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Homeless Negotiations of Public Space in Two California Cities

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Homeless Negotiations of
Public Space in Two California Cities

By

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

People experiencing homelessness find movement in urban public space constrained. Scholars have attributed this lack of accessibility to the consequences of anti-homeless laws, social exclusions and economic factors. I draw from spatial and mobility theory to frame movement and transgression within the partitioned city. I accompanied homeless people on walking interviews to discuss their movements, transgressions, and public space they occupied. I also mapped people's behavior in public space, comparing the movements of homeless people with the movements of people with homes. The results indicate homeless people negotiate urban space by walking, biking and riding the bus in a manner that maximizes their ability to manage relationships as they travel. Constraints in movement arise from the partitioning of the city, i.e. the division into public and private, making it difficult to both rest in public space and move in socially-acceptable manners. The findings suggest cities can improve homeless movement through setting limits on the automobile and removing limits (or partitions) on informal patterns of movement.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Sitting at a picnic table in Friendship Park in Sacramento, I am talking to Pablo, an older, wiry Latino gentleman who speaks with a lisp, likely due to some missing teeth. Pablo moved to Sacramento many years ago from the Stockton area. He used to camp along the American River Parkway. At one point, he left his tools in camp "only for a moment" and when he returned they were gone. After the second time his belongings were stolen, he decided concrete camping was safer. He then spent 10 or so years camping near Stockton Boulevard, sleeping on the streets. Now he and his wife usually camp at Ahern and N B Street in a community of other concrete campers.

I ask him if concrete camping is safer.

Well, I don't know. People will steal anything they can get. I have difficulty sleeping due to pain in my legs. I usually get to sleep around 4:30 or 5 am. One night, when we were camped [just around the corner from Loaves & Fishes] *she* [gestures towards woman beside him] *got up to use the Porta-Potty. When she got back, her bike was gone. This must have been after 4:30 am, while I was fast asleep. I usually don't sleep that soundly.*

How does he get around?

I ride a bike around town and pull her [gestures towards wife] *around on a trailer in the back.*

I asked if it was a Burley type trailer.

No, much bigger, the size of one of these picnic tables. It has an arm that comes up and attaches to the bike. Built it out of parts.

Where does he go around town?

Mostly around here [meaning Loaves and Fishes]. *We go downtown. And to the Social Security office. And over to the Mission* [… to get food].

What about a particular day… Where will you go tomorrow, for instance?

I got to be back here in the morning because I still have six hours of community service to do. I got a citation and only have one day left before the deadline. They gave me a month, but I have waited 'til the last minute. I'd rather do the community work than go to jail for 3 months. In jail, you don't have freedom. You don't have access to popsicles [Loaves & Fishes is handing out popsicles this afternoon]. *You can't walk around. Well, you can walk around, but only at certain times and areas.* [Pauses… Looks up at clouds. Starts packing some more things into a bag]. *But tonight… it looks like rain and the wind is from the North. We'll bike over to the overpass to stay dry.*

The problem of homeless mobility

Pablo is one of the 2,800 homeless people in Sacramento who "sleep rough," shunning shelters. Pablo enjoys talking about his bike and the clever trailer system he has constructed for his wife (who has a mental illness) to travel. He can "get anywhere" on it. It is inexpensive, easy to maintain and operates at different speeds. And yet, the bike as a daily mode of travel sets Pablo apart. In a city designed for the speedy passage of cars with 80% of public space in his neighborhood devoted to the automobile, Pablo and his wife moving on a bicycle stand out. Without a car, they move within an industrial area of Sacramento just north of downtown, an area that offers few opportunities for better shelter, employment or access to the larger community. Pablo has a community composed of other homeless people, in evidence in the number of people who greet him as they walk by his picnic table at Friendship Park. He knows the social service volunteers at the Park and at the Mission. It is unlikely he knows many people beyond this.

In the face of constraints on his movements, how does Pablo cope? His tenuous daily life -- sleeping on a sidewalk, finding food, trying to sleep, shifting camps in response to the weather -- is mitigated by the stability of his community and the reliability of his bicycle transportation. With the exception of the constant threat of theft and the pain in his legs, he seems happy, enjoying our talk and the greetings of others. How does Pablo's mobility help or detract from his daily coping with problems of health, food and shelter? How do other homeless people get around? Are they as resourceful as Pablo? How does their relationship with this particular urban landscape, "normal" modes of travel, and daily indignities influence their movement?

In California, the predominance of the automobile as *the* mode of transportation has meant the exclusion of people in poverty from the most available and ubiquitous transport options. According to the 2014 Ameri-

can Community Survey, for every Californian who commutes to work via public transit 14 Californians drive alone. Automobile dominance extends beyond the personal choice of travel mode, supported by federal highway spending, oil exploration and provision, military protection of fuel supplies and automobile infrastructure in roads and parking occupying most urban open space. A transportation system devoted to the movement of private automobiles excludes those people who cannot afford or operate a car. Kenyon, Rafferty and Lyons (2003) describe this *transportation exclusion* as limiting access to the social, economic and political life of the community in a city where high mobility and access are assumed. Transportation exclusion reinforces existing social stratifications by inhibiting access to potential jobs, services, government offices and public space.

This is especially true for homeless people who experience exclusion on a daily basis. Homeless people contend with broad social exclusions as they occupy public space in the city. Anti-homeless laws and regulations prevent people without homes from sitting on sidewalks, standing next to businesses (loitering), sleeping, asking for money and receiving food from compassionate strangers (Bauman et al., 2014). Exclusion also includes ostracization, police harassment and designed impediments to sleeping or panhandling (Amster, 2003; Feldman, 2006; Gibson, 2011). Socio-cultural exclusions and regulations limit not only their occupation of public space, but their mobility patterns (Jocoy & Casino, 2010). Due to a lack of resources and appropriate appearance, homeless people find efficient movement through the city very difficult. With diminished access to transportation, homeless people cannot participate in the mobile economy of our cities. They may be prevented from access to jobs, housing and social networks they require to live.

Homeless people adapt to these mobile and spatial exclusions by occupying interstitial or hidden spaces in the city (Brighenti, 2013; Mitchell, 2013), moving around, either voluntarily or involuntarily (Gibson, 2011; Gowan, 2010), transgressing laws and social norms, i.e. panhandling, loitering, jaywalking and trespassing, and resisting social norms and policies through active resistance (Wasserman & Clair, 2009; Wright, 1997). While scholars have tackled the increasingly revanchist nature of our cities (see DeVerteuil, May, & Mahs, 2009; Herbert & Beckett, 2010; Mitchell, 1997), there have been few full-length analyses of homeless spatial practices, particularly with respect to the coping methods of movement and transgression of mobility norms and boundaries.

The problem of homeless mobility is not as simple as homeless people's lack of access, because, I will argue, of the close link between movement and relationships. Urban mobility is not just a means to an end, but an end in itself, closely tied to a person's social relations, identity and well-being (Miciukiewicz & Vigar, 2013). Discourse on automobility relies on concepts of individualism, freedom and power (Seiler, 2009). Yet, traveling in an automobile is highly controlled (speed limits, route choice, signaling, traffic information) and reliant on a vast socio-economic network of materials, infrastructure and information. In the midst of this transportation discourse, the homeless subject walks, bikes and rides the bus. She shuffles through small spaces, pulls a cart along the margins of a street, creeps across a plaza. Her lack of home defines her place in the movement of a city, removing her from notions of community, efficiency and civic participation. Instead, she is most at home (in the public eye) while moving. She embodies a contradiction between continuous movement and the search for a place of rest and privacy.

Anti-homeless laws and regulations prevent people without homes from sitting on sidewalks, standing next to businesses (loitering), sleeping, asking for money and receiving food from compassionate strangers (Bauman et al., 2014). Exclusion also includes ostracization, police harassment and designed impediments to sleeping or panhandling (Amster, 2003; Feldman, 2006; Gibson, 2011). Socio-cultural exclusions and regulations limit not only their occupation of public space, but their mobility patterns (Jocoy & Casino, 2010). I examined homeless mobility patterns in the context of this exclusion, while relating their mobility to broader urban systems of planning and transport.

Study purpose and scope

This research explores the relationship between the homeless mobile subject and the city within which s/he moves. In the evaluation of the homeless person and the city, I address the artificial separation of the two. Homeless people inhabit the city in a different way than those with homes but remain an integral part of the city. Homelessness is a result of urban cultural and economic processes, not an outlier. Likewise, the spatial processes of homelessness are not independent from the social, but concomitant. People inhabit (uneven) space, not as located occupiers, but as relatable socio-spatial beings (Ingold, 2009). As the city sets up barriers to homeless movement, homeless people react and transform methods of exclusion into their own modes of relating to the rest of the city; these transformations in turn shape the city. The primary method homeless

people use to address exclusions is transgression, both as experienced by homeless people and as seen by the wider public. Transgression becomes a lens through which the understanding of the homeless movement/ city relationship takes place.

The study's purpose then can be reframed as *an understanding of the social, political and spatial emergence of homeless movement as a response to transportation exclusions in the city.* To understand homeless movement, I begin with these assumptions:

1. Homeless movement takes place within the context of automobility as the dominant shaper of urban form, space and movement (Fotsch, 2009; S. Handy, 1993; Paterson, 2007; Urry, 2004; Wachs & Crawford, 1991).

2. Patterns of homeless movement can be observed, evaluated and linked to exclusions as experienced (see Amster, 2003; Delbosc & Currie, 2011; Hui & Habib, 2014; Lubitow, Rainer, & Bassett, 2017; Rogalsky, 2010).

3. The public identity of homelessness is one of being "out of place," wherever they are in the city (with the exception of shelters) – without a home in a city of homes. Thus, their behavior transgresses place. Private behavior in public space or the crossing of established boundaries reveal socio-spatial norms of place and movement (Cresswell, 1996).

Scope

Homelessness in California has increased in the last several years by 14%, while homelessness in the rest of the United States has declined by 3% (Doherty, 2017). California accounted for nearly half of all unsheltered people in the country, 49% (Henry, Watt, Rosenthal, & Shivji, 2017). California cities offer an increasing and diverse population of homeless people for study. This, in combination with the measures California cities have undertaken to ensure the predominance of cars, results in a ripe field for observation of homeless transport. Homeless people experience severe socio-spatial exclusion in urban areas, move in semi-public ways (i.e. not usually by private automobile) and would benefit from a reduction in spatial and mobile exclusions. For this study, I observed and talked to homeless people in public space and at social service organizations. The study takes place in two California cities in the north: Sacramento and Santa Cruz. Extensive analysis of homeless populations have occurred in San Francisco and Los Angeles (see the work of Gowan, 2010;

Wolch, Rahimian, & Koegel, 1993 respectively) suggesting more analysis is needed of homelessness in smaller cities.

Homelessness is defined as the experience of being without private shelter. Those homeless people, particularly teenagers, who frequently rely on friends' couches for sleep were not included in the study. I also did not include homeless people who either told me or I ascertained they had a mental illness during interviews as it would be unethical to rely on discussions with people experiencing mental illness without specific training and approvals. (Note, I did include *observations* of mentally-ill homeless people due to an inability to diagnose their mental state without talking to them). Homeless people who agreed to informal interviews in the field or at a social service center may not represent the homeless population as a whole. They may be more gregarious or more educated. Conversely, they may be lonelier. While a representative "sample" of the population could not be obtained, homeless people interviewed knew other homeless people and often made generalizations about others' experiences.

This study examines mobility of homeless people living in two California cities: Sacramento and Santa Cruz. With mild, sunny weather and a wealth of resources, these cities harbor significant homeless populations, but also (or even because of this population) have punitive anti-homeless regulations. Sacramento is a larger city and offers more social services for homeless people. The homeless population in Sacramento is 34% white, 23% black, 18% Latino and 6% Native American with 17% identifying as multi-racial (California State University, Sacramento, 2018). Santa Cruz is smaller with a similar number of homeless people as Sacramento. It's homeless population is 29% white, 7% black, 29% Latino, 5% Native American and 30% identifying as multi-racial (Applied Survey Research, 2017).

A pilot study under a Social Sciences Research Council Dissertation Improvement Grant in the summer of 2016 established preliminary links to social service agencies in each city to facilitate introductions to potential interviewees – Loaves and Fishes in Sacramento and Homeless Services Center in Santa Cruz. Within the cities, I examined two neighborhoods where homeless people concentrate and where prominent, social services are provided. In Sacramento, the study area included the Alkali Flats neighborhood north of downtown, the Richards Blvd neighborhood and the American River Parkway. In Santa Cruz, the study area included Pacific Avenue and environs, the San Lorenzo Creek corridor and the industrial area around the Homeless Service

Center. A sub-set of the city allowed me to frequent key homeless places and corridors of travel, returning to places of conflict and collaboration.

Map 1.1 Sacramento and homeless people per area (derived from California State University, Sacramento, 2018)
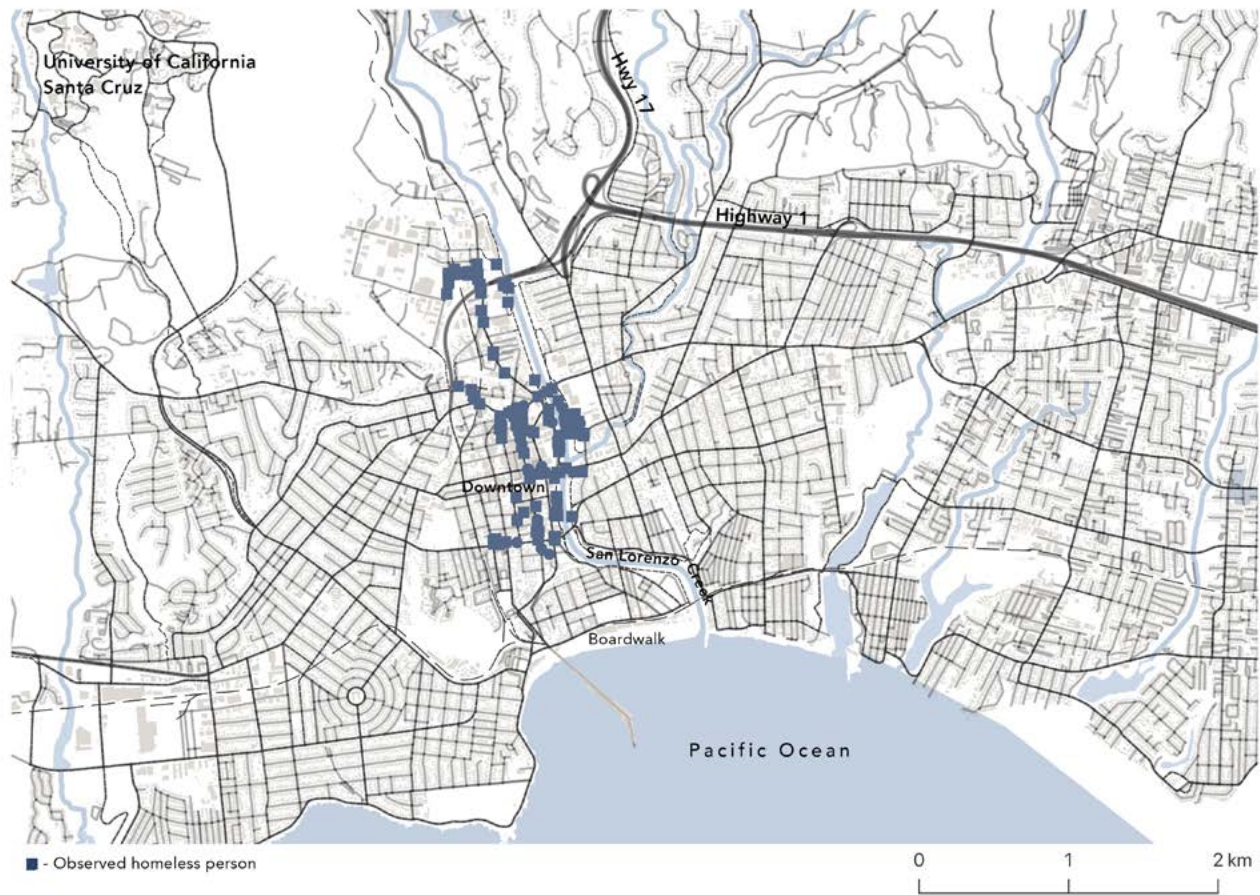
Map 1.2 Santa Cruz neighborhoods and observed homeless people

Finally, I limited travel modes examined to those that take place publicly such as walking, biking, riding the bus and light rail. I did not study travel in a private car. Car use by homeless people is thought to be fairly low (Jocoy & Casino, 2010). Of those homeless people who possess cars, they are more likely to sleep in them than to drive them around due to the expense of gasoline.

Research question

Regarding transportation exclusion, Rogalsky (2010) found that working people in poverty use social networks to barter for car rides, borrowing personal transportation. People with disabilities that did not have access to cars faced increased barriers to movement (Casas, 2007). And public transportation is oriented to able-bodied white males (presumably with homes) (Lubitow et al., 2017). In the face of transportation exclusions in Sacramento and Santa Cruz, *how do homeless people access needed services while maintaining social connections in the city?* That is, how do they negotiate the urban landscape? The word negotiate has two connotations: 1)

physical orientation and movement within space, as in the negotiation of an obstacle course, and 2) barter or discussion in an attempt to reach an agreement. I retain both connotations, the physical movement and the social aspect of the definition, in order to emphasize the relational nature of movement of homeless people.

Project Significance

Currently, socio-spatial theory in geography addresses the relational aspects of space without accounting for mobility. This results in isolated theoretical concepts in the area of social relations or spatial patterns making it difficult to apply to transportation and the daily rhythms of life. This research integrates social relations, spatial theory and mobility practices to better understand how homeless people navigate the urban landscape. Findings arise from the experiences of homeless people in relation to their urban context as they move. As they negotiate the landscape, how do they relate to the police? The public? Each other? What are the implications for excluding people from automobility? What is the relationship between movement and rest? These findings will directly inform city visioning, planning and implementation of public space by identifying potential urban retrofits to enhance travel as well as de-regulations and the elimination of boundaries that would make it easier for homeless people to live. Finally, the immersive mobile methods employed in the study promise to expand the repertoire of spatial interview methods in the field. Empirical studies of homeless people have not made use of mobility methods.

The research is designed to impact both policy and the physical design of public space. Humanizing homeless people's experiences while challenging the efficacy of anti-homeless regulations will be part of the process of policy change. As the police will attest, citing someone for panhandling or arresting someone for camping takes time and money away from more pressing urban problems (Stuart, 2014). I will work to write synopses and journalistic pieces highlighting the challenges of homeless movement to local newspapers (i.e. Sacramento Bee), policy positions (through contacts at the California Research Bureau), and transportation newsletters. I will also communicate findings to social service organizations and research participants in the three cities to assist them in serving homeless people.

Study Overview

I first situate an examination of homeless mobility within three academic niches: socio-spatial exclusion,

differential mobility and homelessness. As each niche offers only part of a theoretical basis for the project, I then draw from these threads to form a conceptual framework on socio-mobility (Chapter 2). In Chapter 3, I build on that framework by describing socio-mobile methods used in the study. The methods stem from early work within the 'mobility turn' in sociology and geography.

Chapters 4 through 7 consist of study findings. Chapter 4 answers the broader "How?" question of homeless movement, delving into transportation modes and associated politics of each as observed in both Sacramento and Santa Cruz. This chapter describes homeless movement, revealing its distinctiveness in relation to the movement of the domiciled. In Chapter 5, I narrow the discussion to one prevalent mode of homeless transport: the bicycle. I argue the bicycle enhances homeless access in an interactive manner, allowing them to access a finer-grained, network of relations than the car or the bus. Chapter 6 begins to look at places homeless people need to access, particularly encampments and hospitable public spaces. I first use transgression as the lens to examine homeless rest, when a homeless person stops moving, as well as potentially leading to forced movement, when a homeless person is asked to 'move along.' The public discourse and policies on rest/home shapes the movement of homeless people, in particular, the partitioning of the city into places of stasis and places of movement. In Chapter 7, I turn the lens of transgression to mobility. How is mobility experienced as transgression, i.e. jaywalking, and what is the role of the homeless person? Transgression, here, is both a legal issue of breaking a law or regulation and the crossing of social boundaries, i.e. a homeless person yelling on a bus. In the conclusion (Chapter 8), I return to the original question of how homeless people negotiate the city, comparing homeless movements in both cities and arguing for a greater tolerance of informal transportation and informal living, before offering potential urban interventions to remove the transportation exclusions that homeless people experience.

Chapter 2 – A Socio-mobile Dialectic

In my years as a landscape architect working with engineers and planners on large public infrastructure projects, I saw how transportation privileges the mechanized, as if humans turn off their human-ness while they travel. Attending to the *experience* of movement enriches (or sometimes counters) ubiquitous studies on the *mechanics* of movement. Wanting to link the social with the mobile, I was inspired by Soja's idea of the socio-spatial dialectic, the intertwining of the social with the production of space (and vice-versa) (Soja, 2011). A socio-mobile perspective or framework encompassed my professional experience, the value of relationships during movement, not just before or after movement. This perspective suggests we cannot assess movement without looking at the web of relationships that movement affects. And yet, when applied to homeless movement, it did not explain why movement was inequitable. I encountered homeless people walking slowly, crossing the street mid-block, isolated in small areas of the city, while automobile traffic whizzed by.

I turned to Ivan Illich (2000) and his frank assessment of twentieth-century transportation systems. He linked transportation mode with a person's identity but was more descriptive than explanatory. As I walked down paths, talked to homeless people, and examined the system of transportation in both Sacramento and Santa Cruz, I began developing a (grounded) theory that explained homeless inhabitance and movement using the idea of categories… how land is designated public or private, residential or commercial, and how people fit or do not fit within those categories. This is an old concept; planners assess zoning, philosophers debate space, architects establish typologies. Categories influence movement, designating fast or inefficient movement, public or automotive and how people fit or do not fit within those designated purposes. Jacques Ranciére (2004) explains, more comprehensively, this partitioning of space and of people… why we do it and how to break out of it. Ranciére's most powerful concept is the "partition of the sensible" -- the dividing of the city into purposeful space, i.e. light industry, and the dividing of people into who can and cannot participate in the life of the city. Behind these spatial and social categories lies the "sensible" – the taken-for-granted aesthetics of how a city should look, how people should operate that collectively informs people's perceptions. Thus, the inequality of homelessness, differential movement and pollution of industrial areas, are examples of "sensible" phenomena based on people's perceptions. The partition of the sensible inspires normative categories

that remain invisible because they are assumed. As I wrote, I found the "partition" of the sensible" to match what I was finding in my work with homeless people. It explained how the present socio-mobile conditions of cities are perpetuated.

In this chapter, I first discuss social exclusion from space as explicated by the socio-spatial dialectic, focusing in particular on Ranciere's partitioning. I then turn from space to movement to describe transportation exclusion, the constraints imposed upon marginalized people that limit their access to movement. I explain concepts of transportation geography to show how this exclusion operates in transport. The next section tackles the "mobility turn" in the social sciences, an alternative way of examining movement based on experience. The mobility turn emphasizes the social and political nature of movement. I then apply socio-spatial exclusion, transportation exclusion and mobility to the movement of homeless people. How do they move within a partitioned world? The final section explains the conceptual framework I used in research centered around homeless transgression of partitions and boundaries.

