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Introduction

Following the 'convivial turn' (Gidley, 2013) and its call for attention to the unpredictability of identification, new axes of difference and commonality have been analysed as salient for living together (Nowicka and Vertovec, 2014, 353). In addition to attention to racial, ethnic and religious difference, research on urban sociabilities has explored the relationships between displacement and emplacement (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar, 2016), the vulnerable and the protectors (Vigneswaran, 2014), newcomers and long-standing residents (Heil, 2014; Blommaert, 2014) and those who respect or disrupt norms of civility (Wise and Velayutham, 2014). This paper argues the way in which subjects living in diverse settler colonial societies are differently interpellated through social divisions of tense can offer important insights to the literature on urban multiculture. From a grammatical perspective, tense establishes a distance between the moment of speaking and that of what is spoken of. However, rather than reduce lived experience to text[1], the aspect of tense of interest here is broadly social rather than strictly linguistic. As Povinelli (2011) put it, this approach wants to explore how these grammatical figurations are 'absorbed into other discourses, affective attachments and practices' (p. 12). I will develop this concept more fully below, along with the specific relationship between urban multiculture and social divisions of tense in a settler colonial society. The paper explores how Indigenous and racialised/migrant groups are positioned as not just 'out of place' but 'out of time', with the territorial claim of the former located in the past, and the latter in the future (Povinelli, 2011).

As Cram (2011) has put it, in Aotearoa New Zealand, '[t]he legacy of colonisation is the differential distribution of social, political, environmental and economic resources and wellbeing' (p. 250). Whiteness in this country is associated with the capacity to attain certain advantages more easily than those who are not white, whether in education, health, employment or the justice system (Gray, Jaber and Anglem, 2013). Pākehā is a contested term used to refer to New Zealanders of European descent (Spoonley, 1995), or, more recently, New Zealanders racialised as white more generally (Chung, 2015). Although heritage is central to articulations of white settler identities (Turner, 2011), Pākehā, the dominant cultural group, are commonly narrated through a national and civilizational tense associated with progress and individual autonomy; temporal discourses explored in further detail later. This paper examines a propensity for British migrants to position themselves in line with the settler citizen in encounters with Māori[2], the country's Indigenous peoples, and exogenous peoples, a term used to refer to migrants and racialised citizens deemed 'foreign'. In

doing so, it aims to overcome the frequent separation of research on indigeneity and migration (Anderson, 2000; Bauder, 2011; Hage, 1995; Shaw, 2006).

The analysis section of the paper is presented in two parts. The first section considers the way in which British migrants would position exogenous peoples as 'too recent' to make a claim to dominant modes of national belonging. The second section considers the positioning of Māori as, alternately, 'too late'. Both sections consider the mobility of discourses of tense which would move, at times, across these markers of difference. The paper makes three contributions: first, it calls for greater attention to social divisions of tense in future research on urban multiculture in geography[3]. Through attention to the interpellation of Indigenous and exogenous alterity through discourses of tense, it illustrates the availability of this discursive field when the issue of cultural recognition arises. Second, it considers relational dynamics between settler, Indigenous and exogenous peoples together, tying together debates on migration and ethnicity with indigeneity and colonialism. Third, it argues for the importance of contextualising conviviality, and its exploration of comfortable and uneasy relations across difference, in relation to local histories, contexts and oppressions, and attentive to the ongoing process of settler colonialism (Bell, 2015).

Difference, social tense and conviviality in settler societies
In settler colonial societies, a triangular dynamic to issues of citizenship, identity and belonging has been posited, which acknowledges settlers and at least two non-normative alterities: Indigenous and exogenous difference. This triangular dynamic has been articulated in various forms, including between: 'Anglo', 'Ethnic', 'Aboriginal' (Hage, 1995); 'settler', 'native' and 'arrivant' (Byrd, 2011); and 'settler coloniser', 'indigenous colonised' and 'exogenous alterities' (Veracini, 2010; see also: Kobayashi and de Leeuw, 2010; Pearson, 2002; Smith, 2012). Each of these models addresses the distinct positions of predominantly white settlers, Indigenous and exogenous others.

However, some of these schemas have come under criticism for glossing over complexity. For instance, overlapping genealogies between the various categories, and wide internal diversity within them, complicate any neat boundaries (see, for e.g. Bell, 2014; Smith, 1999; Smith, 2007). In addition, the challenge of fitting contemporary British migrants into some of these schemas, a significant group historically in 'ex-British settler societies' (Anderson, 2000, 382), and often still constituting a significant migrant stream today, also points towards the potential for such models to exclude ambiguity. Despite the propensity to simplify what are entangled and messy relationships, these triangular schemas offer a useful heuristic in revealing the simultaneous yet separate othering of Indigenous and exogenous alterities. Moreover, whatever the nuance of relational dynamics in settler societies, 'as a result of historic and contemporary assimilatory pressures, the maintenance of

a clear demarcation between indigene and settler (wherever drawn) is crucial for the survival of distinct indigenous peoplehood' (Bell, 2014, 76).

