full calendar year and beyond since the coronavirus pandemic emerged, it is becoming clear that the meanings of 'home' have never been so clearly challenged. While the COVID-19 public health emergency has shed light onto the multi-dimensionality of how homes are fundamental to defining being, belonging and becoming human, it is also "an all too often taken for granted resource which forms the foundation of how we live. The ubiquitous injunction to 'stay home' carries with it an implicit understanding that this is the one place we can retreat to for some semblance of safety, a place where we can control who comes and goes and so fully practice social distancing" (Byrne, 2020: 351). In less than a year, a great number of literatures, commentaries, articles and books on COVID-19 and its varying dimensions emerged. Spaces, places, rhythms and temporalities triggered accounts of similarity of experience and for those who shifted to WFH, while the work continued 'with dismal regularity' (Shields et al., 2020) most other layers of daily life seemed to blend together in obliterating boundaries of previous normalcy.

As spaces of grounding memories and materialities, homes can invoke constellations of myriad emotions, imaginaries, traces of lived experience, all both welcoming and nostalgic as well as oppressive and traumatic. Homes are not just the built dwellings of shelter and settlement, they are nuanced spaces marked by temporalities of the life course, imprints of mobilities and all the other intersectional social categorisations that shape our livelihoods, identities, opportunities and constraints. Exploring such traces, including the 'translocational positionalities' of migrants (thus offering an intersectionality frame for understanding identity and belonging [Anthias, 2008]) in how 'home' is constructed, shaped and consumed, advances three key debates that this chapter focuses on: the *materialities* of home and homing experiences, as well as the centrality of migrant homes as loci of *sociality* and *social practices* and of the *rituals* of migrant lives. These practices can be seen as "a window on the mixed social consequences of migration" (Boccagni, 2014: 277), and as such, involve *gendered* representations and experiences.

The conceptual parameters of 'home' have been mapped across a number of directions to capture criticalities and contestations in a number of disciplines (Mallett, 2004; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Brickell, 2012; Borges, 2018). This has often led to overburdening theorisations on how we approach methodologically its ontological parameters. This overburdening of meanings can be alleviated by deconstructing the concept which encapsulates sensorial attributes of ontological security, comfort, familiarity, emotions of belonging and homing (Christou, 2011; Boccagni, 2017). This is simply put: feeling a sense of 'home', homing and home-coming; all particularly important concepts for migrants in their search for belonging. The multi-dimensionality of understanding home points to a relational and processual notion, which links to how the static nature of the dwelling itself in its material sense is simultaneously a container of feelings, emotions, structural, socio-cultural, personal and historical modalities that connect together the pieces of the mosaics of identities and life histories. Hence, the *biographicity of homing* is a porous set of practices, beliefs, memories, experiences, nostalgias and regrets. This is a kaleidoscope of cognition, emotion, norms, traditions, histories, agentic and structural momentums for individual migrants, as well as, collectively, for ethnic (mobile/transnational) groups.

The concept of home is also expressed and negotiated through experiences of 'homing' (Christou and Michail, 2015) and 'homecoming' (King and Christou, 2014). These are especially pronounced for return migrants and those of second and subsequent generations confronted with social realities in the ancestral homeland quite divergent to family stories or even childhood experiences of home visits (King et al., 2011; King et al., 2014). Indeed, the generational migrant search for 'home' can become a journey of growth and self-discovery in understanding identity formation and the spaces of nation-building (Christou, 2003; 2008).

Itcan be also a polemical and traumatic experience, reinforcing feelings of alienation and experiences of exclusion (Christou, 2006) in highly emotional encounters (Christou and King, 2006; Christou, 2011). The oppositional and contrasting outcomes of homing do have a generational element. This is transmitted, for instance, through family stories of the ancestral homeland when grand/parents narrate these to offspring, in frequently glorying an imaginative construction of what 'home' used to be through nostalgia and the layers of memory/forgetting and forging images of pasts frozen in time and space. In fact the actual encounters experienced by the subsequent generations can be no way near to such idealistic and idyllic ancestral tales. Moreover, in cases of developing nation-states, the social reality of homelands several generations later will be nowhere reminiscent of what they were half a century, or more ago, when the first generation migrated to flee poverty, war, political conflict etc. Indeed, subsequent generations may be searching for the 'authentic' village life of organic ethnic food, close family ties, historical and architectural legacies, monuments and cultural heritage experienced through safe and enjoyable leisure opportunities not vandalised by heavy tourism. However, rapid modernisation and over-development along with urbanisation will have highlighted aspects that subsequent generations might have wished to escape from, such as consumerism, environmental degradation, population density, rise in crime, etc. Some of these cultural shocks will be similarly experienced for all generations from the first migrating one to the second, third and beyond. And, while some of these intergenerational experiences can be descriptively caricatured in the relevant filmography depicting migrants nostalgically reminiscing of homelands or frustratingly not fitting either 'here' or 'there', the generational ritualisation of shifting meanings of 'homing' is a historical phenomenon of generational migrant socialisation. That is, cultural practices linking to cultural and ethnic identities, passed on from one generation to the other, be that through ethnic food, holidays and religious rituals, connections with historical events through commemoration and remembrance, all these enactments of generational ritualisation shape both intergenerational and homeland relations for migrants.