Socio-spatial Exclusion

> *The social and the spatial are so thoroughly imbued with each other's presence… a sustained investigation of the 'out of place' metaphor points to the fact that social power and social resistance are always already spatial. When an expression such as 'out of place' is used it is impossible to clearly demarcate whether social or geographical place is denoted, place always means both* (Cresswell, 1996, p. 11).

To understand the spatial practices of homeless people within the social context of the city requires a socio-spatial framework. In the spatial sciences, space is absolute – existing independently from other things which it contains, and measurable – described using three coordinates of Euclidean geometry (x,y,z). While powerful in its applications, absolute space disregards social complexities and experience (Thrift, 2009). Human geographers have embraced these complexities approaching space from multiple directions. Rather than providing a succinct definition, I accentuate three qualities of space that incorporate the social.

1. Space is *socially produced.* It is not inherently given. Henri Lefebvre (1992) compares the production of space to Marx's fetishizing of the commodity – the treatment of a thing as if it is just the "thing itself." People see space 'in itself', when in reality space is a continuous product of layers of contradictory, social relationships (of capitalist production). If space is socially produced then geographers

can potentially identify symbols in the landscape that reflect social norms and patterns (Cosgrove, 1998; Duncan & Duncan, 2003).

2. Space is *relational.* Relations between people and others, people and environment take place within the context of differences in power, so they are political. Existing and adapting structural inequities shape and are shaped by these relationships. Because space is relational, there is opportunity to bridge the divide between spatial science's absolute space and human geography's relational place (Agnew, 2005).

3. Space is *dynamic.* Often, discussions of space emphasize relations conventionally fixed within an interlocking system of pre-existing things. To counter this static view, Doreen Massey (2005) insists on the explication of time as a key component of space. It is the relations of overlapping movement and flows that make up uncontained space (see also Ingold, 2009). If time is included in space, then geographers must address the dynamic qualities of movement and change when assessing space.

Socio-spatial dialectic

How then does the spatial relate to the social? We use binary thinking to explain the world, i.e. space vs. society, but this paradoxically limits our understanding of that world (Cloke & Johnston, 2005). In contrast, dialectic thinking embraces opposition, offering a more complex and realistic approach to problems of inequity. Thinking dialectically then, space and society are not separate, but intertwined. Edward Soja (2011), in a critique of Marxist historicizing that ignores spatiality, describes this intertwining as the "socio-spatial dialectic." This follows Lefebvre (1992) - the social produces space and space produces the social. Just as social relations produce an uneven class structure so spatial relations produce uneven spatial arrangements, i.e. the dominant centers and subordinate margins of cities (Soja, 2011). Spatial processes are not independent from social relations but entangled with them. A woman inhabiting a space is in relation to the present people she is with, the past designers and constructors of that space and the future people who will be in that space. The woman also relates to the materials of the space, its proportions, her location and the ideas she has regarding the space (i.e. safe/unsafe, light/dark). Her being in that space may have multiple meanings, such as the productivity of work space or the political conflict of the public square. People inhabit (uneven) space, not as located occupiers, but as relatable social beings (Ingold, 2009).

What implications does a socio-spatial dialectic have when applied to the city? First, contemporary concerns such as social justice and environmentalism cannot be engaged as just social or just spatial entities, to do so misses the complexity of city life. Second, the socio-spatial dialectic grasps the contextual nature of structure and agency, particularly in the contested realms of urban life such as politics and protest (Soja, 2010). Third, the socio-spatial dialectic ensures an examination of each "side" of the dialectic in research and analysis. A prime example is the literature on a "right to the city." Lefebvre (1996) postulated that just as people have social rights, they have spatial rights as well. This right to the city is not just a right to occupy a certain public space, but a right to *participate* in the future direction of the city (that is, it is a social or civil right as well) (Mitchell, 2003).

Socio-spatial exclusion

Social exclusion is an expansive term for the experienced privations of an impoverished life. Marxists equate existing social inequities with capitalism, the predominant economic system of appropriation and production (Gottdiener, 1993). In this view, capitalism requires differentiation between factory owner, worker and surplus labor leading those without the means of production into an impoverished state. Poverty, however, is more than economic. A broader and more inclusive "social" is needed (Nash, 2002) that captures the political, cultural, familial and performative aspects of impoverishment. Poverty has been redefined as *social exclusion* to capture the broader reduction of social capabilities experienced by the impoverished (Sen, 2000). While much of social exclusion entails a separation from the fruits of production and thus low incomes, social exclusion also encompasses a banishment from social citizenship for the "undeserving" poor (Somerville, 1998). Defining the "undeserving" poor is a moral, legal and ideological issue based on beliefs and attitudes about who works and who should work, often related to qualities of age, gender and race. Poverty, then, is distributional; social exclusion is relational (Saraceno, 1997).

If the social and spatial are intertwined, then social exclusion makes use of, and takes place within, space. It is possible then to examine social exclusion and its effects through the lens of space. How is space used to exclude? And what does an exclusive space look like? The literature discusses four different ways that exclusions are shaped by space. First, at a large scale, capitalism and class produce and reproduce structures of spatial inequity (Lefebvre, 1992). For Lefebvre and the radical geographers who followed, a city is not separate from history, but forged from its own spatial practices, practices that lead to "uneven development" (Neil Smith,

2008). The production of space yields a *divided* space in contemporary capitalist societies. Robert Cooper (1989) emphasizes the social construction of these divisions when he flips the old Marxist adage "division of labor" into the "labor of division," an active perpetuation of a hegemonic vision. The goal of the labor of division is a stable, unseen hierarchy – not just spatial, but applied to the interactions between people as well (Hetherington & Munro, 1998).

Second, space excludes by demarcating an "inside" and an "outside." In the *Geography of Exclusion*, David Sibley (1995) describes the process of spatial exclusion from a psychoanalytical perspective. The socially ingrained distinction of Other leads to the establishment of boundaries, the creation of an inside and an outside. As part of the management of on-going relations, people assign a disgraced identity to another person, a "stigma," which signifies the Other (Goffman, 1963). Stigma informs and is informed by space. The inside belongs, the outside does not, but both are required in defining a space. Sibley gives the example of a car advertisement distinguishing between the positive qualities of the interior of the car and the threatening exterior world (i.e. inner city) (Sibley, 1995). Established boundaries between inside and outside require main-tenance, whether they are spatial boundaries of fence and wall or moral boundaries of ethics and law. Society continually redefines boundaries and so redefines normality in an attempt to eliminate or hide difference. This boundary maintenance yields a regularity of design with visible internal boundaries that make difference appear to be deviant, crossing boundaries appear to be disruptive (Cresswell, 1996).

Third, the center/margin divide of space perpetuates exclusion. In this thinking, the center includes all that is central to the functioning of a neighborhood or city; the margins contain the surplus, the waste or the extra. If spatial order is intimately linked with the social order, then "marginalized" or "marginalization" is a mean-ingful term to describe this blend, suggesting the labeling of both people and space as somehow "less than" (Shields, 1992). Race-based housing policies, red-lining neighborhoods (Farley & Frey, 1994) and sub-prime lending (Hernandez, 2009), perpetuate geographic boundaries between the center and the margin. Margins exist wherever differences in power are inscribed in space (not just on the peripheries). Lois Waquant (1999) describes contemporary marginalization as both a spatial process of concentration applied to the social, as well as a social process of exclusion applied to places (such as "skid row"). While the concept of marginaliza-tion and Wacquant's "advanced marginality" has been criticized for its binary division and nostalgia for the in-dustrial core (Caldeira, 2009), marginality as a broad concept captures the socio-spatial dynamic of exclusion.

Fourth, the most ubiquitous boundary formation is the division of space into public and private. Private land is inherently exclusive. The existence of private land thus requires public land to accommodate gatherings of people who may or may not have access to private space. Public land is contested space. Hannah Arendt (1998) valorizes public space as a place for public theater, the forming of associations and positive encounters of difference (see also Young, 1990). Yet, spatial exclusion plays out on public land as well as private (Brain, 1997). While ideally public land welcomes all people, in practice public land is state property, subject to the governmental rules and norms of the State. Law and policy define what public space means, who can and cannot use it, and what activities can occur there (Amster, 2004; Mitchell, 1997, 1998; D. L. Prytherch, 2012). This has broad implications for public space, facilitating spatial exclusion of those people not considered "public" or "citizens" in the government/legal process. Marginal populations, such as teenagers, rely on public space as a gathering place, yet may not have a role in their conception, design and maintenance (Owens, 2002). They may be excluded from participation through configuration of that space or through public policies. The legal division of space into public and private boundaries also has implications for those who do not subscribe to a rigid division of the urban landscape (Blomley, 2005). Homeless people, street vendors and those who are drunk all exhibit "private" behavior in the public right-of-way, blurring boundaries between public and private to form hybrid spaces of difference (Crawford, 1995; Jayne, Valentine, & Holloway, 2010). Hybrid spaces better reflect the complexities of urban encounters rooted in social and spatial relations.

Partitioning

To capture the four streams of socio-spatial exclusion as a boundary-making division of space, I rely on Ranciére (2004) and the "partition of the sensible." Ranciére defines this elsewhere as a "distribution of the sensible" – "a generally implicit law that defines the forms of partaking [in politics] by first defining the modes of perception in which they are inscribed" (Rancière, 2015, p. 36). These "forms of partaking" include the division of people into those who decide (commonly referred to as politicians or authorities) and those who cannot decide, as well as the division of space into an inside and outside, center and margin, public and private. The forms of partaking structure decision-making through the "modes of perception" based on common sense, i.e. domiciled people count in the Census, but those without an address do not not). Ranciére (2015) posits an egalitarian democracy of equals, relying on Aristotle to show how society shuns equality and instead divides and excludes. He turns to Aristotle's discussion of democracy and the "demos" – a group of

people who hold in common no claim to power and thus, no entitlement to rule. He calls the demos a "void," populated by the "uncounted," the unqualified. They do not represent a sub-group of the overall population; they are outside society and the "sensible."

Similar to the claims of Lefebvre, it takes a good deal of energy to maintain this division of people into the counted and the uncounted. He describes this maintenance as *policing*, the goal of which is to count the counted and ignore the "part which has no part" (Rancière, 2015). What people consider "politics," he suggests is policing or perpetuating the status quo. In contrast, real politics is not the wielding of power but the social struggle of the excluded to partake in the ruling of the city, to have a voice.

> *The essence of the police lies in a partition of the sensible that is characterized by the absence of void and of supplement* [the uncounted or unacknowledged]*: society here is made up of groups tied to specific modes of doing, to places in which these occupations are exercised, and to modes of being corresponding to these occupations and these places. In this matching of functions, places and ways of being, there is no place for any void. It is this exclusion of what 'is not' that constitutes the police-principle at the core of statist practices.* (Rancière, 2015, p. 36)

Partition of the sensible ignores those who are in-sensible, the "part which has no part," resulting in socio-spatial exclusion. Uncounted people do not belong or are actively excluded from partitioned space (among other things). How does the sensible become partitioned? Ranciére explains the partitioning of the sensible through an aesthetic ordering. Here, aesthetics broadly includes the collective sensory experiences of people. This includes "modes of doing" or accomplishing things, such as writing, playing sports or patrolling, "places in which these occupations are exercised," such as office park, the Red Light district or street and "modes of being," such as entertainer, leader and student. The goal of the social/police order is to eliminate voids -- for every place a function, for every function a people.

Transportation exclusion

In the twentieth century, transportation geographers focused on the migration of individuals, on motorized transportation and on freight. To do this, they relied on the spatial science tradition popular in geography in the 1960s and 70s that privileged the creation of general laws and models based on a scientific study of

recurring spatial patterns (Neil Smith, 1987). Transportation geography arose from the application of spatial science to movement (Cresswell, 2013). This application of spatial science meant geographers searched for ways to generalize the movement of people and goods. Geographers looked to the physical world of water, electricity, and wind to find parallels with human movement (i.e. Bunge, 1966). Humans were thought to "flow," like water, using the "least net effort" to select a route. If planners and geographers could focus on the fastest or least expensive trip between points, they could simplify the space between points.

> *Point to point moves are basic because all moves can be reduced ultimately to this scale. Consider point-to-point moves in the light of the modified principle of least net effort and returning maximum net benefits (that is benefits minus costs are at a maximum). In an ideal, undistracted, unencumbered movement, a person wastes no time going directly from A to B.* (Abler, Adams, & Gould, 1971, p. 240 as quoted in Cresswell, 2013).

Applying this point-to-point thinking to models of movement simplifies mobility; the transportation planner can focus on the "push" of the origin and the "pull" of the destination, ironically leading to mobility models based on static locations, not movement (Brown, Morris, & Taylor, 2009; Cresswell, 2011).

Transportation modeling and prediction echoed social theory in other disciplines. Rational choice theory from economics explains individual, transport decision-making as a maximization of utility; if the origin offered less utility or fewer benefits than the destination, a move would occur (Lowe & Moryadas, 1984). Rational choice theory works well as a foundation for practical models, generating predictions of traffic patterns, traffic demand, and future growth. An entire industry of traffic engineers began *anticipating* future demand and designing infrastructure based on model predictions (Timms, 2008). The application of these models to shape transportation infrastructure has had a number of implications:

1. Transportation infrastructure supports speed of travel at the expense of places bisected by travel. Redevelopment favoring efficient automobile travel proved detrimental to livability and pedestrian movement (Hubbard & Lilley, 2004). The grand vision of urban freeways providing smooth connectivity devolved into a divisive and costly infrastructure (Brown et al., 2009) leading to protests and the eventual removal of particular freeway sections (Mohl, 2004).

2. Transportation infrastructure became generative. As more infrastructure focused on the unhindered movement of cars was built, car use increased, eventually dominating large swaths of the American landscape (Meyboom, 2009).

3. Transportation planning modeled the flow of a universal subject/traveler – most often a rational, white male who could afford an automobile. This universalizing led to exclusion of others who may not value movement in the same way or do not have access to decision-making in the midst of more severe constraints (Bayor, 1988; Bullard, Johnson, & Torres, 2004; Hui & Habib, 2014; D. Levinson, 2002). (It also assumed the traveler was rational, an assumption since challenged in economic behavior theory (Barnes & Sheppard, 1992; Thaler, 2016)).

4. The exclusion of people who do not belong to a place from the systems of movement. If origin and destination are the determinants of choice within predictive models, then those without a home or workplace are not included (Blasi, 1994). Their invisibility perpetuates an identity of disregard (Harter, Berquist, Titsworth, Novak, & Brokaw, 2005).

The effects of the instrumental rationality approach to transportation planning has resulted in critiques and suspicion of utility maximization model assumptions. Patricia Mokhtarian and others (Mokhtarian & Salomon, 2001; Ory et al., 2004) have argued that movement is not just a cost, but a benefit as well, concentrating on the "utility" of the commute time or driving for movement's sake. Feminist geographers have criticized transportation planning for privileging the male-dominated "journey to work" at the expense of the daily mobility of women, ignoring gender issues (Law, 1999). The "induced travel" that occurs when capacity increases suggests different solutions and alternative modes of transport should be examined (Cervero, 2002). Transportation researchers have begun to address, not only the limitation of modeling, but the effects of planning around a "universal" subject/traveler and the impacts this might have on all the non-universal travelers.

Differential mobility

Differential mobility – the movement of the privileged at the expense of the less-privileged – stems from the presence of inequity and imposed constraints, controlled flows and ordered, fixed paths (Bissell, 2009; Cresswell, 2006). The public infrastructure built to support movement in the western world is primarily geared towards the faster, more mobile transportation modes, such as airplanes and automobiles (Fotsch, 2009; Urry, 2007). The allocation of transportation funds to transportation for the middle class and wealthy perpetuates differential mobilities.

In the late 1990s in Great Britain, scholars began to wrestle with transportation policy and models that did not include the marginalized. Kenyon, Lyons and Rafferty defined this practice of transportation exclusion as:

> *The process by which people are prevented from participating in the economic, political and social life of the community because of reduced accessibility to opportunities, services and social networks, due in whole or part to insufficient mobility in a society and environment built around the assumption of high mobility (2002, p. 210).*

Thus, social exclusion is not just a spatial issue, but a mobile one as well, arising from an entrenched system of mobility that privileges some over others. Graham and Marvin (2001) describe one manifestation of transportation exclusion: the "tunneling effect" of light rail passing through poor neighborhoods, providing stops only in wealthier neighborhoods. Using travel diaries and surveys, researchers found that larger social networks yield more travel activity, suggesting that socially excluded people travel less and travel in a smaller activity space (Silvis, Niemeier, & D'Souza, 2006).

Karen Lucas (2012) folds transportation into the broader issue of social exclusion by attending to access and opportunities unavailable to impoverished people wanting to travel. Movement "reinforces existing social stratifications" (Lucas, 2012). Reinforcement occurs at multiple scales from the differential mobility of a pedestrian amidst automobiles to global movements of the world's elite traveling by air. Urban systems of transportation and economies produce patterns of poverty and displacement (Badcock, 1997). The spatial mismatch hypothesis suggests that people in poverty live in job-poor neighborhoods without access to low-skilled jobs elsewhere (often suburbia) because of the high cost of transportation (Kain, 1992). The theory has been challenged and made more complicated, but empirical data and analysis of different populations show a correlation between mobility/accessibility and social inclusion (Gobillon, Selod, & Zenou, 2007 for review). People without access to high mobility have more difficulty in finding employment, connecting with people outside their social networks and participating in the political life of the city.

Socio-mobile dialectic

Transportation planning has not been able to solve the problem of transport exclusion, ironically because of conventional transportation's static view of mobility, its emphasis on origin and destination. Neil Brenner (2015) challenges conventional conceptions of the city where public space is static, suggesting instead that 'urban' is a process. A static view of urban public space may reinforce the misconception that some people

belong in public space and others do not based on the intrinsic qualities of that place, e,g, a recreational bike path is (only) for bikers. *Exclusion relies on a static view of place.* Thus, homeless people are "out of place," temporarily occupying a space of commerce or tourism in which they do not belong (Cresswell, 1996). While the sedentary see place as a bounded, unchanging entity of form and meaning, this does not reflect the actual complexity and layered trajectories of lived public space (D. B. Massey, 2005).Transportation and public space need a reconceptualization of movement as an embodied and shifting practice with social and political consequences. One approach to movement that situates movement within this urban context is the "mobility turn" – a renewed attending to meaningful motion as practiced, embodied and represented (Cresswell, 2011; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007). Mobility studies emphasize the *systems* (or structures) of movement that empower or constrain. John Urry, in particular, argues for the centrality of our automobile transportation system in shaping economics, landscape, cultural practices, media and geopolitics (Urry, 2004). Mobility studies also emphasize the *practice* of movement that occurs within a systemic and social context. Practice is engaged, everyday behavior as experienced, including train travel (Watts, 2008), driving (Haddington, Nevile, & Keisanen, 2012; Laurier et al., 2008), biking (A. Jensen, 2013; Spinney, 2010), and walking (Degen & Rose, 2012; Edensor, 2010). The individual is not autonomous or outside the practices s/he employs, but uniquely shaped by those practices (Schwanen & Lucas, 2011).

In contrast to transportation planning, mobility studies do not try and predict future movement; they address behavioral change and the potential for transformation of both systems and practices to create a more sustainable world. Mobility-based explanations for behavior address the entanglements of various aspects of movement. Mobility, like space, is inherently relational and political. Tim Cresswell (2010) explains how mobility is both produced by social relations and is productive of social relations. People experience mobility differently with different access to speed, space and times. Cresswell (2010) gives the example of the many parents driving their kids to school who create a more dangerous environment for the few pedestrians left. Doreen Massey sums up the connection between mobility and the social:

> *If time-space compression can be imagined in that more socially formed, socially evaluative and differentiated way, then there may be here the possibility of developing a politics of mobility and access. For it does seem that mobility and control over mobility both reflects and reinforces power. It is not simply a question of unequal distribution, that some people move more than others, and that some have more control than others. It is that the mobility and control of some groups can actively weaken other people* (1991, p. 27).

There have been several critiques of mobility as theory. Kaufmann, Bergman and Joye (2004) find the concept of mobility too imprecisely defined to apply to empirical and theoretical research. In a different vein, Franquesa (2011) criticizes the "mobility turn" for its exclusion of place and fixity in its attempt to construct a more fluid world. While both critiques of the limitations of the mobility turn suggest a more inclusive approach, many geographers studying mobility would not disagree, as discussions of potentialities, moorings and place would attest (Adey, 2006; Adey & Bissell, 2010; Cresswell, 2003; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006).

Given the relational and differential qualities of mobility, a socio-mobile dialectic integrating social relations, space and movement holds more promise for analyzing differential movement in the city. A socio-mobile conceptual framework responds to the complexity of contemporary urban life and research. The social affects mobility, both in rest and in movement, generating observable interactions that shape individual movement (i.e. avoidance, the "move-along," redirection, starting and stopping). Mobility (or lack thereof) affects social relations. Individual mechanized transport reshapes social relations allowing drivers to control who they are with, avoid interactions with others and influence the sociability of a place (Haddington, Nevile, & Keisanen, 2012; Wachs & Crawford, 1991). For those without cars, movement becomes public and more interpersonal, but difficult to control, subject to bus schedules, walkable distances and physical barriers. A study relying on a socio-mobile conceptual framework will not separate the social from movement (in a reductionist approach), but will always be asking "what and who relates to this movement?"

Homelessness and the Mobile Identity

Applying a socio-mobile framework to the experience of urban residences has challenges due to the complexity of social and spatial factors, particularly in regard to subtleties of social distinctions. People experiencing homelessness, through the severe exclusions they experience, may offer the best opportunity to study the differential mobilities in an integrated manner.

A homeless person lacks permanent shelter – a simple, but ultimately problematic, definition of homelessness. Homelessness can be considered on a continuum of shelter impermanence ranging from a youth sleeping on a friend's couch for a few months to an older veteran holed up under a freeway overpass. Homeless people can be considered "houseless," or lacking normative structure or shelter, but not necessarily lacking

the security and familial network of home (Kidd & Evans, 2010). For the State, definitions of homelessness often determine who can receive assistance, making the definitions themselves constructed points of contention. For much of the turn of the century, the State focused their attention on helping the "deserving" homeless, and less so the "chronic" homeless who are unlikely to respond to help as readily (Del Casino & Jocoy, 2008).

Even more contested, the causes of homelessness range from individualistic choice to system-wide oppression. Teresa Gowan (2010) divides discourse on homelessness into three categories: sin talk, sickness talk and system talk. The *sin* explanation depicts homelessness as a result of bad choices, i.e. not paying their rent (Parsell & Parsell, 2012). The *sickness* explanation portrays homeless people as victims of alcoholism or a psychological disorder, who need compassionate treatment (Dear & Wolch, 1992; Lyon-Callo, 2000). The *system* explanation suggests structures of housing, discrimination, employment and cultural discourse cause homelessness (i.e. Arnold, 2004). Gowan (2010) points out that each discourse had its period of ascendancy among social scientists but that real causes are often multi-dimensional. For instance, while academia no longer cites the sin (or personal choice) explanation as a primary cause of homelessness due its moralistic overtones, sociologists have recently problematized the lack of agency in both the sickness and system explanations (Nicholls, 2009; Parsell & Parsell, 2012; Somerville, 2013). People experiencing homelessness choose to seek shelter or sleep outside, to resist labels and to participate in civic life. The different discourses of sin, sickness and system rely on binaries of agency/structure and of individual/society useful for social science discourse, but ultimately inaccurate in describing the complexity and particularity of how people become homeless (see Cloke & Johnston, 2005).

