

Homelessness, mimesis and the flânerie

Abstract

As an intense repository for contemporary human existence, the contemporary city is textured by scenes of homelessness that manifest broader issues of inequality and poverty in society. This paper explores material from photo-elicitation projects with 36 street homeless people in Auckland who were asked to go out into the city and picture their everyday lives. In interpreting the results, we draw on theoretical work on mimesis, urban mobilities and social practice to conceptualise how homeless people attempt to convey aspects of street life. A core proposition is that in adopting the mobile analytic gaze of flânerie, participants produce photographs as memetic objects that enable them to show and articulate traces of the key places, features, rhythms, practices, and relationships of homelessness.

Key words: homelessness, cityscape, mimesis, mobilities

For what do we know of street corners, curb-stones, the architecture of the pavement - we who have never felt heat, filth, and the edges of stones beneath our naked soles, and have never scrutinized the uneven placement of the paving stones with an eye toward bedding down on them (Walter Benjamin, 1940/2002: 517).

Walter Benjamin considered the difficulties of communicability in the city that accompany the breakdown of shared experiences, the rise of difference, and the overwhelming amount of information to which people are exposed everyday (Benjamin, 1936/1992). His polysemic conceptualisation of the 'mimetic faculty' (Benjamin, 1933/1978) offers useful insights into communicability across groups and the dynamics of urban life. Mimesis invokes acts of mimicry, imitation, representation, similarity, re-assemblage and expression that are evident when homeless people attempt to make sense of and communicate to domiciled researchers what it is like to live on the streets. Considering such deeply psychological

processes, this article documents how memetic objects, such as photographs produced by homeless people, provide a means of invoking dynamic, routine, adaptive and agentive aspects of street life. We will demonstrate how including opportunities for research participants to produce such memetic objects can aid them in reflecting upon and conveying aspects of street life that are often unsayable, as well as aiding scholars in extending knowledge of homelessness.

Homeless people have an intricate knowledge of the contours and rhythms of the city. Yet this in-depth knowledge is seldom realised in public and scholarly discourse because homeless people are often positioned as 'strangers' in our midst; those who are inferior, deficient and socially distant (Hodgetts et al., 2012). To learn more about homeless lifeworlds we, as researchers, need to collapse this distance between us and to see the city more from their perspectives. There is a need for a more developed understanding of the emplaced, fluid and often mobile nature of street life. In attempting to comprehend the efforts of homeless people to communicate their experiences and the resulting insights they offer, we need to look beyond our disciplinary borders to interdisciplinary scholarship on homelessness (Hodgetts et al., 2008, 2012), urban mobilities (Cresswell, 2006; Murray & Upstone, 2014), the dialectics of place (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005), and social practices (de Certeau, 1984; Hodgetts et al., 2015). Insights from such sources can further our efforts to interrogate the rhythms of contemporary urban life from the perspective of homeless people. This focus is important given that homeless people are often forced to occupy various urban locales fleetingly in what de Certeau (1984) has referred to as 'walking exile'.

We can learn from urban scholars such as Walter Benjamin, Henry Lefebvre and Michel De Certeau, who approached the city as an intensified environment for the dynamic rhythms of human movement, interaction and the reproduction of dynamic social orders (Murray and Upstone, 2014), in which some (domiciled) groups often exercise the power to exclude other (homeless) groups (Hodgetts et al, 2008, 2010a). Further, Cresswell's (2006) seminal conceptualisation of urban mobilities as meaningful movements that are produced

through social interactions and which reproduce social spaces and relationships offers new insights into the dynamics of street life. This conceptualisation also orientates us to the iterative processes via which homeless people contribute to the social construction of particular locales within the city in which they themselves take form as urbanites who are often rendered out of place (Hodgetts et al., 2008).

Drawing insights from urban scholars cited above, we approach the places transited, frequented and occupied by homeless people as being more than containers for social life. These places are the personally and collectively produced products of particular social practices and relations. Such places comprise media through which homeless lifeworlds take shape that are moulded dialectically through use occupancy and mobility that includes processes of dwelling, adaptation, and expulsion. Of central interest to us is how homeless people become embroiled both within and across particular locales (Spinney, Aldred & Brown, 2015; Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015) through their engagements in particular social practices that enable them to render the cityscape more habitable. Here, the cityscape (Hodgetts et al., 2017) denotes the perceived functional, material, ornamental and relational features of the expansive urban milieu comprised of a patchwork of spaces for human activity that is traversed by homeless people. Exploring the social practices of homeless people in and across the cityscape we can extend existing knowledge of the complexities and dilemmas of street life.

To recap, this article documents how, when responding to situations of homelessness, people cultivate inventive, dynamic and emplaced social practices of adaption that enable them to make do (de Certeau, 1984) and in some cases thrive for a time (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015). These mobile practices enable homeless people to assert some control and routine over their lives, to make the most of meagre resources, and enact the 'rewriting' of the cityscape to meet their needs and aspirations (Hodgetts et al., 2008, 2010a). It is through these practices that they assert themselves in an urban environment over which they have limited control (de Certeau, 1984). More specifically, we explore the

mobile dimensions of everyday social practices among homeless people and the memetic practices they employ to construct and convey their experiences.