At the same time, the domestic space of home for migrant generations can become 'a cosmos of senses' (Hirvi, 2016) as an important context for socialisation and a meaningful site for cultural and religious understandings as lived experiences of sociality. As an exemplification of the latter, we can look at the case of 'guest-workers' in Europe in the 1960s and their offspring, for instance, Turkish-Germans of varying generations who subsequently refer to the country of destination as 'home' despite "years of this group's public and private grappling with the concept" (Baran Erdal and Gülmez Ünsal, 2020: 1). Baran Erdal and Gülmez Ünsal (ibid) examine 'home-making' practices of migrant generations of Turkish descent, as displays of expressive and developmental pathways, to construct transnational identities and via

individual memory they become manifestations of identification and belongingness through im/materialities.

And while the above example focuses on domesticity and individual efforts, this should also be considered in relation to social policy and the public sphere. In the instance of the Netherlands and Dutch neighbourhood policy, the objective is to encourage 'affective citizenship' as a governmental strategy of 'feeling at home' and by extension increasing community participation for migrant groups (de Wilde, 2016). The research by Mandy de Wilde (2016) with migrant unemployed mothers of Moroccan, Turkish and Surinamese backgrounds argues that such "governmental strategy of 'affective citizenship' allows immigrant women to express their emotions, values, and morals through domesticating space, feminizing culture, and 'whispering voice'." Despite the feelings of belonging experienced by many immigrant women, the case study reveals how this does not lead to an inclusive community, but often to a community that is "fragile, temporary, and exclusive" (ibid: 123). Such findings are revealing of not just the dynamism of belonging, but also the tensions between 'homing' and community participation building. These insights also blur the boundaries between the public context and the private by enacting gendered spheres of belonging in both intimate domestic spaces and parochial public spaces.

While gendered insights will be covered in the next section, the public arena is also a reminder that the public sphere continues to be a space of what I term 'unhoming'. It can yield experiences of displacement as conceptualised through processes of rupture, exclusion, racialisation, and by extension, as a form of violence which is psychosocially and emotionally saturated in the toxicity of discrimination against migrants. These ideas about un/making home align very well to current political and public debates on Brexit Britain where anti-immigration, xenophobic and racist attitudes and stereotypes abound, from intense hatred to microaggressive discourses of 'outsiders' and 'foreigners' who are different and cannot 'integrate' into the mainstream culture, language, norms and tradition. This kind of racialised stigmatisation exemplifies as an institutionalised layer of ingrained attitudinal belief systems embedded in the postcolonial historicity and 'social policy fabric of British society' associated with *home* and home spaces, underpinning the reproduction of everyday racisms and failures of multiculturalism in the 'Western' world (Tyler 2020; Titley and Lentin, 2011).

Memory has an important role to play here and how we re/member our social and migration histories. Indicative research examples illustrate clearly how memories and the materialities of those create a sense of re-membering. For instance, Moretti (2021) uses a multi-modal approach to understand migrant generational belonging through memories and urban materialities within sensory emplacement. Methodologically, this is an interesting study of

reflections on sensate memories and urban landscapes. Analytically, it is also an opportunity to disentangle the complicated experiences of migrancy, spatial and social displacements in how forgetting and remembering are means to think about sensorial emplacement as a journey through space for migrants in the everyday recreation of home through movement and the senses. Additionally, the role of memory in creating home through intersections of how identity is experienced and situated in place, for instance through enactments and encounters of materialities, food and objects, is also a sensorial resonance for migrants through bonds and practices (Ratnam, 2018).