The experience of homelessness

It is important then to think of homelessness, not as an inherent quality of a person or a static condition of poverty, but a dynamic experience of the city amongst fellow human beings, an experience that often encounters exclusion from the material, social and political systems of the city. Homeless people have multiple paths to homelessness, different lengths of 'stay,' and changing opinions of their own circumstances. What they share is the experience of socio-spatial exclusion. In a review of the literature, Steve Herbert (2008) describes three kinds of exclusion homeless people experience: spatial exclusion through the criminalization of public space or mass-incarceration, territorial exclusion through placement of walls and gates, and regulatory ex-

clusion such as broken windows policing. Jurgen von Mahs (2013) adds to those categories when he identifies more systemic exclusions experienced by homeless people from the legal system, the market and social services. The result of spatial and systemic exclusion is a quality of precariousness – a state of unsettlement – within the gentrification and re-imagining of our cities as homes for the urban chic (Forrest, 1999). I focus on three overlapping constraints to the everyday experiences of homelessness: 1) the ascription of a homeless identity, 2) an aesthetics of homelessness, and 3) the confining nature of urban public space.

While homeless people adopt their own *identities* to explain their position in the city (Gowan, 2010), the public imposes an identity shaped by their mobility, poverty and lack of home. Partly romantic, partly deviant, the identity is historically situated in the tales of vagabonds, tramps, hobos and homeless people (Cresswell, 2001; Kusmer, 2003). Homeless people may accept or reject this mobile identity (Kidd & Evans, 2010), but it is public discourse that drives the politics of homelessness by the passage of anti-homeless regulations and changes to social service provision. The publicly-ascribed identity of homelessness has shifted from the hard-luck hobo of Anderson's (1923/2014) ethnography rooted in the Chicago School to contemporary accounts of homelessness trapped within an increasingly stratified housing economy (Arnold, 2004).

Public discourse on homelessness both creates and draws from an *aesthetics* of homelessness. A homeless aesthetic ascribes "filth," rags and immorality to homeless people, an interwoven part of the process of exclusion (Goffman, 1963; Sibley, 1995). Through everyday encounters with homeless people, the public constructs an image of homeless "spectacle," reinforcing the notion that the homeless person is Other (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2014). The places inhabited by homeless people – the back of stores, alleys, urban parks and vacant lots – in turn take on the characteristics of this aesthetics. Place and person intertwine to embody the margins. People experiencing homelessness are excluded from prime space, such as a retail mall or a downtown office complex (Duncan, 1978). They are out of place (Cresswell, 1996).

Geographers argue the homeless experience of exclusion is inherently spatial. Their movement, their shelter, their everyday "getting by" is navigated *in relation to* other people, to their environment and to the culture where home is foundational. The discord of being homeless colors their everyday (Cloke, May, & Johnsen, 2008; Hall & Smith, 2013; Wolch & Rowe, 1992). The literature refers to three types of spatial exclusions of

homeless people; the goal of each form of management to make homelessness as unobtrusive and as periph-

eral to the city as possible.

1   The first strategy used to exclude the homeless population is to *concentrate* services in a blighted area

    of the city. The post-World War II economic boom created jobs, reduced the number of homeless,

    but also made homelessness unpalatable to the general public (Miller, 1991). The result, the creation

    of skid row, a neighborhood in the city where homeless services were concentrated and a mostly

    invisible population of "bums" living out of sight in a neighborhood that others avoided (Ruddick,

    1996). Concentration of social services for homeless people results in containment of the "problem"

    of homeless people, making it easier to avoid or not see (Lee & Price-Spratlen, 2004; Mahs, 2013).

    After the deinstitutionalization of services, many skid row neighborhoods were abolished, i.e. New

    York's Bowery, but skid row lived on in Los Angeles (Dear & Wolch, 1992).

2   The second strategy is *dispersal*; either deliberately locating social services scattered throughout the

    city or breaking up concentrated communities of homeless people, such as the tent cities of Sacra-

    mento or San Jose (Herring & Lutz, 2015; MacCannell, 2010). The idea is that by dispersing home-

    less people throughout the city they will blend in with the larger population, diluting their aesthetic

    impact. In plaza design, the public are encouraged to activate spaces to reduce the visual and social

    impact of small gatherings of homeless people (Marcus & Francis, 1997). In urban planning, each

    neighborhood needs to bear their fair share of social services (Lee & Price-Spratlen, 2004)). The

    public requires homeless people to be a minority, one among many, to ensure a harmonious urban

    experience (Walby & Lippert, 2012)

3   The third strategy responded to the creeping nature of gentrification of the inner city; city leaders

    and police began ad hoc campaigns asking homeless people to "*move along.*" Not concentration or

    dispersal, this is both a large-scale strategy rooted in NIMBYism (Wasserman & Clair, 2011) and a

    micro-spatial strategy of policing through movement (Gibson, 2011). In response to the oft-asked

    question "where should I go?", the answer is often "anywhere but here." Vollman (2011) documents

    the spatial rhythms of a Safe Ground homeless camp along the American River in Sacramento as

    park rangers ask homeless campers to move every few weeks (sometimes with kind suggestions

    about the next campsite). The strategy takes specific regulatory form in the anti-homeless laws pre-

    venting people from sitting, loitering or sleeping in public space (Mitchell, 1997) and physical form

    in the design of parks, plazas and benches (O. B. Jensen, 2014; Smithsimon, 2008). Finally, the most

draconian version of this strategy relies on police to directly banish repeat "offenders" from a park or neighborhood, threatening arrest if they return (Herbert & Beckett, 2010).

While structural and discursive constraints play a large role in socio-spatial exclusion, they do not play the only role. Homeless people have agency (Donley & Wright, 2012; Ruddick, 1996). They choose to congregate in groups, in like-minded communities for assistance, security, and friendship. While they adapt and change to their urban environment, they also influence that environment in ways that shape a place. Ruddick (1996) describes the dynamic nature of the late 1970s punk squatter's scene in Hollywood. Homeless youth rebrand themselves as "punks" and recreated Hollywood as a counter-cultural mecca of youth and rebellion. Kozol (2006) portrays the harsh conditions of shelters for homeless families in New York City, but also the many small transformations of place they make as they work to make their space and their city better. Wright (1997) suggests that this re-creation of space to reflect the subculture of homelessness often happens by their mere presence.

Homeless transgression

Homeless people operate/move in a partitioned city. As Rancière (2015) made clear, the city's social relations, economic exchanges and cultural activities have been divided, each according to its purpose. Homeless people are the "part which has no part," the uncounted. In each division of space they move through, each cultural milieu they find themselves in, they do not belong. Homeless transgression takes many forms, from crossing established boundaries, rejecting social norms to not conforming to proper appearances. The appearance of non-conformity relates to the aesthetics of homelessness, an aesthetics that signifies to the public a transgressive identity (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2014), someone who chooses to not shower because that is who they are. Their presence in certain public spaces becomes transgressive, whether they are breaking laws or not.

If the social order maintains the "partition of the sensible," then the task of politics (as defined by Rancière, 2015) is to demonstrate a gap or break in the sensible itself. The social order attempts to eliminate voids – places without function or purpose. The politics of the "part which has no part" is to make invisible people visible again, so that the uncounted will be counted. The subject must first appear. When a homeless person sleeps in a public park, a private behavior in public space, is the transgression of social norms and anti-camping laws a confirmation of their homelessness, a reaffirmation of their status as invisible? Or is it an expres-

sion of their person-hood, a form of participation in the life of the city, and thus political? There are two ways to answer this question, both addressing the agency of the marginalized in the city, that of transgression as *tactic* and transgression as revealer of partitions.

For Michel de Certeau (1984/2002), city authorities use "strategies" to control; ordinary people use "tactics" to resist. He takes up walking as resistance in his explication of people "making do" in a city, an explication that specifically applies to homelessness. Walking creates a path; de Certeau calls them "trajectories" within the urban field. Homeless people inhabit place through the moments of walking; they temporarily territorialize it. Their movements "transform another person's property into a space borrowed for a moment by a transient" (Certeau, 2002, p. xxi). This walking is not the movement of the solitary flâneur of yesteryear, but a relational practice in which homeless people engage with each other and the dominant order of the city (Bourgois & Schonberg, 2009). While the dominant order would like to organize the City as a unified and universal subject with all the meetings, properties and images that entails, the pedestrian rabble breaks this imaginary apart through movement. The city becomes a City in name only (Certeau, 2002, p. 103).

De Certeau has been criticized for a certain naiveté regarding his tactics, as if a series of traces by the powerless could add up to real urban transformation. But de Certeau's writings do not probe motivation (whether transformation or reification), but the impersonal behavior of the everyday (Buchanan, 2001). Tactics may not be subversive, but they do reveal the limits of strategies, offering a temporal, momentary response to the static boundary formation of place-making and exclusion.

Transgression and boundary are not opposites. They comprise another in a dialectic. The creation of a boundary is, in the same moment, the creation of the potential for transgression (Cresswell, 2000). Foucault describes a co-dependency of limit and transgression for their existence and their "density" (Foucault, 1980, p. 34). "Every rule, limit, boundary or edge carries with it its own fracture, penetration or impulse to disobey" (Jenks, 2003, p. 7). I rely on Jenks' definition of transgression:

> *To transgress is to go beyond the bounds or limits set by a commandment or law or convention, it is to violate or infringe. But to transgress is also more than this, it is to announce and even laudate the commandment, the law or the convention. Transgression is a deeply reflexive act of denial and affirmation. Analytically, then,*

transgression serves as an extremely sensitive vector in assessing the scope, direction and compass of any social

theory (Jenks, 2003, p. 2).

People do not notice a boundary until someone crosses it. *Transgression reveals* the practice and form of spatial exclusion. Foucault (1980) describes transgression as a flash of lightning that illuminates; its momentary brightness reveals the darkness of the night. Cresswell, in his book on place (1996), used this quality of transgression as a way to study the taken-for-granted qualities of place, particularly in relation to class, gender and race. There are methodological possibilities in studying transgression.

Homeless mobility

The identity of a homeless person is not only transgressive, but mobile. While a homeless person occupying a space may be transgressive, their movement may not be, if it conforms to social norms. Their very mobility is central to their ascribed identity as nomads and "tramps" (Cresswell, 2001, 2006). In movement, they are romantic, free, searching; it is in rest they transgress. Anti-homeless laws prohibit (homeless) people from sitting on sidewalks, sleeping in parks, or loitering – thereby *interrupting* the movement and commerce of a city. Interruptions can be escalated to protest in the formerly discussed case of tents occupying the lawn of city hall (Herring, 2015).

Of course, if movement interrupts it can resist dominant spatial forms and policies, i.e. trespass. Any interruption of high speed, mechanized mobility resists, calls attention to and reveals the inhospitable landscape created by transportation infrastructure and speed itself (Hubbard & Lilley, 2004). Jaywalking, as practiced by people experiencing homelessness, creates counter-movement, the formation of a personal zone of rebellion and individuality that reasserts the homeless person's humanity in the face of depersonalized traffic. Counter-movement is similar to Lefebvre's "counter-space" or the creation of a temporary space outside urban hegemony (Lefebvre, 1992). Today's homeless person moves counter to urban structures and relations, whether interrupting traffic on the way to downtown Sacramento or by sleeping on a bike path in Santa Cruz. By doing so, homeless people transform (however temporarily) the City and its collective urban vision into an "immense social experience of lacking a place" (Certeau, 2002, p. 103). It is their interruptions that reveal the inequity of speed; it is their movement that uncovers the paucity of roots. Future research on homelessness should start with these movements and interruptions; only then can we sensitively immerse ourselves into the mobile and transgressive world of life without shelter.

Socio-Mobile Conceptual Framework

To summarize, a socio-mobile conceptual approach to homeless movement must address the following elements:

1. Social relations of urban dwellers in the everyday activities of their lives. This includes face-to-face relations but also larger systems of relations in which people operate, i.e. the relationship between a pedestrian and the designer of the sidewalk, the people who maintain it and the businesses along it.

2. Space continuously produced by the users and strategists of the city.

3. Movement as experienced… the socio, economic and political ramifications of differential mobility.

I use the term *negotiation* to bring these concepts together. Negotiation is both a discussion leading to an agreement (or disagreement) and a challenging movement through obstacles (boundaries) requiring spatial navigation. The social and spatial aspects of movement conjoin in negotiation, for our purposes a term that means: *social and mobile navigation of space within a mesh of relationships.* For homeless people, they relate to each other, to service organizations and to the boarder public as they move.
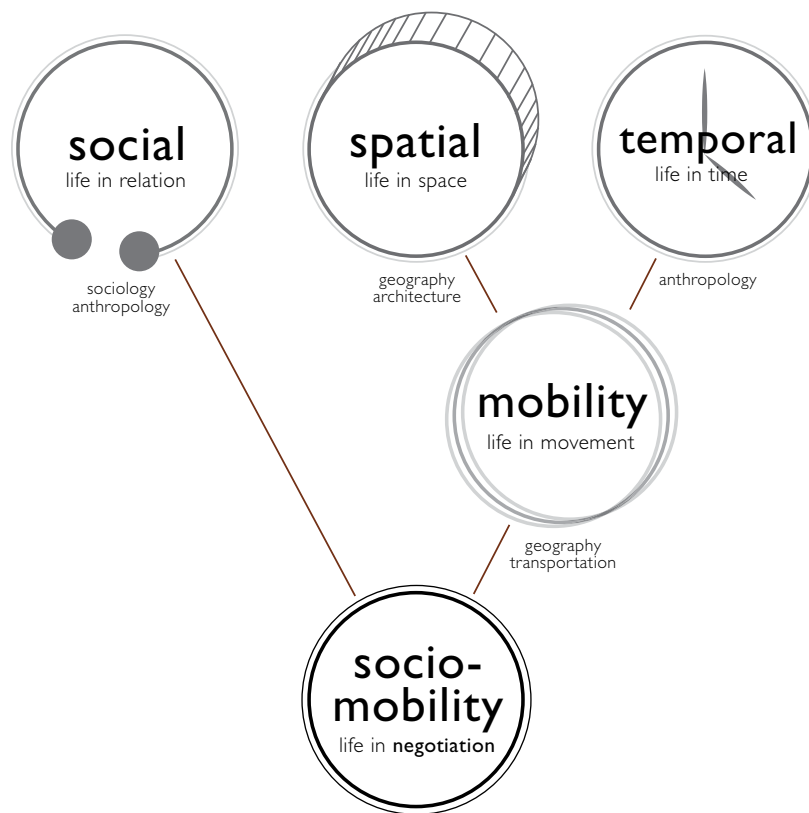
Figure 2.1: Socio-mobile framework in its interdisciplinary context

How can we discern these relationships and boundaries homeless people negotiate? To analyze urban movement from the perspective of relationships and boundaries requires an evaluation of the positive entanglements and connections that happen in the everyday, as well as the negative transgressions that reveal boundaries. Only then, can the qualitative researcher make statements on mobility from the perspective of the homeless subject. As Edensor (2011 p. 190, emphasis added) suggests of automobile commuting: "A traveling human is one mobile element in a seething space pulsing with intersecting trajectories and temporalities and *does not occupy a vantage point from which space can be known*." A socio-mobile framework evaluating the connections and transgressions of homeless people does assume the vantage point of the walker, the bicyclists, the bus rider as they engage in the politics of the city.

Chapter 3 – Mobile Ethnography and Mapping of Movement

Any study of the movement of homeless people requires flexibility in data collection methods, a commitment to rigorous documentation and establishment of ethical relationships. In this chapter, I first link the chosen methods with the previous discussion on socio-mobile theory. I then discuss the two main methods of data collection: 1) a mobile ethnography in two specific neighborhoods in Sacramento and Santa Cruz that relied on interviews, participant observation and my own movements, and 2) behavior mapping, documenting where and how people were moving through the neighborhood. I discuss the ethical and social challenges of the field work and the strategies I used for overcoming those challenges. Finally, I detail my analysis of the field notes, interviews, and mappings to reach specific conclusions regarding homelessness and movement.

Relationship of theory to methodology

To understand movement of homeless people, research begins with qualitative experiences of their routes in dialogic encounters. Karner & Niemeier (2013) found that traditional, quantitative planning models that evaluated social equity did not adequately address race, yielding results that minimized the challenges posed by a transportation system catering to the dominant caste. Preston applied GIS analysis to aggregate data of social exclusion, yet found that "transport-related social exclusion is not always a socially or spatially concentrated phenomenon" (2000, p. 159). Clifton and Handy (2001) suggest using attitudinal surveys and focus groups instead, but see the most potential in participant-observer research, similar to methods used in urban studies. Without engaging with individuals in context, researchers may miss the richness of experience and the complexity of exclusion. In order to move from theory to methods (and back), the following qualities of movement guided the selection of methods:

Movement is experiential. Traditional transportation research examines movement as a mechanical flow. Researchers approached movement as an efficient, physical flow from origin to destination (Timms, 2008). An aggregate of individual travelers or points of data then shaped transportation modeling. Yet, this neglected the experience people had of movement. How does the experience of movement, while moving, affect the

selection of a destination, mode choice, route choice, interaction with others who are also moving and any barriers to that movement? To learn from the experiential, methods can incorporate a qualitative approach, examining travel from the perspective of the traveler. The methods are designed to rely on a socio-mobile framework of interaction and movement, then use an extended visualization analysis based on observations, mapping and flows to generate specific theories applicable to how homeless people move (in the margins) (Knigge & Cope, 2006).

Movement is relational. To model transportation, planners and engineers find it simplest to treat people as autonomous individuals, making a discrete choice (on mode, destination, time, etc.) from a selection of available choices (Ben-Akiva & Lerman, 1985). Traditional transportation research then examines movement of individuals. Yet, people do not make discrete choices, but decide if, when, and how to move in relationship with others. Therefore, research methods must look at relationships before and during movement, suggesting a process of inquiry (as to motivation and decision) and observation of movement. Socio-mobile theory and questions requires an interactive, mobile methodology. Interactive in that the researcher both observes and participates in interactions, along with more formal questions regarding people's relational experiences. Mobile in that the researcher both stays at one point observing the movement of others and moves around to experience the movements of others.

Movement is differential. Not only is transportation relational, it is relational in different ways for different people. Like any relational quality, movement happens in the context of power. Some people are more autonomous than others. Some people can move faster than others. In fact, one person's speed may actively constrain the movement of others (D. Massey, 1991). Traditional planning research examines movement as a choice all are free to make (although some certainly add limitations, such as cost, to transportation modeling). For this project, methods include mapping of observations and routes to catalogue barriers to movement (as experienced) and also comparing the relationship between the movement of some to the movement (or lack thereof) of others.

Table 3-1. Comparison of traditional transportation theory and methods with proposed socio-mobility theory and methods

Transportation Theory	Transportation Research Methods	Socio-mobility Theory	Socio-mobility Research Methods
Movement is mechanical	Spatial modeling	Movement is experiential	Ethnography/interviews
Movement is individual	Surveys	Movement is relational	Observation and inquiry/interviews
Movement is a free choice	Spatial modeling Surveys	Movement is differential	Mapping of observations and routes

Qualitative methods to capture the experiential, relational and differential qualities of movement include ethnography and participant observation, interviews, spatial and mobile mapping. I used a combination of these methods to analyze and portray the movement of homeless people in the Richards Boulevard neighborhood of Sacramento and the downtown/riverwalk neighborhood of Santa Cruz.

Mobile ethnography

If behavior mapping answers questions of homeless movement, a more relational approach is needed to answer questions regarding their experience of exclusion and their response to a relative immobility. Ethnography, the immersion of researcher into a culture of people to understand their habits and relations, offers one method of addressing the experience of others. In the discipline of anthropology, ethnography structures research questions, methods and findings. Anthropologists often reside "in the field" amongst the people they are studying for several years in an intensive process of observations-by-day and field-notes-by-night. Yet, ethnography as method has expanded in the last few decades, becoming part of the methodology of sociologists, geographers and political scientists. The definition of the field has changed as well (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997), moving beyond "traditional" remote cultures to include internet chat rooms (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, Taylor, & Marcus, 2012), refugee camps (Agier, 2002) or a particular bus stop (Attoh, 2011). In the midst of this expansion, the immersive quality of the method remains. Immersion requires time in the field (whatever "the field" may look like) and relationships/dialogue.

Social scientists have used ethnography to study homeless people to great effect. Classic research efforts, such as Anderson's study of *The Hobo* (1923/2014) as well as Spradley's study of street life on Skid Row (1970),

provide foundational research for social scholars, breaking new ground with information presented from the perspective of homeless people. Paul Cloke and his colleagues in Great Britain have immersed themselves in homeless shelters and soup kitchens to examine the relationship between homeless people who often demonstrate remarkable agency and the geography of care within which they operate (Cloke et al., 2008; Cloke, May, & Johnsen, 2011; Cloke, Milbourne, & Widdowfield, 2001). Teresa Gowan (2010) spent several years amidst homeless recyclers living and collecting on the streets of San Francisco, eventually documenting their different self-perceptions and their views on homelessness. Wasserman and Clair (2009) chose a specific place, in the tradition of Duneier (2000) and Liebow (2003), documenting the shifting homeless people who inhabited a corner of Birmingham, Alabama.

Each of these studies was rooted in a specific place, a street corner or a shelter, following the pattern of ethnography as a method of visiting the field (out there). The question arises: How do ethnographers study mobility without establishing a boundary between place (or dwelling) and movement (Vasantkumar, 2017)? Gowan (2010) offers one solution, walking with homeless recyclers as they do their rounds, participating in the rhythms of the city at a neighborhood scale. It is possible that no change in ethnography is needed as immersion in homeless people's lives becomes an experience of their mobility as an act of "making do" in the city. Yet, some explicit accounting of mobility in the method must take place if only to counter the tendency of researchers to think, analyze and write of a static field.

Field

I selected the cities of Sacramento and Santa Cruz as places of study to be able to compare homeless movement in two California cities. Los Angeles and San Francisco are the site of comprehensive studies of homelessness (Dear & Wolch, 1992; Gowan, 2010); smaller cities and town experience similar challenges but with less attention. Sacramento and Santa Cruz share qualities of open space central to downtown, large homeless populations, fair weather and centrally-located social services. Sacramento is flat and more connected (it has a light rail system). Santa Cruz is hilly, tourist-oriented and a university town. Sacramento's homeless population, according to the 2017 Point-in-Time Count (California State University, Sacramento, 2018), makes up 0.4% of the city's population, trends toward older white males who are increasingly sleeping out rather than making use of shelters. The city has a disproportionate number of black people experiencing homelessness. Santa Cruz's homeless population makes up 1.6% of the town's population, trends toward a diversity of

white and Latino/a individuals, many of whom camp in the surrounding forests (Applied Survey Research, 2017). Santa Cruz has few shelter beds in relation to the number of homeless people, making it an interesting counterpoint to Sacramento, which has more resources. In both cities, the unsheltered homeless population is growing, providing opportunities for homeless interactions outside in certain key areas of the city.

