

Becoming ‘a Londoner’: Migrants’ experiences and habits of everyday (im)mobilities over the life course

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Abstract

Everyday (im)mobilities continuously emerge out of dynamic interactions between bodies, objects and environments. Demonstrating the importance of past behaviours, life course and context, mobility biographies research has supplemented and advanced previous understandings of the factors which sustain and transform everyday mobilities. Despite this, its empirical and theoretical scope remains limited. The primary focus on certain life stages and key events as triggers of change in long-term travel behaviour has meant the effects of small-scale, short-term and multi-directional changes have largely been overlooked or ignored. I argue this failure is in part due to prevailing conceptions of experience, habit and environment. Engaging primarily with John Dewey’s writings and empirical materials generated with New Zealand migrants in London, I demonstrate how experience and habit can instead be understood as dynamic, relational and temporal processes. These New Zealanders, like other migrants, are shown to occupy multiple subject positions between, and experience complex dislocations and engagements with the practicalities of, places of departure and settlement. Their accounts help to foreground how events and happenings that continuously unfold in the everyday lives of migrants and non-migrants are undergone, negotiated, contested and fraught with uncertainty, innovation and ambivalence. Stretching across time and space, the cumulative, reinforcing and transformative effects of these processes do not coincide with pre-defined events but nonetheless change how movement, dwelling and subjectivities are differentially experienced and embodied.

Keywords: commuting, habit, London, mobility biographies, passengering, transnational migrants

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1. Introduction

We arrive at Stockwell Station at around 8.25am. En route, Richard² again noted that we were walking ‘directly past’ Clapham North, an exceptionally close but ‘very, very busy’ station. Trains arrive almost ‘empty’ at Stockwell, however, as it is only the second stop on the Victoria Line. This allows him, and his wife who he sometimes travels with, to usually ‘get a seat’, often together. Continuing on through the barrier gates, down the escalators and along the hall, we reach the farthest platform entrance point. Here, we encounter a queue of four to five people deep waiting for the north-bound train. ‘This will teach me for running five minutes late’. With a wry smile, Richard continues: ‘I think there must be a suspension or something [*laughs*]. Sometimes I get notifications coming through ... saying what the problems are, not today’. A minute or so later he observes: ‘We could go over to the Northern Line and catch that to Elephant and Castle and [then] the Bakerloo to work but I think I’ll stay put’. Before he can finish, a female voice begins making a live announcement over the intercom: ‘The Victoria Line has severe delays this morning. It is part suspended from Finsbury to Walthamstow, this is due to a person taking ill at Finsbury Park [...]’ [London Field Notes, Wednesday 31 July 2013].

This short vignette from Richard’s morning commute foregrounds the way everyday (im)mobilities continuously emerge out of dynamic interactions between bodies, objects and environments. These dynamics have been examined in a range of different ways. Transport scholars have extensively explored the role various instrumental, psychological, emotional, non-rational and contextual factors including proximity to services, transport cost and reliability, attitudes, habits and the built environment play in enabling and constraining transport choices (Beirão and Sarsfield Cabral, 2007; Blumenberg, 2008; Fujii and Kitamura, 2003; Klinger and Lanzendorf, 2016; Steg, 2005; Verplanken et al., 2008). Meanwhile, mobilities research has focused on how practices like walking, cycling, driving and passengering are connected with a variety of spaces and scales of movement, involve a range of corporeal engagements, technologies and infrastructures, and thus are differentially experienced and embodied (Bissell, 2014c; Edensor, 2011; Laurier et al., 2008; Middleton, 2009; Spinney, 2010). Typically employing more longitudinal and quantitative data, transport research has tended to develop analyses which examine variability over longer-term time horizons and larger spatial scales (Shaw and Hesse, 2010). This tendency is especially apparent when compared with mobilities scholarship which ‘remains more attuned to smaller-scale processes and events, and thicker forms of description and interpretation’ (Adey et al., 2014, p. 16).

Mobilities biographies research (Axhausen, 2008, Scheiner, 2007), corresponding largely with the long-term and quantitative inclinations of transport research, has investigated how transport behaviour changes over the life course. The *Journal of Transport Geography* has become one of the key outlets for such scholarship and emerging debates about the limits of existing empirical and conceptual approaches (e.g., Clark et al., 2016; Kent et al., 2017; Müggenburg et al., 2015; Rau and Manton, 2016; Sattlegger and Rau, 2016; Scheiner, 2006, Scheiner, 2014; Schoenduwe et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2014; Zhao and Zhang, 2018). Much of this work has tended to emphasise the importance certain life stages and pivotal events play in disrupting the otherwise habitual character and continuity of mobility-related attitudes and travel behaviour. Orientations towards driving, walking, cycling and public transport are considered to be comparatively robust and extremely habitualized as long as the context in which travel is undertaken remains stable (Bamberg, 2006; Thøgersen, 2012; Verplanken et al., 2008). Key biographical events or turning points such as residential relocation (Scheiner and Holz-Rau, 2013), the birth of a child (Lanzendorf, 2010) or starting a new job (Beige and Axhausen, 2008) have been shown to have mid- to long-term impacts on travel behaviour. Exogenous or ‘externally’ induced events, both targeted (road closures; the provision of free or subsidised public transport and service improvements) (Fujii and Kitamura, 2003; Matthies et al., 2006; Carreira et al., 2013) and non-targeted ((de)construction of transport infrastructure; increases in the cost of car use and fuel shortages, storms and floods) (Fujii et al., 2001; Marsden and Docherty, 2013; Watling et al., 2012), can also have significant effects.

Demonstrating the importance of past behaviours, life course and context (Müggenburg et al., 2015; Scheiner, 2018), mobilities biographies research both supplements and advances previous understandings of the factors which sustain and transform everyday mobilities. Despite this, its empirical and theoretical scope remains limited (Müggenburg et al., 2015; Plyushteva and Schwanen, 2018). Richard is an illustrative example here. Earlier in the walk to Stockwell, he had explained how their offer on a house in south east London, in an area a similar distance to the city but ‘nowhere near as expensive’, had just fallen through three days previously. Meanwhile, in our initial interview he recounted how he had resumed using public transport after moving back to London following three years spent commuting to work by car in Wellington, New Zealand. Both of these would be understood as ‘key events’ that could have or have changed his everyday movements. As Richard’s normally mundane commute highlights, however, things ceaselessly happen at a range of scales (from the micro (body) to the macro (underground systems)) and in a variety of time-spaces. These happenings are

variously experienced as pleasures and frustrations, continuities and disruptions, rhythms and arrhythmias (Edensor, 2011). By focusing only on certain life stages and key events, mobilities biographies research has overlooked the various cumulative, amplifying and transformative effects small-scale, ephemeral, subtle and multi-directional processes, events, actions and decisions play in sustaining and changing (im)mobilities (Amit and Knowles, 2017; Cullen, 1978; Stratford, 2015).