The observation that the other has been interpreted as temporally distant is hardly a new insight. In *Time and the Other*, Fabian (2002 [1983]) outlined the development of a concept of evolutionary time which arranged people and communities into a historical sequence with Western civilisation positioned at the pinnacle and 'earlier' cultures following behind. Povinelli (2006; 2011) has gone on to develop his insight through identifying a number of global discourses of social tense. For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on two: 'the autological subject' and 'the genealogical society'. In brief, the autological subject refers to multiple discourses and practices that invoke the autonomous and self-determining individual, while the genealogical society refers to discourses that stress various kinds of inheritances, like kinship, tradition or religion, that are said to determine or constrain the freedom of the individual subject. Povinelli (2011) has argued that both of these discourses are 'animated by an imaginary of national and civilisational tense' (p. 27). Her work has gained interdisciplinary significance, and the rich potential contribution of *Economies of Abandonment* to geography has been explored in a dedicated forum in *Dialogues in Human Geography* (2013, volume 3, issue 2). In this paper, I seek to draw out the potential contribution of the concept of tense to literature on lived urban multiculture in settler colonial societies.

Following the recent temporal turn in studies of cultural politics (see for e.g.: Hemmings 2011, Muñoz 2009; Tadiar, 2009), what might notions of time, temporality and tense contribute to geographical research on urban multiculture and encounters with difference? Geographers have demonstrated how white racial formations in the present rely on both a (re)telling of the past and a vision of the future (see for e.g. Amin, 2012; Baldwin, 2012; Mitchell, 2009; Wang, 2009). Settler colonialism, too, is configured in relation to the temporal horizon of both the past and the future (e.g. Smith, 2010; Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). How, then, might we approach social divisions of tense in settler colonial societies? In this context, Povinelli has argued, the social division of tense splits the grounds of social belonging, with settler citizens oriented to the future and Indigenous peoples to the past. Moreover, a specific narrative of tense also works to exclude 'the foreigner', too.

> 'The settler citizen differentiates, localises, and temporalises its territorial claims by creating two distinct and contrasting categories, the native and the foreigner [and] locating their territorial claims in the past (native) and the future (foreigner)' (Povinelli, 2011, 37).

In other words, Indigenous and exogenous alterities are differently located in a temporal narrative of national belonging. In this paper, I draw on these insights to consider how social divisions of tense

shaped British migrants' encounters with Indigenous and exogenous alterities. In doing so, I hope to develop the discussion of urban multiculture in human geography in an original direction through a theoretically-driven argument for the significance of social divisions of tense, and to contribute new knowledge about the availability of this discursive field when the issue of cultural recognition arises.

Gilroy (2004) outlined alternate reactions to contemporary multiculture in the UK: postcolonial melancholia and everyday conviviality. The melancholic reaction is characterised by the centring of racial difference, a pervasive amnesia about colonialism and a nostalgic harking back to the era post-Second World War, prior to mass migration from the colonies. In contrast, conviviality neither denies nor centres difference but conveys the routine, humdrum nature of encounters as people learn to 'live with difference' (Hall, 1993). 'Together', Nayak (2017) has suggested, 'conviviality and conflict come to form the major and minor chords of citizenship and national belonging' (p. 291; see also: Back and Sinha, 2016). Wise and Velayutham (2014) have defined conviviality as 'affectively at ease relations of coexistence and accommodation' (p. 408). Although Wise and Noble (2016) go on to challenge a use of conviviality as 'happy togetherness' for a more ambivalent approach to the everydayness of living together as an ongoing practice. For instance, they have observed that one of the 'paradoxes of convivial coexistence' is that it is,

> [a]lways enmeshed in, mediated by and shadowed by colonial histories, enduring racisms, variegated and uneven belongings and the entitlements, and moral panics of the day (Wise and Noble, 2016, p. 430).

Nevertheless, Nayak (2017) has argued that a majority of studies of conviviality 'indicate that many encounters with difference are congenial; developing familiarity, reciprocity, warmth, friendship and trust' (p. 291). In contrast, Nayak (2017) has gone on to explore the 'scratches, bumps, crackles and hisses' and '''everyday racism'' that pulls at the fabric of conviviality and works to whiten the nation' (p. 291). Through a consideration of British migrants' expressions of comfort and uneasiness in encounters with Indigenous and exogenous difference, this paper aims to draw attention to the connections between discourses of temporality and tense and practices of cultural recognition and national belonging.

