INTRODUCTION

Why and How Does the Pacing of Mobilities Matter?

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Why Pacing?

Since the beginning of the new millennium, the emergence of a contemporary interdisciplinary field of mobility studies has shifted away from a linear conception of moving or a priori assumptions of sharp demarcations between different types of journeys. Journeys may be one-off, repeated, take circular arcs and/or form part of a succession of moves. Moves can traverse short or long distances, involve exceptional or quotidian situations, and different types of moves may intersect while one type of voyage can prompt or shape another. In their influential 2006 outline of the 'New Mobilities Paradigm', Mimi Sheller and John Urry observed that this expansive view of mobilities also involves a broad range of modalities, including forms of physical movement such as walking and climbing, as well as movements mediated by technologies such as cars, bicycles, buses, trains and planes (2006: 212).

In turn, mobilities interact with and are shaped by an equally diverse range of immobilities (Salazar and Smart 2011a). These may be associated with sedentary infrastructures – such as airports, train or gas stations, cable systems and satellites (Sheller and Urry 2006: 210–11) – that enable the movement of people, ideas, images or things (Cresswell 2010: 19). But just as often, what is perceived or represented as immobility is shaped by comparisons to specific forms of mobility rather than mobility writ large. Family members and friends, whom a transnational migrant may have left behind, are not 'immobile'; they are still engaged in movements embedded in their daily practices of work, schooling, recreation or childrearing, and they may have embarked on longer-distance moves in the past or might consider doing so in the future. Moves that entail longer distances or more dramatic ruptures will inevitably be punctuated with movements over shorter distances and more mundane circuits. The migrant of today is as likely to be a commuter tomorrow. Distinctions of (im)mobility across different types of circumstances are therefore best approached not as binary distinctions between movement and stasis, but as representations of significance and possibility attributed to varying forms, durations and timings of movement, as well as the intervals between them (Salazar 2018).

In his account of the historical evolution of walking, Tim Ingold argues that we do not perceive things 'from a fixed point but along what Gibson calls a "path of observation", a continuous itinerary of movement . . . But if perception is thus a function of movement, then what we perceive must, at least in part, depend on how we move' (Ingold 2004: 331). Furthermore, beyond the ground we traverse and the modality we employ for moving, *how* we move is always also a matter of tempo, duration, intensity and timing. In other words, movement always involves constructions of and relationships to both space and time. Yet scholarly efforts[1] to work through the temporal dimensions of mobility have often tended to take a back seat to the denotation and mapping of spatial trajectories.

This volume is therefore intended as a contribution towards the rebalancing of our scholarly attention to *both* temporal and spatial dimensions of mobility, through a focus on pace and pacing. Pace is a concept that helps us understand the dynamic relationships between people, space and time. Paying analytical attention to pace is a way to remediate what has been considered a failure to 'adequately explore and theorise mobility itself' (Cresswell 2011: 572). Etymologically, the word 'pace' comes from the Latin *passus*, indicating a unit of length roughly corresponding to a walking step (or a double step returning to the same foot). When this traditional measurement became standardized, the length of a pace was set according to a typical military marching stride. In other words, pace became an inverse unit of speed, indicating a rate of movement.

In this volume, we are particularly interested in pacing or the process(es) through which a certain pace is strived for, maintained or reacted against. In employing the terms 'pacing' and 'pace', we are placing a deliberate emphasis on interrogating the momentum for and temporal composition of mobility, the rate at which people may seek to enact or deploy their movements, as well as the conditions – socioeconomic, political, financial, relational or aspirational – under which these moves are being marshalled, represented and contested. In other words, this is an emphasis on temporality as a form of action, a process of actively modulating or responding to *how* people are moving rather than the more usual focus in mobility studies on *where* they are heading. As the various ethnographic contributions illustrate, there are different forms of pacing, many of which are interconnected. It is important to explore the sometimes-subtle distinctions between these different forms of pacing as well as the insights garnered by a consideration of their intersections.