Further thoughts on homeless picturing street life

Emphasising the importance of mobilities in city life, de Certeau (1984) advocates taking a stroll through the different places, interactions and visible fragments of urban life. For de Certeau, walking is a mode of mobile reconstruction that articulates and writes the city in a manner that renders it more habitable for the stroller. This orientation is congruent with the more recent work of Cresswell (2006, p. 22) who notes that, "We experience the world as we move through it". Correspondingly, this article draws on research with 36 homeless people recruited from the Auckland City Mission located in the urban centre of New Zealand's largest city. Participants were asked to transit and picture their everyday lifeworlds through photo-elicitation projects and interviews and time we spent hanging out together. The research corpus comprises over 1200 pages of interview transcripts and observational notes, and over 1000 participant photographs of street life.

Picturing life as a homeless person required our participants to first traverse the cityscape, then to photograph scenes that represented features of the city of importance to them, and then to reflect on these pictures and explain how these relate to their everyday lives (Radley et al., 2010). In the process, these strollers invoke a nexus of locales and relations through which street life is visualised or rendered forth in ways that exceed the materiality of particular places weaving these into a cityscape (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015). Further, in walking through the city to document key places, relationships and practices, our participants did not just locate themselves in the city. They also rendered particular places, features, practices and relationships that make up the cityscape meaningful. Through the acts of walking, picturing and recording their memories of, and affiliations with, particular places, practices and people, our participants revealed aspects of the rhythms of street life, which they in turn re-story in subsequent interviews. In this manner, our research

participants became urban commentators who documented key features in their situated lives and recounted these through photographs, interviews and casual conversations with us. It is important to note that through our research engagements with participants, we too became embroiled as observers in their recreations of street life. As O'Neill and Hubbard (2010, p. 50) note "To trace a walk is therefore not just to follow a line: it is to become involved in the doings and becomings that produce space and make the place".

In bringing some coherence to such mobilities across the cityscape, it is useful to reconsider the emblematic figure of urban transience, the flâneur (Benjamin, 1969). This figure acts as a conceptual anchor point for our consideration of how homeless people move through the cityscape, observe and ponder street life. We will show how in adopting the mobile gaze of flâneure, homeless people become more than detached strollers gaining voyeuristic pleasure from beholding urban scenes (Hodgetts et al., 2017). With 'penetrating eyes', these urbanites stroll to know, document, botanise and interpret the rhythms of city life (Benjamin, 1969). Through transiting the cityscape, our homeless strollers reveal a watchfulness through which we can deepen knowledge of the dynamism of street life.

The concept of flâneurie is particularly relevant to our efforts to make sense of the mobilities that are reproduced through the documented journeys of our participants. As Hodgetts and colleagues (2017) note photo-elicitation projects do not transform participants into classic flâneur as such, but rather engage participants in flâneurie or a mode of investigative urban observation that also resembles Benjamin's (1933/2004) concept of the 'mimetic faculty'. Flâneurie constitutes a mode of engagement through which homeless participants can stretch out beyond, whilst remaining entangled within, the cityscape. It offers a more detached perspective on the situations and practices through which their daily lives manifest. Resembling, but not duplicating, the flâneur of old, our participants do not cease to be part of the cityscape when picturing, reflecting and commenting on urban scenes. To observe and re-enact scenes where necessary is to become re-entangled with what one is observing. In traversing the city, participants are entwined within the histories and memories

of particular places and scenes. Even when there to observe from a critical distance, participants remain enmeshed within the cityscape (*cf.*, de Certeau, 1984). Place, history, movement and picturing are not discrete phenomena, but overlapping and interconnected aspects of the human condition.

In traversing the cityscape our participants offer photographs as memetic objects with leaky frames that depict agentively selected features of a cityscape inhabited by homeless and domiciled people (Hodgetts, Radley & Chamberlain, 2007). These photographs recreate, mimic and embellish experiences of homelessness and offer perspectives on that which is never fully graspable and which requires dialogue and interpretation. Participant photographs comprise adulterated copies if you like, which have a dialectical relationship with the original places, practices and scenes depicted. As Hodgetts, Radley and Chamberlain (2007: 272) note, “Participants explain the ethereal essence or trace of something elusive”. These memetic processes extend the moment in which the photograph was produced to offer more than static glimpses into the world of homelessness. These still photographs are anything but still, and offer a mode of communication that becomes enmeshed within subsequent exchanges. Briefly, what these images provide are windows on a world that offer insights into the dynamic nature of street life beyond the frame.

These photographs offer starting points for reconsiderations of events and scenes depicted or alluded to. It is in the sharing and discussing of the photographs as mimetic objects that traces of homelessness are conveyed. Through conversations in reference to specific photographs we can share with participants in their active re-engagements with their circumstances and journeys across the cityscape. As such, the mobile situatedness of street life becomes more tangible to us in a manner not possible with photographs or words alone (Hodgetts, Radley & Chamberlain, 2007). Relevant here is Benjamin’s (1982) concept of the ‘dialogical image’ in that processes of picturing often involve people surfacing, mimicking, reassembling, rendering tangible, reflecting on, and anchoring new meanings in the images they construct of their lives. The concept of the dialogical image refers to how “...image is

that wherein what has been comes together in a flash with the now to form a constellation. In other words, image is dialectics at a standstill” (Benjamin, 1940/2002, p. 462).

Briefly, when homeless people traverse various spaces of involvement every day, they take form as urban inhabitants on the margins of society. These urbanites reproduce and become re-embroiled within broad societal relationships that constitute urban life (*cf.*, Hodgetts et al., 2017). As such, our analytic task is not to simply code and describe individual photographs as if the meaning of these artefacts was set within the frame. Instead, we seek to theorise with these memetic snippets, wrenched from homeless lifeworlds, in order to develop a richer picture of street life from the vantage point of homeless people. Correspondingly, our analysis is structured from the perspective of the mobile analytic gaze of *flânerie* (Hodgetts et al., 2017). Drawing on concepts, including mobilities, social practices, the dialectics of place and mimesis, we retain aspects of the humanity of our participants whilst theorising how they picture and make sense of their situations and efforts to navigate the cityscape.