This paper examines how these cumulative, reinforcing and transformative effects shape the everyday (im)mobilities of migrants over their life course. Drawing on empirical materials generated with New Zealanders living and working in London, I explore how their embodied movements, senses, feelings and subjectivities are sustained, challenged and transformed by experience, habit and environments. Migration provides an interesting lens through which to reconsider mobility biographies. Migrants are one of a number of ‘population’ groups (e.g., lower-income, disabled and elderly), that have received relatively little empirical attention in mobility biographies research (Scheiner, 2018). Although migration is a ‘key’ event that ‘begins with a single journey’, it involves ‘complex dislocations of biography, personal ontology, organization, and engagement with the practicalities of here and there’ (Knowles and Harper, 2009, p. 2). A migrant’s country of origin or ethnicity alone does not sufficiently capture the ways in which these dislocations and practicalities shape migrant settlement. National ‘groups’ can consist of ‘several, possibly unrelated subgroups originating from different regions, cities, ethnic, religious or class groups, migrating at different times, and receiving different legal statuses in the destination of settlement’ (Wessendorf, 2018, p. 272). Studies of transnationalism correspondingly highlight distinctions between migrants (as more temporary) and immigrants (as more permanent) are inadequate for explaining the social and political experiences and social relations of many migratory individuals and groups (Basch et al., 1994; Glick Schiller et al., 1992, Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

Migrants (‘transmigrants’) develop and sustain lives that stretch across time and space and continually take shape through links and connections to people, capital, ideas and objects in their ‘societies of origin and settlement’ (Basch et al., 1994, p. 7; Glick Schiller et al., 1992, Glick Schiller et al., 1995). At the same time, migrants are not necessarily ‘exceptional’ mobile subjects. As Hui (2016, p. 76) argues, within ‘individuals’ biographies, ‘non-migrant’ and ‘migrant’ roles may be interwoven in surprising ways, or even be largely irrelevant to the practices of everyday life’. While some individuals' everyday lives are characterised by a state

of ‘permanent temporariness’ as their migration status creates ongoing challenges and difficulties (Bailey et al., 2002; Collins, 2011), other migrants ‘go through periods when having migrated is of limited relevance’ (Hui, 2016, p. 76). Migrant may also be one of a number of relevant subject-positions (i.e., tourist, passenger, driver, cyclist and the impaired) they might (concurrently) hold at any one time (Adey et al., 2014; Hui, 2016). The implication for Hui (2016, p. 76) is that any exploration of the everyday (im)mobilities of migrants needs to account for ‘the multiple roles and experiences of diverse and unequally privileged people’.

Exploring the dislocations and practicalities and multiple roles and experiences of migrants, this paper seeks to complement and extend existing research in a number of ways. First, I argue that mobility biographies research in particular has offered limited insights into these dynamics because of prevailing conceptions of experience, habit and environment. Experience and habit, when considered, are generally understood as individual possessions respectively gained from, or unreflexively and mechanistically cued by, an external environment. Second, I demonstrate how the writings of John Dewey and others offer a way of approaching experience and habit as dynamic, relational and temporal processes. Third, I suggest Dewey’s notion of custom or shared habits helps to make sense of how migrants’ pre-existing modes of response may come into conflict with and gradually align with local ways of acting, thinking and feeling. This helps to foreground the ongoing social conditioning of habits which is present but more difficult to tease out in other emerging literatures on habit. Fourth, I outline the implications of this account for current scholarship on mobilities biographies and, to a lesser extent, migration and habit.

2. Habits, experiences and environments of everyday (im)mobilities

Mobilities biographies research has primarily stressed the habitual character and continuity of mobility-related attitudes and travel behaviour. Key events are considered to affect and change travel behaviour in various ways. By altering the context in which behaviour is normally performed, some events disrupt previous travel habits (Verplanken et al., 2008). Habits, following social psychology interpretations, are understood as behaviours automatically prompted by contextual cues such as a specific location, previous actions in a sequence and the presence of certain people or objects (Aarts and Dijksterhuis, 2000; Orbell and Verplanken, 2010). They emerge over time as behaviours generating acceptable and suitable outcomes through positive reinforcement, eventually bypass the cognitive demands associated with attitudinal or deliberative decision-making and become script-based (Gardner, 2009; Gärling

and Axhausen, 2003). Once established, habits are considered to be extremely difficult to ‘break’ or ‘defrost’ when the context in which they are performed remains stable (Verplanken and Wood, 2006).

Key events may disrupt this stability, for instance, by changing the travel needs, make-up and income of a household, improving their access to transport options or by providing opportunities to experience a different urban form, travel mode or mobility culture (Klinger and Lanzendorf, 2016; Muggenburg et al., 2015). Consciously adjusting to these new circumstances, people may become more open-minded about or capable of using alternative modes (Thøgersen, 2012; Verplanken et al., 2008), creating ‘windows of opportunity’ during which shifts in attitudes and travel behaviour might occur or be encouraged (Bamberg, 2006, De Vos et al., 2012). Attempts to encourage such shifts have included the provision of free or subsidised public transport tickets to car drivers when individuals move house or switch jobs (Fujii and Kitamura, 2003; Matthies et al., 2006). The success of these interventions is often attributed to whether individuals subsequently have positive or negative experiences of the frequency, reliability and comfort these services afford compared to their private car (Beirão and Sarsfield Cabral, 2007; Kent, 2015).

Habits and experiences are understood accordingly as two distinct components of an individual’s behaviour. Individuals accumulate knowledge, for instance, about what travel behaviours work and what they like and dislike about different mobility modes by consciously reflecting on their past and present experiences. If experiences of travelling by car, bus, foot or bicycle are deemed to produce satisfactory or favourable results, over time they become unconscious habits. Such habits are then repeatedly performed unreflexively and mechanistically when cued by a particular object or environment. These interpretations contrast significantly with those developed and inspired by the writings of John Dewey (1922, 1929), Felix Ravaisson (2008 [1838]), Bergson (1944, 1959), Gilles Deleuze (1994), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962), Martin Heidegger (1962) and Henri Lefebvre (2004). Each of these theorists approach habit and experience as dynamic, relational and temporal processes that emerge out of ongoing interactions with particular environments. It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a comprehensive overview of the particularities of their individual accounts (for overviews see Carlisle, 2010; Crossley, 2013; Dewsbury and Bissell, 2015; Edensor, 2010a, 2010b; Grosz, 2013; Sparrow and Hutchinson, 2013). Instead, I outline the important distinctions that Dewey’s (1929) theory of experience draws between primary, reflective and

materialized (or habit) experience (cf. Gimmler, 2019). This account shares a number of similarities and one key difference with how these other theorists' work has been deployed in mobilities and migration scholarship on how movement, dwelling and subjectivities are performed through embodied and material practices (e.g., Amit and Knowles, 2017; Bissell, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; Buhr, 2018a, 2018b; Conradson and Latham, 2007; Edensor, 2010a, 2010b, 2011; Knowles and Harper, 2009; McCormack, 2013; Plyushteva and Schwanen, 2018; Schwanen et al., 2012; Vannini, 2011).

2.1 John Dewey's theory of experience

For Dewey, experience is not a thing or object that we have or possess but a process (see Table 1). It 'includes *what* men [*sic*] do and suffer, *what* they strive for, love, believe and endure, and also *how* men [*sic*] act and are acted upon, the ways in which they do and suffer, desire and enjoy, see, believe, imagine – in short, processes of experiencing' (Dewey, 1929, p. 10). Experience is not an 'isolated fact' but rather 'a nexus of active relations' which is 'continuous' with both the environment and 'the past, the present, and the future' (Cutchin, 2008, p. 1559). It is temporal and dynamic, emerging out of our interactions with particular environments. These environments are 'enmeshed in cultural conditions and thereby more than 'physical'' (Dewey and Bentley, 1973 [1949], p. 185). They are mediums or milieus that are '*intermediate* in the execution or carrying *out* of human activities, as well as being the channel *through* which they move and the vehicle *by* which they go on' (Dewey and Bentley, 1973 [1949], p. 185, original emphasis). Environments, in this way, are not simply external 'facilitating conditions' (Triandis, 1977), which depending on provision, design and configuration, prevent and prompt particular behaviours such as driving, walking, cycling or using public transport. This implies that we 'live *in* an environment', when in reality we live 'by means of an environment' (Dewey, 1938, p. 25).