Probably the most commonly used notion is the one of 'pace of life'. We live in an era in which many people report to be living in 'overdrive', in a state of excessive activity (not necessarily physical) and speed (Aldrich 2005). This state has been linked with the ideology of capitalism, which is concerned with efficient production, and with technological developments (among others in transport and information and communications technology), which have facilitated and encouraged this surge in rhythm. Like most human constructs, pace is not a neutral concept, but is imbued with ideological and ethical significance (Germann Molz 2009). As Barbara Adam has noted, when time is defined as money, then 'speed becomes an absolute and unassailable imperative for business' (2003: 50). On the other hand, that very perception of acceleration and intensification (Adam 2003) may generate a yearning for a slower pace, closely related to nostalgia for an idealized and romanticized 'slower' premodern past. Interesting parallels can be drawn here between the more contemporary 'slow movements' (e.g. slow food and slow travel) and environmental movements, because both seek to evoke ideas about the proper pace of 'good life' (Honoré 2004; Sharma 2014).

Irrespective of how people experience the 'pace of life', the human life course in general is characterized by vital life events that are variable in pacing. In other words, 'the pace of trajectories varies not only between people but also within an individual' (Johnson-Hanks 2002: 868). Whereas anthropology has traditionally focused on transition events or rites of passage as the main pacing mechanisms, it may be worthwhile to focus more 'on institutions and aspirations, recognizing that these aspirations are multiple, changeable, and apply over a variety of temporal frames' (Johnson-Hanks 2002: 867). Indeed, one of the drivers of the diversification of mobility studies has been a growing interest in charting the ways in which forms of migration and travel once primarily associated with youth are increasingly prominent across a range of ages and periods of the life course (Amit 2011). The development of the concept of lifestyle migration has often been associated with studies of people moving in midlife or upon retirement in search of escape to a locale that offers the possibility of a different pace and quality of life (Benson 2010; Benson and O'Reilly 2009). The elaboration of a concept of lifestyle *mobility* has been tied to an examination of travel that may extend across the life course and involve a blurring of the boundaries between tourism, adventure travel, sport migration, leisure and work (Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark 2015; Rickly 2016; Thorpe 2017).

The pacing of lives and social relations is intimately bound up with geometries of power. Multiple infrastructures and technologies have been put in place (including borders and the documents needed to cross them) to accelerate the mobility of some while slowing down or even stopping the mobility of others. Think of the marked contrast between the mobilities of border-crossing business travellers versus asylum seekers. Whereas these pacing technologies are imposed in a 'top down' manner, others such as Global Positioning System (GPS) sport watches or fitness trackers are voluntarily embraced to such an extent that pace becomes a form of embodied discipline (Salazar, this volume). Differences in pace, whether wanted or enforced, can also be linked to environmental sustainability: 'Mobility, in the form of pace, enables and obstructs sustainable practices' (Iaquinto 2017: 12).

Paying attention to issues of pace helps us disentangle how time and space are always intimately connected. The idea that places have a particular pace attached to them is not at all new (Lynch 1972). People change places to change pace, either temporarily (e.g. during the holidays) or more permanently (e.g. when retiring). 'As place is easier to imagine, remember and "manage" than time, it is worked upon in the process of self-reinvention' (Shaw 2001: 132). The question remains as to whether a perceived pace is related to a place as such or, following Henri Lefebvre's (2004) line of thinking, whether the social practices of people-in-place create the daily rhythms and thus the pace of a place. After all, some groups of people are believed to live at either a faster or slower pace than others. In any case, movement is key here because it is through movement (either our own or that of others) that we become aware of pace. Moreover, our experience and sense of place differ with different modes of movement, a point made by various 'slow' movements. Mobilities make us aware that time is expressed, contained and structured by space and that space is fragmented by time.