I identified the field for this study of homeless movement as a specific neighborhood occupied by homeless people and service organizations, as well as the surrounding neighborhoods. For Sacramento, the study includes the Richards Blvd. neighborhood, as well as the Alkali Flats neighborhood to the south, the light industrial area and train tracks to the east, the American River Parkway to the north, and Jibboom Street and the waterfront to the west (see Map 3-1). For the 12th Street and 16th Street corridors, the field extended from downtown to L Street to include Cesar Chavez Park at times, thus capturing more of the daily movements of homeless people. In many ways, the field was not limited to time spent in this designated neighborhood and environs but began when I got on the Yolo County bus #42 in Davis and rode over the causeway, through West Sacramento and got off downtown. The bus serves as both an inhabited means of transportation for homeless people between the cities, as well as a link between the domiciled life of the researcher and the unsheltered life of the research subjects. That is, the field is not limited to a site of traditional anthropology and the study of difference, but is a set of overlapping and interconnecting flows where and when research takes place (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997).
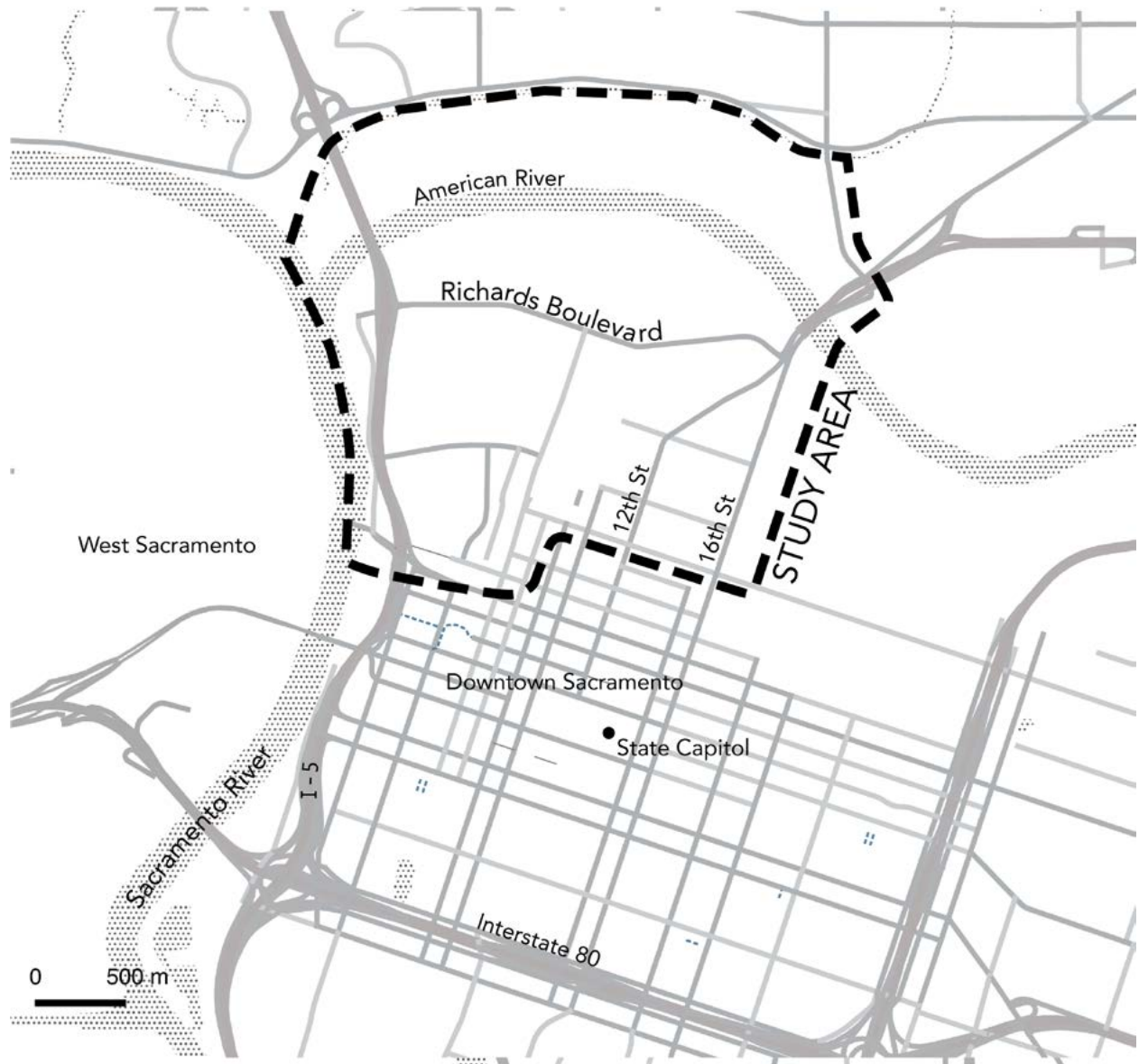
Map 3.1: Sacramento Study Area

For Santa Cruz, the choice of a specific field site was more difficult. I rented rooms outside of the city core while doing fieldwork. Often without a car, I found transportation difficult and spent up to an hour in the morning reaching the central core. The gentrification of Santa Cruz housing stock contrasts with the unsheltered conditions of homeless people along the San Lorenzo River. The commercial life of Santa Cruz centers on Pacific Avenue, running north-south through town. While this is considered the town center, it is not the center of most homeless people's lives, as the resources of quiet open space, the Homeless Services Center, and government services all lie to the east and north of Pacific Avenue. On the map then the study area is centered on Pacific Avenue, but the actual fieldwork centered on the river and open space, Front Street and

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the area around the Homeless Service Center (see Map 3-2). Homeless movements during the day appeared to take place within this boundary. At night, many of the unsheltered homeless people camped in the forested fringes to the north of the central core, and that movement is not included.
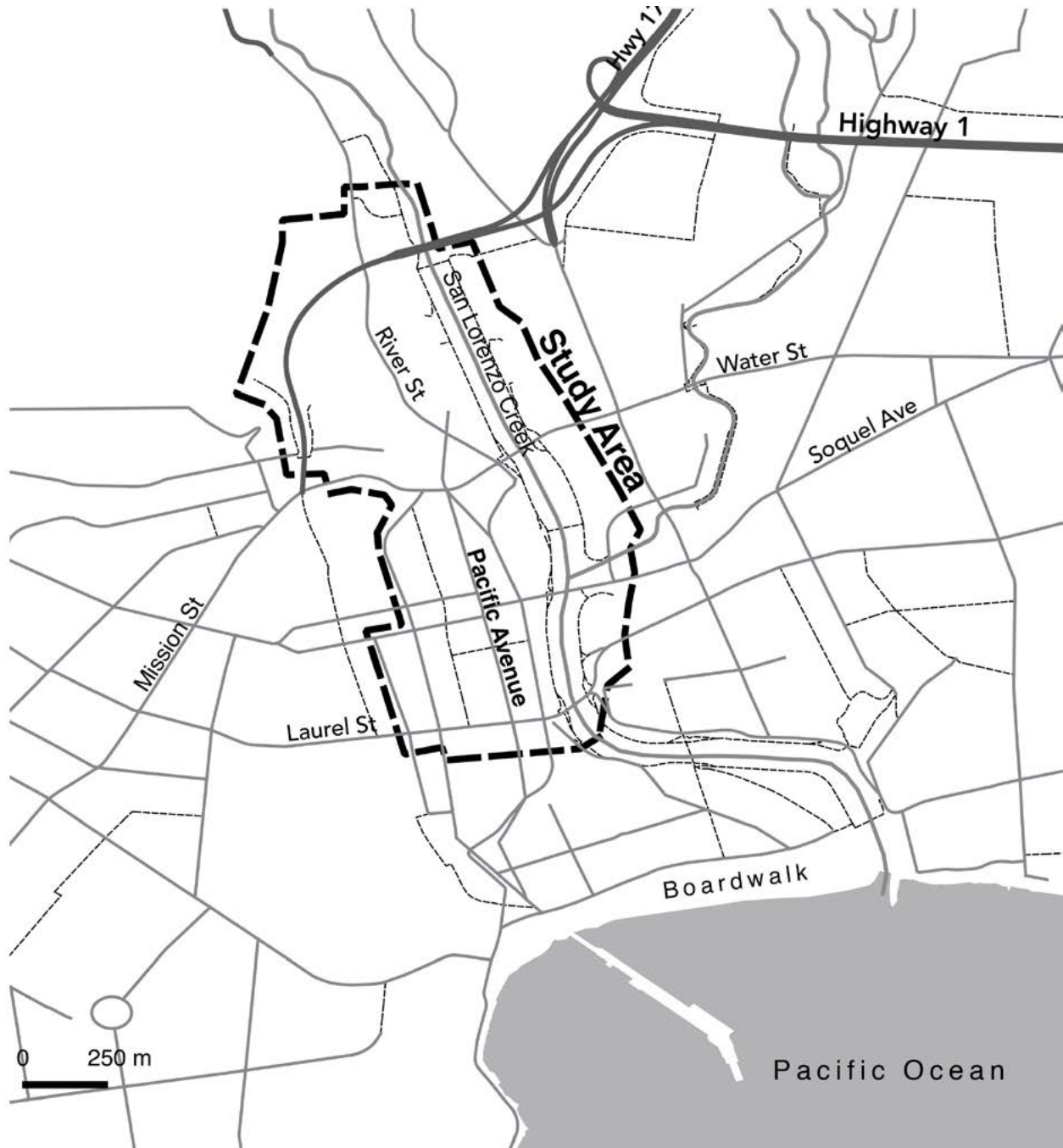
Map 3.2: Santa Cruz study area

Mobility, participation, observation

As field visits increased, I identified prominent homeless corridors of movement. I walked and biked these corridors to participate in their mode of travel. Usually I was alone, observing patterns of movement and other interactions between people. Whenever possible, I stopped (or walked alongside) a homeless person, describing my research and asking them if they would like to participate. Observations while moving yielded information on how homeless people travel, where they go (to a certain extent), and how fast they are going. Participation in the travel itself is more subjective; the body of the researcher becomes the research tool. Through movement, I answered questions such as: How easy is to get from place A to place B? What is walking in areas without sidewalks like? How do people feel when they walk next to a busy street with fast moving cars? And for bicycling: How easy is it to get across a busy street with a bicycle? Or, is it possible to interact with a person coming the other way when you're on a bike?

In addition to walking and biking, I took bus #33 in Sacramento, waiting at the bus stop with other people, getting on the bus, and getting off at Loaves & Fishes (or elsewhere). Bus #33 begins its route in the Alkali Flats neighborhood and then loops north through the Richards Boulevard neighborhood before returning. Because of its short distance and its bus stop adjacent to Loaves & Fishes, many of the passengers are experiencing homelessness. (To get to other neighborhoods north and south, a passenger would likely take light rail). While waiting for the bus, it was easy to converse with others about where they were going. While riding the bus, I took notes on who sat where and who talked to whom. Upon exiting, I lingered near the bus stop to record where passengers went after they disembarked.

There is an element of psychogeography to this method, that oft-cited but ill-defined study first described by the Situationists linking behavior to place (Coverley, 2006). The critical method of psychogeography is the dérive, an ambiguous, seemingly haphazard walking around the city. Guy Debord (1958/2006) describes the dérive somewhat opaquely as "a technique of rapid passage through varied ambiances." In contrast to a journey or stroll where encounters are left to chance, Debord distinguishes two aspects of the derive which speak to a more rigorous method: 1) an open-ness to psychological effects of place, and 2) a deliberate route choice based on these effects.

To understand these two aspects of the derive requires an understanding of the Situationists' project. The Situationists criticized urban studies in the 1950s and 60s that perpetuated the *spectacle*, a loose term for the aesthetic mediation of capitalistic and uneven social relations. Urbanism had become "the task which safeguards class power" (Debord, 2000, p. 168). While Debord's idea of spectacle was developed later than psychogeography, he used psychogeographic methods to refocus urban research on being, rather than having or appearing, two self-defining attributes of someone immersed in the spectacle. To define an urban landscape through a mode of "being" requires an openness to the experience of a place. In contemporary geography, this openness to experience has taken the form of a suspicion of forms of representation (and the power of representing) to return to an awareness of the direct experience itself. Lorimer (2005) describes this as "more-than-representational." For socio-mobile methods then, a more-than-representation approach leads to the movement, feelings and momentary thoughts of the researcher being equally important to the notes and maps of traditional research.

Debord criticized earlier Surrealist wanderings which inspired the dérive as "dreamy," leaving too much to chance (Pinder, 1996). His walking was more focused, as "cities have psychogeographical contours, with constant currents, fixed points and vortexes that strongly discourage entry into or exit from certain zones" (Debord, 1958/2006). I found several key places in the field that could serve as "vortexes." For instance, during an initial pilot study in Sacramento, I walked along the American River Parkway, both north and south of the river, to understand how homeless people move in this space they inhabit. After two months of weekly visits, I began shifting my routes to the south, through the light industry of the Richards Boulevard neighborhood and even further south to Alkali Flats. This shift occurred as a result of what Debord would describe as a response to "constant currents, fixed points and vortexes that strongly discourage entry into and exit from certain zones" (Debord, 1958/2006). Initially, I did not have an explanation of this shift, but gradually confirmed that the questions inspired by the Richards Boulevard neighborhood were more interesting: Why do homeless people inhabit/move through a space of industry without sidewalks, not conducive to any mode but the automobile? How do homeless people adapt to a fairly austere, outdoor environment? Does mobility enhance or detract from the lives of homeless people?

In one sense, this is less rigorous than other traditions of positivist, sedentary ethnography – a position of an observer who can know and understand a world outside of themselves. Mobility and psychogeography

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methods make it difficult to categorize events and phenomena encountered, often relying on one individual's perception. However, in the particular spatial sense, it is *more* rigorous, moving from land use categories such as "light industrial" to intricate descriptions of heterogeneous movement and the little piece of grass out front occupied by a sleeping homeless person until the sprinklers come on.

A description of two field days in Sacramento will help illustrate the opportunistic and deliberate qualities of participant observation, as well as the diversity of experiences.

1. On a cool November morning, I park my car at the State Highway Patrol offices at 9:00 am. I walk up to the Twin Rivers Bike Trail and head east taking notes on the people I see and their interactions. At the 12th Street intersection, I cross the river north on the narrow sidewalk at the edge of High-way 160 bridge, then walk down the on-ramp, before passing under 160. So far, no one has stopped to talk, except for one man who asked for a cigarette. Back over the river at the pedestrian bridge, through the vacant lot and then back to 16th Street and the bicycle trail. A lot of bicyclists in this area, some with bags of recycling. On the trail I head back west, then continue on to the I-5 bridge, where I turn around. On the way back to the car, I pass four people on the bike trail repairing an upside-down bike, then I stop to talk to a homeless person sitting on the concrete headwall by the river. He talks for a while about how far he bikes to get to this area, then indicates the conversations is over by turning his body back to the river. I walk back to the car where I expand on the field notes for half an hour, then return home to type them out on the computer.

2. On a hot day, I take the 42B bus to Sacramento from Davis and get off at Cesar Chavez Park, before walking straight north to Friendship Park, arriving at 2:00 pm. I sit down and talk to an older black man who is using a smartphone to figure out how to get to a doctor's appointment, but before I can tell him the purpose of my study, there is an announcement of "Ice Time!" from the loudspeaker and he jumps up to get some ice. So, I move to another table in the park where a black man and Latino man banter. The Latino man agrees to be interviewed and we talk about daily rhythms, bicy-cling, and saving money for a car or apartment, until just before the park closes at 2:45 pm. I take a few minutes to expand on the notes I have jotted down in the interview. I walk out with a number of people in the park, heading south, but stay close to Loaves and Fishes today, recording several interactions between homeless people who loiter along North C Street, the intersection of 12th and B Street, and the area in front of the VOA shelter where many homeless people congregate. I eventual-ly make my way south along 16th Street to a coffee shop near the 42A bus stop, typing up all the notes from the two hours of talking and walking, before getting on the bus to return.

In both cases of participant observation, I spend a lot of time walking and recording passersby, their modes of travel and their interactions. It is mobile ethnography in that I participate in the movements they themselves are making by walking (while other field visits I take my bike or ride a bus). It is also psychogeography, in that I deliberately return to specific areas, i.e. the Richards Triangle, to uncover the atmosphere of a place at different times, paying attention to both the physical environs of the bike path or sidewalk areas I move through and the feelings and social connections made in these places.

Unlike the Situationists, who shunned academic methods as contributions to the "Spectacle" (Debord, 2000) after five or six events or observations of people in the field, I stopped in a deserted area to jot down notes in a small notebook in the habit of academic ethnographers. I wrote down impressions of the landscape, the visual appearance of the people I passed, their behavior, whether they acknowledged me or not, where they were coming from and where they went to after I passed them (if possible). I used keywords to connote appearance and as much description of the events as possible. Then, after finishing a walk or bike ride, I would retreat to a coffee shop or car and type up field notes based on the notebook jottings. I did this before returning to Davis, to better remember the details of events and interactions.

Interviews and recording

During each field visit I also engaged in conversation with homeless or formerly-homeless people. On the November field visit described above, a white man talks to me for maybe five minutes in an informal conversation about biking and picking up his mail. In the August field visit, a Latino man talks to me about his biking in a more formal interview for more than half an hour. In preparation for these longer interviews that ranged from 20 minutes to two and a half hours, I developed an interview guide (see Table 4-3) based on the qualitative interview methods of Robert Weiss (1995). The interview guide questions were derived from the broader research questions after testing during a pilot study in the summer of 2016. A separate interview guide was prepared for interviewing social service providers and transportation planners.

Table 3-2: Interview Guide

1. With homeless people: Interviews will start at a social service organization (i.e. Friendship Park) or an agreed-upon meeting place (i.e. an encampment). At that location, the interviewer will review the study purpose, consent and confidentiality, as well as the process. The participant will be asked to discuss their typical day of movement. Then they will have a

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choice to lead the interview path: 1) give a tour of their typical day of movement, 2) follow their intended route of where they were planning on going, or 3) retrace their route from the previous day.
2. With social service providers: Interviews will occur at their place of work. The interviewer will review the study purpose, consent form and confidentiality (if necessary). Participants at that point will sign two consent forms and keep one copy. The participant can choose whether the interviewer records the interview (and later receives a transcript) or takes notes.

Interview Analysis
1. Social themes of race, gender, safety, visibility and relationships with others (see Gerrard & Farrugia, 2014; Gibson, 2011; Gowan, 2010),
2. Spatial themes of transgression, encroachment, segregation and exclusion (see Amster, 2003; Cresswell, 1996; Kwan, 2013)
3. Mobile themes of speed and rest, trespass, and accessibility (Cass, Shove, & Urry, 2005; Garrett, 2014; Hubbard & Lilley, 2004).

Interview Introductions
1. Introduce myself – review verbal consent form and recording process
2. Summarize purpose of study
   I am studying the transportation and landscape of __Sacramento__ to see how people move around, how accessible things are, and how we might improve the transportation system. It is really important to learn about the real-world experiences of people currently experiencing homelessness.

Questions
1. A day of movement.
   a. Do you have a travel pattern that remains consistent day to day?
   b. Where do you go when you first wake up? How do you get there?
   c. Describe your route through the city that you took yesterday? Morning? Afternoon? Evening?
   d. What are the main reasons for picking that route?
   e. How much time did you spend walking yesterday? Biking? Public transit?
   f. When you walked (or biked) did you do so by yourself or with other people?
2. The homeless person's mode of transportation. HOW?
   a. Why do you choose to walk (as opposed to bike or bus or car)?
   a. What are the benefits of walking? What are the disadvantages?
1. The homeless person's reasons for moving around. Motivations. WHY?
2. The pattern and scope of homeless person's movement. WHERE?
   a. How frequently do you use this route? What do you like about this route?
   b. Since the start of this year, what is the farthest point in the city that you have walked to?
   c. Do you ever go to new places you haven't been before? How do you find your way there?
   d. Does anything ever prevent you from walking?
   e. Are any neighborhoods or areas off-limits to you? And if so, why?
   f. Are there places you need to go that you are unable to get to?
3. The speed and duration of homeless people's movements. FOR HOW LONG?
4. The experience of movement.
   a. Is it easy for you to get around? Difficult? {MORE SPECIFIC]
   b. What influences homeless people's movement? Opportunities and constraints {REPHRASE as questions]
5. The social relations during movement or spurring movement on. Travel with others.
   a. Who else walks here?

b. Do you see friends along the route?
c. Where do you go to meet friends?
6. The homeless person's vision for improved transportation.
    a. What would be ideal? Bus. Walk, Bike.
    b. If money were no object, what would be your ideal mode of travel?
    c. What would you like to see improved in the city's transportation system?
7. Conclusion – Review next steps, confidentiality
    a. Is there anything else you would like to discuss regarding your experiences in --- city--- ?
    b. Is there anyone else that I should talk to regarding these issues?

Despite developing an interview guide with pertinent questions to the research topic homeless people could answer, I never asked all the questions in the guide or followed it faithfully. At the beginning of each interview, I would sit down with a participant (outside) and explain my research goal in one or two sentences (per the guide). At that point, most of the homeless people I talked to would just start talking about their experiences of transportation, often answering the questions I might have posed. For the most garrulous participants, I rarely said a word, just listening, asking the occasional clarifying question or attempting to get them back on track with a "What about …?" question. When I did ask them questions regarding a specific time, such as where they traveled yesterday, they would often get confused or describe a day which did not seem possible (i.e. being in two places at once). Apparently, the homeless people I interviewed had very clear conceptions of time with regards to the present, a distant past (how they became homeless) or a distant future ("someday I hope to…"), but when asked questions regarding last week or yesterday, they would mix events and details or refuse to answer the question altogether, changing the subject. I eventually switched tactics and asked them where they had been that day and where they expected to be going to avoid them trying to recall the specifics of yesterday.

The final aspect of this mobile ethnography is a reliance on transgression, both observed and described in interviews as a flag or marker of a boundary being crossed. Tim Cresswell (1996) describes transgression as revealing previously hidden or taken-for-granted barriers in the landscape. It is difficult to know a barrier exists until someone crosses an (often imaginary) line. I discuss transgression more thoroughly in the findings, but first note that the observation and recording of transgression can be considered a methodology, because of this revealing quality. (Jay)walking across a street reveals the single-purpose nature of streets. Biking through a riparian zone reveals deeply-held assumptions about what is good and bad behavior in ecological places.

Entering a light rail train without a paid ticket and getting ticketed for fare evasion reveals the entrance into a complex and expensive judicial process. Transgression informs this research on homeless mobility.

Critical cartography and movement

Cartography is the practice of making maps to show spatial arrangements of selected physical, social or economic attributes. The visual language of a map transcends words, making it a powerful tool for describing the world in a specific manner. Maps tell us, through this representation, where to go and what route to choose to get there. Maps are integral to the formation and perpetuation of our transportation system shown on a highway map or light rail diagram of 'lines' and 'stops.'