To return to Nayak's criticism of an overly celebratory account of convivial multiculture, in a settler colonial context the desire for a growing sense of ease and familiarity with indigeneity among settlers has come under criticism for its association with a desire for redemption and 'settler moves to innocence' (Tuck and Yang, 2012 p. 1; see also: Hiller, 2016; Jones, 1999). Moreover, affectively at ease relations across difference might be considered against the argument by de Leeuw, Greenwood and Lindsay (2013) that, '[i]t is exactly at the moment when we, especially those of us who are

settler colonists, feel good about having reached a place of comfort and stabilization about unsettling colonialism that we should be feeling most troubled' (p. 391). In a settler colonial context, the centring of at ease convivial relations across difference to infer an inclusive multiculture needs to be reframed. Conviviality has to be understood differently in a context where the becoming ordinary of 'everyday multiculturalism' may infer a concretising of settler colonial formations (Hill, 2010). In Aotearoa New Zealand, Bell (2015) has argued that while everyday contact between Pākehā and Māori is high, 'Pākehā interactions with Māori as Māori, that is where Māori cultural difference is central rather than irrelevant or marginal to the engagement, are much less common' (p. 4; see for e.g. Brandt, 2013). For Bell a decolonising conviviality in Aotearoa New Zealand would involve the becoming ordinary of Pākehā in Māori spaces. As well as attention to the context of structural oppressions (Nayak, 2017), Bell's reframing of conviviality in a settler colonial society points towards the need to ask 'at ease relations of coexistence and accommodation' for whom?

Placing the study: Researching with British migrants in Auckland

Nearly forty percent of Auckland's 1.4 million residents were born overseas and there are more than 180 ethnic communities, making it one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the world (Auckland Council, 2012; Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Aotearoa New Zealand has been described as a 'superdiverse settler society' (Spoonley, 2014). It has adopted bicultural policies across its local and central governance (Smits, 2010) which adopt a rhetoric of partnership between Māori and Pākehā. Biculturalism ranges from what Fleras and Spoonley (1999) have called the 'soft' mainstreaming of Māori culture, for instance, in 1987 te reo, the Māori language, was recognised as an official language and Māori TV has been on air since 2004, to the 'hard' commitment to Indigenous sovereignty. Around the 1970s and 1980s, changes to immigration policy significantly diversified migration streams meaning the country became increasingly multi-cultural, even as an official multicultural policy has been slower to emerge (Spoonley and Meares, 2011). As one instance of such changes, between 1986 and 2013 the population categorised as 'Asian'[4] increased almost nine-fold from just over 50,000 to over 470,000 (Ho, 2015). Sixty percent of people in Auckland are categorised as belonging to the European ethnic group (compared with 74 percent for Aotearoa New Zealand as a whole), 23 percent as Asian, 15 percent as Pacific peoples, and 12 per cent as Māori (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2016; Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). There were over 260,000 British migrants in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2011. With around 90,000 people identifying the UK as their birthplace, the Auckland region hosts just 35% of British migrants (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). In the past, socioeconomic differences largely determined where people lived in the city. However, segregation across the city is now also increasingly ethnically layered and distinct 'ethnoburbs' are emerging (Xue, Friesen and O'Sullivan, 2012). British migrants are spread

throughout the Auckland region; however, they tend to be concentrated in affluent, coastal and suburban neighbourhoods. For instance, in Devonport, Browns Bay, Orewa and Whangaparoa in the north of the city, Titirangi in the west and Beachlands in the east. The pursuit of a verdant and laid-back lifestyle, and the ability to pay for it, may go some way to accounting for the residency patterns of Britons. However, popular suburbs and regions of settlement also reflect a tendency for British migrants to live in areas with a higher proportion of residents who identify as New Zealand European and a lower proportion of those who identify as Māori, Pacific and Asian (Gilbertson and Meares, 2013).

This paper is based on twelve months of qualitative research with British migrants from May 2013 to April 2014. I conducted in-depth interviews with 46 first-generation British migrants and a number of key informants, such as officials working at the British Embassy, the owners of British-themed commercial establishments, such as specialist food stores, and the leaders and members of societies oriented around culture from the UK, such as groups dedicated to English folk dancing and Celtic culture. Twenty-five participants from the original group of first-generation migrants, chosen to best reflect a heterogeneity of experience, such as nationality, suburb, gender, age, profession and length of residence, also participated in an ongoing series of creative and ethnographic research methods. First, I requested that they photograph a week in their everyday lives and personal geographies of Auckland followed by an open-ended interview. Second, I joined them walking and driving around places that were significant to them to get a sense of their embodied routes through the city. Third, I spent time with participants informally, visiting their homes, attending events and joining them in their everyday lives. Finally, I made observations in British-oriented commercial spaces and festivals.