Experience, for Dewey, thus entails undergoing, 'the action of that environment upon the organism (and hence its capacity to be acted upon)' and doing, 'the action of the organism on the environment (its capacity to act upon the world and the capacity of the world to be acted upon)' (Alexander, 1987, p. 126). Both doing and undergoing are always 'related to each other or coordinated' (Alexander, 1987, p. 127) and a 'part, phase or aspect of an envioning experienced world - a situation' (Dewey, 1938, p. 67). Situations are experienced through primary, reflective and materialized (or habit) experience (cf. Gimmler, 2019). Primary experience, corresponding with Dewey's designation, is the basic or fundamental way in which

we experience the world. Our experiences are primarily non-cognitive and immediate, in that existences are undergone, given or felt. Secondary or reflective experience is ‘the result of a processing experience in the form of inquiry’ and ‘not an unmediated representation of something in reality’ (Gimmler, 2019, p. 185). Reflection or consciousness, for Dewey, ‘is only a very small and shifting portion of experience’ (Dewey, 1916, p. 6) and ‘surrounding, bathing, saturating, the things of which we are explicitly aware is some inclusive situation which does not enter into the direct material of reflection’ (Dewey, 1985, p. 11). Typically, it is the ‘familiar [that] does not consciously appear’ as our ‘deep-seated habits are precisely those of which we have least awareness. When ... operat[ing] in a situation to which they are not accustomed ... a new adjustment is required’ (Dewey, 1929, p. 311).

Table 1. Five contrasts between traditional views and John Dewey’s of experience. Source: Modified from Hildebrand (2003, p. 36).

Traditional View	Dewey’s View
Experience is regarded as a knowledge affair	Experience covers all modes of interaction between organism and environment
Experience is primarily subjective/private; it marks out an ontological difference	Subject/object distinction is functional, made in experience
Main concern is the present or past; experience is of primary importance	Experience is future oriented
Experience is made up of discrete, disconnected particulars (e.g., ‘atoms’ or ‘impressions’)	Experience is found constituted by genuine connections and continuities
Experience is divorced from reason; it provides just the fund or data of reason.	Experience is ‘full of inference’; it is ‘a future implicated in a present’

Over time we come to ‘apprehend’ but not ‘know’ what were initially unusual situations such as travelling in a new environment. This is because the ‘[r]ecognition (the re-cognizing) succeeds by virtue, by and large, of factors that are not immediate’ but secondary (Hildebrand, 2003, p. 44). Original uncertainties, for instance, about which direction to travel, when and where to get off, after ‘repeated encounters’ create new habits of doing, thinking and feeling. Consequently, these and other aspects, as we shall see, become ‘second nature’ or ‘know how’. They cease to be ‘knowledge’ as ‘habit does not, of itself, know, for it does not of itself stop to think, observe or remember ... as [it] is too organized, too insistent and determinate to need to indulge in inquiry or imagination’ (Dewey, 1922, p. 177). It is not knowledge in the traditional sense, therefore, because it ‘lives in the muscles, not in consciousness’ (Dewey, 1922, p. 177).

Materialised experience or habits are ‘propulsive and generative tendencies’ which, as they develop through interactions with particular environments, are ‘open-ended and non-

deterministic' and 'neither individualistic nor primarily cognitive phenomenon originating in the functioning in the brain' (Schwanen et al., 2012, p. 526). Habits shape what we do, think and feel and, accordingly, who we are. Movements which were initially 'clumsy, difficult and required effort', through habit become 'increasingly precise, graceful and effortless' (Bissell, 2014b, p. 485). Mobility competencies 'take shape through the efficiencies that habit affords where only those movements useful for the action are retained' (Bissell, 2014b, p. 485). Moreover, as Bissell observes, the 'strains of the daily commute can become easier to bear' as 'sensations that were initially painful become attenuated and woven into the task to-hand' (2014b, p. 485). A passengering habit is what makes it possible for the passengers, carriages, railways, signs, platforms, and entry and exit points to coalesce into an apparently seamless whole and what supports the routine use of metro and train systems to access places. The habits that emerge around specific individuals, however, are differentiated as each body is imbued with unique abilities and disabilities which are in part the result of bodily changes and transformations arising out of their interactions with specific environments over time (Cutchin, 2008; Schwanen et al., 2012). As habits do not exist in 'isolation' but rather 'interpenetrate', those associated with everyday mobility including driving, walking, cycling and passengering, become central to the development of the self or subjectivity (Dewey, 1922).

Corresponding with his notion of the environment as a milieu enmeshed with cultural conditions, Dewey (1922) makes an important distinction between 'individual' habits and what he terms 'customs', shared or collective habits and institutions. Custom or the 'widespread [uniformity] of habit' is central to his account and helps to explain the continuing persistence of habits as 'individuals form their personal habits under conditions set by prior customs' (Dewey, 1922, p. 58). These pre-established social circuits inevitably shape our personal habits as 'assimilation of [one's] own acts to the pattern' of activities of those who 'are already there' is a 'prerequisite of a share therein, and hence of having any part in what is going on' (Dewey, 1922, p. 58). A child, for example, learns the languages that those about them speak and teach, as their 'ability to speak that language is a pre-condition of [them] entering into effective connection with them, making wants known and getting them satisfied' (Dewey, 1922, p. 58-59). Custom takes 'priority' in the formation of habits in 'human beings who are born babies and gradually grow to maturity' (Dewey, 1922, p. 60). 'Custom is Nomos, lord and king of all, of emotions, beliefs, opinions, thoughts as well as deeds' (Dewey, 1929, p. 211). The simple observation that there are a wide 'variety of individuals and cultures' is evidence for Dewey of

the fact that although we may share ‘basic instincts’ these subsequently ‘develop into so many different habits and customs’ (Hildebrand, 2008, p. 19).

In Dewey’s (1922, p. 61) view, we develop ‘a common mind, common ways of feeling and believing and purposing’ through our interactions with ‘big and small’ social groups with ‘more or less integrated systems of activity’ (p. 60). Friends, families, political parties, clubs, socio-economic classes, ethnic and age groups, develop ‘different and distinct customs’ through ‘patterns of differential association and relative segregation’ (Crossley, 2013, p. 154). Dewey holds that, at least to some extent, social mixing is unavoidable and that ‘where it happens differences in collective habits will come to the fore, often leading to conflict’ (Crossley, 2013, p. 154). In drawing the distinction between habits and customs, Dewey makes ‘explicit and thematises the fact, acknowledged but underdeveloped’ in, for example, the work of Ravaisson and Merleau-Ponty, that ‘interactions usually involve other human actors, as well as non-human elements’ (Schwanen et al., 2012; Crossley, 2013, p. 152). As a result, habits ‘emerge from and belong to the collective life of human beings’ as they take shape ‘in the to and fro of social interaction’ (Crossley, 2013, p. 152). In order to explore how ‘national’ and ‘local’ customs shape New Zealanders’ experiencing of London and situate the empirical materials that follow, the next section provides an overview of the concept of a ‘transnational social space’, the long-standing New Zealand cultural practice of a working holiday, and the methodological approaches employed in this study.

3. Moving to London: A customary ‘rite of passage’ for New Zealand migrants

Richard, who we briefly met earlier, inhabits a specific type of ‘transnational social space’ (Faist, 2000; Pries, 2001) in London which continues to shape his and other New Zealanders’ migratory experiences and expectations (Conradson and Latham, 2005a, 2005b; Wiles, 2008; Wilson, 2014). Such spaces, of which ‘transnational communities’ are one example (Faist, 2000, pp. 196-198), ‘denote dynamic social processes, not static notions of ties and positions’ (p. 191). They provide ‘pluri-local frames of reference that structure everyday practices, social positions, employment trajectories and biographies, and human identities, and simultaneously exist *above* and *beyond* the social context of national societies’ (Pries, 2001, p. 69, original emphasis). Richard, much like his contemporary compatriots, even before arriving was already variously entangled with the transnational community of New Zealanders that has been present

in the city for a number of decades. Most of this community resides in the west and east of London in inner (Camden, Hammersmith and Fulham, Lambeth, Westminster and Wandsworth) and neighbouring outer (Ealing, Richmond upon Thames) boroughs (see Table 2 and Figure 1). It has developed extensive social and physical infrastructure including a variety of sports leagues, newspapers, websites, online communities, employment and travel agencies, festivals, coffee shops, entertainment venues and even specific social traditions (e.g., the Waitangi Day pub crawl) (Wilson, 2014). Significantly, this community is comprised of extremely transitory individuals (Bedford et al., 2003), the vast majority of whom have no plans to settle permanently (Conradson and Latham, 2005b; Wiles, 2008).