Each map represents the world or, more accurately, socially constructs an alternative, related world in a simplified manner (see Crampton, 2001). In the selection of what to represent and how to portray it lies the power of maps (Wood, 1992). Traditionally, maps have been used by authorities, often the State, to show selected attributes and hide others, *while obscuring the process of selection itself* (Certeau, 1984/2002). In the transportation industry, a map of California may show highways and freeways, airports and sometimes railroads; small two-lane roads, trails and bike paths are not shown. At that scale, the choice to show only those transportation corridors devoted to high-speed, long-distance traffic makes sense for those traveling across the state, but the choice also ascribes a priority to those corridors, emphasizing their importance and diminishing other types of travel. People's view of the state then organizes around these corridors: Highway 99 down the Central Valley, coastal Highway 1, or the I-80 route over the mountains. The ubiquitous cartography of highway transportation re-produces through visual imagery the taken-for-granted primacy of cars and speed.

To counter the traditional use of maps to wield power, a sub-set of map-makers now practice critical cartography to reveal power dynamics. It does this by: 1) making the process/selection of map attributes/distortions visible, 2) selecting and presenting spatial attributes previously hidden or obscured, and 3) taking the manipulation of map data out of the hands of a cartographer and putting it into the hands of the user. An explosion of user-created maps in both academia and the broader public realm orients around diverse and lively, previously hidden subjects. In the present research, critical cartography fits well with studies of homelessness. The homeless identity is described as "placeless," "unseen," and "not from around here" (Harter et

al., 2005). Homeless people can be considered as "unmapped" given their lack of an address. They do not appear in comprehensive city demographics or the national Census. This invisibility begs for a critical approach to mapping.

Mapping for this research records the location of homeless people and their movements. It describes places, not as mapped from overhead (although that is important as well), but as experienced. This is a complicated task and presents three main challenges, only some of which can be addressed in the mapping process:

1. How can maps show movement over time?
2. How can maps illustrate or show the world from the perspective of the homeless subject?
3. Is it possible to move beyond Euclidean geometries of maps and GIS to record and convey more of the sensual and relational qualities of movement?

I first tackle the different mapping exercises found in this research, then I turn to potential problems of both mapping movement and mapping people, problems addressed partially by the ethnographic method also used in the study.

Neighborhood mapping

To dive into the context of movement in each city a series of maps were made of transportation infrastructure in homeless neighborhoods. I first divided space into public and private property using Assessor Parcel maps from the County of Sacramento. I used GIS to measure the different areas to estimate the amount of public space in each neighborhood. I added available transportation options to the GIS starting with walking and biking, then moving to bus, light rail and car. For each option, I highlight a relationship between the network of the specific transportation mode (i.e. sidewalks, bus lines) and the physical characteristics of the neighborhood itself. The relationships are shown in Table 3-3, along with sources of data:

Table 3-3. Neighborhood mapping data

Travel mode network	Neighborhood character	Data sources
Walking – sidewalks and paths	Block size	Parcel map shape files, City of Sacramento and County of Santa Cruz
Bicycle – bikes lanes and paths	Block size and speed of traffic	City of Sacramento Bike Plan
Bus – bus lines and stops	Density of bus stops	Sacramento Regional Transit
Light rail – light rail lines and stops	Walkable ¼ mile radius	Sacramento Regional Transit
Cars – roads, highways, parking	Speed and volume of traffic	City of Sacramento

The maps allow for comparison between neighborhoods – downtown Santa Cruz v. east Santa Cruz and the park or Alkali Flats in Sacramento v. Richards Blvd neighborhood – while beginning to show which neighborhoods cater to which type of transportation (see discussion in analysis related to homeless movement). The neighborhood cartography is used as a base for behavior mapping and counter-mapping.

Behavior mapping and mobility

The purpose of behavior mapping is to systematically observe how people behave in a public place. The mapping observes actual behavior, rather than people's descriptions of what they have done. The method stems from two luminaries in the fields of urban studies and environmental design: William Whyte and Jan Gehl. Whyte (2001) mapped behavior through innovative (for its time) time-lapse photography, training his cameras on urban plazas in New York to reveal how people use a space and to evaluate the scale, design and ultimate success of these spaces. While Whyte assessed from the rooftops, Gehl (2011) assessed public space from the streets, recording and tracking people as they met friends, went to work or sat down for lunch. Gehl and his students recorded dots on a map to show where people were located and what they were doing at a specific time of day.

Figure 3-1: Gehl behavior map (Gehl & Svarre, 2013)

Environmental design studies on street life and urban open space have used behavior mapping to elucidate changes in behavior after environmental interventions. For example, Eubank-Ahrens (1984) mapped the location and behavior of people on a street before and after its reconfiguration into a woonerf. She showed reduced car traffic results in more street activity. Francis (1984) mapped pedestrians in a small downtown to inform a local planning effort on issues of business use, parking and jaywalking. Cosco and Moore (2010) have had success in better understanding how playgrounds function through mapping behaviors. In some of their work, they distinguish *who* is mapped, dividing observed people into adults and children, for instance, to ascertain differences in playground activity. This contrasts with the mapping of Whyte, Gehl, Eubank-Ahrens and Francis who record individuals as parts of one entity with one voice (i.e. "we like sitting in the sun!"). The challenge of indistinguishable dots on a map is that people in public space may not be unified in how they use space. Behavior mapping can obscure difference. Environmental researchers map the broader public and not the "counter-publics" who remain invisible or do not have access to public space.

To address this challenge, I mapped behaviors in non-traditional public places, such as light industrial neighborhoods or vacant lots, to try and capture the movement of people who may be excluded from "prime" territories. I recorded identity to understand how different people use space differently. While this improved the value of behavior mapping of a heterogeneous population, it brought its own formidable challenge: how to categorize identity based on appearance. Traditional categories of gender, race, and culture are fluid, making it difficult to observe and then describe people. I chose three identifying characteristics to record that

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related in some way to appearance: 1) the gender of someone as they appear, 2) the race of someone as they appear, and 3) the distinction of someone as homeless or not homeless based on their appearance, location and behavior. It was more important for this study to record differences in the field than it was to get every difference of identity accurate. Later, I supplement the behavior mapping with interviews in which different aspects of identity, particularly class and race, come to the fore. The second is that I am more interested in a person's identity a perceived by others, and presumably how they will be treated by others under this perceived identity, than I am with how they might define themselves (although that is also important). In terms of race, this decision is based on powell's discussion of race and identity, as both self-determined and assigned (powell, 2015).

Since the study maps homeless movement in particular, I needed to distinguish between domiciled and people experiencing homeless people in the field. After a pilot project in Sacramento, Oakland and Santa Cruz in the summer of 2016, I identified the following characteristics as most likely indicating a person was (temporarily or chronically) homeless:

1. Person recognized as receiving services from a local homeless service organization

2. Person occupying or just leaving a campsite (either concrete camping or in the woods)

3. Person carrying a bed-roll, sleeping bag and a large amount of personal items

4. Person with disheveled appearance (hair, skin, clothing) indicating they did not have access to showers.

The characteristics were verified in the field by comparing the first characteristic, in which I recognized someone as a member of the local homeless community, to the other three characteristics to see if indicators were valid. Thus, the addition of the fourth characteristic, although more tenuous than the others, was put in place to capture those homeless people who operated within a community or shelter and so did not have to travel with all of their personal belongings. When in doubt, I placed someone in the category of unknown (61 of 1071 observations, or 6%). These characteristics, while not comprehensive, likely underestimate the number of homeless people, as many keep up appearances so they do not look "homeless," particularly teenagers (Gibson, 2011).

I mapped behavior using notes on a pre-printed sheet map in 34 separate visits to Sacramento and 20 separate visits to Santa Cruz (for a smaller neighborhood area). These visits occurred weekdays between the hours

of 6:30 am to 5 pm to specifically capture the movement of homeless people during the day. They took place in mostly fair weather in spring, summer, fall in 2016, 2017 and 2018. After preliminary behavior mapping occurred in 2016, I focused on specific transects through a neighborhood that covered most of the roads frequented by bikes and pedestrians, visiting each two or more times (see Map 3-3). The behavior maps show data from two visits for every transect that took place in the summer or fall so the spatial data would be more comparable. During visits, I recorded every person observed while walking or biking. I ignored people who walked by while I was writing down notes. Recording all people was possible due to the relatively light foot traffic in each location, as compared to downtown Sacramento or Pacific Avenue in Santa Cruz. For every observation, I recorded the following:

1. Date and time
2. Location
3. Number of people
4. Race (Black, White, Asian, Latino, Native American, Mixed)
5. Gender (Male, Female, Trans)
6. Homeless Aesthetic (Yes or No)
7. Behavior
8. Direction (if moving)
9. Micro-location (i.e. sidewalk, street, levee, parking lot)
10. Interaction (with researcher; Yes or No)

After notes on observations made on a map, I entered the location and data into a Geographic Information System (QGIS ver 2.18.2) for analysis.
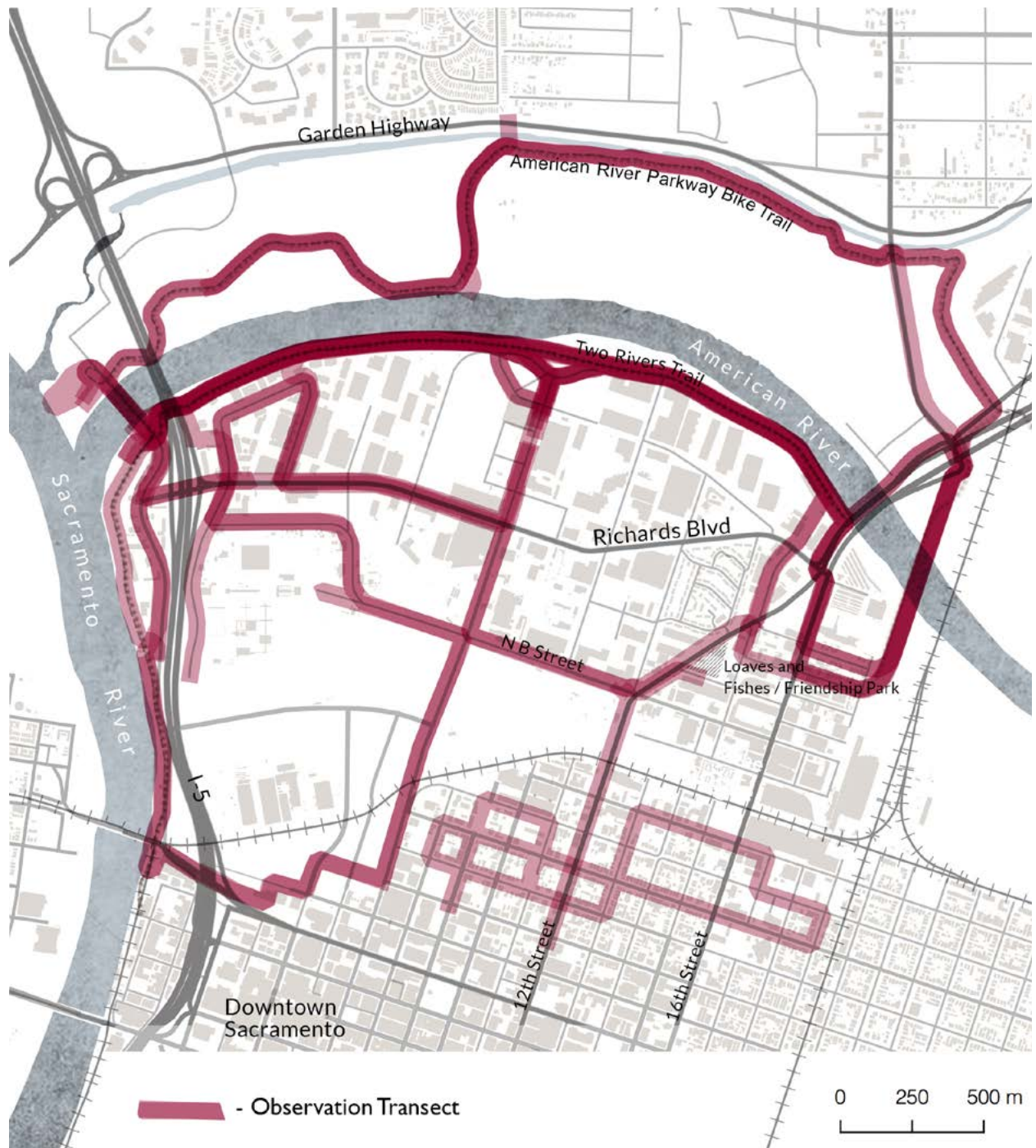
Map 3-3: Transects from Alkali Flats neighborhood in the south to the American River Parkway in the north

There are limits to what can be learned by behavior mapping. An identity based on appearance is a crude estimate of important but fluid categories that influence behavior such as race, gender and homelessness. Behavior mapping is also a snapshot; it cannot capture the duration of behavior and, for the purposes of studying movement, the total path of movement. Mapping behavior gives an accurate picture of what people do but cannot answer the question of why they do it. Other methods are needed to uncover motivation, perceptions and time. Certain behaviors, such as driving or riding in a car, were not included in the study, thus limiting the study to only certain forms of mobility. I partially addressed these limitations to behavior mapping by collecting data through other means (participant observation and interviews), as well as mapping each transect twice at different times of the day.

Counter-mapping

One central critique critical cartography brings to bear on traditional mapping is the tendency of mapping to reinforce existing networks of power. Michel de Certeau (1984/2002) describes the gaze from the top of a skyscraper as the "facsimile… a projection that is a way of keeping aloof," the view of city planners as they organize, direct and manage the city (from above). de Certeau contrasts this view with the view of the pedestrian which is illegible. "The paths that correspond in this intertwining, unrecognized poem in which each body is an element signed by many others, elude legibility" (Certeau, 1984/2002, p. 93). The pedestrian's movements may be channeled, guided or go against planners' wishes. While any representation (the standing in of something for another) is problematic, the mapping of informal pedestrian movement, that is the city from the ground level, reveals different movements in the city at odds with dominant patterns. Several geographers call this counter-mapping, a mapping of resistance to the dominant modes of transportation (in this case) (Kim, 2015; K. H. Taylor & Hall, 2013). To answer the research question of homeless tactics and resistance to their own exclusion, counter-mapping of their movements and the power associated with those movements helps answer this question. Behavior mapping is a start, but does not always catch counter-rhythms of the city's urban poor (although see Francis' (1984) analog map of downtown Davis where jaywalking appears).

Therefore, to study homeless people and transportation, in addition to the neighborhood maps and the behavior maps, I mapped resistance and power differentials in an experiential way. This is a mapping of the immersive experiences of homeless people as observed, encountered and described. It should be noted that

methodological rigor, in the case of counter-mapping, does not stem from the representation of spatially accurate observed phenomena, but instead represent perceptions of spatial areas and movements according to an ethnography of immersion, interviews and participation in the everyday. That is, the counter-maps are not empirical, like the neighborhood maps and behavior maps; they are a synthesis of accumulated psycho-geographic data.

In the field – ethics of observation

Researchers have an ethical responsibility to respect and engage participants in their research (per University of California, Davis IRB). For this study, the participant-observation and interviews required establishing a few guidelines to ensure respect. While observing, I walked on public pathways and observed public behavior. I chose not to approach "private" encampments despite their location on public land. While participating (moving along with) or observing (from afar), I remained visible on the sidewalk or bike path or street. The exceptions to this visibility were the few times I chose to observe and record behavior on the bike path from a stationary point from a parked car.

To record behavior in the field, I would stop after five to 10 observations and write notes in a small notebook. This recording activity marked me as different than other pedestrians and bicyclists. Only one homeless person ever commented on this behavior: A white man searching for cigarette butts in the dirt along the San Lorenzo bike trail in Santa Cruz told me "You know, I get a different sense of energy around here, you know what I mean?" At the time, I attributed this conversation to the Santa Cruz ethos, but now believe he was criticizing my observing and note-taking in his territory. More problematic and intrusive than note-taking is the taking of photographs. Photos can be helpful in a mobile ethnography as a way to partially capture the atmosphere of a place or situation and communicate findings. During an early visit, I took a photo of an unoccupied tent immediately adjacent to the bike path overlooking the river and some moored yachts (Figure 3-2). The composition juxtaposes the water-based wealth with the poverty of living conditions along the trail. Afterwards a black man next to a tent on the other side of the bike path hailed me, asking what I was taking a picture of. I gestured towards the tent and the boats and he calmed down as I approached, saying "We've just had problems with people stealing things." In addition to this concern for privacy, the taking of photos prevents the researcher from fully engaging in the psychogeography of a place. I found myself thinking about good pictures to take instead of participating in the walking, attending to feelings and encounters and record-

ing notes. So, I decided to take photos only on specific trips to the field dedicated to this task, avoid photographing people unless their identity is obscured (no photos of peoples' faces) and avoid photographing private areas, such as encampments.

Figure 3-2: Tent encampment between bike path and American River

For informal interviews, research ethics requires drawing from literature on positionality, reflexivity and consent to inform field procedures. Acknowledging my own positionality as an educated male of middle class standing who sought relationships with people in poverty, I needed to mitigate difference through an openness about the purpose of the research and my own interest in class struggle. Encounters were *transparent and sympathetic*. Transparency means an honest presentation of the research goals, researcher identity and continual acknowledgement that I am an "embodied and politicized outsider" (Cloke, Cooke, Cursons, Milbourne, & Widdowfield, 2000, p. 144). It means avoiding pretense. I began every interview explaining my research in transportation and interest in their personal experience. I also told each homeless person their names would not be recorded and identifying information would be removed. Then I asked if they would like to be part of the study.

Sympathetic interactions require careful listening during interviews and a willingness to stop if a participant becomes distressed. During interviews, no participant became too stressed or emotional to continue. However, two potential informal interviews along the bike path or sidewalks stopped abruptly during the casual conversation stage when they realized I was an academic researcher. Sympathy also means releasing control of critical parts of the research path to the participant (i.e. subject matter, movement pathways, authorship). For many interviews in the study, homeless participants drove the conversation, discussing those topics most meaningful or comfortable to them. While this meant listening to off-topic digressions, the interviews then could serve as meaningful and supportive interactions, rather than only a means to acquire data. Finally, sympathetic research means working closely with social service organizations to connect people-in-need with help when necessary. I discussed potential resources offered by Loaves and Fishes in Sacramento and the Homeless Service Center in Santa Cruz with some research participants.

To maintain anonymity of the participants after field observations and interviews, I would jot down names in my field notes, but would not transfer them to the longer field notes typed in to Word and imported into a Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) program. If I wanted to remember someone's name, I could go back to the small field notebooks, but otherwise, the names did not appear in the analysis or findings. Initially, I intended to also keep the field notebooks locked in a safe. However, I did not uncover the significant transgressive behavior in the field that might trigger more comprehensive security of files. I did note some encampments and jaywalking in the notes, which, while technically illegal, are so prevalent and well-known by police and park rangers, it seemed redundant to guard this data with lock and key.

Finally, there is an ethical component of what to do with the research when it is done. Given the dynamic nature of a homeless person's lifestyle, I found it impossible to get back in touch with study participants and share my findings as others have done with more sedentary populations (Duneier et al., 2000). My decision was to publish articles in journals based on the research, submit letters to the editor of the local newspapers in the two cities, and to provide article or article summaries to social organizations serving homeless people.

Extended visualization analysis

In analysis, I examine the spatial and behavioral data collected in two specific neighborhoods in California

cities in light of a socio-mobility framework to relate homeless movement to the broader transportation system, arguing for a re-framing of transportation as a relational activity. Transportation relations occur over a continuum, but I focus on the relational aspects of three scales in particular: the scale of the individual or group and their experiences, the scale of the community within a larger town or city, and the scale of (global?) theories on urban systems.

The analysis draws from the extended case method originating from the Manchester School of sociology and popularized by the sociologist Michael Burawoy. Burawoy (1998) describes the method as "reflexive science," an immersion of the researcher into the lives of study participants to engage with empirical phenomena. The method has various levels of relationships:

> *Reflexive science starts out from dialogue … between observer and participants, embeds such dialogue within a second dialogue within local processes and extralocal forces that in turn can only be comprehended through a third, expanding dialogue of theory with itself* (Burawoy, 1998, p. 5).

I take each of these dialogues to be important to a study of mobility, as mobility begins with people moving in relation to each other and *extends* to the systems of movement, which have been influenced by theories (both explicit and implicit). Each of the dialogues build on each other.

A dialogue between observer and participant (and urban landscape)

Research is a dialogue between researcher and participant, whether acknowledged or not. Dialogue includes conversations, interviews and observations of participants. Field observations, even at a distance, can influence the movements and patterns of people observed. Contemporary ethnographers using the extended case method complete analyses focused on this dialogue/influence and rooted in a reflective awareness of the positionality of the researcher.

Yet, research on homeless mobility needs to incorporate the urban landscape and the conditions of movement as well. The dialogue must include the spatial and mobile context of the conversation/interview/observation. It is here that psychogeography supplements an ethnographic approach to analysis. With its focus on atmosphere, participant feelings and psychological pivot points, psychogeography gives a socio-mobile analysis the "thickness" or subtlety the subject requires. Often, atmosphere and feeling can be described, but questions remain regarding a psychogeographic analysis' replicability and reliability. No two people will

experience the atmosphere the same way and the researcher must make subjective judgements in the field. I address this challenge in the analysis in two ways. First, by assessing/expressing my own experience of interactions, space, movements, I can make those experiences more transparent and thus more comparable to others' experiences of similar phenomena. Second, by acknowledging the unique, temporal quality of each interaction, I can use that specificity, not as a limitation, but as a tool to understand an experience of movement in more depth. For example, in following an older man leaving Loaves & Fishes walking north on the sidewalk, I noted he stopped every block or so to re-arrange his belongings on his cart. He moved slowly as an effort in load management. I cannot generalize from this man's movement but can evaluate the importance of belongings in this man's movement. Of course, this means there are multiple experiences of movement to study and to aggregate, but that multiplicity can be combined within a framework of socio-mobility to reveal social forces and flows affecting the neighborhood and its residents.

I had three forms of data from the dialogue between observer and participant (and landscape): field notes of observations, interview transcripts and spatial locations of behavior. Each of these data forms must be analyzed within a social, spatial and mobile context. Field notes of observations yielded insight into interactions of others, the qualitative movements of people and specific behaviors. I imported written field notes into a Qualitative Data Analysis software tool called MaxQDA. After reading through the field notes, I developed codes or categories of observations from the descriptions themselves and from previous research on homelessness and mobility. Descriptions of events then were assigned one of these codes. The following codes along with the number of codings are in Table 3-4. After initial coding, I wrote code memos, revising my themes based on the data, and wrote integrative memos to form the basis of analysis and writing (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). For the longer, more involved field visits, I also inputted interactions, events and conversations into a Geographic Information System (GIS) using QGIS v2.18.2. I labeled each interaction with its observed relational qualities: conflict, cooperation, friendly chat and asking/request. For instance, an observation of a homeless bicyclist falling off the bike in the street due to the embedded rails received a 'negative' experience.