Pace and pacing are terms that have, so far, made relatively infrequent appearances both in the literature on mobility as well as in more general theorizations of time. But related terms such as tempo and rhythm have been more prominent across a variety of different literatures and periods. Indeed, it is telling that Sheller and Urry (2006: 215) took Georg Simmel's notion of the heightened 'tempo' of city life, experienced with each crossing of the street (Simmel 1969: 48), as the classical precursor for their own theoretical framing of mobility. In this Simmelian version, tempo is a characteristic of a particular context that in turn evokes particular stances or responses. In this reading, tempo is therefore experienced rather than employed.

Barbara Adam's more recent interpretation also places an emphasis on experience, but extends far beyond one historically specific context. For her, tempo is part of the pervasive everyday experiences of time whose interpretation and conceptualization varies across different people, situations and periods (2005: 503). Like timing and intensity, tempo is an 'integral component' of the complex of meanings that can be attributed to social time, over and above the reifications of linear clock and calendar time:

> [Tempo and intensity] surround us at every level. We know that waiting for a birthday tomorrow can feel like an eternity to a little child, while a birthday one year ago can seem like yesterday to an old person. The dormant period of winter is followed by a burst of growth in spring. One job needs to be rushed to completion, while another must be slowed down to stay in phase with other production processes. Rates of action and reaction, be they metabolic or social, are fundamentally implicated in how much can be achieved within any given time frame, in the timing of actions, and in the temporality of existence. All, in turn, are involved in our experience of the speed of time passing. (Adam 2005: 511)

For Adam, tempo, timing and intensity are enmeshed in our perceptions of and reflections on the passage of time with respect to particular social actions and situations rather than necessarily constituting a form of action in and of itself.

Another scholarly invocation of tempo takes up the sense of action or play that occurs in the use of tempo in music. In music tempo is defined as the speed at which a piece of music is played. In this kind of application, tempo is something that you *do* to and with particular scripts, a play with form in order to configure the composition. Pierre Bourdieu employs this sense of musical tempo as an analogy for the way in which the 'temporal structure of practice, that is its rhythm, its tempo and above all its directionality, is constitutive of its meaning' (1990: 81). Like music, changes in tempo change the practice – or the 'game' itself: '[B]ecause it is entirely immersed in the current of time, practice is inseparable from temporality, not only because it is played out in time, but also because it plays strategically with time and especially with tempo' (Bourdieu 1990: 81). For Bourdieu, therefore, tempo or pace is a form of action involving a 'feel for the game' and a calculation of its imminent future (1990: 82). On the other hand, Bourdieu's emphasis on the immediacy of these calculations of time specifically excludes ‘distance, perspective, detachment and reflexion’ (1990: 82).

The situations described in the contributions to this volume take up the notion of action by illustrating the ways in which people actively intervene in the pacing of their lives, movements and/or journeys. But they also describe processes of self-conscious reflections on representations of and aspirations for pacing, as well as evaluations regarding the possibilities of setting or modulating these tempos and rhythms. Finally, they reveal some of the varied constraints and challenges that can be encountered in attempts to shift the pace of a range of mobilities. In short, in this volume, pacing is revealed through the interactions between reflection, engagement and contention.

Two works by Tim Cresswell and Jennie Germann Molz provide some important links to this reading of pacing mobilities. Cresswell has defined mobility as a ‘fragile entanglement’ (2010: 18; 2006) of three aspects: ‘the fact of physical movement – getting from one place to another; the representations of movement that give it shared meaning; and finally, the experienced and embodied practice of movement’ (2010: 19). Furthermore, Cresswell places particular stress on considering elements such as speed and rhythm (2010: 19) in taking account of the ways in which mobilities are involved in the production and distribution of power (2010: 21).