Most New Zealanders, like Richard at least initially, are instead engaged in the longstanding cultural practice of a ‘working holiday’ or what is colloquially known as an ‘overseas experience’ or ‘OE’ (Bell, 2002; Wilson, 2014; Wilson et al., 2009a). An OE is normally a two to three-year period spent by young New Zealanders living and working abroad in countries such as Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States. It has gradually ‘become a cultural icon’ and ‘going on an OE has become part of the social norm’ (Wilson et al., 2009b, p. 4), a ‘distinctively New Zealand ‘rite of passage’ (p. 5). Corresponding with this conceptualisation, and coinciding with working holiday visa regulations, individuals undertake their OE during their twenties and thirties ‘before long-term commitments are made to partners, starting families or establishing careers’ (Wilson et al., 2009b, p. 4). This liminal period allows for ‘sustained self-experimentation, exploration and development’ by providing access to experiences unavailable in New Zealand and the opportunity to do things they might not necessarily feel they can do at ‘home’ (Conradson and Latham, 2005b, p. 290; Wilson et al., 2009b).

Table 2. The number of people born in New Zealand living in London by borough and Eurostat territorial unit.
Data source: UK Census 1991 (Nomis, 2019), 2001 and 2011 (London Datastore 2010, 2014).

Borough/Territorial Unit	1991		2001		2011		1991-2011
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	+/- %
Inner London	10,200	55.5	15,898	57.8	18,885	66.2	85.1
West (UKI3)	6,133	33.4	8,724	31.7	10,172	35.6	65.9
Wandsworth	1,328	7.2	2,126	7.7	3,580	12.5	169.6
Hammersmith and Fulham	1,219	6.6	2,098	7.6	2,354	8.2	93.1
Camden	1,249	6.8	1,657	6.0	1,686	5.9	35.0
Westminster	1,158	6.3	1,590	5.8	1,630	5.7	40.8
Kensington and Chelsea	1,141	6.2	1,183	4.3	842	2.9	-26.2
City of London	38	0.2	70	0.3	80	0.3	110.5
East (UKI4)	4,067	22.1	7,174	26.1	8,713	30.5	114.2
Lambeth	1,065	5.8	1,499	5.5	2,196	7.7	106.2
Southwark	526	2.9	975	3.5	1,258	4.4	139.2
Tower Hamlets	248	1.4	1,213	4.4	1,249	4.4	403.6
Islington	573	3.1	1,080	3.9	1,174	4.1	104.9
Hackney	447	2.4	594	2.2	977	3.4	118.6
Lewisham	389	2.1	500	1.8	814	2.9	109.3
Haringey	661	3.6	892	3.2	791	2.8	19.7
Newham	158	0.9	421	1.5	254	0.9	60.8
Outer London	8,165	44.5	11,596	42.2	9,662	33.8	18.3
East and North East (UKI5)	1,164	6.3	1,672	6.1	1,665	5.8	43.0
Greenwich	195	1.1	413	1.5	487	1.7	149.7
Waltham Forest	360	2.0	537	2.0	372	1.3	3.3
Enfield	237	1.3	241	0.9	244	0.9	3.0
Redbridge	153	0.8	214	0.8	230	0.8	50.3
Havering	95	0.5	92	0.3	137	0.5	44.2
Bexley	85	0.5	101	0.4	109	0.4	28.2
Barking and Dagenham	39	0.2	74	0.3	86	0.3	120.5
South (UKI6)	1,883	10.3	2,542	9.2	2,403	8.4	27.6
Merton	695	3.8	938	3.4	875	3.1	25.9
Bromley	354	1.9	487	1.8	503	1.8	42.1
Kingston upon Thames	270	1.5	422	1.5	401	1.4	48.5
Croydon	408	2.2	452	1.6	367	1.3	-10.0
Sutton	156	0.8	243	0.9	257	0.9	64.7
West and North West (UKI7)	5,118	27.9	7,382	26.8	5,594	19.6	9.3
Ealing	1,226	6.7	2,064	7.5	1,554	5.4	26.8
Richmond upon Thames	752	4.1	1,056	3.8	1,151	4.0	53.1
Brent	1,187	6.5	1,996	7.3	1,055	3.7	-11.1
Hounslow	558	3.0	721	2.6	772	2.7	38.4
Barnet	884	4.8	970	3.5	533	1.9	-39.7
Hillingdon	205	1.1	297	1.1	298	1.0	45.4
Harrow	306	1.7	278	1.0	231	0.8	-24.5
London	18,365	100.0	27,494	100.0	28,547	100.0	55.4
Great Britain	41,203	44.5 ¹	57,916	47.4	62,000	46.0	50.5

¹ This is the percentage of the New Zealand-born population in Great Britain (England, Wales and Scotland) living in London. It is more than likely that this is an underestimation of the population who would identify themselves as New Zealanders but the Census provides the most reliable data available.