Table 3-4. Coding categories and number of events per code

Parent code	Code	Coded segments
Boundaries	Transgression	131
Boundaries	Barriers	86
Boundaries	Territory	26
Economics	Stuff	87
Economics	Work	48
Economics	Services	46
Economics	Money	20
Landscape	Land Use	35
Landscape	Maintenance	27
Landscape	Gentrification	11
Mobility	Mode	130
Mobility	Embodied Movement	113
Mobility	Speed	69
Mobility	Access	48
Mobility	Temporal	29
Mobility	Constrained movement	28
Place	Inhabiting Place	102
Place	Rest	91
Place	Interstitial Space	37
Routes	Pathways	111
Routes	Way-finding	24
Sensory	Visibility	67
Sensory	Aesthetics	63
Sensory	Noise	46
Sensory	Emotion	13
Social	Relational	169
Social	Interactions	128
Social	Security - Patrol	69
Social	Rules	9

For interviews, homeless people shared a diversity of experiences on how they came to be homeless, their intentions for the future, as well as responding to questions I asked regarding their movements. Each interview, while taking place on a park bench or by the side of the road, referred to broader social and structural relations. Analysis of interviews then must not ignore or try to isolate and remove social (and mobile) con-

text; it must embrace context as a critical influence on the dialogue. I embrace context by describing the space in which the interview occurs and by recording in field notes with whom the interviewee interacts, as well as where they are coming from and where they are going. For instance, I interviewed an older white male at Friendship Park in Sacramento sitting on a bench on a busy summer day. During the interview the man would say "hello" to several people walking by, but primarily older males. He described some of the friends he had, leading me to note that within Friendship Park he moves within a small community of elderly concrete campers who frequent Loaves and Fishes. His situation places him in the more multi-racial, single community of homeless men who sit on benches in the park's center, and his described movements reflect this situatedness – bonding together with a few other individuals outside and avoiding certain groups of younger men who frequent Union Gospel Mission and have previously "ripped him off."

Behavior mapping yields points with information, such as identifying characteristics of shelter conditions, race and gender. I entered the data in the GIS, separating out different behaviors, i.e. biking, walking, waiting for bus, standing, talking, for both domiciled people and people who appeared to be homeless. I then looked for spatial patterns based on mode of transportation and homeless/domiciled. I relied on visual clustering to distinguish areas frequently traversed by homeless people and routes frequented by certain modes of transportation. Finally, I returned to these sites to confirm these basic findings through observations at different times. For instance, in Santa Cruz, bicyclists frequent Laurel Avenue coming from the east or west to the downtown area (see Map 5-2). These bicyclists wear close-fitting bike clothing, ride at a faster speed and carry panniers on their bikes or backpacks, indicating the likelihood this is a commuter route, rather than a recreational or homeless bicycling route. I then labeled this route a commuter route in GIS and contrasted that with the pattern of homeless bicycling which tends to be scattered throughout the town, drawing the conclusion that homeless bicycle route choice was more of an opportunistic, ad hoc experience, in contrast with domiciled bicyclists who chose specific paths. At this point, I then checked this preliminary conclusion with findings from interviews and participant observation to verify this conclusion for this specific town.

For purposes of synthesis, I used a qualitative GIS to combine significant field notes at particular locations, placing points on a map of positive or negative interactions in the field to spatially analyze patterns in the urban landscape. I also added interview snippets to this GIS, when interviewers described a specific place. This allowed for a comparison of "fuzzy" spatial data of feelings and interactions with the behavioral data on

modes of travel. Are there specific routes of travel that have more positive interactions? The visualization exercise using GIS creates a psychogeographic counter-map. Instead of mapping speed or land use, I can show an emotional, social and atmospheric map of the movements of marginalized people.

A second dialogue of local processes and broader forces

After the first dialogue between observer and participant, research analysis moves up a level to the second dialogue, an engagement with local processes and national economic and political forces. This analysis includes an examination of the local processes that shaped transportation infrastructure, laws and policies relating to this movement, as well as the ideals and thoughts of the city. In Chapter 4, I describe the historic and spatial context of movement in Sacramento and Santa Cruz. These contextual factors of local processes, infrastructure and policies directly intervene in homeless people's daily lives, influencing, prodding and curtailing their movement. Movement occurs on infrastructure that someone else has designed, built and maintained. Walkers, bicyclists, drivers relate to planners, designers and builders of roads and sidewalks; their movements informed by the ideals and problem-solving acumen of the technocratic class. Each mode of movement, each experience in the field, relates to the local systems of transport, as an ideal and as actually implemented.

Those local systems of transport, in turn, have been influenced by federal and state investments in certain types of transportation infrastructure, and by global economic forces that profit by the movement of people and goods. I analyze this larger system of investment in the system of automobility to the extent it has shaped these particular neighborhoods. In particular, I briefly examine the effect of the railroads, the interstate system and the industrial oil and military complexes on the two cities. Others have analyzed automobility: its economic pervasiveness (Urry, 2004), its spatial dominance of the American urban landscape (Kunstler, 1994; Wachs & Crawford, 1991) and its permeation into the American dream (Sachs, 1992). For California cities, especially, the car is synonymous with movement, stemming from American ideas of progress, technology, and speed and the temporal. Here, though, I engage with theory which is part of the third dialogue.

An expanding dialogue with theory

Burawoy's third dialogue returns to theory, relating empirical findings and contextual processes to the ideas proposed by others. Earlier I presented two theories of transportation and movement: the first, a modern theory of motion inspired by Hobbes and naturalism that considers motion to be the movement of individ-

ual objects and, the second, a socio-mobile framework that shows movement to be always relational, intrinsically bound up in the social. For this third analysis stage, I compare the empirical findings from the mobile ethnography and mapping exercises to re-engage with these two theories and reflect on whether or not they apply to these particular places. And if so, whether or not they can be extended to other places and other populations.

I relied heavily on an analysis of the interviews with transportation decision-makers, as well as the observed interactions of homeless movement to continue to ground the research into movement as experienced, while using these experiences to spatially inform a more accurate way of looking at transportation. Even though this dialogue focuses on theory and discourse, mapping continues to inform the discussion, particularly regarding alternative ways of moving through the urban landscape.

> *With the aid of old maps, aerial photographs and experimental derives, one can draw up hitherto lacking maps of influences, maps whose inevitable imprecision at this early stage is no worse than that of the earliest navigational charts. The only difference is that it is no longer a matter of precisely delineating stable continents, but of changing architecture and urbanism* (Debord, 1958/2006).

Questions arose as a result of the mapping around the subject of spatial patterns and homeless identity, in particular the uniqueness of homeless movement. By relating the mapping and ethnographic analysis back to the socio-mobile theory, I could verify the applicability of a relational approach and use that to distinguish homeless movement from the movement of others. Ultimately, a socio-mobile framework assists the researcher in revealing and critiquing the taken-for-granted theories behind transportation systems centered around the automobile.

Chapter 4 – Homeless patterns of movement in the urban landscape

Tell me how fast you go and I'll tell you who you are.

- Ivan Illych, *Energy and Equity*, p. 44.

This chapter serves two purposes: 1) to provide context for homelessness and transportation in Sacramento and Santa Cruz, attempting to answer basic questions of where people go and how they get there, and 2) to make the argument that homeless people, through their presence and actions, disrupt norms and notions of the partitioned city. This research arises from observations of homeless people moving about the city and mapping their behavior. The movement of homeless people differs from that of the domiciled. This chapter examines this difference from the perspective of homelessness, location/routes of travel and travel mode. I first ask who is experiencing homelessness from the perspective of California cities in general and Sacramento and Santa Cruz in particular. Then, I examine where they need to go, their destinations at night and during the day. Finally, I evaluate four different travels modes – cycling, walking, riding the bus and riding light rail – from the perspective of a homeless person.

Who is experiencing homelessness? People without place

The homeless community is diverse and shifting. People move into and out of homelessness on a frequent basis making it difficult to generalize who is experiencing homelessness. For the purposes of this study, homelessness is the experience of being without permanent shelter of one's own, as discussed in Chapter 2 (For discussions of the term "homeless," "houseless," as well as other historic labels, see (Cresswell, 2001; Kidd & Evans, 2010).

In California cities, homeless people are people without place. They inhabit the city but are not "of the city." Their assigned identity is based on a lack of something. In the *partitioning* of the city, whether through formal processes of zoning and enforcement or informal processes of socialization, each area of the city is for a

designated purpose and a designated people. For instance, the American River Parkway has the stated dual purpose of "preserving naturalistic open space" and providing recreational opportunities (American River Parkway Plan 2008). The purpose of the Parkway supports certain, seemingly compatible activities, i.e. restoration and recreation, and shuns other activities, i.e. camping along the river. Nearby, the Richards Boulevard neighborhood, zoned office and light industrial, provides office space and warehouses as well as social services. The people who belong in the Richards Boulevard neighborhood include office workers, industrial workers and those receiving social services. Homeless people may be in this area during the day but are expected to clear out by night (with the exception of those using the shelter beds at UGM and the Salvation Army). The partitioning of the city is reinforced through policy. In Sacramento and Santa Cruz, these policies regulate behavior but also regulate people's location, movements and identity. The combination of policy and partitioning exclude homeless people from place.

Counting the uncounted

If a person has no place, what kind of person is this? On a national level, the Census attempts to count everyone who has an address in the United States every ten years. Its claims of comprehensiveness rely on the assumption that those without an address are not people, or at least not citizens. Rancière (2015) describes people without an address as the "uncounted." He outlines an elaborate system of policing based on keeping the "uncounted" from being counted, a system of counting realized on Census work based on housing, an address.

Recognizing the missing homeless people in the count, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the biannual Point-in-Time (PIT) attempt to count homeless people. Each county or city receiving federal housing funds must contract with consultants to complete this survey. Volunteers fan out one night in January to talk to homeless people in shelters, in parks and on the streets, and record their identifying information, such as race, age, gender, last formal residence, etc. The PIT count almost certainly underestimates the total number of homeless people residing in the city, as volunteers cannot manageably find all homeless people in one night, particularly those sleeping on sofas or well-hidden individuals. The PIT count often fails to make a connection between patterns of homelessness as experienced in one night and the causes of homelessness (Jocoy, 2013). Despite its limitations, the PIT count does offer a systematic record of the more visible homeless population from year to year, revealing patterns of change over time.

The homeless population in California has been increasing, rising from 118,000 to 134,000 between 2016 and 2017 alone, an increase of 13%. Geographically, the rising numbers in California relate to rising housing costs in the most affluent coastal cities (Doherty, 2017). Chronic homelessness, defined by HUD as spending more than one year continuously on the streets, is also rising in California. Within California, individual cities' homeless populations vary. Sacramento (pop. 500,000, 1.5 million in metro area) hosted 1,779 homeless people in 2016 or 0.4% of the city population (California State University, Sacramento, 2018). The homeless population of Sacramento County has risen to 3,665 in 2017, although shifts in survey methods make it difficult to rely on the accuracy of the numbers (see Figure 4.1).
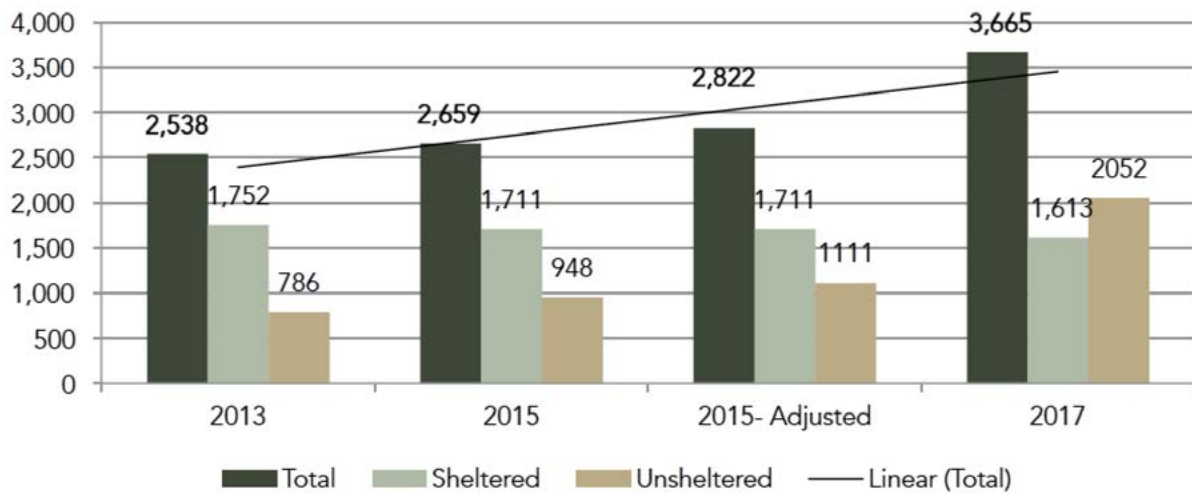
Figure 4.1. Sacramento County PIT counts of homeless people from 2013 to 2017 (from California State University, Sacramento, 2018)

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Sacramento's homeless population is: 1) small in relation to other California cities, 2) growing, and 3) growing rapidly, at least the unsheltered (despite changes in methodology influencing these numbers). The "average" person experiencing homelessness in Sacramento is white, male, middle-aged and unsheltered (California State University, Sacramento, 2018). Blacks and Native Americans are a smaller portion of the population but experience homelessness at a higher, disproportionate rate. Males are twice as likely to be homeless and three times more likely to be unsheltered as females (Figure 4.2). The Sacramento Point-in-Time Count does not ask homeless people to state their last place of residence, so it is unknown how many are originally from Sacramento.
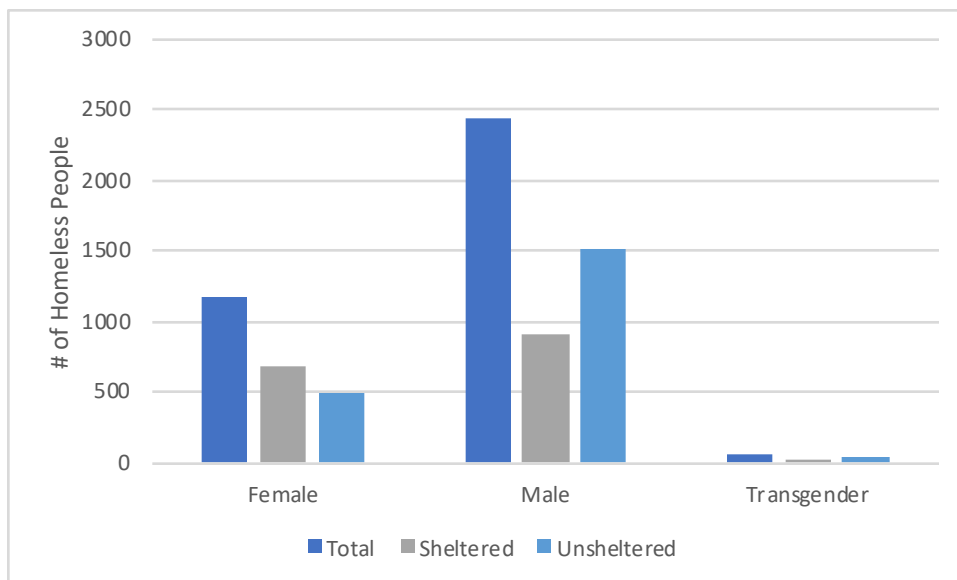
Figure 4.2. Sacramento County PIT Count division of homeless people by gender in 2017 (from California State University, Sacramento, 2018)

In contrast with Sacramento, Santa Cruz has a much larger homeless population in relation to the size of the town. The City of Santa Cruz (pop. 65,000, 275,000 in metro area) hosted 1,204 homeless people in 2016 or 1.9% of the city population (Applied Survey Research, 2017). According to the PIT Count for the county, the total numbers of homeless people in the county as a whole and in the city specifically have been fluctuating (Figure 4.3). It is notable the homeless population decreased by 1500 people between 2013 and 2015. The decrease comes almost entirely from the unsheltered population. Yet, it remains unexplained. In an interview with the County's Homeless Services Coordinator, she expressed skepticism of the number of homeless people counted leaving the county or finding shelter. The PIT Count report from 2017 speculates the change could be due to increased programs to assist homeless people, although no new affordable housing facilities were built (Applied Survey Research, 2017). The survey methodology has remained consistent between 2011 and 2017.
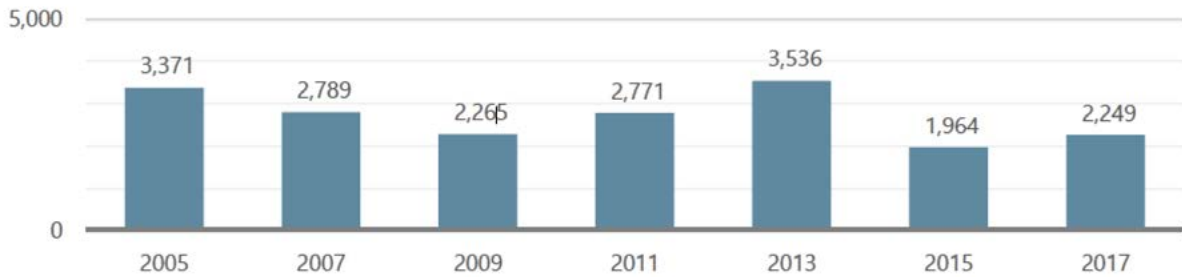
Figure 4.3. Santa Cruz County PIT counts of homeless people from 2005 to 2017 (Applied Survey Research, 2017)

Santa Cruz's homeless people are more visible (than in Sacramento), occupying prime spaces in downtown and in parks and beaches. The average homeless person from Santa Cruz is a white or Latino male, unsheltered and has lived in Santa Cruz County prior to homelessness. 55% of homeless people in Santa Cruz experience a mental or physical disability. While Santa Cruz hosts more homeless people per capita, it has fewer shelter beds: 338 emergency beds (of which 148 are seasonal) for 2,249 homeless people or 1 bed for every 6.6 homeless people in the winter in the County (Figure 4.4).
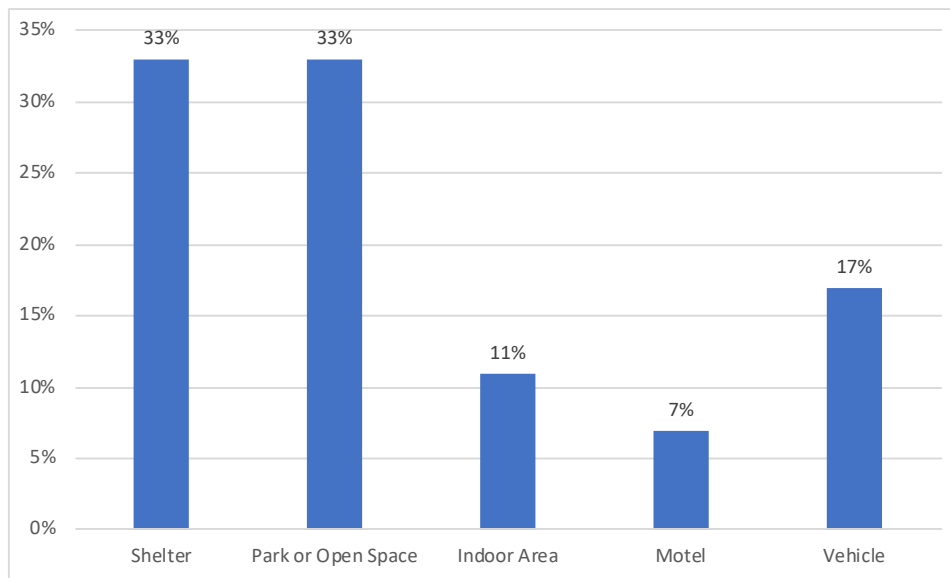
Figure 4.4. Places of sheltered (33%) and unsheltered (67%) homeless residents in Santa Cruz County in 2017 (Applied Survey Research 2017)
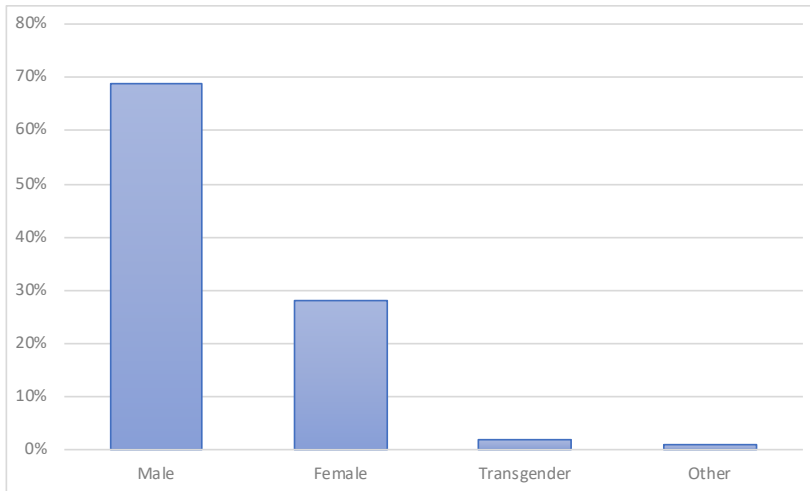
Figure 4.5. Santa Cruz County PIT Count division of homeless people by gender in 2017 (Applied Survey Research 2017)
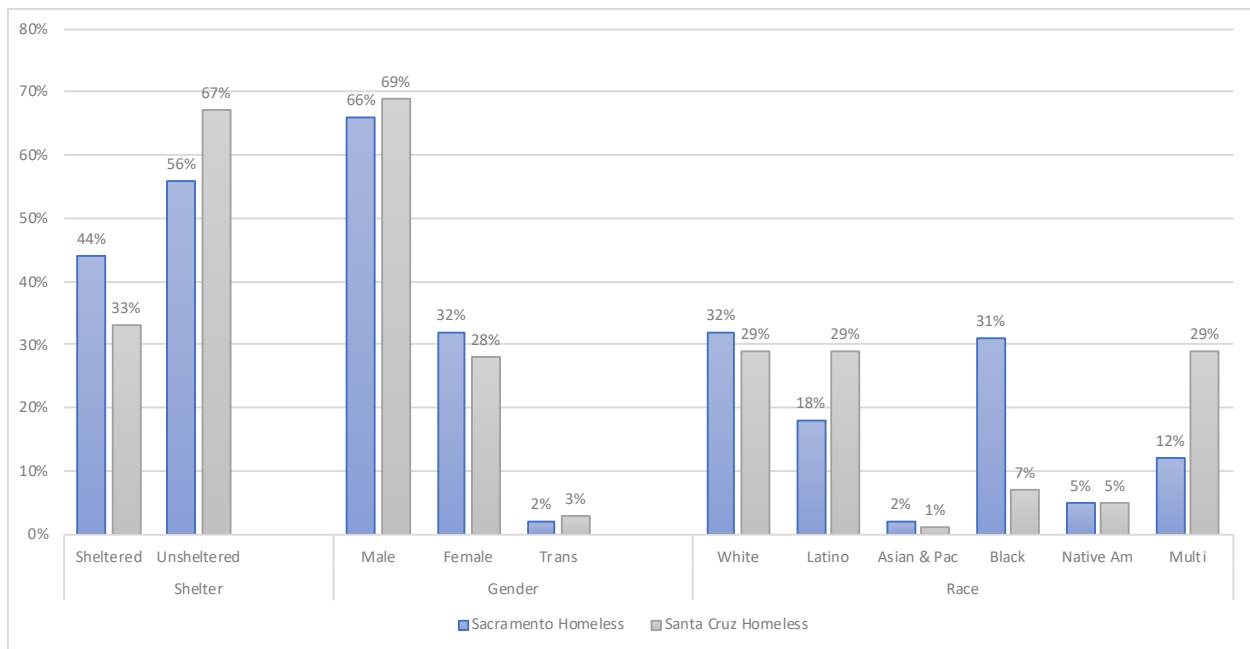
Figure 4.6. Comparison of Sacramento's and Santa Cruz's homeless populations