Picturing street life across the cityscape

There are variations in each participant's trajectory across the cityscape. Some move to spend time panhandling in a favoured spot. Others visit the grave of a loved one or read in the library. There are also commonalities in trajectories due to the physical and psychological requirements of survival on the streets. Participants commonly take us to their sleeping spots, recount where they go to wash and eat, socialise and escape. Their images depict time spent in prime locales, such as parks, as well as 'spaces-in-between', such as alleyways. Our analysis documents the mobile social practices that participants have developed within and across these spaces to enable them to navigate daily difficulties. We will demonstrate how these practices enable many to retain a sense of place in insecure lives spent under bridges or in parks and moving through prime and marginal spaces. These practices combine to form a rhythm of street life that encompasses finding safe spots to bed

down for the night, moving out in the morning to wash and find food care, making money, having fun, and psychologically escaping one's present situation for a time.

Sleeping spots: making place for respite

Everybody needs to sleep somewhere. For our participants, finding somewhere 'responsible' to sleep requires the creation of transient attachments to particular places. Evident across the photographs of sleeping spaces in Figure One are the mobilities of rest for homeless people. For example, the top left picture depicts how makeshift bedrooms in marginal spaces, in this case under a bridge, can feature well-made beds and supplies for a midnight snack, including a thermos, bottle of soda and crisps. The inclusion of such features is part of the repurposing of such marginal spaces to approximate the privacy and respite enjoyed by domiciled people. However, as we will see such transient sites of respite are still open to disruption and forced eviction if discovered by local authorities.

The meanings such sleeping spaces hold for our participants' are mediated through personal and collective memories of comparative locales (Murray & Upstone, 2014). These 'spots' or 'pads' are reimagined for us through the photographs and associated accounts depicting the everyday practices used by participants to render these spots more homely. Daniel comments on the sleeping spot (top left, Figure one) and in doing so elaborates on the protocols for his occupancy:

If it's another person's sleep-out [author of the poetry on the pillar] than we go to the person and ask if we can sleep there. Because I've had permission to sleep under here. This one here that's his bed there. The one that gave me permission... Yeah, even though it might be the most awful of places to sleep we try to make it our home, we don't have anything else...

Daniel invokes a co-residence in this spot along with the efforts made to repurpose it as a site for transient sleep. The image and account contains traces of lives and people who are

not depicted directly in the photographic frame. These traces include the beds displayed and the imaginative work (poetry) of the person who has made this place his own and invited Daniel and others to stay for a time.

[Insert Figure One here]

Participants often move between different sleeping spots quite regularly over extended periods of time. For example, a related sleeping spot depicted by Shaun and also used by Daniel is the large fig tree (top right, Figure one). This is a hidden spot in plain sight that also accommodates multiple residents:

...There used to be enough room in there for five to seven people to crash in there comfortably. And it would be so warm you only needed maybe three blankets - two for your ground sheet and one to cover you. This here has got even better significance for me cos my son was conceived here... You can see right there in this gap, here... I've shown him. He's 24 now.

Most domiciled passers-by would simply see an old tree, which might offer shade on a hot day. For Shaun, however, the picture resonates with memories of intimacy and family. With reference to this picture he invokes how his street family have sought to create an existence that includes finding shelter, companionship, and sex. Shaun also spoke of how movement between such sleeping spots was not always voluntary and often occurred due to their being discovered by city security and evicted:

...They're [security] always moving us on... Just because of the bullshit... homeless people do move around. Not necessarily because they want to, but more than likely because they're forced to... Being homeless is nothing. You have no rights.

Homeless people go to great lengths to construct 'bedrooms' in the city since they have the same needs as any other person for safety, warmth, comfort and intimacy. However, their efforts to bed down in public urban spaces are incongruent with domiciled expectations of

the 'proper' use of such spaces. The forced mobilities faced by homeless people not only disrupts their rest and recuperation, it also denies them ontological security in denying continuity of tenure within spaces to dwell. As Shaun notes, in this context 'being homeless is nothing'.

Security and safety are pressing concerns for these people on the move that are often managed through practices such as sleeping with groups of people one trusts and negotiating tenure in particular places. However, such connections are not available to everyone on the streets. For those living alone, like Richard, fears about safety are more acute and require one to remain vigilant and mobile at night. In relation to the second row left picture (Figure one) Richard states:

It's difficult to actually sleep at night because let's say someone sneaks up on you when you're asleep... I doze off and then I'd wake up... It's cold. And then I have sense enough to know that when you're scared and cold you don't sit there shivering. You get up and walk... You sleep again when you find somewhere you feel safe. Sleep doesn't have to be at night time... Now, this is showing the steps down to the Myers Park where I've slept some nights. It's not a very nice place because I'm 46 years old and I know of at least three murders that have taken place in that park, gruesome horrible murders...

Richard anchors or emplaces issues of safety and restlessness in the park depicted. In doing so, he renders these issues tangible and reminds us of the precarity of sleeping rough alone and how some homeless people often remain mobile at night in order to keep warm and avoid being attacked.

Not all sleeping spots were hidden away or accessed only at night. For example, Robert depicted a bus stop (second row right) that offers him fleeting moments of rest in a life of walking exile (de Certeau, 1984). In staging this picture, Robert mimics his temporary occupancy of such spaces in the context of having to 'sus out' a number of spots, which he sleeps across on any given day. Robert further educates us about the "unspoken rules" of occupying such spaces as part of the rhythms of street life:

I always go back to the same places I've been and the same areas... We call it our spots. You might have heard it before where a person say to you, "I have a spot there, that's where I go, that's my pad". People have certain spots where they go and sleep...