An effort to draw together meaning, representation and practice also appears in Jennie Germann Molz’s (2009) examination of tourism mobilities. Indeed, Germann Molz’s analysis is one of the rare instances in which the term ‘pace’ is explicitly used in reference to mobility, specifically the different speeds at which tourists move. However, since her focus concerns popular discourses and media representations of particular tourist contexts, the meanings that she is concerned with are those assigned to representations rather than experiences of pace. In particular, she critically interrogates the ways in which Western media representations treat as axiomatic the discursive association of ‘acceleration with ideals of “success” or “freedom” and “beauty”’ (2009: 283). For her, this kind of valorization of speed is implicated in what Cresswell has termed a ‘politics of mobility’, in which ‘certain mobile practices – such as racing around the world, walking slowly, or staying home – are deemed “proper” and “normal” or are marginalised and devalued’ (2009: 283). As Cresswell has noted, representations can shape practices of movement (2010: 22), but representations can also be contested. Indeed, the slow travel included as one of the cases in Germann Molz’s analysis (similar to the canal boaters and RVers on which Kaaristo and Forget, respectively, focus in this volume) is one instance of the ‘tensions and frictions’ characterizing the ‘story of pace in (late) modernity’ (Germann Molz 2009: 283).

Together, Cresswell and Germann Molz's analyses provide apt reminders of the contestations that are vested in contemporary forms of mobility. Who moves, to where and at what pace are matters for contestations entangled in the asymmetries (Amit 2007) and inequalities surrounding contemporary mobilities. In the chapters featured in this volume, these contestations are manifested in pace-making (Salazar), political pressures to make choices about moving or staying (Reed-Danahay), seeking out forms of mobility that seem to offer the promise either of greater autonomy over pacing (Forget) or the possibility of a slower rhythm of movement (Kaaristo), and contending with constraints on modulating shifts in the pacing of mobility in the face of occupational pressures (Amit, Suter), life course transitions (Korpela) and corporate or organizational scheduling (Dyck and Hognestad).

Free Choice by Default?

Mobilities of the so-called 'voluntary' type are often linked to freedom. Not surprisingly, many of these mobilities are commonly categorized as part of leisure or lifestyle activities, thereby acknowledging that other types of mobility – for instance, in the context of work – are often forced on people as a means of flexibilizing the labour force and optimizing the distribution of human resources. However, as several contributions to this volume show, the line between leisure and work can be extremely thin, while nonwork-related mobilities may appear 'less of a choice' (Büscher 2014: 227) than is often assumed. Instead, many feel the 'burden of mobility' (Cass, Shove and Urry, 2005). Leisure, for example becomes quite ambiguous when it involves Westerners seeking escape from hectic and consumerist lives in Goa, only to find themselves increasingly tied to circuits of trade and school schedules (Korpela, this volume). Or take the case of parents who devote hours of driving their kids to sport practices (Dyck and Hognestad, this volume). There is little to nothing 'leisurely' about the rigours of linking time, space and mobilities in order to further the athletic 'careers' of these children. A similar critical questioning of the link between leisure and free choice occurs when people hope to opt out from the constrained schedules of fixed homes for the freedom of the road, only to find themselves having to package their 'freedom' for success as media influencers (Forget, this volume).

The currently dominant mobility discourse affirms the structural inequalities between those who are voluntarily mobile and those who cannot move or who are forced to move. To understand mobility, we thus need to pay attention to immobility and to the structures (which, once again, are changing too) that facilitate certain movements while impeding others (Salazar and Smart 2011b). The ideological association of mobility with freedom contains serious shortcomings. People's mobility 'choices' are pertinent to and normalized within the dominant ideologies and mobility regimes with which they engage (Salazar and Glick Schiller 2014). Mobilities are always embedded in sociocultural contexts that shape both who has access to them and how people understand and attach meaning to them. Mobility ideologies equate geographical movement with social fluidity, negating the fact that social structures also contribute to mobility behaviour, that movements are subject to social constraint and that opportunities of upward socioeconomic mobility to which the individual seemingly responds by being physically mobile are as much 'freely' wanted and realized opportunities as choices by default (with the legal structures regulating who can and cannot move being crucial).