Nationals from each of Britain's constituent nations took part, but, reflecting their predominance as a whole, the majority were English. Most of the participants were white, and three were persons of colour. They ranged in age from those in their early twenties to their late eighties. The majority were aged between thirty-five and sixty. All participants had New Zealand permanent residency or citizenship, as opposed to a working-holiday or tourist visa, for instance. Forty-three had arrived at least one year previously, and the average length of stay among the group was sixteen years. The length of time after migration was not a determining factor for the use of discourses of tense explored below, as will become clear in shared and divergent narratives from those arriving at similar times and with decades separating them. Rather, generation, experiences at the work place, relationships, studies and pre-existing politics, *inter alia*, appeared as pertinent factors, perhaps shifting in significance over the life course. Those who travelled prior to the 1980s reforms were more likely to identify as working class, although many had experienced social mobility since then.

However, the majority had arrived after a series of immigration reforms in the 1980s which necessitated migrants have specific occupations or skills. While class is dynamic, relational and contingently experienced, the largely professional occupations and apparent affluence of many participants meant that they could be described as predominantly middle class.

The broader project this paper draws from explored British nationals' migration stories, sense of national belonging, personal geographies and reflections on Auckland's ethnic and cultural landscapes. The study did not start with a focus on social divisions of tense nor comfort and uneasiness, but these themes kept appearing in participants' descriptions, and my observations of their encounters with difference. I adopted an iterative-inductive approach to analysis which aimed to cultivate an ongoing dialogue between wider literature and the empirical material gathered (O'Reilly, 2005); returning to the transcripts and notes again and again to draw out recurrent patterns and more idiosyncratic accounts. The following analysis draws on interviews and observations made while spending time informally with participants. While informed by the multiple research encounters which made up twelve months in Auckland, the paper focuses on a smaller number of narratives for more intensive analysis. These are illustrative of broader themes in relation to tense and encounters with Indigenous and exogenous alterity for the British nationals involved in the project, but do not claim to be representative of the diversity of their perspectives.

Too recent: exogenous alterity

Hartigan (1999, 208) has noted, 'race includes the subtle, dense fusion of … desires, interests and anxieties, expressed variously through the sensations of ''comfort'' and ''uneasiness'''. Hage's (1998) concept of 'the spatial manager', developed for his research on whiteness in Australia, illustrates the way this 'uneasiness' can be mobilised to maintain white social formations. Hage argued that when the figure of 'the spatial manager' worries about 'too many' migrants the undesirability of 'too many' is not an abstract consideration but refers to a definite national space in which something is deemed undesirable (p. 37). Such 'undesirability' acquires its meaning in relation to an 'idealised image of what this national *background ought to be like'* (p. 39, emphasis in original). Through this 'spatial-affective-aspiration' a centre is constructed that represents dominant modes of national belonging, the characteristics and dispositions of which people try to acquire and have recognised, while, alternately, others are cast as not 'properly' belonging. However, as Hage suggests, rather than an either/or logic, dominant modes of national belonging can be accumulated, up to a point, whether through looks, accent, demeanour, taste, social and cultural preferences, behaviour and so on (p. 53). There is a hierarchy of belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand through which migrants are variously included and excluded from the dominant settler culture. British migrants racialised as white can more easily acquire dominant modes of national belonging. Through a consideration of

participants' expressions of uneasiness and comfort in their encounters with difference, I want to consider how inclusion and exclusion can be understood not just through a spatial understanding, which positions difference as 'out of place' in Aotearoa New Zealand, but through a temporal understanding which organises difference through tense.

Paul and Dorothy[5] were English, in their seventies and had emigrated from Manchester to Australia in 1960 as 'ten-pound poms' (Hammerton and Thomson, 2005) following their wedding, seeking better wages, sunshine and a dream of owning their own house. After a circuitous route, in which they returned to the UK then travelled back to Australia, they arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1970. Their arrival into both countries benefitted from explicit or implicit 'whites only' immigration policies at the time. The increasing ethnic diversity in their suburb of Orewa, a northern coastal neighbourhood of Auckland, provided the opportunity for moments of 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise and Velayutham, 2009). As we walked around their neighbourhood, they told me about getting friendly with a local baker from Cambodia and their ongoing conversations about what makes a 'proper' Cornish pasty. However, an anecdote about their citizenship ceremony in Aotearoa New Zealand pointed to how their encounters could be more exclusionary,