In the next section we focus on how migrant belongingness is a gendered set of experiences and the approaches through which we can conceptualise how gendered materialities shape homing and belonging in the diaspora and within mobile lives. Subsequently, we will explore the links between migrant memories and how rituals emerge as social practices in diasporic and transnational communities. We will highlight through a variety of empirical findings and interdisciplinary migration studies literatures, how home is re/made through memories and ritualised practices, and what impacts these processes have on migrancy.

Gendered Materialities in Making Migrant Belonging

The scholarship on gendered geographies of migrant materialities has mostly focused on transnational, translocal and diverse mobility experiences in triggering tensions with gender identities or offering opportunities for negotiation and possibly transformation. Beyond these two options, the third potential is offered by Stenbacka and Forsberg (2020) who have recently put forward the conceptual framework of 'go gender' to analyse strategic gender practices which are related to migration. This is an empirical visualisation of a transformation process (with constraints, conflicts and dilemmas) highlighting agency in translocal lives when people experience multiple cultures, global mobilities and changed gender contexts. The 'go gender' approach is one emphasising a reflexive and agentic attitude in the strategic developments of migrants.

Strategic acts by migrants are also gendered and frequently interconnected with memories. Apart from the discussions in the previous section, we can point to agonistic struggles through mnemonic reflexivities. A case in point is the research by Martinez-Conde et al. (2020) with narrative constructions of women migrants' memories in Barcelona of their struggles beyond migrant identity to activisms and resistance alongside gender in their fights for rights. This research underscores the intersectional processes of gender and memory that offer additional perspectives on resistance and immigration. The research highlighted the interconnected importance of affect, collective memory and migrant activism, as the participants in this study

had a "shared discomfort regarding a notable lack of collective memory of activism within migrant struggles in the city – specifically those of immigrant women" (ibid, 215).

Memory work and migrancy work also involve embodied entanglements of gender. For instance, migrant men recall memories of their masculinities before migration and negotiate stages of respectable masculinities after migration and through embodied social and family experiences (Pasura and Christou, 2018). Migrant masculinities and their engagement with emotions are as fluid as processes of identification through memories of childhood and familyhood (Mason, 2013). The idea of 'family' goes beyond domesticity as it is constituted across space and time and memories provide platforms for masculinities to be explored (ibid).

Social practices involving habitual and ritualised instances shape the lives of groups and communities by reinforcing a sense of shared membership. They are particularly significant for mobile populations because they create opportunities for collective meaning-making of 'home' and identity through performative experiences (Christou, 2017; Christou and Michail, 2019). Apart from socialisation, identification and homing through celebrations, commemorations and rituals, acts materialising memories also offer signification to community aspects of shared history and belonging (Christou, 2011; 2013). While distinctive social practices are dynamic in reinforcing a sense of continuity with the past and collective identity (Christou, 2016), the 'significance of things' can have an even deeper impact on the affective habitus of migrants (Christou and Janta, 2019). That is, not just ethnic foods for consumption, but also objects and heirlooms are frequently transported by both men and women migrants from the ancestral homeland and are displayed in the expat house because they signify meanings of belonging, kinship and community. Thus, homing can be conceptualised as a constellation of performativities, practices and mnemonic ritualisations that concretise sensual, embodied, emotional, material and imaginative renditions of belonging, all gendered in how these modalities unfold (Christou et al., 2015; Christou and King, 2015).

The examples and discussions in this chapter on making home through memories and ritualised social spaces might give an impression that the processes and experiences in connecting all these threads of migrant lives together are rosy, or at least aspire to recollect positive stances. In fact, insisting that migrant mnemonics and materialities are all welcoming would be a misrepresentation and an additional layer of gendered violence on those who seldom can recall appeasing segments in the migrant mosaic. Matrices of colonial power and carceral states where borders are enforced to exclude, sexual and domestic abuse for migrants who have no recourse to public support, housing or refuge, are all exemplifications of more nuanced manifestations of how gendered migrant memories can be saturated by displacement, violence, encampment and forced return. Indeed, work on queer migration, queer diasporas and queering asylum highlights all these gendered aspects of un/homing. All

these instances show that forms of direct, indirect and structural violence are the mirror opposite image to rituals of remand and abuse. As a result, social practices shaping migrant un/belongings can become ritualised through acts of uncaring, memories of trauma and ruptures. While we can render these experiences as 'unhoming' in that homing signifies sanctuaries of comfort and ontological security, we cannot deny their existence. By extension then, such destabilising experiences are also unmakings of homing which many migrants will seek to erase from memory. In the last section that follows we link mobile memories with rituals in understanding how their enactment through migrant performativity exemplifies such acts as social practices.