Critically engaged anthropologists were among the first to point out that modern forms of mobility need not signify privilege (Amit 2007). Research on the human costs of hypermobility among managers of multinationals, for instance, shows the importance of questioning the 'voluntary' aspect and individual desirability of mobility (Gherardi 2011). Some even speak of the 'myth of choice' (Devadason 2017). Yet when some transnational corporations seek to recruit professionals who are already excited by the prospect of peripatetic careers, it is no simple matter to disentangle who is doing the choosing around the coupling of work with mobility (Amit 2006, 2012). Moreover, 'freedom as mobility' is composed both of opportunities to travel when and where one pleases and of the feasibility of 'voluntary immobility', the choice not to move at all (Sager 2006: 465).

While all the chapters in this volume deal with elements of choice, these appear to be qualified, even constrained choices. Here the issues of constrained voluntarism often do not deal with an either/or of moving or not moving, but of the degree to which people can exercise choices about the nature and pacing of the mobilities in which they are involved. Controlling the pace at which people with mobile careers move may be the most difficult aspect because this requires a degree of structural control and power that middling workers often cannot exercise (Amit, this volume). Lifestyle migrant families imagine an escape to a relaxed timeless bubble, but are quickly confronted with (at times contradictory) timescales and constraints that affect the pacing of these families' transnational mobilities (Korpela, this volume). Unforeseen developments such as Brexit can quickly undo acquired freedom and generate new pressures to make choices about (im)mobility that could previously be left in abeyance indefinitely (Reed-Danahay, this volume). However, even if external factors affect people's mobility, they may still feel that they have the freedom to decide where to go, when to go and for how long (Forget, this volume). In other words, people may imagine more choice and freedom in their mobilities than they actually have (Salazar 2011).

Middling and Euro-American Profile

The contributions to this volume span an assortment of mobilities and situations. They concern a variety of different forms and technologies of movement from running, boating, RVing (living full-time in recreational vehicles) to air travel. They describe different impetuses for mobility from recreation to business travel, shorter- and longer-term residential relocations for work, study or lifestyle, as well as political pressures to make choices about long-term settlement. But this diversity notwithstanding, they do feature an obvious clustering in two key respects.

First, while the people featured in these different cases command a range of resources, they do not occupy positions of either severe socioeconomic disadvantage or extreme wealth. They can all therefore reasonably be regarded as occupying what Conradson and Latham (2005) have called ‘middling’ status. Their mobilities are made possible by resources of, variously, time, finances, professional credentials and/or different technologies. But to an important degree, the pacing of their movements is still subject to the demands and conditions imposed by employers, government visa regulations, institutional regimes, transport authorities, and tourist, sports and media organizations over which they have relatively little control. Second, all the contributions to this volume involve people who are moving within or from Europe and North America.

This volume originated in a call for papers for a session on pacing mobilities that took place at the 2018 meetings of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA). The orientation of the session, and the current volume, towards studies of middling Euro-American mobility is therefore to an important degree a reflection of the response that our call for papers elicited. This response reflected several important recent trends in the evolution of mobility studies: (i) as already noted, there has been a diversification of the kinds of journeys and movements that are subjected to examination; (ii) diversification has involved a willingness to consider a wider range of socioeconomic circumstances and hence much greater attention to a variety of middling mobilities; and (iii) greater attention to mobility from the Global North to the Global South as well as between regions within the Global North, thus extending and adding to a traditional focus on migration from the South to the North.