Dorothy: when we went to become citizens we had to swear, if you like, if you please, in front of a Chinese man [laughs] and that just-

Paul: allegiance to the Crown

Dorothy: the Crown, yes

Paul: which I have always swore allegiance to

Dorothy: we've done that

Paul: in a- in the

Dorothy: the RAF [Royal Air Force]

Paul: the RAF, yeah. We thought it was rather funny that there was this-

Dorothy: a Chinese man

Paul: a Chinese gentleman

Dorothy: not even a Māori, or a Kiwi (laughs) it was a Chinese man

Their reaction confirms Ip's (2003, 249) observation that in Aotearoa New Zealand, '[t]o many, the Chinese are still (and always will be) ''new'' and ''foreign'''. The government official was considered

too much of an outsider to lead a citizenship ceremony, in contrast to their claiming a relatively dominant mode of belonging through their reference to already having sworn allegiance to the Crown. A lingering aspect of Aotearoa New Zealand's colonial legacy is the shared Head of State with the UK. Paul and Dorothy's surprise at the government official's ethnicity during the symbolically significant event of a citizenship ceremony points to a temporal distancing of some ethnic groups from dominant modes of belonging, as too recent. Whereas, alternately, the phrase 'not even a Māori' points towards the symbolic space allocated to Māori, even if this symbolic space does not necessarily translate into support for the redistribution of resources and power (Sibley and Liu, 2004).

Ivan and I sat across from one another over a cup of tea and a Guinness in the same British-themed pub that I had met him in a few days before in Devonport, an affluent northern coastal suburb popular with British migrants. He lived in the local area, was in his late seventies and had come on a family reunification visa to retire near his daughter six years previously. When he mentioned that there was a growing Asian population, I asked him for his thoughts on that,

> Ivan: I haven't been really involved, because it's not until you go across the water, you know, when you get the ferry across to the other side and you walk up Queen Street and you think you're in a different country, because all you can see is all the Chinese walking by, you know, up and down Queen Street. On this side, you don't see nearly as much of that.

Queen Street, the main commercial strip running through the CBD, is a popular site of Asian retailing and restaurants (Friesen, 2008, 14). Ivan's sense of surprise, and indignation, at feeling as if he was 'in a different country' reveals an expectation of what Aotearoa New Zealand 'ought' to be like (Hage, 1998, 39). Queen Street was raised by several participants as like being 'in a different country' in a way that less prominent neighbourhoods with a concentration of residents identified as Asian were not (see Terruhn, 2015, for similar findings in relation to Pākehā). Asians are again excluded from a symbolically significant space as too 'new' and 'foreign'. Ivan preferred not to go 'across the water' and differentiated clearly between his neighbourhood and those over the Harbour Bridge to the south of Auckland. When I asked him what he liked about his neighbourhood his repeated reference to comfort, responding at one point, for instance, with 'I don't know, it's just I feel comfortable in it', was illustrative of the significance of uneasiness and comfort to the personal geographies of British migrants.

Whether a melancholic sense of encroachment, celebratory accounts of multiculturalism, the ordinariness of diversity or politicised engagement, participants' encounters with difference prior to migrating informed their views of exogenous and Indigenous alterity in Auckland. For

instance, Ivan's uneasiness at the visibility of Asians in the high street of the CBD evoked a melancholic sense of encroachment. As our interview continued, he slid from Asians on Queen Street to Muslims to Sharia law in what Ahmed (2014) has called a metonymic slide, which constructs a relation of resemblance between figures, where '[w]hat makes them ''alike'' may be their ''unlikeness'' from ''us''' (p. 44).

> Ivan: If you don't integrate properly then all you're doing is creating enclaves which will end up causing trouble in the future as they grow and they want their own rules. It's like saying, you know, because you're a Muslim you want to live by Sharia law, even if you're living in New Zealand. No, Sharia law isn't in this country, so you live by the country's rules.

His criticism of a lack of integration among migrant groups glosses over the present benefits for British migrants of a history of colonialism which 'involved *making* other people play by British rules in their own countries' (Clarke and Garner, 2010, 89, emphasis in original) and his own enclave-like behaviour in preferring to spend his time in a suburb popular with his compatriots.