What we are offered here is another glimpse into the rhythm of cultivating a number of sleeping spots, which when combined offer a means of adapting to evictions. In taking us on a visual tour of his sleeping spots, Robert offers us further mimetic glimpses of the dynamic rhythms of rest in transience. Robert reports having "...a bunch of spots like this where I can get a few winks and move on". His tour also invokes relationships with other homeless people and domiciled authorities that are implicated in homeless sleeping practices.

In selecting good spots participants consider relationships that extend beyond those with other homeless people. They also consider city authorities, the police, passers-by and domiciled people who can evict them or, in rare cases, offer them a place to sleep. For example, Liam took pictures of a woman and her house that he is permitted to sleep under (bottom left and right):

Living rough under Lucinda's house... There's a roof over my head, and there was walls around me and dry, got a duvet so I am pretty warm... This is the woman there, that's Lucinda with the purple pink hair. Yeah, that's my seat that she lets me sit in the morning. And she brings me a cup of coffee... I knew her when I first came to the streets of Auckland... I think she might have just asked me if I had a cigarette... And it started a friendship that's lasted fifteen years and it's a pretty close friendship. Like I say she's got her problems to...

These two pictures implore an account of a relationship that spans homeless and domiciled lifeworlds for two people on the margins of society. Liam feels comfortable in Lucinda's company as they are both 'outsiders' with mental health and addiction issues. Here, we are offered hints to companionship and a cooperative living arrangement that is bounded

spatially in terms of sleeping areas. Their friendship becomes overt through the ritualised practice of a shared morning cup of coffee that materialises their affiliation in the garden.

The photographs in Figure one and associated accounts offer insights into particular sleeping spots and practices that are set within the broader cityscape. Reflecting the dialogical nature of images (Benjamin, 1940/2002), what happens under a bridge or house, in a tree or bus stop is not restricted to what is displayed in particular photographs. It is in relation to these depicted spots that participants situate themselves as people who do what they can to get some sleep. We are 'shown' how they work to anchor themselves fleetingly in particular spaces through a form of fragile and restless occupancy that is often disturbed by other people. In these examples we can also see how homeless people rewrite or reinvent particular spaces to fit their own needs. Their practices or ways of operating across these spaces enable the re-appropriation their urban environments (*cf.*, de Certeau, 1984). In many respects, these rough sleepers are engaged in a kind of mobile insurgency that involves occupying particular spots knowing that they are at risk of detection and eviction whilst being ready to escape back into walking exile.

Walking exile: Moving through the cityscape to access resources for survival

Mobilities often, but not always, have instrumental purposes. Homeless people walk the city to go to particular places, to engage in particular activities, to access resources, to work, and to simply be somewhere (Radley et al., 2010). As depicted in Figure Two, our early morning strollers pictured their journeys out beyond their sleeping spots when they go to various locations to wash and toilet (top right); access food (top centre) from the Auckland City Mission; launder their clothing (top right); and access and consume alcohol (second row left and centre). Figure Two also depicts participants moving into and occupying spaces to gain income from passers-by (second row right and third row left) as well as being displaced from such spaces by the authorities (third row centre). Participants provided a wealth of pictures of their lives on the move (third row right), where they connect their histories and present

situations (fourth row left and right). Combined these photographs depict the everyday rhythms of homeless people's walking exile across the cityscape.

[Insert Figure Two here]

Participants used their photographs of facilities for daily survival to communicate aspects of their daily routines in very matter of fact ways. In doing so, they hint at their creation of a cityscape to be traversed in order to access basic necessities: "Well, this one here (top left), the public toilets. I took that because I use it every morning when I am waiting for the Mission to open for breakfast (top centre)" (Brett). In discussing a similar picture of the toilet (Figure Three), Clinton offers further insights into this multipurpose and functional space:

...I took a photograph of it because I wash in that toilet... Again the advantage of this one is that you could come in the morning...and have half an hour of privacy... Clean the floor afterwards, wipe the floor dry and leave, change all my clothes. That's fantastic, really. Sorry, I should have gone further round but there's a sink and there's paper towels. These things are really important to me because it means basically I can always get a wash...

Clinton directs our gaze into the frame of the toilet photograph and then out beyond the frame to features not directly depicted in the form of a sink and paper towels. In doing so, he demonstrates participant use of photographs as memetic objects to invoke their engagements in basic practices around hygiene as well as situating these practices and locales within the broader cityscape that is created when participants go about their day.

Participants often presented themselves as needing to be strategic in how they access domiciled controlled spaces. For example, Richard presented himself as a self-confessed "sneaky intruder" who does not really belong in respectful domiciled society. Pictured in the top right frame (Figure Two) is Richard's practice of sneaking into the laundry room of an apartment block around the corner from the toilet. Richard signals the enjoyment he gains

from this aspect of his insurgency photograph through the bodily display of him cheekily putting his finger over his lips to signal the need for stealth.

Richard wove his account of accessing the toilet, food from drop in and the laundry with a picture of a liquor store that he also accesses in the morning:

And that picture of a liquor store (second row left) up K' Rd this is the one that opens the earliest of any liquor store in Auckland city... I've even been outside there waiting for it to open. And there's other street people waiting for it to open. Woken up from the park and wait for the staff to get there and I'll help them put the sign out...