In introducing his study of temporality and rhythmic experiences among indigenous groups in Argentina's Chaco region, Gonzalo Iparraguirre (2016) outlines a classical tradition of anthropological and sociological studies of time that includes attention to rhythm. Iparraguirre notes an interest in rhythm going back to work by such venerable scholars as Marcel Mauss, Franz Boas, Emile Durkheim and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, as well as more recent work by Henri Lefebvre. Therefore, concern with the rhythms and pacing of everyday life is longstanding in anthropology and related disciplines. Among studies of mobility, Karen Fog Olwig's (2007, 2011) compilation of detailed life histories provides an important example of more recent efforts to draw a temporal dimension – life course – into the study of migration, in this case between Caribbean islands as well as from the Caribbean to Europe and North America. But an interest in pacing and tempo seems to be especially prominent in studies of movements within and from Europe and North America, including examples such as Allison Hui's (2013) study of the tempi and rhythms of hobby travels undertaken by British birdwatchers and quiltmakers, or Edensor and Holloway's (2008) use of 'rhythmanalysis' in an account of a coach tour in Ireland, or Jennie Germann Molz's (2009) analysis of representations of pace in American media representations. As such, it is perhaps not surprising that a call for papers focusing on the pacing of mobilities elicited work heavily oriented towards movements from and within Euro-America.

But the cases explored in this volume raise issues extending well beyond their hemispheric locations. We have often considered mobilities in terms of destinations. But how often are people influenced as much or even more by the pacing of a journey or the pace of life that they hope the journey will yield? To what degree are certain kinds of pacing associated with certain kinds of mobilities? What are the hierarchies associated with different paces of mobility? Do the resources that provide people with the means to take up certain kinds of mobilities also equip them with the wherewithal to shape the pace of their movements? How do life course transitions intersect with the pace of mobility? We hope that highlighting the range of questions raised by attention to pacing in this volume will help prompt a fuller integration of these temporal dimensions into the study of mobilities more broadly.

Overview of the Chapters

As the chapters in this volume illustrate, attention to the pacing of mobilities involves considering both ways in which people move in different circumstances as well as shifts over time and space in these movements. In other words, pacing invokes questions of tempo, duration, intensity and timing as these shape any one instance and form of movement, as well as shifts in that pacing over time and space. In turn, these shifts reflect transitions in people's lives and the intersections between their engagement in a variety of different forms of mobility. Pacing is thus inescapably multidimensional, both temporally and spatially.

In his opening chapter, Noel B. Salazar assesses our general understandings about pace of life by disentangling anthropologically how the dynamics of pace and pacing work out in recreational mobilities. Many claim to engage in endurance running as a temporary escape from living in overdrive and a nostalgia for an idealized and romanticized slower premodern past. Given that pace is something relational, in interaction with the environment, we run differently in different environments. Endurance running, particularly in (remote) areas of natural beauty, nicely fits the quest for the proper pace related to the 'good life'. Even when the 'right' pace is found while running, the effect seems to be short-lived. Therefore, pacing technologies and pacemakers (of any kind) are much appreciated. Mainstream popular culture, arts and (social) media often tend to represent endurance practitioners as model individuals in contemporary society: dedicated, controlled, disciplined, culturally and economically invested in health, and self-responsible. Whether they themselves like it or not, endurance athletes are framed as symbolical 'pacemakers', people who set standards of performance and achievement (efficiency and success) for others.

The question of what constitutes the 'right' pace for involvement in recreational sport and who sets it is almost inverted in the two cases of recreational sport involvement explored by Noel Dyck and Hans K. Hognestad. Rather than being portrayed as leaders who are setting the pace of these activities, the Norwegian football fans and spectators and the Canadian community sports participants with whom Hognestad and Dyck are respectively concerned must contend with the expectation that they will follow the pace established by sports organizers and administrators. Dyck and Hognestad's chapter reveals the multiple issues, entanglements and logistics that are entailed in something as seemingly mundane as sports schedules. It focuses on some of the tactical means employed by those who, though they do not determine these schedules and destinations, nonetheless seek to finesse and bend sport journeys to serve their own purposes. The first case discusses how sporting events structure the everyday lives of football supporters who may often plan the year ahead economically and logistically in accordance with fixture lists. The second study examines the formal and informal negotiations of travel schedules established for child and youth athletes and parents by community sport organizations in Canada. The mobilities of football fans and participants in, as well as parental patrons of, youth sports seem well suited to provide intimate insights into how sport, though logistically constrained, may be tactically paced to enable satisfying personal lives. In both cases, the cycle of participation involves not just one kind of mobility, but a variety of different kinds of journeys. And it is this movement from one journey to another that conveys some of the passions and excitements about this kind of sport involvement, but also some complex logistics and challenges of investment of time, money and organization.