The metonymic slide between variously racialised others points to the messiness of understandings of difference, and this messiness is also evident in the use of social divisions of tense. Exogenous alterity could be positioned as 'not yet' having a claim on national belonging or as a threat to the nation's imagined white future, later we will see exogenous alterity included as part of a progressive narrative about Auckland's becoming more mature, and, as I will explore next, as anachronistic. Martin was in his fifties and had migrated three years previously from rural Somerset in England, selling up the house he had been born in and his business. He arrived on a skilled migrant category resident visa, worked as an engineer and lived in Torbay, a northern, coastal suburb. During a discussion of his experience of the immigration process he initially expressed some concern about 'the numbers and the way certain groups get into the country' but avoided expressing his opinion in our first recorded interviews. However, as we spent more time together various conversations and encounters in the street prompted him to expand on his views and I'll focus on two such incidents. The comments explored next came after a bout of frustration with another driver he identified as Asian. This encounter prompted him to tell me that his work-place would not hire Chinese people, he went on, '*you'll get a group of them who'll all invest in a property, so they've all got a tiny share. It's not like with Europeans. Then they get their own to work for them. Or you get a skilled couple coming over, fine, but then they'll bring over their whole family who don't work*'[6]. Themes of kinship and unassimilable collectivity framed migrants as part of a constraining, genealogical society. In this example, exogenous alterity was understood through the tense of the past. The second instance came after I spoke about my recent experience of a car crash. In response, he recounted a story

about a bad Asian driver telling me, '*they come over from Singapore where they've been driving rickshaws and don't understand how to use a car*'. His drawing on the local stereotype of 'the bad Asian driver' (see for e.g. Stirling, 2003) deems this figure as culturally backward, again, fitting into a narrative tense of the past. Exogenous, and as we will see Indigenous, alterities are placed either nearer or further from an ideal tense depending on the context[7]. Where one is positioned in terms of a national or civilisational tense, whether more or less out of time, is dynamic and context-dependent.

Too late: Indigenous alterity

Besides the relatively benign label of 'the whingeing Pom' (Pearson, 2014), British migrants do not tend to be included in what Noble (2005, 188) calls the 'production and regulation of strangeness' in Aotearoa New Zealand. In fact, participants would frequently comment on their sense of themselves as ordinary when I asked about their reception by locals. Part of an experience of 'fit' and being 'in place' in relation to the spaces one inhabits is acknowledgement by others. As Noble (2005, 114) argues, '[o]ur ability to be comfortable in public settings also rests on our ability to be acknowledged as rightfully existing there: to be recognised as belonging'. Consequently, the capacity to feel comfortable in public spaces is unevenly distributed. Noble (2005) understands comfort, which he associates with 'ontological security', not in terms of the individual, 'but as a relationship of power in a social setting' (p. 113). In a complementary argument, Ahmed (2007) has conceptualised whiteness as a form of public comfort. White bodies, Ahmed (2007) has argued, benefit from the ability to feel more at ease, to move with comfort and to feel at home 'in a world that is oriented around whiteness' (p. 160). The expressions of comfort and uneasiness by participants about certain neighbourhoods and encounters with difference had 'a discernible impact on everyday routes through the city' (Clayton, 2009, 491). The ability of participants, who so desired, to draw on their resources 'to construct spatial, temporal and psychological ''limits''' to their contact with te ao Māori, the Māori world, and ethnic diversity, whether through their suburbs, career, social circles and so on (Yeoh and Willis, 2005, 282), is another illustration of the relationship between comfort and power in a social setting[8]. As well as attention to affectively at ease convivial relations, or conflict, this paper considers the ability of privileged urban residents to minimise or avoid encounters with difference.

I met Charles and Julia when they responded to a poster calling for participants in their suburb of Devonport. They were in their late fifties and both worked in education. Julia was English and Charles was Welsh. They had migrated thirty-four years previously, after meeting at university, seeking to escape a recession in the early 1980s. His father, who had already migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand several years before, arranged their visas and a job for Charles to arrive to. Although

he was careful to stress his great respect for Māori, telling me how much he enjoyed visiting marae[9], Charles had felt uncomfortable about the influence of biculturalism during his time as a teacher in state schools. He eventually moved to teach economics at a private, international school where he said, 'I'm, sort of, totally out of that environment of social engineering' and could now appreciate 'the pure joy of teaching and learning'. Charles set up an opposition between freedom and constraint which, as Iris Marion Young (1990) argues, 'masks the ways in which the particular perspectives of dominant groups claim universality' (p. 97). Besides freedom and constraint, his sentiment reflects another common dichotomy held between indigeneity and modernity. From this perspective, contemporary Indigenous presence is acceptable when it appears as 'tradition' and for symbolic and ceremonial occasions. However, indigeneity becomes problematic when aspects of modernity are mobilised for communal, collective interests (Bell, 2014, 160), such as the influence of biculturalism on education.