Mobile Memories and Rituals as Social Practices

How we explore our relationship to the past, and the impact that is has for our present constructions of our cultural identities, and the future of our sense of belonging and homing, is certainly manifested in the rituals and social practices we perform. Memorialisation and ritualisation is an integral component for how migrants create meaning with their new locales, and in relation to the cultural aspirations they have. These are instrumental in the preservation and transmission of each ethnic group's memories through stories, cultural artefacts, traditional practices, food and ritual practices. Migrant discourses are important in re-inscribing collective memories into local histories of transnational lives. There is fragility in how social memorialisation can consolidate cultural identities for subsequent generations. These are generations of migrants who are born and raised in what would be the country of destination for their previous ancestors, who in turn were the first to migrate to the country of birth for the subsequent generations. The knowledge production in the generational cultural translations that occur when culture cannot possibly be rigidly transplanted over the generations, can also create as much tensions as creative potential for interactions with local heritages.

The importance of sharing memories and actually constructing shared memories of how mobilities shape heritage and social practice is profound in how generations also internalise cultural homing and social stratifications. For instance, in African societies oral narrations of the past constructing genealogies are a pathway to negotiating through memories a sense of identity and authority (Declich and Rodet, 2018). It is also through translocal geographies of mobilities that multi-sited encounters can occur in extrapolating migrant cultural practices of counter-memories of how collective pasts can bridge belongingness for future generations (Christou, 2010). Such experiences can become lived emotionalities of negotiating mnemonic connections (Christou, 2011) but also nodes of forgetting in the context of migration. These can be instances of selective historical amnesia in re/membering piecemeal what inviduals

and groups are able to emotionally cope with. Some of these dynamics can reveal instances of cultural trauma, especially when these conceal migrant suffering through historical roots that encapsulate racialised and other displacements (Beneduce, 2016).

In other instances, there is the case of migrants who go back to the ancestral homeland for cultural heritage consumption of the dark histories of slavery. These are illustrative of when deeply moving pilgrimages of generations of offspring from African slaves, contemporary middle-aged and younger African Americans travel in search of their ancestral African roots (Bellagamba, 2009). Such translocal mobilities can become what I term new geographies of 'liminal affectivities'. This is when intra and intergenerational encounters with the ancestral homeland are opportunities to negotiate belonging, but are also spatio-temporal experiences which are emotionally saturated while cognitively in a liminal stage, charged with ambivalence due to historical trauma and the ambiguity of 'roots'.

As the quintessential paradigmatic diaspora, the Jewish returnees of twenty-first century Israel often face varying and sometimes conflicting visions of past, present and future – visions built both inside and outside the country. As Baussant et al. (2019: viii) indicate, aspects of such "visions aim to consolidate a strong national identity based on the recovery of the ancient Jewish heritage, while erasing, silencing or ignoring the multiplicity of other memories. Others are oriented towards integration and mutual understanding of all the inhabitants of this country, so as to appease historical memories that remain painful and antagonistic". Maurice Halbwachs (1980), the founding scholar of memory studies, already understood Palestine altogether as a 'commemorative landscape' of mnemonic communities. Performing social forgetting in this sense can become a selective, but not definitive, route to social healing as social practice.

Furthermore, memory and history 'from below' and the (non-) uses of histories of refugees expose those memories condemned to silence in national narratives, when historical memories 'from above' and their erasure selectively become guards and not guardians of the past, as with the case of the 1920s Asia Minor refugees to Greece (Kritikos, 2020). Similarly, the pandemic summer of 2020 saw the toppling of racist statues, in the UK, the US and across the world, as these monuments to colonialism and racism where brought down in a defining historical moment for loud public debate and radical social change. It is what Dina Gusejnova (2020) terms 'derecognition' of past honours at a current crisis. It is also an instance reminding the public of the contradicting and criticising stance of allusion to someone like Colston, who used money from the slavery and trade of human beings to be charitable towards the poor. This dishonouring of a public figure in demanding recognition of power and truths leading to the establishment of a public memory of equality, are acts of reclaiming historical mnemonics

in a transformative way. This, clearly, is a contemporary new contact zone of social practice through revolt in reclaiming public memory. Potentially, the purpose of such acts can be as cathartic as the formal recognition of atrocities and genocides, re-writing of histories and the re-alignment of the malfunctioning of collective consciousness.