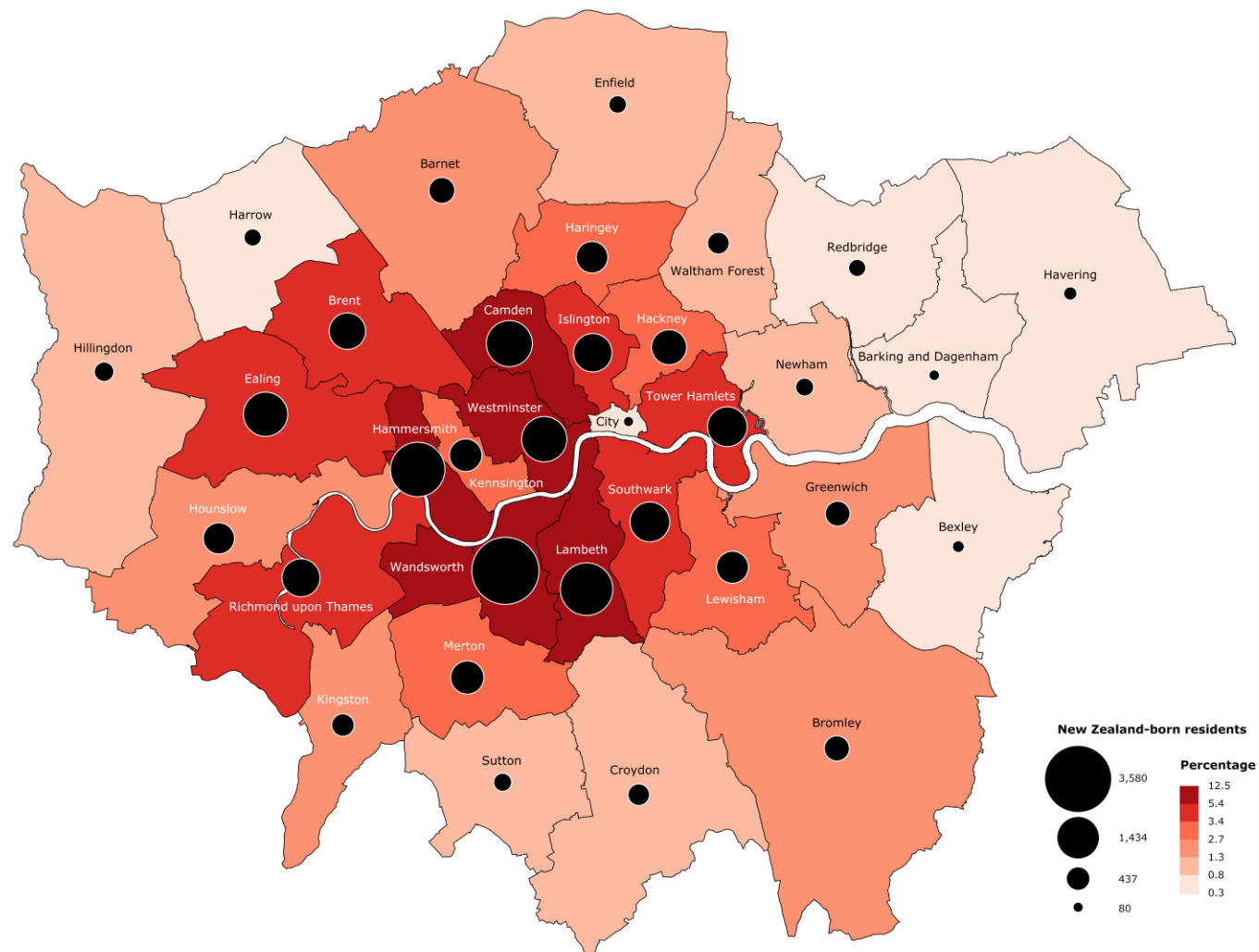


Figure 1. A map highlighting the distribution of people born in New Zealand by London borough. Data source: UK Census 2011 (London Datastore, 2014). Map created in Magrit (2019).

Britain remains an especially prominent destination, with the OE being one manifestation of historic and continually evolving cultural, social, political and economic links with New Zealand, a former British colony (Wilson et al., 2009a; Wilson, 2014). One legacy of this colonial relationship is that it provides New Zealanders with the ability to fairly easily obtain short-term working (two year) or ancestry (five year) visas, particularly compared to, for instance, the US. Alongside this, the UK provides an exceptional base from which to travel and explore Europe and beyond. There are two main groups who have tended to take advantage of these opportunities for their OE (Conradson and Latham, 2007; Wilson, 2014). The first is a cohort of post-secondary school individuals who depart prior to having acquired a great deal of professional experience or further training in New Zealand. This group, as a result, tend to gain more casual and unskilled employment in hotels, pubs and restaurants and they reside in shared households while engaging in reasonably frequent travel in Europe. There is some evidence to suggest that the number of young New Zealanders able to rely on these unskilled jobs has declined as they have been taken by Eastern European labour (Wilson et al., 2009a).

The second group, in contrast, is made up of, among others, accountants, health professionals, lawyers, IT specialists and teachers. These New Zealanders temporarily relocate after undertaking study at a tertiary institution such as a university or polytechnic and typically gaining some work experience. For some, the move is facilitated by their ability to transfer within an international company or with the help of recruitment agencies that specialise in particular fields such as engineering, healthcare, finance and education (Conradson and Latham, 2007; Wilson, 2014). These skilled New Zealanders are usually able to gain relatively well-paid work including through temping agencies in roles that closely align with their previous employment and future career aspirations. For the majority of this group, the emphasis is on tending to rather than aggressively advancing their career. Individuals are reasonably happy as long as they are able to maintain their particular employment skills and find their everyday work interesting on some level (Conradson and Latham, 2005a). Career advancement possibilities are thus typically considered secondary to the potential travel and lifestyle opportunities that the UK affords (Conradson and Latham, 2005a; Wilson et al., 2009b). A small percentage of New Zealanders end up staying longer than their two-year or five-year visa or returning to the UK for personal, career or lifestyle reasons by obtaining a particular work permit or through dual citizenship. Most individuals return to New Zealand, however, within five years of arrival (Conradson and Latham, 2007; Wiles, 2008). Overall then, although most migrate initially at least for social and cultural reasons including opportunities for travel and

pleasure, they are by no means a homogenous group, migrating at different times and with different levels of education, work experience, migration channels and legal statuses.

London, in this context, is a particularly popular OE destination, with approximately half of the 65,000 New Zealand-born people in the UK residing in the city (ONS, 2019, see also Table 2). London's attractiveness has been attributed, on the one hand, to young New Zealanders' desire to feel part of a world city - 'the buzz, the opportunities, the intensity, the speed, the cosmopolitanism' (Conradson and Latham, 2005a, Conradson and Latham, 2007, p. 237). Equally important though, is the supportive role close-knit friendship networks play in encouraging individuals to travel, select London as a destination and in influencing their social networks, experiences and practices upon arrival (Bedford, 2001; Conradson and Latham, 2005a; Wiles, 2008). As Conradson and Latham (2005a) have shown, like other migrant sub-cultural enclaves or 'expatriate bubbles' (O'Reilly, 2000; Knowles and Harper, 2009), these friendships provide important social support networks which help 'new arrivals obtain accommodation, learn about job opportunities, and generally find their way in London' (Conradson and Latham, 2005a, p. 294). In doing so, they simultaneously enhance an individual's 'psychological security, self-esteem and sense of belonging' and reduce 'stress, anxiety and feelings of powerlessness and alienation' they might have otherwise experienced given the distance from family, friends and colleagues (Ward et al., 2001, p. 87).

New Zealanders occupy a relatively privileged position in London (cf. Conradson and Latham, 2005a, 2005b; Wiles, 2008). Typically, they are wealthier, better educated and more visibly 'white' and middle-class than the general New Zealand population. Relatedly, in public discourses around migration in the UK they are typically seen as a harmless or even sought-after group of immigrants. They also sit to some extent outside of the British class system, which can be both beneficial and disadvantageous (Wiles, 2008, p. 120). Given these positions, they are examples of 'middling migrants' who 'do not represent elites or extremes of socio-economic status and power, privilege and poverty; instead, they are 'very much of the middle' (Conradson and Latham, 2005b; Wiles, 2008, p. 120). The two- or five-year temporal horizon of their work or ancestry visas, as Conradson & Latham (2007, p. 251) note, potentially enables most 'New Zealanders to enjoy the positive opportunities that London affords, while conferring a degree of resilience to the practical and infrastructural challenges that see many British professionals leaving the capital in their thirties' for a better quality of life or environment for raising children. Moreover, enjoying these relatively privileged positions, New Zealanders are

typically less likely to encounter the significant forms of socioeconomic inequality, social exclusion and racial discrimination which have been shown to shape the (im)mobility practices of other non-white refugees (Bose, 2014) and (im)migrants (Blumenberg, 2008; Buhr, 2018a, Buhr, 2018b; Uteng, 2009).

For New Zealanders then, the conjunction of these various factors mediate many of the uncertainties they might otherwise encounter when migrating. In this paper, I highlight how these factors, particularly New Zealand's OE culture, and the associated friendship networks and transnational community, are one set of customs that socially condition New Zealanders' experiencing of London. To develop this account, I draw on empirical materials generated and collected on commuting in London using a broadly ethnographic and grounded approach between October 2012 and February 2013 and July and September 2013. Interviews, participant observation, go-alongs (Kusenbach, 2003), where I travelled with participants on their commutes, and ongoing systematic analysis, were used as different 'modes' of engaging (Merriman, 2014) with participants. My line of questioning or presence on their commute, provided participants with the opportunity to 'stop and think' and observe, recollect and reflect on how their habits, sense of self and everyday mobility had change over time through experience (Dewey, 1929, p. 314). Participants' responses or actions similarly prompted new lines of enquiry for me. Encounters with other commuters and different objects, events and time-spaces also triggered reflective moments for participants and me (see Anderson, 2004; Elwood and Martin, 2000; Sin, 2003).