For Charles, 'there's little pockets of very vociferous biculturalism and I sort of feel more comfortable when I'm sort of out of it in a way'. He went on to say, 'it's not a big part of our lives really' and described his suburb as 'pretty monocultural'. Although the homogeneity of his suburb can be challenged as a particular coding of space as white which fails to recognise other bodies, histories and geographies as present (Simonsen, 2015), this sense of his suburb as a retreat from uncomfortable aspects of the world was a refrain in his stories. For instance, it came up again when he discussed the growing inequities in Aotearoa New Zealand and concluded, 'but then I mean we've insulated ourselves from it in a way by living in a nice suburb'. The narrative accounts explored confirm Valentine's (2008) observation that a person may claim liberal values but behave implicitly disrespectfully towards other by avoiding encounters with difference which are challenging (p. 330)

In contrast to their uneasiness with politicised indigeneity, Charles and Julia's enthusiasm for growing ethnic diversity in the city fitted a celebratory narrative which, although unexplored so far in this paper, was widely held among participants. The results of a representative survey of Auckland claimed the most frequently mentioned reasons for celebrating multiculture were around increasing vibrancy, adding interest and increasing the range of food and restaurants available (Nielsen, 2014). In an echo of those results, Julia and Charles said,

> Julia: The multiculturalism's probably more apparent now than it was when we first arrived ... because it's a lot more- you're more aware of the fact that there are many, many cultures here, yeah, which- I mean there's a lot of good things about that. There's a lot more variety that's been available. I mean, let's face it when we first arrived there wasn't much choice to

go for restaurants and stuff in the evening and now you can just pick your culture and decide to find a restaurant that suits it, which is good.

Charles: I mean when we first came to Auckland in 1980 it was a lot smaller, very much quieter, and not nearly as diverse. As Julia was saying every year Auckland's become a much more vibrant, colourful, interesting, diverse place.

It is interesting to note that, despite their being migrants, in their accounts of the benefits of ethnic and cultural diversity in Auckland, they adopted the position of *having* rather than *being* diversity (Hage, 1998, 139-140). This fits a larger pattern among British migrants where, rather than consider their shared status as migrants, many, but not all, felt entitled to be appreciative, tolerant, or to exclude, differently racialised migrants. Charles later contextualised his enthusiasm for Auckland's increasing ethnic diversity through his affection for travel and experiencing new cultures and his commitment to multiculturalism in the UK, which he viewed as more inclusive than biculturalism. However, this open-minded orientation could, as the previous quotes infers, be interpreted as consumption oriented, bringing to mind hooks (1992) famous criticism of 'eating the other'.

Whereas increasing ethnic and cultural diversity was associated with Auckland's progression into a more 'interesting', and perhaps mature, city, which was commented on by several participants. In contrast, biculturalism and Indigenous politics were frequently cast as overly oriented to the past and as constraining. Terruhn's (2014) research with Pākehā in Auckland noted that a temporal logic constructed 'multiculturalism as the bright future of the nation [while simultaneously consigning] indigeneity and the politics of reconciliation to the realm of the past' (p. 53). She argued that the claiming of a future-oriented multicultural identity among her participants served as a way of escaping 'settlerness'. In this way, the inclusion of exogenous difference into a vision of the nation's multicultural future could work to exclude Indigenous difference and biculturalism as overly oriented to the past. Migrants and increasing ethnic diversity, or at least a particular kind of successful, entrepreneurial migrant, were fit into one tense, while politicised Indigenous difference was fit into another, following Povinelli (2011), with 'one oriented to the future, the other to the past' (p. 37).

Just as the association of exogenous alterity with the future or as too recent to occupy symbolic national spaces did not exhaust the function of discourses of social tense, so too Māori were not purely associated with the past. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the common figure of the Māori 'stirrer' or 'trouble-maker' has been documented widely (Nairn and McCreanor, 1991, 248). This figure is often contrasted with 'the good Māori' who assimilates. To return to Ivan, he illustrated this distinction clearly, and points towards the shifting nature of discourses of tense,

I mean, a couple of Māoris[10] (*sic*) are members of the bowling club, members of other bowling clubs that I go to. I find them alright. Don't get me wrong, individually they're alright. It's the people who- it's like the people in charge - the tribal chieftains. They're the ones that- ''you owe us a living'', you know, and half of it's a load of codswallop to begin with … it's not the individual people. I mean, the people are fine. It's the actual political people - tribal chiefs, or whatever you call them, that makes life a misery for everybody else, or makes life difficult for everybody else. 'Cos, you know, we're trying to be progressive and get ahead and they want to hold you back, unless you pay them enough money.

A social division is revealed in the above extract between the individual, or autological subject, met in a context where Māori cultural difference is marginal to the engagement, and the 'tribal chiefs', or genealogical society, who politically agitate for Indigenous rights, and are consigned to the narrative tense of the past.