Indeed, the past can be a 'battlefield' for claims by a variety of diverse actors. These might include migrants, refugees but also other publics such as social activists and scholars who frequently "write an ignorance or even denial of memory of an immigrant past" (Bertossi et al., 2020: 5). This is now a 'collective amnesia' (Noiriel, 1996) fed by a beast of nostalgia of imaginative homelands of nativist grandeur and cultural superiority, in a context of fear for a sense of loss and grieving through a scapegoat of foreignness and perceptions of otherness. We have witnessed the increase of a politics of hatred through anti-immigrant and extremist populist discourse increasingly in Europe and elsewhere globally in various manifestations. These have appeared through the 'aestheticization of a politics of violence' (Benjamin 1969) with visible markers of hate (e.g. anti-Semitic graffiti); by manoeuvring the logics of the spectacle of suffering through hegemonic power (e.g. policing protests by migrants and those toppling colonial symbols), and the aspiration to an alternative or a political 'heteroglossia' (Bakhtin 1984). The latter can only be through the staging of a global carnival ala Bakhtin as a moral protest meant to free publics from the delusions of political and mass media propaganda and fake news power.

Everyday migrant life can also offer pathways of cultural production unfolding through memories, objects and experiential visits through what we term as an 'affective habitus' with material culture in unpacking how emotions triggered by items shape settling practices in host societies. The concept of 'affective habitus' is defined as follows:

"an interpretive framework applied in the analysis of the meanings of objects as a *performative repertoire of practices imbued with affective connotations and shaped by the personal magnitude of things in the narratives of migrant lives*. We understand such processes as *acts of material consciousness which are embodied, emotional, performative and narrated accounts central to the notion of practice in everyday migrant lives*" (Christou and Janta, 2019: 657; italics in the original).

These social practices connect with efforts in understanding rituals in urban public spaces as a type of 'commons' producing inclusion and/or exclusion within transnational worlds of mobilities and multiple belongings (Gamba and Cattacin, 2021). Rituals as commons (ibid) can also be seen as pathways to social cohesion in constructing collective consciousness and triggering opportunities to cultivate belonging. Interestingly, such rituals can be shared not only solely within migrant communities, but also extended to invites of others outside the

respective ethnic groups who can share in collective kinship and ceremonial practices. Frequently gift-giving can also become a vehicle to the ethnic and cultural socialising of insiders and outsiders to the migrant group, with cultural consumption as another means of building conviviality and friendship. This is indicative in how materialities of migration intersect with objects which become part of this journey in the receiving society, often imbued with an affective habitus of things brought back from the ancestral homeland during homecoming visits (Christou and King 2010) or even (hand) made in remaking new memories of belonging.

To exemplify these modalities, Cheladyn's (2017) research on the history of the Ukrainian Canadian embroidered pillow (*podushka*) plays a central role within such a large diaspora community in telling a story, reflecting a 'social life' of connections and identity. The research drawing on 57 interviews, and analysis of 496 Canadian-made, hand-embroidered podushky created between 1920 and 2015, engages with the meaning and 'significance of these things' (Christou and Janta 2019) within many generational layers. These kinds of objects and their symbolic materialities provide bonding with ancestral histories, roots and routes, often developing a lived experience of their own as heirlooms evolving in time and space, expressive of cultural identities and memories. The relationship between migrant homes, objects and identities reflects complex meanings about belonging and homing. They "signify the ambivalent nature of migrants' relationships with their past and present homes simultaneously acting as symbols of connection and detachment", while the mobilities of those objects become cumulative renditions of new biographies embedded within cultural and transnational contexts (Pechurina 2020: 669). Here, in line with an 'affective habitus' (Christou and Janta, 2019), we see diasporic objects as an analytical approach to the "feeling of home as a changing category that is (re)produced through memories and senses, as well as through particular ways of appropriation and personalisation of spaces and places" (Pechurina 2020: 669). The current pandemic has undoubtedly cast an accumulation of emotions, appropriations and negotiations of the home, the objects that fill those spaces we have been immersed or forced into reconfiguring with ourselves and others and which for many have shaped more social and personal crises within the global health crisis. There is contemplation that: "It may well be that, after the crisis, the very notion of home – let alone the personal experience of it – does not mean any more what it used to" (Boccagni 2020). This is true for some, but for others it might be a beginning to new struggles to reconcile traumatic experiences and memories. For migrants, displacement and deterritorialisation, diasporic lives and negotiations of migrancy are frequently imprinted imaginatively, but also poignantly, on objects and things that signify livelihoods on the move.