Participants were recruited through various channels. These included online advertisements on professional, interest and expatriate group pages on Facebook and LinkedIn, directly contacting companies and asking them to place an advertisement via email or online and offline noticeboards, making use of existing contacts and snowballing. A total of 54 semi-structured interviews were conducted in London, 38 with New Zealanders (see Table 3). Most participants, corresponding with the preceding discussion, migrated for their OE, were aged between 18-29 and 30-39 and lived in shared accommodation in boroughs in west or east Inner London (see Table 3). Thirteen participants were also joined on one or more legs (i.e., morning and/or evening) of their commute and eleven were joined in both autumn/winter and summer to explore how their habits and experiences varied seasonally and over time. These go-alongs were relatively unstructured with me questioning and observing how participants moved through, interacted with and articulated the socialities and materialities (Kusenbach, 2003) of

their commute. Digital audio was recorded on almost every go-along and when appropriate and possible, photographs and video were also taken. Written and audio notes were made afterwards. The analysis, conducted in ATLAS.ti (ATLAS.ti, 2014), followed the grounded theory coding framework of identifying the conditions, interactions, strategies and tactics and consequences present in the data and involved open, axial and selective coding. Before exploring the importance of the OE, ‘Kiwi’ and ‘local’ customs, I elaborate upon the concept of rhythm, as differences in speed and intensity were central to New Zealanders' expectations and experiencing of London.

Table 3. Summary characteristics of London research participants who identified themselves as being from New Zealand.

Characteristic	Participants (n=38)	
	Number	Percentage
Age 18-29	21	55
Age 30-39	14	37
Age 40-49	1	2
Age 50-59	2	5
Male	12	32
Female	26	68
Journey to work (Main mode)		
Active travel (Bicycle/Walking)	9	24
Public transport	26	68
Private vehicle	1	2
Work vehicle	2	5
Household structure		
Couple household	6	16
Couple with children	2	5
Living alone	4	11
Shared household	22	58
Couple in shared household	4	11
Location (ONS Territorial Unit)		
Inner London - West	18	47
Inner London - East	8	21
Outer London - East and North East	0	0
Outer London - South	3	8
Outer London - West and North West	9	23

4. New Zealanders' experiencing of the rhythms of living and passengering in London

The flows of people, buses, tubes and trains that course through and around London, the different temporalities and durations of dwelling in these mobilities and their associated moorings, produced demands, intensities and possibilities distinct from those previously experienced in New Zealand towns and cities (see also Conradson and Latham, 2007). The

regularity, speed and intensity of these flows, as we shall see, produce distinctive rhythmic qualities which these New Zealanders perceived as hurried and ‘fast-paced’. Rhythm, in this context, is a concept central to Dewey (1929, 1934) and Lefebvre’s (2004) accounts of everyday spacetimes. Both stress that interactions between bodies, objects, environments and events give rise to a manifold of rhythms which are spatially and temporally ordered and structured (cf. McCormack, 2013; Edensor, 2010a). These can be ‘linear or cyclical and operate at circadian, weekly, monthly, seasonal, annual, lifetime, millennial and geological scales’ (Edensor, 2011, p. 189). The ‘ensembles of rhythms that interweave in and across’ cities like London or Auckland and Wellington in New Zealand, accordingly ‘produce a particular temporal mixity of events of varying regularity’ which ‘possess distinctive characteristics’ (Edensor, 2010b, p. 69). These ‘multiple rhythms are dynamic, producing an ever-changing, dynamic time-space, or, where place appears to be stable, they disguise its endless maintenance through the serial reproduction of its consistencies, through the reproduction of the changing same’ (Edensor, 2010b, p. 69). Rhythm also ‘shapes the mobile experience of space’ as the ‘speed, pace and periodicity of a journey’ and whether it is made on foot, by bicycle, bus, train, ferry or car, ‘produce particular effects through which space and place are known and felt’ (Edensor, 2011, p. 191; Middleton, 2009; Spinney, 2010; Vannini, 2011).

New Zealanders’ apprehension of London was shaped by the multimodal nature of their journeys and the way the city’s distinctive rhythms gradually folded into their habits and sense of self. Processes of adjustment and adaptation to the objects, infrastructures, socialities and events encountered on journeys were sometimes conscious, especially initially, but often unconscious and shaped by pre-existing and local customs they encountered. Friends and family, both in New Zealand and London, to varying degrees shaped their expectations of how these might diverge from ways of acting and thinking which they had been accustomed to ‘back home’. The novelty and challenges of using the city’s various transport infrastructures and systems were among one of the most common topics covered. Many offered practical suggestions to overcome particular difficulties. Gareth, for example, had ‘never really lived in a big city’ and always travelled by car. Arriving eight months ago, he was ‘not used to’ London’s ‘transport systems’ and found them ‘quite a daunting challenge’: ‘When you [initially] look at the tube map you are like what the?’. ‘Other mates and cousins’ living in London explained ‘how the system work[ed] a little bit’:

Basically [people said] just forget about all the names and things just focus on the colours and try and find the train which is going past where you want to go on ... whatever line it is. Look for the names at the end of each ... line and if you see a train which is heading that way you know your stop will be before then.

Similarly, Elizabeth received guidance from her New Zealand flatmates. She ended up sharing with these four other 'Kiwis' through someone 'she had lived with in Wellington'. Arriving 18 months earlier, this flatmate moved in with her older sister's friends who had been based in London 'for about 9 years'. Based on their advice, Elizabeth usually catches the 'Jubilee Line to come into the city before swapping onto the Metropolitan at Wembley Park because that has way less stops and getting back onto the Jubilee at Baker Street'. At the same time, she was frustrated when her new flatmates who had 'been [in London] for ages' suggested 'the tube system [was] easy'. In doing so, they 'forget what it is like navigating a big city when you first get here'.

While Gareth and Elizabeth appreciated and heeded this advice they both emphasised the importance primary, reflective and materialised experiences had played in allowing them to adjust and adapt to the technologies, infrastructures and spaces encountered on their journeys. For Gareth 'you kind of do ... a few times and get used to ... pretty quickly. [After a short time] you can navigate your own way pretty quick, ... it really just [becomes] second nature. ... But those first few times are a bit daunting'. Elizabeth also discussed how through repetition, habit has allowed her to become familiar with the 'vibrating materialities' (Bissell, 2010) of the tube, enabling her to contemplate imposing a different rhythm onto her journey:

I've decided I may as well make use of my [travel] time. So ... I need to charge my Kindle and then I will read my book. So that will make time go faster hopefully. ... [M]y friend said just read your book [but I found] the movement of the tube took a while to get used to. It actually made me feel a little bit sick. So then I wasn't really that keen on the idea of reading. But now I don't really seem to notice the movement so once I charge my Kindle I will read.

In distinct ways, their accounts both highlight how the experience of passengering simultaneously involves undergoing and doing. Through these processes they have come to apprehend what were initially unusual situations and sensations that demanded a lot of energy and attention.