Conclusions

This paper put forward a theoretically-informed argument for greater attention to social divisions of tense in future research on urban multiculture. Expressions of concern about the national future (Hage, 1998, Baldwin, 2012, Wang, 2017), not to mention the surfacing of history through nostalgia for a lost Golden Age and postcolonial melancholia (Gilroy, 2004), illustrate how temporality and tense have been absorbed into discourses, affective attachments and practices of cultural recognition and national belonging. British migrants in this study viewed Māori who made political demands premised on their indigeneity through a tense oriented to the past which positioned them as 'too late'. Whereas exogenous alterity was positioned as having arrived 'too recently' to occupy symbolically significant national spaces. However, as the paper has shown, social divisions of tense - who was deemed a self-determining, autological subject and who was deemed part of a constraining, genealogical society - were mobile, moving across dominant categories of difference. Although the positioning of racialised migrants, for instance, as part of a bright multicultural future or as culturally backward appear to contradict one another, ultimately, they illustrate the wide availability of this discursive field whenever the problem of cultural recognition arises (Povinelli, 2011, 52).

Through considering how white British migrants aligned themselves with the dominant settler culture in their relations with Indigenous and exogenous alterities, this paper was able to explore simultaneous, if different, processes of inclusion and exclusion, belonging and othering, in diverse settler colonial cities. The relational dynamics between settler, Indigenous and exogenous peoples tie together debates on migration and ethnicity with indigeneity and colonialism, which

have thus far often been considered separately. However, bar a few notable exceptions (Bauder, 2011; Kobayashi and De Leeuw, 2010; Lobo, 2014; Pulido, 2017), geographical approaches, including this paper, have tended to consider white settlers in relation to either Indigenous and/or exogenous alterity (Bonds and Inwood, 2016; Radcliffe, 2017). The challenging work of theorising settler colonial landscapes and their multiple subjectivities beyond a white/non-white binary marks a gap in geographical research; however, as Pulido (2017) has argued, the ethically and politically loaded relations between minoritised populations in a settler colonial context is not necessarily a desirable direction for research in a white-dominated discipline (p. 316).

Finally, this paper emphasises the importance of careful attention to local histories, contexts and oppressions in future research on conviviality, togetherness and multiculture in a settler colonial context. Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith has argued that multicultural definitions of justice can be 'overly precious about the project [of emancipation via inclusion] as a universal recipe' by operating from a 'stance that assumes that oppression has universal characteristics that are independent of history, context and agency' (Smith, 1999, p. 229). 'Unlike ethnic and immigrant minorities who are voluntarily looking to settle down and fit in within the existing social and political framework, Indigenous peoples constitute forcibly incorporated nations who want to ''get out'' of imposed political arrangements that deny, exclude and oppress' (Fleras and Maaka, 2010, p. 15). For future research on convivial multiculture, the multiple subjectivities of settler colonial landscapes call for critical attention to who is expected to accommodate whom in 'at ease relations of coexistence and accommodation' (Wise and Velayutham, 2014, p. 408).

Notes

[1] My thanks to the anonymous reviewer for encouraging me to consider this critique.

[2] In another paper, some of the ambiguities of UK nationals in Aotearoa New Zealand positioning themselves as migrant, guest or even colonised have been drawn out (Anonymous, 2017).

[3] Although this paper focuses on a settler colonial context, Olund (2013) has considered the relevance of Povinelli's concept of tense in liberal contexts more broadly. He takes present-day Britain as an example and considers the utility of autological and genealogical discourses to frame the division between 'strivers' and 'skivers' in debates on social welfare payments.

[4] The term 'Asian' is increasingly used as an ethnic category in Aotearoa New Zealand, despite glossing over a vast geographical area, much internal ethnic diversity and multiple identifications (Ho, 2015). In this context, it tends to mean an appearance of East Asian heritage. Similarly, homogenising is the category of Pacific peoples.

[5] Pseudonyms have been used throughout.

[6] The italics indicate the quotes are taken from the author's notes taken following participant observation, rather than transcribed from recorded interviews.

[7] In fact, Pākehā were also, at times, understood as temporally distant, for instance, because of their nation's perceived relative 'youth' (Anonymous, 2017).

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8 It is worth noting that a significant group of participants, whose experience is not the focus of this paper, avoided certain suburbs, careers and social circles precisely because they viewed them as too homogenous and white.

9 A marae is a complex of buildings typically based within a Māori kinship community and used for meetings and various ceremonial purposes (Mead, 2003, 95-97).

10 In te reo, the Māori language, plurals are not indicated by an 's' at the end of words, but instead by the context in which they are used.

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