When alcohol was obtained from such locales, participants recount venturing into either secluded spots to drink alone or to drink in a group in prime-public locations such as parks (second row centre). The group of homeless men depicted transform the park for many domiciled passers-by into what is often referred to in public discourse as a tainted location for "vagrant drunks". However, the homeless people occupying this space did not see it that way. Jason asserted that "It's great being able to make a place for us and to do our own thing". Here, we can see the emergence of a clash of habitus in terms of the emplaced rhythms of street life for some homeless people and the expectations of domiciled society.

Many homeless people not only face exclusions from prime urban spaces, but also from the labour market. While many subsist on welfare and charity along, others actively seek alternative ways to derive income from the doorsteps of businesses on busy streets. Yet, their repurposing of such prime urban spaces through practices such as panhandling that work to create 'contact zones' or 'encounter spaces' (Hodgetts et al., 2010a) that rupture the normative segregation of homeless and domiciled people also generate further tensions around the 'appropriate' or 'sanctioned' use of prime spaces (Groot & Hodgetts, 2015). In picturing their income generated practices (second row right and third row left) along with the negative responses of security guards and police (third row centre), our participants offer insights into the regulation of the city and their tactics of resistance. We can witness traces of the dialectics of place creation (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005) involving homeless

people, domiciled passers-by, and urban authorities. The spatial dialectics invoked in relation to these pictures re-assembles aspects of emplaced power relations between domiciled and homeless people. These relationships often render prime locales inhospitable to homeless people and necessitate their developing tactics of resistance. The interactions depicted across particular pictures (second row right, third row left and centre) materialise tensions between the planned official city and the mobile insurgencies of homeless people, such as Daniel and Joshua that they employ to render the cityscape more hospitable.

Daniel and Joshua produced a combined sequence of photographs depicting the art of panhandling and the hit and run tactics developed by these vagrant insurgents who are engaged in such 'radical commerce' (Groot & Hodgetts, 2015). The second row right picture depicts Joshua engaged in a prime location for panhandling:

...Some places you can make more money, cos it's got more flow... Depends on what day it is. On weekdays get in early..., get those workers coming. Then if you're gonna lay off from about 8.30 to 11... You don't really want crowds. I'd rather have them staggered, you know, like 2-3 people at once or single people. You've got more chance because you can get more personal with them. "Oh kia ora bro how the hell are you, hey 'excuse me...'. So it's all just strategies... It's little tricks that you pick up...

In combining image and talk, Daniel (who took the photograph mentioned) and Joshua offer insights into deliberate strategies for panhandlings that include site and time selection, and adaption to the everyday mobilities of domiciled workers. Joshua also speaks to invoking a strategy that responds to psychological group phenomena such as the 'diffusion of responsibility' whereby, when in larger groups, people often assume that someone else will take responsibility to react to the needs of other people (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). In seeking human connection and favourable responses from passers-by, Joshua and his associates have developed their practices to target times when smaller groups of domiciled workers are passing-by. These practices include the use of humour (third row left) to break through the

blasé attitude of passers-by (whereby due to the sheer amount of stimulus in urban environments people can become less attentive to those around them, Simmel, 1903/1971).

Understanding the rhythms and likely reactions of domiciled passers-by allows these homeless men to create opportunities for gaining income from domiciled urbanites. In commenting on his depicted entrepreneurial activities, Joshua talks about the importance of establishing common ground and affiliation with passers-by:

To me it's an art... When you do it, do it flash and be polite... 'Kia ora [hello], how's your day?' Then you talk about anything that's around. If there's rugby on 'Oh did you see the game last night?! You make anything out of everything.

In relation to the use of humorous signs (third row left), Joshua stresses how such props are designed to promote a sense of fleeting familiarity with passers-by. In the process, the social distance (Hodgetts, Stolte & Groot, 2014) between homeless and domiciled occupants of the street is reduced momentarily. Through these images Joshua approximates and re-performs his entrepreneurial practices that shape his encounters with domiciled people. His efforts involve the development of fun signs and moments that rupture the social distance between himself and domiciled passers-by. His activities also rely on him 'looking convincing' to domiciled people by displaying the embodied habitus of a homeless man in terms of class dispositions in dress and demeanour (*cf.*, Bourdieu, 1984). Staging photographs of Joshua in action involves more than simply the production of representations of his everyday activities. We are presented here with artefacts that become part of personalised histories of street life. These are adulterated frozen moments that open up the potential for further exploration regarding the emplaced dynamics of street life.

As evidenced by the picture of a security guard (third row centre), Joshua and Daniel do not have full dominion over the panhandling scene. They are often subject to forced mobility when discovered and pushed out of this space by police or security guards tasked with enforcing rules regarding the sanctioned use of public spaces in a sedentified society (Cresswell, 2006). In reflecting on the images of the security guard, Joshua raises key

practices of resistance in response to such forced mobility. He discusses the game of 'cat-and-mouse' played with authorities to frustrate their efforts to banish panhandlers:

Once the cops move you on, you go straight down here into this area here. It's only about 30 steps away... And because of the fact that we've moved a few feet sort of thing they let it go. 'Oh okay then'...

These homeless men are engaged in a form of insurgency through which they appropriate and repurpose selected prime-public spaces, and which enable them to adapt to efforts by city authorities to displace them. Acts of resistance, such as moving from one site to another, generate frustrations on the part of city authorities and a sense of satisfaction and freedom on the part of Joshua and Daniel. These homeless men reshape their sense of displacement and place in the city through a game of cat-and-mouse that frustrates the efforts of city authorities to regulate prime-public spaces.