Ryan likewise noted how 'when you first come over London is really big and feels a bit weird', 'exciting' and 'slightly uncomfortable going somewhere you haven't been before'. Nine years

later, the excitement and adventure have largely given way to ‘annoyance’ and ‘frustration’. Once ‘on the way to work or from work’ he is now ‘reasonably impatient about it’. There is ‘quite [a] good bus route up Kilburn High Road’ with ‘probably six or seven bus lines running’ so if he has ‘to wait [and] ... can’t see one coming for god’s sake it is ... annoying because they are so regular’. Ryan felt his impatience partly stemmed from a desire to just ‘get to the next stage’ of the journey. In describing his latest time-saving innovation, he readily acknowledges that in the grand scheme of things, the time saved is of little consequence:

I've been doing this unconsciously [but have] just started noticing it. ... You're not really supposed to get off at the front [of the bus] but if ... anybody [is] waiting ... I know the driver will open the door and I'll jump out before they can get on. But if there is nobody waiting I'll go to the back because I've tried it before and the driver won't open it [*laughs*]. ... I realise it is all a bit silly but it is all saving me five seconds, ten seconds here and there which at the end of the day doesn't actually matter a great deal because my work treats me like a grown-up. So if I come in at quarter past nine [0915] even half past nine [0930] they are like 'hi' [*laughs*].

This innovation, demonstrates how through primary and reflective experience, commuters develop habits of ‘increased susceptibility, sensitiveness [and] responsiveness’ to particular stimuli and conditions (Dewey, 1929, p. 281). Over his eight and half year stay, Ryan has also gradually developed that ‘London thing of being 'oh for god's sake get out of the way':

You know ... I get annoyed with people standing in the ... passage to the tube and they just don't [know] where they are going. [O]ccasionally I have days when I'm like 'alright calm down, you know they don't know where they are going, you were like that once'. But I still get a bit [*tenses up his face and clenches his hands into fists*] *argh!*

‘Emotion naturally arises in experience because experience is in a rhythmic alteration from stable to precarious and back’ (Alexander, 1987, p. 139). The previously stable situation of being able to walk unimpeded onto the platform ‘is suddenly transformed into a precarious one’, ‘the emotional seizure marks the inhibition of habits, and announces the phase of readjustment; it is the tension of object and response’ (Alexander, 1987, p. 139).

The stereotypical ‘Londoner’ was a common trope through which participants sought to make sense of these acquired habits and associated subjectivities. Ryan's reflections above, highlight how this identity was typically understood relationally. Encounters with ‘novice’ travellers unaware of where they were going, elicited emotion but also sometimes served as a reminder of what it was ‘once’ like before their own expertise and know-how developed. Dewey (1929,

p. 314) suggests, instances such as these, when normally efficient and undisturbed habits are interrupted or impeded can provide opportunities to ‘stop and think’ about the modes of response that normally dominate our conduct and who we are. For Rachel, her partner and a recent trip back to New Zealand reaffirmed how working and travelling in the city continues to transform her:

[M]y partner used to joke ... I would get up off the train ... and switch into London mode ... straight through the crowds ... weav[ing] ... in and out of people.... [Y]ou just get caught up in the pace I kind of feel the need to rush everywhere even if I'm not in a rush. I don't know why. I think because everyone else is rushing. I'm not sure. It is a bit odd [*laughs*]. It is just a busy pace.... I went home last year for a month ... for three days [my mum] was [like] seriously you don't need to be running everywhere you are on holiday..... [When] I got back it was like [a] deer in the headlights [getting] off at Waterloo Station and I was like oh my god there are so many people, what's going on. You know just like [*pretends to start hyperventilating*]. So it is amazing how you adapt [*laughs*]. ... [But] [i]t is a wear on me. And that is the contribution of the commute, the work [and] the fact there is ... always quite a lot of pressure here. It is always ding-ding-ding.... I was talking about this with my Kiwi friend and just saying the commute seems to weigh you down a bit as well. I don't know why because you are sitting [but] just like in the morning you are [always] rushing, everyone is rushing. I am aware that is very vague but that's what I find.

The accounts of Ryan and Rachel, albeit in different ways, correspond with Bissell's (2014a) contention that primary and materialised experiences of everyday mobility in cities such as London and Sydney are changing commuter bodies and often in ways that can go undetected. Through an interview encounter with Alice, he charts how the ‘differentiated nature and distribution of stress’ associated with commuting and work can result in ‘subtle, slow creep transformations’ which ‘build to tipping points over time’ (p. 192). While traces of these tipping points are evident in Rachel’s discussion of how everyday life ‘is a wear’ on her, these became especially apparent in Anna’s recollection of how her previous capacities for compassion and empathy toward others in certain situations have gradually declined.

Visiting friends, and New Zealanders and Australians on the walking tours she now leads, typically see Anna ‘very much as a Londoner’ because of how she ‘interacts’ and ‘behaves’. The ‘London lifestyle’, even after 5.5 years, still feels ‘incredibly fast paced’ and stressful, especially compared to the ‘laid back’ and ‘slow pace of life’ in New Zealand. I was incredibly moved by her deep sense of despair over the sometimes undetected, alarming and tragic

consequences that the combined pressures of work and commuting can have for others and one's own self:

It has gotten to the point where it is there are delays on the Central Line because of a person under a train ... at least ... twice a week, someone is under a train. And people get frustrated they are like [*puts on an exasperated voice*] 'oh again'. This is a human life. And I remember ... post[ing] a Facebook status ... two years ago [after] working in the office until ... maybe nine thirty [2130] at night. I left and Tottenham Road Court Station was closed because someone had thrown themselves in front of a train and I was *so angry* that I couldn't get home, ... so angry at how long it was taking me. I was ranting ... and everyone back home was like come home now. What's wrong with you? You are a different person. ... [I]f someone had thrown themselves in front of a train back home this would be a massive tragedy. You wouldn't care how long it took to get home. It is a completely different lifestyle and it feels like time is racing.

The virtual responses of Facebook friends 'back home', by temporarily suspending her from the environments that gave rise to these habits, thus helped Anna to become aware of how her capacities to be affected have slowly been transformed (Bissell, 2014a). This 'tipping point' eventually was one of the reasons that culminated in Anna's decision to leave her job in recruitment and to become a freelance tour guide and writer.

The trope of a 'Londoner', I argued above, provided a relational reference point through which participants made sense of emergent modes of response and subjectivities. Anna's observations about the comparatively laid back and slow pace of life in New Zealand and her Facebook friends' responses illustrate how sometimes idealistic and simplistic individual and collective visions of home and what it means to be a 'Kiwi' continued in part to structure these participants' lives and identities (see also Wiles, 2008). As Rachel highlights, this also occurs in and around passengering:

I still ... have that Kiwi attitude. If I see someone running for the train ... I will quite often pull [them] on ... and they always comment you are not from here. ... [So] at the same time as I try to adapt to the UK ... I would like to try and keep that Kiwi aspect of [who I am]'.

Everyday acts of kindness like this and others such as stopping to help lost tourists were ways through which a number of participants attempted to maintain their identity as a friendly, relaxed and helpful 'Kiwi'. Jenny, likewise, discussed how after two years she still chats with people on tubes and trains even though 'some people don't like it' and 'look at you funny'.

These acts simultaneously were seen as a way to avoid becoming the caricature of the cold, selfish and uncaring Londoner.



Figure 2. These two images taken during the morning on the Northern Line (left) and the District Line (right) on the London Underground, capture commuters using newspapers, smart phones, eReaders (i.e., Kindles) and tablets to help them escape into their own ‘little world[s]’. Pictures taken by B. J Doody.

Customary social etiquette on Underground but also Overground and local and regional train services, especially during periods of peak hour travel, was a source of amusement, curiosity and frustration. Unlike Jenny, most participants including Becky, who had only been resident for three and a half months, quickly realised how they were expected to act:

I noticed immediately ... [that] people just don't make eye contact and if you do, it is super awkward. [You] have to pick an unnatural spot on the wall to look at where you might usually look straight ahead you have to look up at the ceiling. [...] You are trapped in a really small space. ... [I]f someone [was] standing right next to you, shoulder to shoulder, you wouldn't turn and look them in the face because it would be odd and it's kinda like that. [E]veryone ... stay[s] in their own little world [to] forget that ... we are ... trapped underground together (see Figure 2). I often wonder ... if the train broke down ..., especially if it was really packed, how long [it be] would ... before people would start to interact.