The positioning of objects as homing devices and part of migrant lives is also a process of ritualisation in interweaving social practices and materialities. Despite the importance of such rituals and practices, there is still little research attention to the interrelations between migration and processes of ritualisation. There is a clear knowledge gap on the ways in which rituals do not just relate to a previous stage of life in the migrants' places of origin, but more critically are constitutive of an important dimension in their processes of settlement in new diasporic emplacements (Hui, 2015; Pedersen and Rytter, 2018; Christou and Janta, 2019). In this direction we can grasp the transformative potential arising from the interplay between material forms, social practices and intercultural relations. This, in a broader understanding of how objects, their significance, their use and contextualisation experientially and discursively trigger new framings of meanings which are created, conforming neither to what had previously existed in the country of origin, nor the cultural configurations of the receiving society (Maran and Stockhammer, 2012). In this sensorial-material nexus, while possible, it is not necessarily an expectation that a 'fractured mosaic' (Conlon, 2011) marking migrant materialities and socio-cultural lives will emerge. However, what is important to repeat and re-connect with an earlier section, is that when embarking on a conceptualisation of migrant materialities to understand migrant belongings, a gendered and furthermore intersectional approach will be informative in understanding how not just women's domesticities are aligned to affective encounters, but also how masculinities are shaped within migrant materialities. In the earlier section we reflected on conceptualising gendered migrant belonging through materialities and their gendered ritualisations and socialisations. In the concluding section we recap on the contributions of this chapter, and point to a renewed intersectional direction to future studies of migrancy in relation to homing, memories and ritualised social practices. This requires an anticipatory approach to an envisaged future, ontologically, existentially and theoretically of 'where' and 'what' is re/membering home for migrants from a matrix of social categorisations and at different stages of the life course.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered an account of a critical and comparative overview of bodies of international literatures on mobilities, materialities, memories and homecomings, in combination with some relevant research contributions from a number of multi-sited, comparative and multi-method empirical studies conducted by the author over the past two decades. The chapter unfolded through a threefold approach of examining the relationship of 'memory-home-rituals', through conceptualisations of 'mobility-gender-belonging', while

responding to the core theme of the chapter which has been to explore the making of home for migrants through memories and ritualised social spaces.

This chapter has explored how homing and belonging are shaped by, and constructed through, migrant memories and the ritualisation of social practices filtered through new mobile experiences either collectively or individually. Within the context of these practices, more frequently, we associate commemorations and celebrations as acts that are significant for the collective historicity of ethnic groups and a sense of shared community. These are dynamic, recurrent and deeply affective events that impact on how belonging is sustained and reinvented, but also indicate how subsequent generations deal with migrant ritualisation. Apart from mnemonic rituals, there are also material objects and their positioning in migrant homes. Such displays are often part of the rituals and performative experiences of developing a sense and visualisation of homing and negotiating belonging. As a result, homing practices are also social practices concretised through emotional, embodied, sensual, material and imaginative acts that translate belonging from ethnic groups and individual migrants to the wider host societies through interactions with 'others'.

Future research in this domain will continue to be fascinating, especially given the impact of the global health pandemic in introducing new understandings and altered renditions of home, homing, rituals and belonging for migrants, indigenous and majority populations around the world. At the same time, it will be more than ever critical to question the 'what' and 'where' of home for those who are stateless and lack the privileges of citizenship. This will be especially revealing within the Global North, where historically access to citizenship has increased the potential for accessibility to wider opportunities, be that in the labour market, health and social security, housing, welfare and the creation of homing with possibilities for migrant aspirations, be that in education, social mobility or professional development. At the same time, more chances to showcase research for and by the Global South regarding migrant experience are important to expand active engagement with voices, perceptions and conceptualisations that also embrace decolonial, feminist and queer theories to destabilise the lack of diverse positionalities and empirical insights. Inconsistencies of homing and ritual practices through memories of belonging can also be fractured for those who are marginalised as outsiders within settler societies and minoritised as internally displaced, denied historical emplacement within the nation-state, and as a result dehumanised through institutional policies depriving them of any sense of belongingness.

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