It is important to note that not all homeless people consume alcohol, engage in pan handling or embrace conflict with city authorities. Many journeyed from accessing spaces for washing and eating to spending the day on the move or engaging in mobile forms of refuge that embrace transience as a way of life (Radley et al., 2010). For example, in relation to a series of photographs, including the third row right of Figure Two, Liam talked at length about walking as his preferred way to spend his day. Liam framed his walking as part of a larger transition out beyond his previous domiciled life that began with a relationship breakup and continues today. Walking also helps Liam cope with street life whilst also reminding himself of a familial connection with a disabled brother:

I've just got something in me that I just want to wander... My younger brother was born with cerebral palsy. I've come to the conclusion if I was born lucky and had legs well I was going to walk as much as possible. And, that's why I think I'm still walking... I've walked around the city for nine years and I still don't know where I am walking to... I walk up and down Queen Street 15 to 20 times a day to keep moving from other homeless people, from the system, the security, the police, whatever... I don't know what's going on

with the council or whatever, but someone would be trying to push you from your space.

The minute I'd sit down one of those cleaning guys would be "Could you lift your feet up?"

And all this, you know.... They don't want us...

For Liam, walking has become a reflexive practice that offers some continuity in an open ended life that is evidenced by references to him not having a sedentary destination. In recounting his daily transience, Liam offers glimpses into his familial history and his efforts to avoid contact with other people, including the authorities. He depicts his journeying as a form of existence on the move.

In transiting the city, participants often reflect on their current situations in relation to past domiciled lives. They convey snippets of their domiciled histories in conveying meanings that are anchored in particular pictures of themselves on the move today. In this vein, Richard comments on the picture depicting a motorcycle in a showroom window as he passes-by (bottom left):

The next photo...has a triumph motorcycle on it. I used to have a lot of triumph motorcycles...and was a member of a motorcycle club some years ago. And I always had flash toys, but I don't have anything now... Now, I don't have a pot to piss in or a window to throw it out of.

Richard positions himself in a manner that resembles aspects of Benjamin's (1969) flaneur who surveys shop windows with 'penetrating eyes'. Richard's gaze transports him and us back in time to a past in which he was more affluent and possessed nice things such as motorcycles. From the vantage point of his past he can reflect on his present as one of loss and austerity. Picturing and referring to the motorcycle offers a tangible snippet of what he has lost with becoming homeless.

In also picturing his daily trajectories and existence on the move, Clinton staged a picture of himself as a backpacker (bottom right) who seeks to appear to onlookers as a traveller who is simply passing through, rather than inhabiting the city:

That's me walking away. Yeah, this is what I look like, walking around... The thermo-rest helps, the tidy pack. It's good. "Where are you travelling to?" Sometimes I make up a story, which I don't feel good about. But what do you say? "No, no I just sleep up the park". Put it this way, no one has ever come up to me and given me money which I think is a good sign.

We see here a staged act of mimicry through which Clinton approximates his everyday practice of wandering the streets. He asked one of us to photograph him from behind in order for him to demonstrate how he blends into the city as someone who is simply visiting and is journeying somewhere else, even when he acknowledges that he is also going nowhere.

Briefly, through the production of photographs and associated reflections on their everyday practices and mobilities, our participants seek to convey some continuity in self-understanding and meaning lives conducted across various locales (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). In considering the everyday mobilities of homeless people we are confronted with issues around the domiciled regulation (Cresswell, 2006) of, and rights to the city (Hodgetts, Stolte & Groot, 2014). Be they minstrels, gypsies, runaway slaves or vagabonds, people whose lives are defined by marginalised mobilities have long been targeted with mistrust, estrangement and exclusions by members of the 'sedentarified society' (Cresswell, 2006). Those engaged in transience are often read as moral transgressors to be punished and banished. We have demonstrated aspects of how such domiciled regulation is resisted by homeless people through the development of rhythmic mobile insurgencies through which the cityscape is rendered more hospitable to their ways of life. Some staunchly defined their fragile occupancies of particular spaces. Others opt to wander the cityscape in order to avoid conflict and banishment.

Imagined mobilities: Reaching out beyond street life

Our participants were not entirely reliant on walking to navigate the cityscape. Objects of a city on the move pictured by our participants included trains, buses and ferries. These images often relate to longer distance journeys where transport is more necessary. They also illustrate our participants' efforts to blend their transience with the rhythms of domiciled city life, and in doing so escape homelessness for a time. For example, in relation to the train system depicted in the top left frame of Figure Three, Ben states:

I've lived out of home since I was sixteen. So this is over 22 years, of constantly moving...and having to look after myself at the same time... I've never had a driver's license. So, it's always walking and cycling, bus or train... Okay well this [top left] is the train station waiting for the train – “Mind the Gap...”. I like the train aye. I enjoy the ride... It's got a great view of the Manukau Harbour and mud flats. And there's all the train yards and it's quite busy. So there's always stuff going on...

Public transport also provides a means of spending one's day simulating going somewhere, enjoying the ride and being privy to domiciled goings on. Similarly, regarding the use of buses (top centre) Rod states:

I catch the free bus now and again... It's the Link. Jump on that and that takes you for a ride for about an hour; kill an hour... Sometimes I go round twice, well especially when the weather's like this wet. Yeah, get to know people. Buses are all steamed up today.

When it is raining and cold, public transport offers a means of transiting the city with other urbanites, keeping warm, daydreaming, and enjoying human contact. It offers a sense of being part of something larger, and functions to give meaning and purpose to one's existence as well as shelter from the rain. Participants sought to escape their present physical situations whilst using public transport as a supplement to walking.