Travel time as a result, was not simply ‘a store of (unused) value to be redeemed or repopulated by purposeful activities’ (Lin, 2012, p. 2479). Instead, its ‘employability’, as Lin (2012, p. 2479-80) argues in his examination of the development of Singapore’s urban transport system, was ‘constrained by, and realized through’, specific ‘norms, meanings, and structures’, such as etiquette and the design and configuration of carriages, that preceded participants’ ‘eventual appropriation of that time’.

Participants, corresponding with previous research on commuting (Bissell, 2014c; O’Dell, 2009) and passengering (Jain, 2009; Watts, 2008), developed artful and skilful ways of adapting to changing situations they might encounter. For Claire, who had ‘so many options’ and was ‘not the kind of person who goes this is my train, my seat and where ... I go every morning’, her practices and experiencing of the rhythms and tempos of the commute could vary significantly:

[I]f I’m jammed on [the train] I just try ... not to eyeball people and ... wait for the train to get into London Bridge. If there is a bit more room but still standing, I would usually just check my phone. Twitter, Facebook, emails, things like that. I do check the New Zealand Herald website as well every now and then ... to keep [track] of news from home. [I]f I manage to ... take the slow train I will pick up ... and read the Metro [newspaper] on the way in because that gives me enough time to read the whole thing.

Her ‘notion of comfort’ has shifted as result as you ‘have to put up with a lot more’ as ‘things are outside of your control’ compared to when she used to drive to work. Ryan, as we saw earlier, once on the move often became impatient. Working long hours and living with his wife and nine-month-old daughter, his travel time, however, provides a rare opportunity to read. Making commuting more ‘comfortable’ and helping him to ‘disengage’, he alters how and what he reads depending on the situation:

If I can get a seat ... I’ll ... read my Kindle. If I can’t ... I usually want a hand free to hold something ... so I’ll usually read a different book on my iPhone[’s] ... Kindle app [which is easy] with one hand. ... I could read the same thing but for whatever reason I usually read short stories on my iPhone and slightly lighter things whereas I’ve got more, longer, [dedicated] books on my Kindle.

Passengering was experienced, therefore, as ‘a distinct embodied, material and sociable ‘dwelling-in-motion’’ (Edensor, 2010a, p. 6) which also gradually shaped the nature of journeys some participants were prepared to do and undergo. In the beginning, Claire was ‘fixated on

taking the tube' but after eleven years will now take buses and trains instead if 'there is any opportunity' to do so. Sarah correspondingly tries to avoid tubes 'as much as possible' after having had 'no other option' but to take the 'crowded' and 'hot' tube during the first seven months of her eight year stay. It 'was just one of those things where it was like ... I need to choose somewhere ... commutable to work that's probably about 15-20 minutes on the train and ... has an Overground line or ... a good bus route'. When moving, Sarah 'then just visited ... places' that met those criteria. Alternatives to the tube allowed Sarah and Claire to experience their commute and the city differently by enabling them to 'look around', 'open windows' to get 'fresh air' and send messages and make calls on their smartphones.

Others sought to avoid or minimise the stresses associated with the 'sardine commute' (Jude). Charles purposely caught tubes before 7.30am and positioned himself at a specific point on the platform where he was most likely to get a seat as 'it is a nice[r] way to start the day than standing'. Arriving significantly earlier than required, he goes 'to the gym' or has a 'coffee and relaxes with the paper' before work. He inevitably suggested 'your personal comfort zone [still] gets narrower' as you 'get used to' having 'lots of people ... standing so close to you' especially on the 'rush hour' home. Richard, who we have met on various occasions already, endures a more crowded but quicker commute home to Clapham North. He later explained: 'I avoid going to Clapham North in the mornings because I can't be bothered with the aggravation or the irritation. [...] [That's] probably a bit of a conclusion, a lot of the things I do is to minimise the impact of transport on my life. So I live in a flat that is close to the tube ... and even though I walk further it is to minimise the impact on me personally'. Richard here highlights how his relatively privileged status gives him additional capacity to 'minimise' the impacts passengering might have on who he is and might become.

5. Conclusion

This paper has sought to extend the empirical and theoretical scope of mobility biographies research by examining New Zealand migrants' experiences and habits of everyday (im)mobilities over their life course. Previous scholarship has offered few insights about migrants' mobility biographies, as they are an under-studied population group (Scheiner, 2018) and the effects of small-scale, short-term and multi-directional changes due to prevailing conceptions of experience, habit and environment. When considered, I have shown how experience and habit are generally understood as individual possessions respectively gained

consciously from, or unreflexively and mechanistically cued by, an external environment. Engaging primarily with John Dewey (1922, 1929) writings and my empirical materials, I have instead highlighted how experience and habit can be understood as dynamic, relational and temporal processes that emerge out of ongoing interactions with particular environments.

Comprehending experience and habit in this way thus expands dominant or taken for granted assumptions about how individuals adjust to and are changed by environments in a number of ways. Habits are forces which through repetition become active and propulsive tendencies that over time increasingly anticipate and guide future actions within the present. They emerge through and mediate future experience of environments which simultaneously acted upon (*undergoing*) and are acted on (*doing*) by individuals. Recognising habit and experience as an active nexus of relations with the past, present and future helps to unsettle linear and static accounts of life course which still tend to prevail in mobility biographies. Focusing on the cultural practice of the OE and social etiquette on the tube, I have shown how Dewey's distinction between 'individual' habits and customs provides an avenue through which the social or collective life of habits might be reaffirmed.

Empirically, I have drawn attention to the multiple subject positions these migrants occupy including as New Zealanders, locals, Londoners, walkers and passengers. These positions emerge alongside the complex dislocations from and engagements with the practicalities of places of departure and settlement. Their accounts help to foreground how events and happenings that continuously unfold in the everyday lives of migrants and non-migrants are undergone, negotiated, contested and fraught with uncertainty, innovation and ambivalence. These more sudden, subtle and multi-directional processes, stretching across time and space, I have suggested, do not coincide with pre-defined key events but also transform everyday (im)mobilities over the life course (see also Bissell, 2014a; Plyushteva and Schwanen, 2018). This is because key or 'vital life events' are 'rarely coherent, clear in direction or fixed in outcome' (Johnson-Hanks, 2002, p. 878).

There are four main implications that emerge out of my account. First, mobility biographies studies continue to rely on quantitative analyses of national data sets or travel behaviour surveys to examine changes in everyday movements over the life course (Müggenburg et al., 2015). To explore the events and happenings across the life course and the role these and other processes play in transforming (im)mobilities will require greater engagement with alternative, primarily qualitative methods and approaches, such as the use of lifelines, comparison and go-

alongside (e.g., Greene and Rau, 2018; Rau and Sattlegger, 2018; Plyushteva and Schwanen, 2018). Second, future scholarship on migrants' mobility biographies needs to be attentive to the complexities of migration processes. This demands more than simply introducing country of origin or ethnicity as an additional explanatory variable. As scholarship informed by critiques of 'methodological nationalism' (Basch et al., 1994; Glick Schiller et al., 1992, Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Wimmer and Schiller, 2002) have highlighted, national groups are by no means homogenous. They are instead comprised of a range of subgroups which reflect the fact that individuals originate from different regions, cities, ethnic, religious or class groups and migrate at different times (Wessendorf, 2018). Third, and correspondingly, the role ethnicity and whiteness play in shaping the relative privilege of different migrants needs to be questioned (Buhr, 2018a, 2018b). Fourth, it is important that future studies do not commit what Hui (2016, p. 66) describes as 'migrant exceptionalism' by 'privileging 'migrants' as unique and continuously relevant subjects'.

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