Homeless people observed in this study

The subset of homeless people I observed on the streets of Sacramento and Santa Cruz reflect the general race and gender composition of the homeless people counted in the PIT counts. In walking transects in both cities, I observed homeless people moving and standing/resting in place (Figure 4.7). I observed

approximately equal numbers of homeless people and domiciled people in Sacramento, while in Santa Cruz, the numbers of domiciled people were greater (gray bars in Figure 4.7), due to more time spent in the retail center of town.
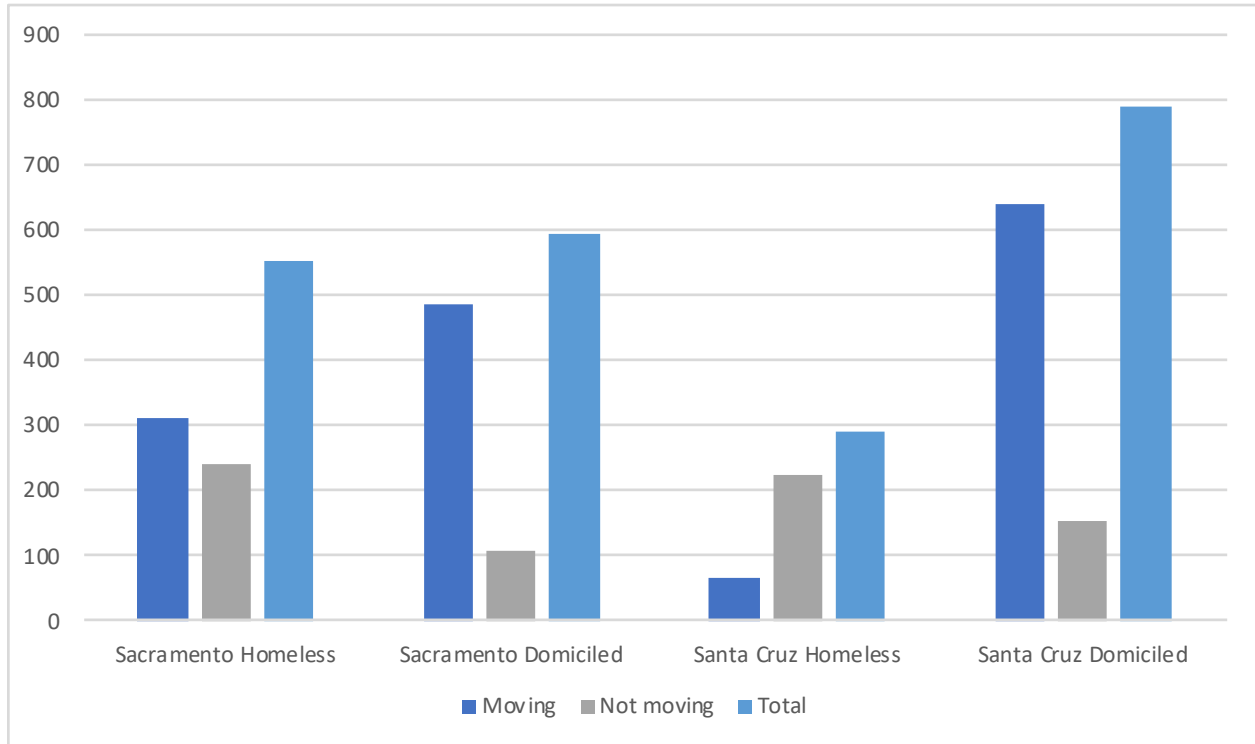
Figure 4.7 Comparison of observed Sacramento and Santa Cruz people, both homeless and domiciled.

Where do homeless people go? – Places without people

If people experiencing homelessness are people without place, they spend their time in places without people or as Augé (2009) puts it: "non-places." Like the domiciled, the places where homeless people go can be divided into day-time places and night-time camps. Both categories influence their patterns of movement.

In the case of homeless people, where they spend the night may shift frequently. It is illegal to camp in the city (or lay down in public). According to interviews with homeless people and formerly homeless people, their sleeping places can be divided into four locations:

1. Shelters where temporary residents spend the night at a formal, social service agency, such as the Union Gospel Mission in Sacramento or the Homeless Service Center in Santa Cruz,

2. Concrete sidewalks where campers set up after dark and wake up early to break down camp each night,

3. Communal tent encampments located in urban open space, usually along the river in Sacramento or in the wooded outskirts of Santa Cruz, and

4. "Loner" tent camps made up of hidden tents or lean-tos far away from others.

The sleeping or shelter location of homeless people may strongly influence their movement patterns, providing a point of origin and a place of return. These locations may limit daily movement, for instance in the curfew regulations of a shelter or in the need to stay in the camp area to watch one's belongings. Those in tent camps along the river or in the forest, they may spend their day sitting, talking, sorting through their stuff, rarely leaving the immediate area. If they reside in a formal homeless shelter, they often hang out in the immediate vicinity of the shelter during the day.

However, many homeless people do not or cannot linger around the area where they sleep. Before I examine each city's homeless destinations, that is what accounts for the demand of travel, I should emphasize the importance of the "move along" in homeless movement. People experiencing homelessness do not always move because they have somewhere (better) to go, sometimes called a "pull" in transportation; they often move because police or business owners ask them to move, which can be called a "push." Thus, homeless destinations comprise only a portion of the motivation for movement. The motivation of the "push" will be discussed more in Chapter 6.

Sacramento homeless spaces

Two aspects of non-working homeless people's locations during the day are important: the scarcity of options for being in public space and the variability of their daily movements. Map 4.1 shows the public and private space available to sit and rest during the day in the three neighborhoods. The American River Parkway is the largest contiguous public park space available to homeless people, although it lacks facilities. For the Richards Blvd. neighborhood and the Triangle, 17% of the land is public space, and less than 1% of that space is not a street or sidewalk. Three previously open vacant lots used by homeless people during the day and night were enclosed by fences with barbed wire in 2015 and 2017. For people looking to rest, the remaining options include sidewalks, bus stops and transportation rights-of-way, as well as semi-public areas such as

Friendship Park, opened for homeless people between 8:30 am and 2:45 pm according to an agreement with the city, as well as the McDonalds along Richards Blvd. Homeless people loiter around social service centers like Loaves & Fishes, Union Gospel Mission and Volunteers of America (see Map 4.2).

South Natomas
22% Public Space (Streets)
2% Vacant Land
Avg. Block Size: 5.0 ha

American River Pkwy
80% Public Space

American River Parkway Bike Trail

American River

Richards Blvd

Richards Boulevard
15% Public Space (Streets)
12% Vacant Land
Avg. Block Size: 6.4 hectares

N B Street

Sacramento River

I-5

Alkali Flats/Downtown
35% Public Space (Streets)
Avg. Block Size: 1 hectare

12th Street

16th Street

0   250   500 m

Map 4.1: Sacramento neighborhoods within and surrounding the area of study. Amount of public space and block size is indicated.
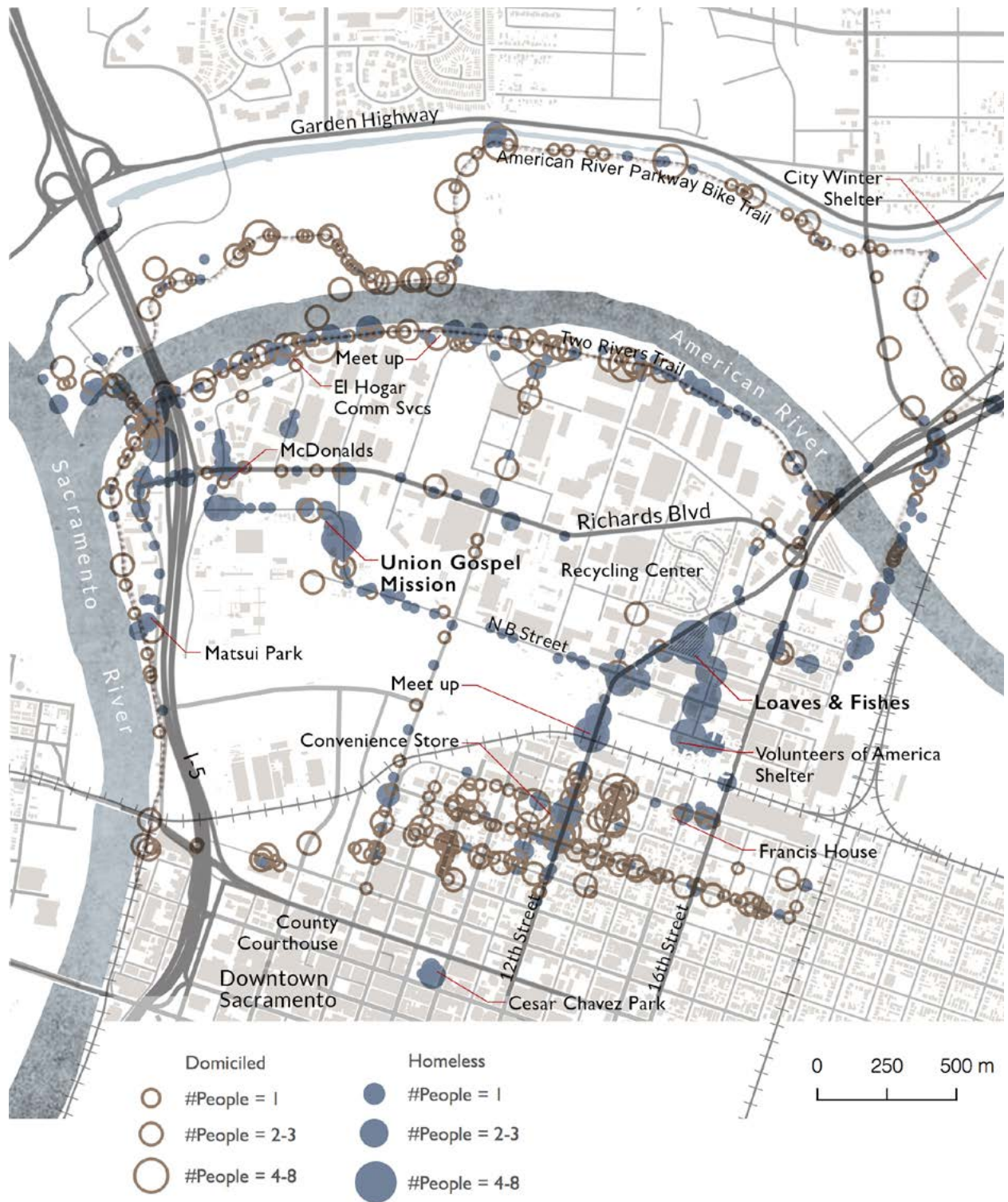
Map 4.2: Homeless destinations in and around the Richards Blvd. neighborhood, along with homeless people observed.

The range of homeless movement varies, from concrete campers who may travel just a few blocks to long-range homeless people who travel through different neighborhoods in Sacramento searching through dumpsters for cans or more valuable items. A small group of concrete campers sleep along the sidewalks and alleys of the Triangle and then walk or wheelchair over to Friendship Park during the day, meeting at the same two picnic tables, offering social support and camaraderie within the context of services and lunch provided at that facility. In discussions with several of these campers, their relatively tiny daily territory can be expanded with trips across town to Wal-mart, downtown or for appointments at the Social Security office or courthouse. The homeless people with larger territories may spend much of their time in other neighborhoods, entering the Richards Blvd. area to collect mail at a mail box at a social service center, to visit with friends or to pass through on their way downtown.

Of the areas shown in Map 4.1, the Richards Blvd. area and the American River Parkway offer an informative contrast on homeless occupation. Considered places without residents by the city, both areas have been occupied by transients since the Great Depression (Parker, in press). The Richards Blvd area is zoned light industrial. Buildings reflect that designation, predominantly offices and warehouses. Both the Sacramento City Police and the State Highway Patrol house their main offices in this neighborhood. From the perspective of homeless people though, it is a relatively safe neighborhood to travel within and through, free from police harassment. They walk or bicycle past fences and buildings with blank walls. The little retail that exists, a furniture store, a gas station, rely on people driving to the store; no shoppers walk along the street. The primary source of conflict in this neighborhood occurs between homeless people and absentee landownership, particularly in the spaces of vacant lots, back of buildings and slivers of right of way homeless people may inhabit. The conflict is not direct; I observed no words exchanged nor could I identify anyone who might be a (silent) landowner. The conflict occurs with the incremental building of fencing to prevent homeless people from trespassing. The literal enclosure of space reinforces the original partitioning of the space into private parcels, removes day use areas, and makes it more difficult to move through the neighborhood.

In contrast, the American River Parkway, as public space, is very open. It is zoned for public recreation. Two bike paths run east-west on either side of the American River. Two full-time State Park Rangers patrol the parkway, usually driving white pick-up trucks and most often seen in Discovery Park parking lots. Here

the conflict is city-wide, played out in the Sacramento Bee and parkway blogs, between homeless advocates and parkway recreationists and preservationists who do not want to see homeless people encamped on the parkway (i.e. Jahn, 2005; Vellinga, 2002). The 2017 PIT Count suggests that the wet winters of 2016 and 2017 forced hidden campers up onto the other side of the levees, resulting in a larger count of unsheltered home-less people and an increase in tents observed in the Parkway from 133 to 163 (California State University, Sac-ramento, 2018). Increasing numbers of homeless people lead to increasing numbers of encounters with recre-ationists in the Parkway, often described by the domiciled as a "shame" amidst calls to "clean up" the parkway (Jahn, 2005). Dooling (2009) calls this "ecological gentrification," the process of reserving large tracts of urban wilderness for the specific purposes of recreation and scenery for the middle class and wealthy. In the absence of public open space elsewhere in the city and the enclosure of vacant lots in the Richards Blvd area, former concrete campers move into the Parkway to find a place to sleep, while challenging the civic image of what the Parkway is and who it is for.

Santa Cruz homeless spaces

As a smaller town/city, Santa Cruz offers homeless residents fewer and more concentrated territories and spaces to hang out during the day. Unlike the Richards Blvd. neighborhood, San Lorenzo Park and downtown Santa Cruz offer convenience stores and public open space internal to the neighborhood, making longer destination trips unnecessary. Public space abounds along the San Lorenzo River, a small waterway cutting through Santa Cruz's center in a similar way to the American River in Sacramento. However, Santa Cruz has done a much better job of connecting the commercial core to the river. The San Lorenzo bikeway provides a route from north of town to downtown and the boardwalk. Public space is used for daily movement of homeless people and domiciled people alike. Like Sacramento, public space outside of the river area is mostly limited to public streets (see Map 4.3). 32% of land is public in the central core study area. 7% of the study area is street and sidewalk; 17% is San Lorenzo Park and the river.

For this neighborhood, it is the social service organizations that exist on the edge of the neighborhood – Sal-vation Army to the west on Laurel Street and the Homeless Service Center north across the Mission Highway (see Map 4.4). Thus open space along either side of the river provides places of daily rest and socializing, while scattered individuals and pairs of homeless people occupy a few of the streets downtown. Unlike the Richards Blvd. neighborhood, Santa Cruz downtown is mostly retail and experiences heavy pedestrian traffic.
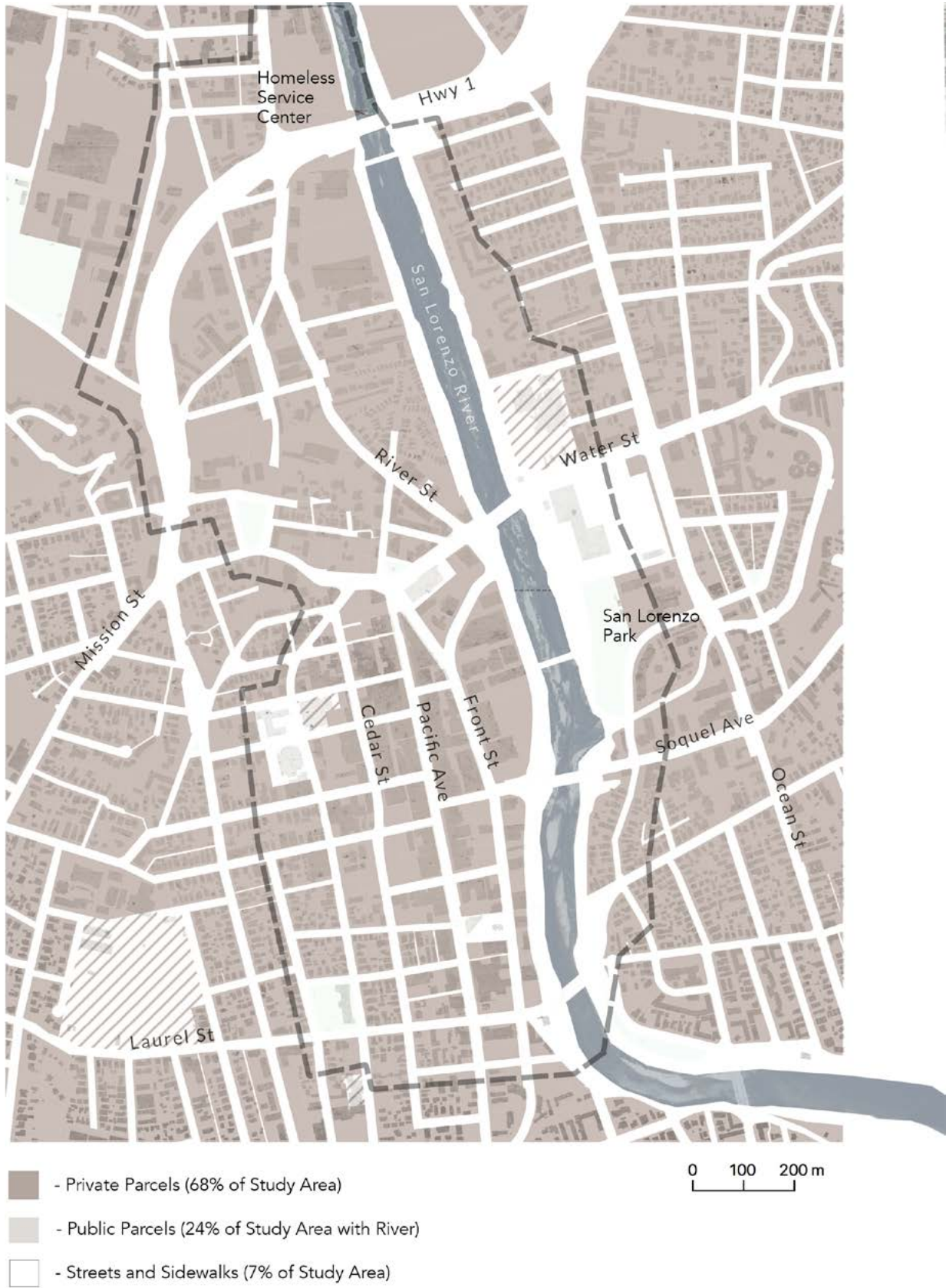
Map 4.3: Public and private space in Santa Cruz

Legend:
- Private Parcels (68% of Study Area)
- Public Parcels (24% of Study Area with River)
- Streets and Sidewalks (7% of Study Area)
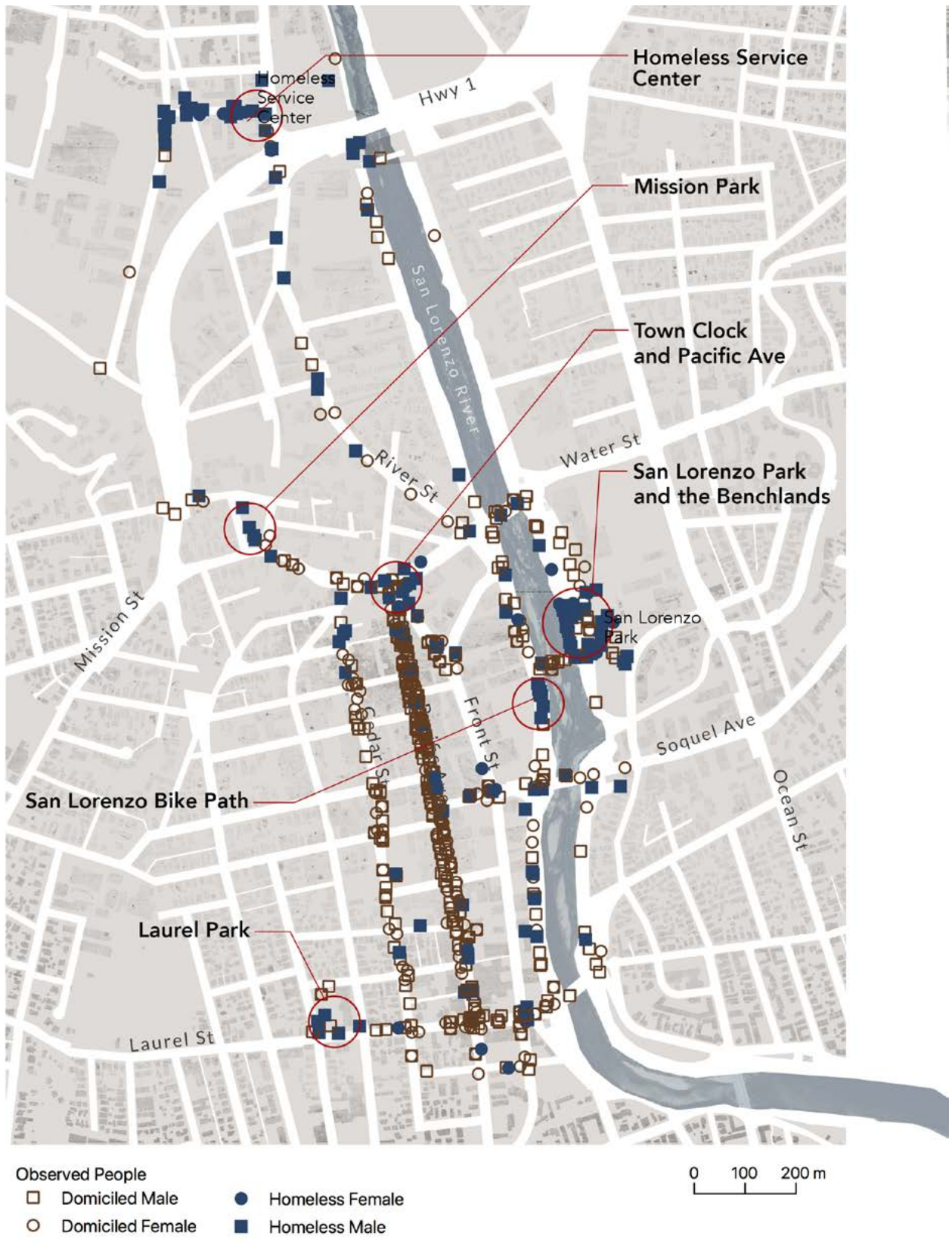
Map 4.4: Destinations in and around Santa Cruz, as well as homeless and domiciled observations

Sidewalks are patrolled regularly by police, just as the bike paths are patrolled regularly by park rangers. I saw many more evictions and "move alongs" on the sidewalks and paths of Santa Cruz, despite the smaller numbers of homeless people.