[Insert Figure Three here]

A range of objects facilitated escape attempts or imagined mobilities used by homeless people to exist beyond or transcend the pressures of street life. The photograph

(top right) depicts an MP3 player that Brett uses to construct a sound bubble while he walks through the city. Brett hides in this bubble and gains respite from what he perceives to be the overwhelming stimulation of the city, whilst weaving the locales he transits into a coherent cityscape that includes his vivid imaginary world (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). Brett produced the image in order to be able to invoke the imaginary space he inhabits as a member of the radio audience for the station he listens to everyday. Relatedly, Rod spoke about the photograph of alcohol between his feet (second row left). He uses this image to raise the importance of such pictures for his efforts to communicate his experiences of homelessness to us:

I quite like doing these photos, and assisting you. Helping you maybe get a grasp of what it's like to be homeless. Cos it's hard for me to, how shall I put it, hard for me to tell you or show you what life is like without photos like this. I can see them and I can explain them.... That's a bottle of vodka I remember taking that... It helps me get out of it, out of my situation for a night at least...

Through participant engagements with producing and reflecting on such photographs we can see the memetic function of pictures and associated accounts that take us further into aspects of homeless lifeworlds and everyday practices.

Pictures of books and spaces such as public libraries were also used by our participants to invoke their efforts to find and move into sites of refuge where they can come in from the cold and continue their journeys into the imaginary world of books or to sleep and dream (Hodgetts et al., 2008). In relation to the picture of a man sleeping on a chair (second row centre), Clinton stated:

I thought I would just do a normal day. What I do in a normal day. So I go to the library. This is a typical place where we kind of sit for a bit and read. This is me – a friend took it. I'm pretending to sleep as this is what we sometimes do in the afternoons... Dream a little.

Through this photograph and account, Clinton conveys how he seeks refuge for a spell in one of the few indoor public spaces available to him. Going to the library allows Clinton and other homeless people to hide away somewhere warm for a time. They can literally come in from the cold to share a prime location in the domiciled world with other library patrons and in doing so pass as 'normal' urbanites (Hodgetts et al., 2008).

In relation to such memetic objects as these pictures of spaces for respite, we can begin to understand the importance of escapist strategies for surviving street life. The Ferry terminal (second row right) featured in the photographs from several participants as a focal point for their imagining escapes out beyond from street life (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2016). This is the terminal from which several participants took the ferry to camp on a remote island. Such physical journeys out beyond the streets are also supplemented by imaginary journey's into nature that do not involve leaving the city. The photograph of the fountain in a local square (third left), which displays a thumb print on the right-hand edge offers a trace of Colin's physical presence as he considers the imaginary escape from his lived reality that this feature of the city affords him:

It's like a little piece of nature in the middle of the city... The sound of it is really nice and there's a bench beside the fountain... Cos, there's places I can escape from my reality...
...That water trickling down, that's like the people [passing-by].... Yeah, a waterfall of people, cos you never really see the same one twice. Well you probably do, but you're not conscious of that because I'm as invisible to them as what they are to me...

Colin invokes the fountain as a memetic symbol for nature in the city and his invisibility to domiciled passers-by. He relates this urban feature to his sense of alienation and distance from domiciled urbanites, and goes on to present himself as being like a ghost that no-one can see or interact with: "My consciousness, I'll sum it up in one word, I felt like a ghost... As far as the rest of the world was concerned I didn't exist...".

Imaginary mobilities were repeatedly linked by our participants to particular objects and city features. For example, when discussing the photograph of the civic building (third

row centre), Colin explained that he produced this picture to offer us his perspective on his place in the city. He subsequently invokes the intentionality and imaginative play that is central to his picturing process and the opportunity this provided him to reflect critically on street life:

Here's another shot of the top of the Civic building, but reflected in the glass of the Hong Kong bank over the road... I was curious as to whether or not it would even come out because I like the imagery of things reflected off glass... That isn't by chance it's by design. Cos the sky cheers me up. And again it's an imagery thing... Perhaps it's the opposite of my life on the street. Something I can escape from with aesthetics or lack of aesthetics or something... I have probably more of an impressionist kind of style, than really detail realism aye...

These comments invoke the creativity and imaginative efforts that participants put into picturing the cityscape and their place in it. In embracing the memetic faculty (Benjamin, 1933/1978), Colin and other participants invoke more than the materiality of the cityscape. They demonstrate their own creativity in not only navigating the city and getting buy, but also pausing to create, reflect upon, and escape the drudgery that is associated with street life.

Such imaginative practices were not limited to people's present situations, since the production of pictures was also used to invoke a sense of history and re-membering lost loved ones. Through the production of dialectical images personal histories, memories and present circumstances collide (Benjamin, 1940/2002). This is particularly evident in the photographs and associated accounts of Liam who regularly visited the grave of his mother. This locale offers an anchor point for his present life on the move and aids him in maintaining a relationship with his mother that stretches out beyond street life. Behind this picture (bottom right) lie experiences of loss and emotional pain that are never fully conveyed in the associated account.

Two of us accompanied Liam on one occasion to visit his mother's grave. Our fieldnotes reveal the importance of mobilities in connecting one's history, present situation and loved ones lost:

During our journey to the cemetery Liam talked about the importance of his mother and how he missed her. When we arrived at the cemetery Liam strode in a straight line towards his mother's grave... When we caught up, Liam was standing at his mothers' grave and talking both to her and us, as though we were all in the same room together... He was talking to his mother the whole time apologising to her and reassuring her of his resolve to stay clean and move back to the area where his family had lived... Then, Liam stood up and marched resolutely the way he had come as though he was walking from the emotions he'd just shown...