The chapters by Maarja Kaaristo, Célia Forget and Mari Korpela all take up the trope of a desired escape from the accelerated pace of modern lives that also motivates the quest of the endurance runners for the 'right' kind of pace that Noel Salazar describes. Kaaristo discusses the intersections of (slow) mobilities, rhythm and pace among holiday canal boaters on the canals and rivers of northern England and Wales. For these boaters, a constitutive element of boating is its perceived slowness, which is often understood in terms of a countertemporality to the accelerated modern life (but is not always necessarily perceived as desirable or indeed positive). Time feels 'different' on the waterways because of the pace. But this pace draws on an occasionally uneasy interaction between the skills of the boaters (who may be novices), the nature of this type of transport, and the rules and recommendations of the Canal and River Trust that manages the miles of inland waterways in England and Wales, as well as the hire companies from which touring boats are often chartered. Drawing on Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis, Kaaristo focuses on the importance of the circadian rhythms of the waterways, demonstrating how the diurnal alternations between light and dark create a socionatural slowscape where the embodied and biological combine with the hierarchical and governed. And along the way, boaters must also deal with the challenges of tidal rhythms that do not always conform to official guidelines and that may involve unexpected and sometimes alarming timings and arrivals.

Like the boating described by Kaaristo, the full-time RVing featured in Forget's study is perceived as constituting an escape from the demands and regimentation of daily routines and schedules. Choosing a mobile lifestyle and living 'on the road' is perceived as offering a 'way out' for a growing number of travellers at different ages and points in the life course. Drawing on improvements in transportation and communication, including digital technologies, these full-time RVers can take up an itinerant lifestyle without severing their connections to loved ones. But as Forget's ethnography illustrates, having a mobile lifestyle is not only a matter of moving from place to place; it also involves shifts in the way these travellers think about time. According to RVers, time becomes more flexible on the move; it seems less scheduled and more spontaneous. Yet, like the boaters in Kaaristo's chapter, the 'freedom' and spontaneity of life on the road must still contend with government border regulations and campground rules as well as work, health and family issues. Despite these external influences, the RVers included in Forget's chapter still feel that in choosing to live on the road, they have taken back control of their time.

The Western lifestyle migrant families that feature in Mari Korpela's chapter are seeking a temporary escape to the 'relaxed and timeless bubble' of Goa. These families spend several months a year in India and the rest of the year in the parents' native countries or elsewhere. While their choice for such a lifestyle is voluntary, the timings of their transnational mobilities are not necessarily so. The pacing is partly set by bureaucratic factors such as India's visa policies, but also by the children's schooling, particularly of the older ones, which imposes limitations on their preferred seasonal mobility routine and changes the families' rhythms. This situation at times creates contradictory timescales and constraints, including different temporalities with other lifestyle migrants who leave earlier or arrive later than them. Korpela describes ethnographically how these lifestyle migrants live in slow-paced Goa within various time schemes and rhythms that affect the pacing of their mobilities in several ways throughout their life course. Time, it would seem, does not stop and with its passage, the liminality of life in Goa may give way to the accommodations that families must make to the ageing and coming of age of its members.

The last three chapters by Brigitte Suter, Deborah Reed-Danahay and Vered Amit all deal with mobility that has been undertaken to take up employment or educational opportunities of varying durations. Both the chapters by Suter and Reed-Danahay deal with people whose moves have been defined – by themselves and/or regulatory authorities – as establishing their status as 'expatriates'. Brigitte Suter explores the various temporalities informing the mobility of Swedish, Swiss and German family migrants whose stays in China (Shanghai and Beijing) have been enabled by an intra-corporate transfer. She examines the intersection between global corporate strategies and the 'time work' exercised by these families in deciding when to move and how long to stay in what is viewed as an extended but explicitly temporary sojourn. The mobility decisions taken with regard to the needs and wants of family members must be navigated and negotiated through efforts to reconcile the temporalities associated with several partly overlapping infrastructural factors (including contract and legal requirements and children's schooling). In turn, these infrastructural temporalities interact with personal and social imaginations of the life course, family life and relations. It is through their effort to synchronize the timings of different institutional regimes, the pacing of life course transitions and the workings of family relations that these migrants seek to construe 'the right time' or 'the ideal duration' of mobility.

Deborah Reed-Danahay draws on ethnographic fieldwork among 'middling' French migrants living in London to show how temporality and spatiality are linked through emotion in ways that can help us better understand the pacing of mobility practices. At the time of writing, it was still unclear in which direction Brexit, the process of withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union (EU), would evolve. This unpredictable situation in the United Kingdom triggered emotions of shock, anger, resentment and uncertainty among French residents that reshaped their feelings of 'belonging'. In the face of these political pressures, they felt compelled to reflect upon their changed positionality and trajectories. Drawing upon Bourdieu's ideas about habitus, emotion and social space, Reed-Danahay explores the emotional politics of postreferendum London for French citizens living there as expressed in media coverage and in everyday conversations. She reports various reactions regarding their ability to influence the pacing of mobility practices (mainly to remain in London or to leave). The chapter not only points to the crucial role of emotions in the pacing of mobility, but also raises important questions of agency regarding spatial choices and their timing.

Vered Amit's chapter brings together two different but related studies of educated middle-class Canadian professionals whose career trajectories have involved considerable geographical mobility. One study focused on young adults at the beginning of their careers, while the other focused on seasoned consultants who were contemplating the eventual denouement of their careers. Despite the differences in their situations and the fact that the studies were conducted a decade apart, a particular way of narrating mobility into the future occurred in both. While hitherto portraying their mobility in highly positive terms, both groups had similar expressions of desires for an eventual attenuation of their pace of mobility in the face of occupational pressures. Concerns ranged from the frequency of travel and the duration of sojourns away to the length of time over which these journeys had been undertaken. In both cases, the desire for a reduced pace of mobility was pushed forward into an indefinite future –maybe a 'couple of years (or three or four)' – rather than as a more precise exercise of planning. Amit's chapter, then, explores the factors that may be catalysing both these expressed desires for more sedentary lives as well as the structuring of these narratives in terms of vague eventualities because people may lack the degree of power to fully control the pace at which they move.

Overall, the contributions to this volume reveal why questions of power and agency in mobility are not simple choices of going or staying, or of destinations or routes. Many of the uncertainties as well as excitements vested in mobilities concern when people can set out and at what point this occurs in their lives, as well as the tempo, intensity and duration of their movement. People are as attracted by the pacing that they attribute to places and journeys as by the locations of destinations or routes. A form of mobility that seems desirable at one pace may become disappointing or even oppressive when undertaken at another pace. Reconciling the divergent temporalities of institutional, corporate, domestic and personal regimes and aspirations can highlight both the capacity of people to work creatively with time and the constraints they may face in trying to do so. To understand the complex processes involved in (im)mobilities, we therefore need to take as much account of their temporal as of spatial dimensions, as well as the interaction between them.

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NOTE

1. Some of John Urry's writings (for example, *Mobilities* 2007) are a notable exception to this trend.

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