The photograph of the gravestone and the accounts that surrounded it were an occasion which stood out from the rest of the research process. Liam allowed us to witness a place and relationship that is central to his very sense of self and loss. Liam talked about his mother and the graveyard photograph:

Anyway these photographs of my mother's grave obviously mean a lot to me... Especially now that my mother's died, I think about my mother everyday... More than a good mother, she was my best friend... Now, she's not here, that's why I came to the streets... I found the streets have hardened me as a person... But, I've shed a lot of tears over the last couple of years since my mother passed away.

Our fieldnotes and Liam's account of the picture of his mother's grave demonstrate how we need to move out beyond the frame and space depicted in a photograph to understand what such scenes mean to homeless participants. These materials take us into the realm of fragments extracted from lives that offer insights out beyond the materiality of homelessness (Radley, Hodgetts & Cullen, 2007). Such interpretative moves also require us to not restrict homeless mobilities to physical journeys.

To recap, mobilities include imaginative trips that are often anchored in physical journeys that can take us to other times, places and relationships that still populate homeless lifeworlds. These physical and imaginative mobilities are deeply entangled for our participants and manifest what Raban (1974) refers to as 'magical habits of mind' that help people survive street life.

Discussion

In exploring everyday mobilities across the cityscape, we have documented aspects of what homeless people attempt to convey to us regarding street life. This involved interrogating how our participants are embroiled within emplaced and transient interactions that span and embody the dynamics of street life. We have explored how, by taking us along as they traverse and picture their lifeworlds, our participants adopt the gaze of *flânerie*, looking outwards in order to bring into focus key aspects of their mental lives, hopes, fears and pragmatic responses to hard circumstances. Their visual reflections offer windows into hardship and the struggles of people marginalised by an increasingly adversarial society. Across snippets from participants' lives we can see elements of common practices fundamental to street life, involving the appropriation and stitching together of particular spaces, accessing resources, and interactions that enable the creation of a habitable cityscape. Through the pictures and accounts provided we can see how homeless people move through and fleetingly dwell in particular places in efforts to manage the daily difficulties of street life.

From reading the literature on homelessness one might get the impression that homelessness equates with placelessness. There are aspects of this pictured by our participants. However, more often than not homelessness is experienced as a process of fleeting home-making (Groot & Hodgetts, 2012). Homelessness is fundamentally mobile and played out across various dwelling points that are domesticated through the enactment of a range of practices for sleeping, accessing resources, eating, bathing, socialising, and

gaining respite. Participants present themselves as being caught in a perpetual groundhog day where they are constantly on the move. The use of photo-elicitation in our research enabled us to explore the dynamics of these homelessness mobilities, emplacement and intergroup relations, which are central to street life but are largely absent from the psychological literature on homelessness (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015). We can see how, in traversing the city, these homeless strollers weave various spaces into a larger cityscape that is populated by particular locales and social practices. We are offered instants of happenstance that invoke the broader universe of street life. Across these memetic objects emerges a continuity and tempo of homelessness across the cityscape. The cityscape is revealed as being both physically solid and socially liquid.

We have considered how participants approximate their situations visually when reproducing selected practices for making do and in doing so invoke the complexities of situations, including no access to a private bedroom or bathroom. Participants convey their need to appropriate public spaces to serve their basic human needs (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2015). Evident across their photographs is the complex nature of homeless mobilities that manifest in a range of forms: transiting the physical cityscape; forced excursions when participants are pushed out of particular places; movement or a change in practices within particular locales; transience in personal subjectivities associated with changing settings; the dynamics of emplaced relationships between homeless people, authorities and other urban groups; and imaginary journeys from within and out beyond particular locales.

People experiencing homelessness often struggle to articulate what it is like and as domiciled citizens we often only hear fragments of the message that are detectible from our own interests and concepts. Our research has shown that research participants can be creative narrators who construct meaning in their engagements with us, rather than being passive research subjects. Several stated that it was hard for them to show and tell us what their lives are like, but that taking photographs helped them to do this better. Further, participants were fully aware of issues of communicability and social distance between

homeless and housed urbanites (Hodgetts, Stolte & Groot, 2014) and acted as translators for us. The photographs and associated accounts they provide invoke the 'unsayable' of their experiences of homelessness. They make what street life feels like and is hard to convey a little more tangible. This is not to say that processes of mimesis simply represent an external reality. Rather, through such processes our participants actively re-construct and invoke hard, often emotionally-textured, and incomplete experiences that remain entangled within the grim actuality of being homeless and struggling to find shelter, food and respite. Our participants provide creatively adulterated metonymic artefacts that come to resemble and stand in for situations and experiences. These objects offer selected slithers of homeless lifeworlds that point to, but can never full capture, street life. Correspondingly, we have not approached depicted locales and the scenes 'contained' within the frame as static bounded objects of analysis. We 'go beyond our data' to explore the dynamics of dwelling, mobility and the construction of a habitable cityscape by homeless people.

To conclude, this article offers insights into how psychologists might theorize the attempts of homeless participants to convey *their* experiences of homelessness, which as researchers we can never access directly. Participants literally walk us through aspects of their lives of mobility across the cityscape in ways that connect places, times, practices and interactions into the retelling of the material and psychological aspects of their homelessness. Their pictures and associated accounts often connect specific places and times, retell elements of the material and imaginary aspects of urban homelessness, and offer perspectives on key features of the cityscape. Along the way, our participants reveal themselves as people who are engaged in the dialectics of trying to reason with their situations and contain associated anxieties, uncertainties and horrors.

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