At night, the homeless people of Santa Cruz have fewer shelter options. The Homeless Service Center provides 120 beds for various types of homeless people, River Street Shelter provides 32 beds and other small shelters provide anywhere from 20 to 40 beds depending on the season: 172 to 192 beds for 2,249 homeless people. (Note: almost one third of homeless people in the PIT Counts are sheltered in some way each night, most through informal means (Figure 4.4)). Social service staff suspect from conversations with homeless people that more than half of the homeless population camps in the abundant, forested open space to the north and west of the city. One conversation with a Santa Cruz ambulance driver confirmed this pattern, due to the frequency of emergency calls from residents concerned about an injured camper in the woods. If homeless people frequently occupy San Lorenzo Park and downtown Santa Cruz during the day, and then disperse into the forest at the town's edge at night, this daily movement pattern mimics the traditional commute pattern of edge to city core, despite the lack of jobs amongst the homeless of Santa Cruz. They still commute. Due to the more private and hidden nature of these camps, I found it difficult to confirm camp locations, but I observed homeless people moving from Pogonip down Golf Course Drive and the abandoned railroad tracks and from encampments north of town along Highway 9 (River Street), both outside the study area.

The common denominator of patterns of homeless movement and occupation in both cities is the dispersed nature of homeless people throughout the spaces of the city. Maps 4.2 and 4.4 show concentrations of domiciled pedestrians, bicyclists and shoppers, while homeless people are scattered throughout the neighborhoods. In Sacramento, the domiciled concentrate to the south in Alkali Flats and to the north along the American River Parkway (ARP), while homeless people move throughout these areas. In Santa Cruz, domiciled people walk up and down Pacific Avenue, while homeless people move west, east and north through the city. This pattern may arise from domiciled people having somewhere to go, a destination in mind, such as the retail shops of Pacific Avenue or biking long-distance along the ARP. They may have more purpose to their movement. Homeless people in dispersal, end up occupying places designed for cars, not pedestrians and bicyclists. They move between social service centers (i.e UGM and Loaves and Fishes), also a purposeful path,

but atypical for others. This dispersal has implications for the planning and design of the urban environment. The partitioning of the city into "walkable streets" and car-oriented (or more likely truck-oriented) industrial areas reduces the quality of transport for homeless people, who will likely move through these spaces regardless if walking or bicycling has been accommodated. Along N. B Street in Sacramento, a number of homeless men and a few women walk west after eating lunch at Loaves & Fishes to reach the Union Gospel Mission in time for an afternoon of socializing and an evening meal. They walk along the gravel shoulder (no sidewalks past 7th Street), swinging out into the lane of cars and trucks to get around the scattered parked cars before greeting friends sitting in the shade along Bannon Street. The designed aspects of the city (i.e. sidewalks) only appear where domiciled pedestrians and bicyclists want to go.

Modes of Travel of Homeless People

In what way is the travel of homeless people different and more difficult than the domiciled? Data on travel completed by the general population emphasize the importance of the automobile. According to a 2016 survey of Sacramento residents completed by the National Center for Sustainable Transportation, respondents' mode of transportation varies slightly depending on their destination (Figure 4.8). 73% of people traveling to work usually use a car, while 9% bike. To the grocery store, 81% of people use a car, while 5% say they usually bike. Respondents in this survey came from a database of residential addresses near the center of Sacramento. People without addresses were not included.

The Santa Cruz County Regional Transportation Commission offers data at the city level derived from the 2010 American Community Survey of the Census Bureau. Respondents only described the mode of transportation to their workplace. 69% of people drove to work, while 8% of people biked. In 2016, according to an updated American Community Survey, 64% of commuters drove or carpooled to work; 11% reached work by "other means," a catch-all designation that includes mostly bicyclists (Figure 4.9). For both communities among domiciled residents, the majority of people drive to work, while a significant number of people bike. Sacramento has more drivers, while Santa Cruz likely has more bikers.
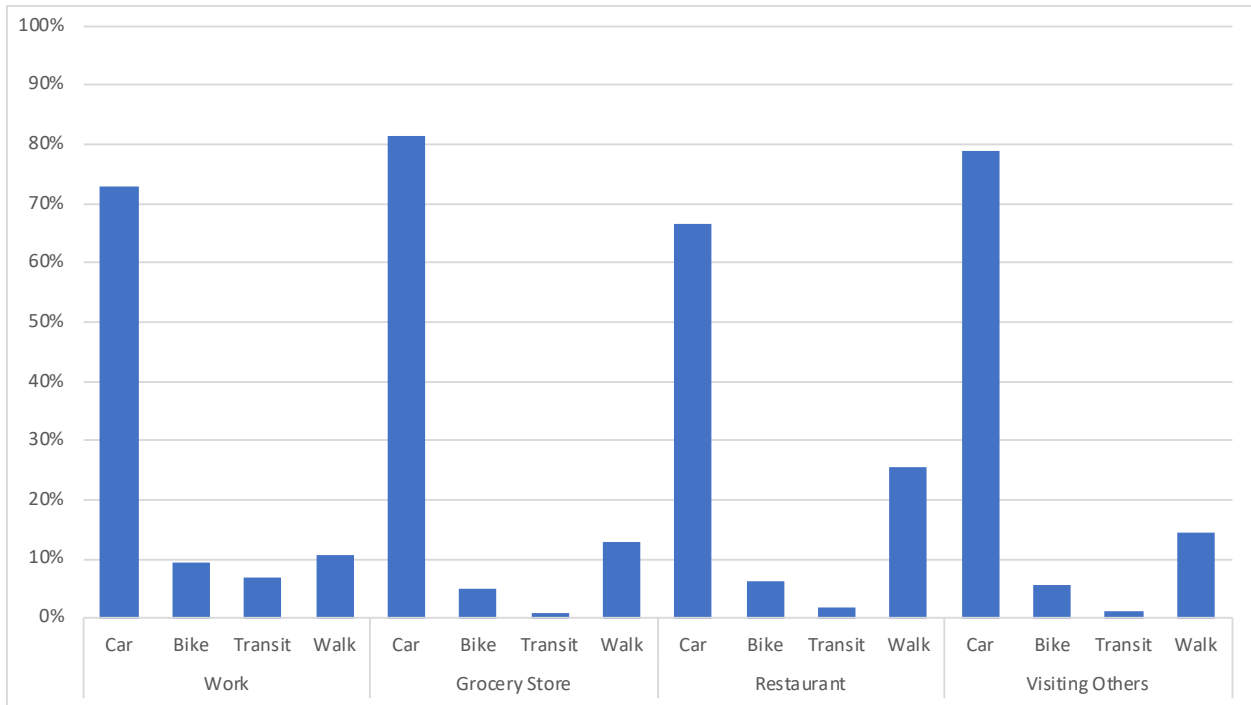
Figure 4.8 The most frequent mode of travel of Sacramento residents dependent on destination (NCST 2017).
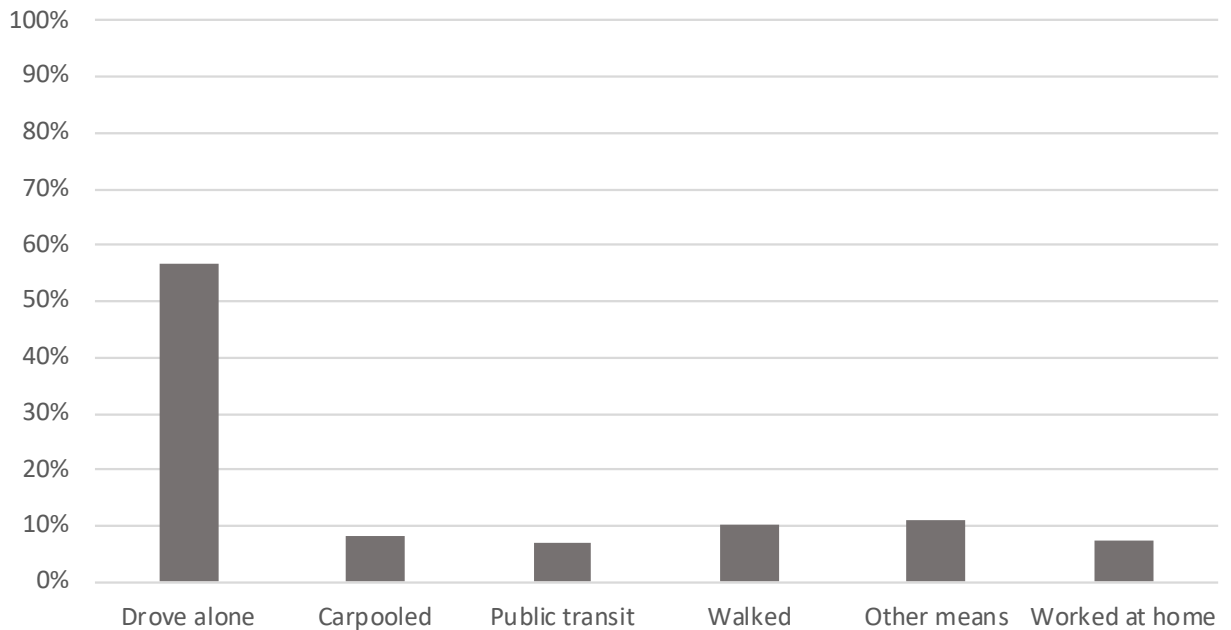
Figure 4.9: The usual mode of travel of Santa Cruz residents as they go to work.

Observations and ethnographic work examining the movements of homeless people walking, biking and riding transit offer some clues to homeless travel but do not assess city-wide quantities of people in each activity.

While I have mapped observations of people's mode of transportation in public space, this has been limited to walking, biking and waiting for bus and transit. People driving in cars or riding transit are not counted. Map 4.5 and 4.6 illustrates the different modes of transportation observed in public space, not including car and rail travel.

How do homeless people then travel differently? There are a few generally observed patterns relating to modes of transportation most often used by people experiencing homelessness:

    a) Homeless people rely on less expensive modes of transportation,

    b) Unemployed homeless people who walk and bike spend more time in their day moving,

    c) Homeless people bike more than domiciled people, and

    d) Homeless people use modes of travel in contrast with intended purpose of infrastructure, walk-
        ing when they should be driving, biking when they should be walking.

I discuss each mode of travel and its relation to homelessness.

Automobility system

Although I did not study homeless people as drivers, the pervasive system of automobility permeates the study, shapes the urban landscape inhabited by homeless people and structures people's views of transportation and movement. Therefore, I begin a discussion of homeless mobility by discussing homeless people's relationship to the car and its infrastructure. As seen in Figures 4.8 and 4.9, the majority of people choose to drive when making trips in the city. A significant body of literature describes the history of automobility and how we came to the present dominance of car travel (Freund & Martin, 1993; Norton, 2007; Sachs, 1992). Railroads and then streetcars (for passengers) dominated transportation for the first half of each city's existence, before being replaced by buses and automobiles in the early twentieth century (Burg, 2006). Interstate 5 bisected downtown Sacramento as part of an urban renewal project in the late 1960s (Lastufka, 1985). The character and composition of Santa Cruz changed with the opening of State Route 17 in 1940, making the town more easily accessible from the Bay Area, but also bringing cars into the center of the city. Both highways (SR 17 transitions to Hwy 1 when it reaches Santa Cruz) now serve as barriers to walking and bicycling within each city, focusing pedestrians to two or three crossing points. Today, 80% of public space in the Richards Blvd. neighborhood in Sacramento is devoted to the automobile (vs. 13% sidewalks), and 62% of public space in the Alkali Flats neighborhood (vs. 35% sidewalks and planter strips). In Santa Cruz,
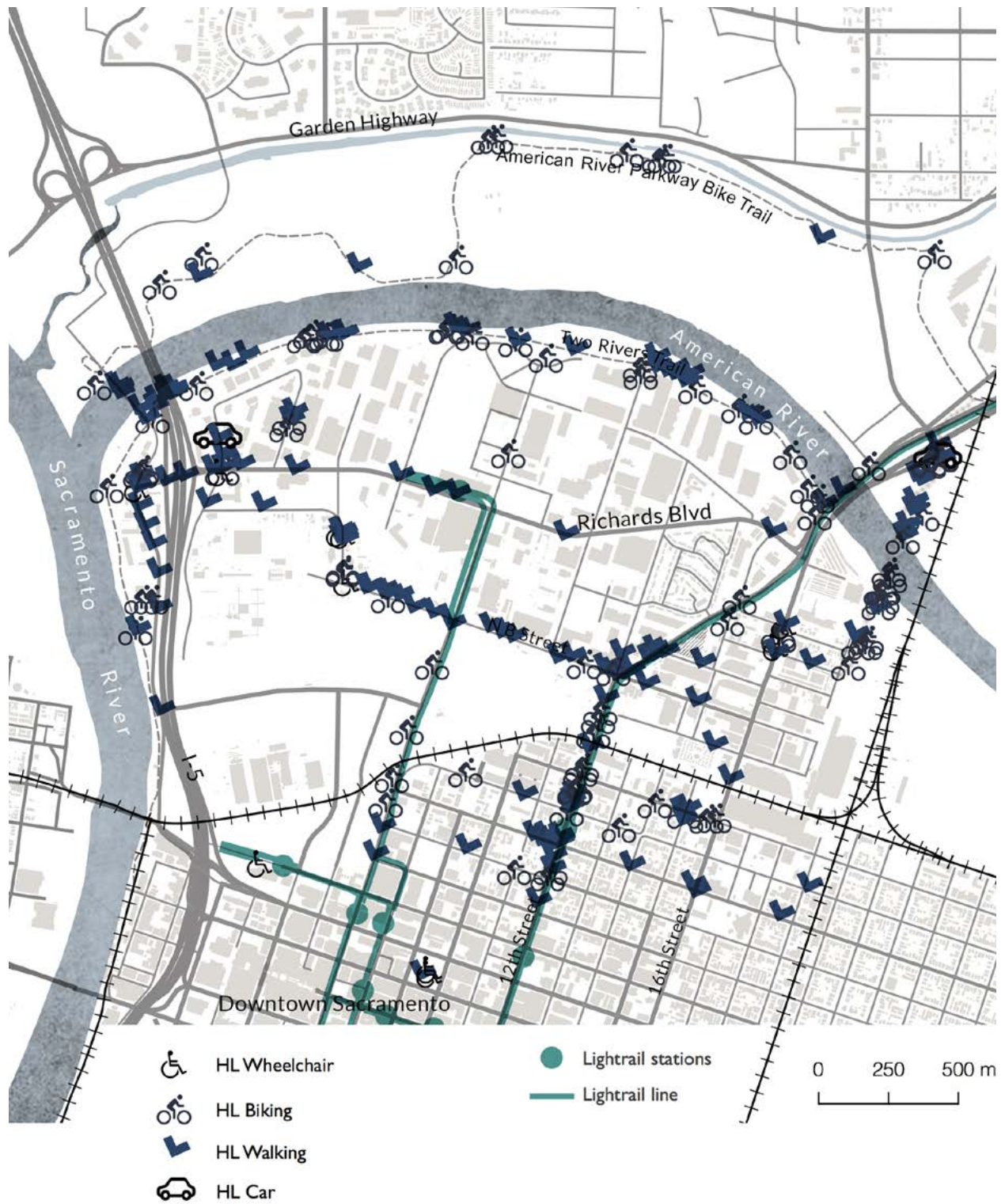
Map 4.5: Sacramento's transportation by homeless people in public spaces

Legend:
- HL Wheelchair
- HL Biking
- HL Walking
- HL Car
- Lightrail stations
- Lightrail line

Map 4.6: Santa Cruz's transportation by homeless people in public spaces

Legend:
- Homeless Pedestrian
- Homeless waiting for bus
- Homeless bicyclist

Map labels: Homeless Service Center, Hwy 1, San Lorenzo River, River St, Water St, Mission St, Cedar St, Pacific Ave, Front St, San Lorenzo Park, Soquel Ave, Ocean St, Laurel St

Scale: 0 100 200 m
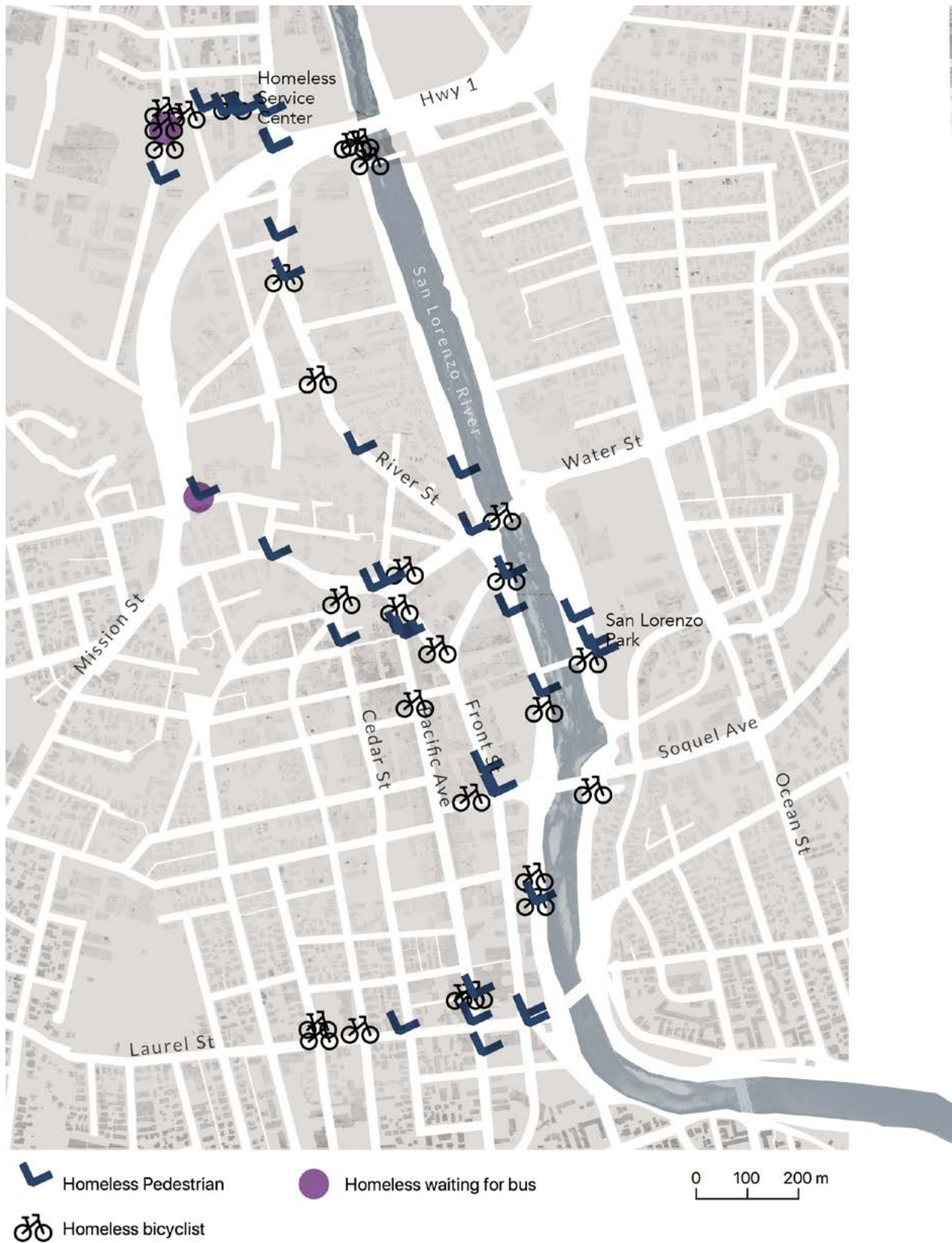
the wide sidewalks and small plazas of downtown reduce the percentage of downtown public space devoted to cars to 61% (vs. 39% sidewalks), but overall the study area devotes only 22% of its public space to the automobile with over half of that space river and adjacent park and a quarter of space semi-public landscapes and buildings of courthouse, library and prisons. It would be difficult to overestimate the dominance of the automobile in the Richards Boulevard neighborhood in Sacramento and in the areas north of Water Street in Santa Cruz, due to the small (or missing) sidewalks, constant presence of cars moving fast in close proximity to pedestrians and the amount of pavement creating an open impermeable atmosphere.

Automobility entails more than streets, gas stations and dealerships dominating the spatial urban landscape. The system of automobility has transformed urban areas into urban regions at multiple scales. Commonly denoted "sprawl," the automobile contributed to the dispersal of urban services and resources, making it difficult for urban residents without access to the car to reach necessary destinations (Gutfreund, 2004; Kunstler, 1994). What this means for people experiencing homelessness who do not have cars is an increasing difficulty in getting around and more constrained or smaller range of movement. If the built structure of the city spreads out, it takes a longer time for a homeless person to get from place to place. For instance, the misdemeanor County Courthouse was placed near Highway 50 east of Sacramento, a convenient spot for people with car. For homeless people with a fare evasion ticket, it takes several hours to reach via bus and all day if walking, thus making it difficult to plea bargain for community service and a clearing of one's record.

While the system of automobility is more of the context than the focus of this research, I did observe that a few homeless people negotiate life while living in an automobile. (In Long Beach, 15% of homeless survey respondents in one study operated and lived in a car (Jocoy & Casino, 2010)). Infrequently, in my walking or biking paths through the neighborhoods of Sacramento and Santa Cruz, I came across someone sitting in an older-model car or van parked on the side of the road. The car's windows would be draped with shirts and blankets to prevent someone from looking in the back or side windows. Piles of belongings spilled from the back seat onto the front. The person would have the front door open and would be sorting through stuff, washing their hands and feet, or talking to someone over on the sidewalk. The person living in their car may be seeking privacy, a kind of mobile invisibility, as they prepare to drive short distances to another street, hoping they will not be ticketed or towed. According to one social service worker, homeless people who sleep

in cars eventually lose the cars when they stay in one place too long. The car is towed, they are charged a fine of $400 to $500, and they cannot get their car back.

For those people who live in their vehicles, it is their home; transportation is secondary. The system of auto-mobility which would seemingly enhance the lives of homeless people who own cars may also work against them. In this system, cars should be moving, parked at home or parked at work or a store. As a homeless person, moving a car has to be done carefully and for only short distances, because of the expense of gas. Park in a residential or retail area to sleep for too long and someone may call parking services. If a homeless person parks next to a vacant lot and it is obvious they have no economic purpose in that location. The homeless use of the car, even in a transportation system devoted to automobility, deviates from mobile and spatial norms of the automobile.

Bicycling

> On the north side of Matsui Park along the Sacramento River, there is a dirt road running east west. A young female [Emily] in jean shorts pushes a gray mountain bike out to the sidewalk. She looks tired with red eyes. She carries a rainbow-colored backpack over one shoulder. I walk by the dirt road as she approach-es. The sidewalk widens to three meters moving north by the hotels. As I walk down the middle of the sidewalk, she hops on her bike then comes up from behind and in a low voice says "excuse me" as she passes, even though there is plenty of room for her to get by [Field notes].

Emily with the rainbow-colored backpack visits Am-Pm first, then bikes to McDonald's on the other side of the freeway. I later see her coming back to Matsui and the river, still biking on the sidewalk. Emily uses her bike to access the whole neighborhood, moving back and forth between resource acquisition and the away-ness of campsite and resting place. Her bike can be pushed along over rough terrain, run along the sidewalk, and skipped over the curb, meeting the shifting demands of the urban terrain. At the same time, her moun-tain bike requires minimal funds and maintenance, standing by in times of rest for when she needs it.
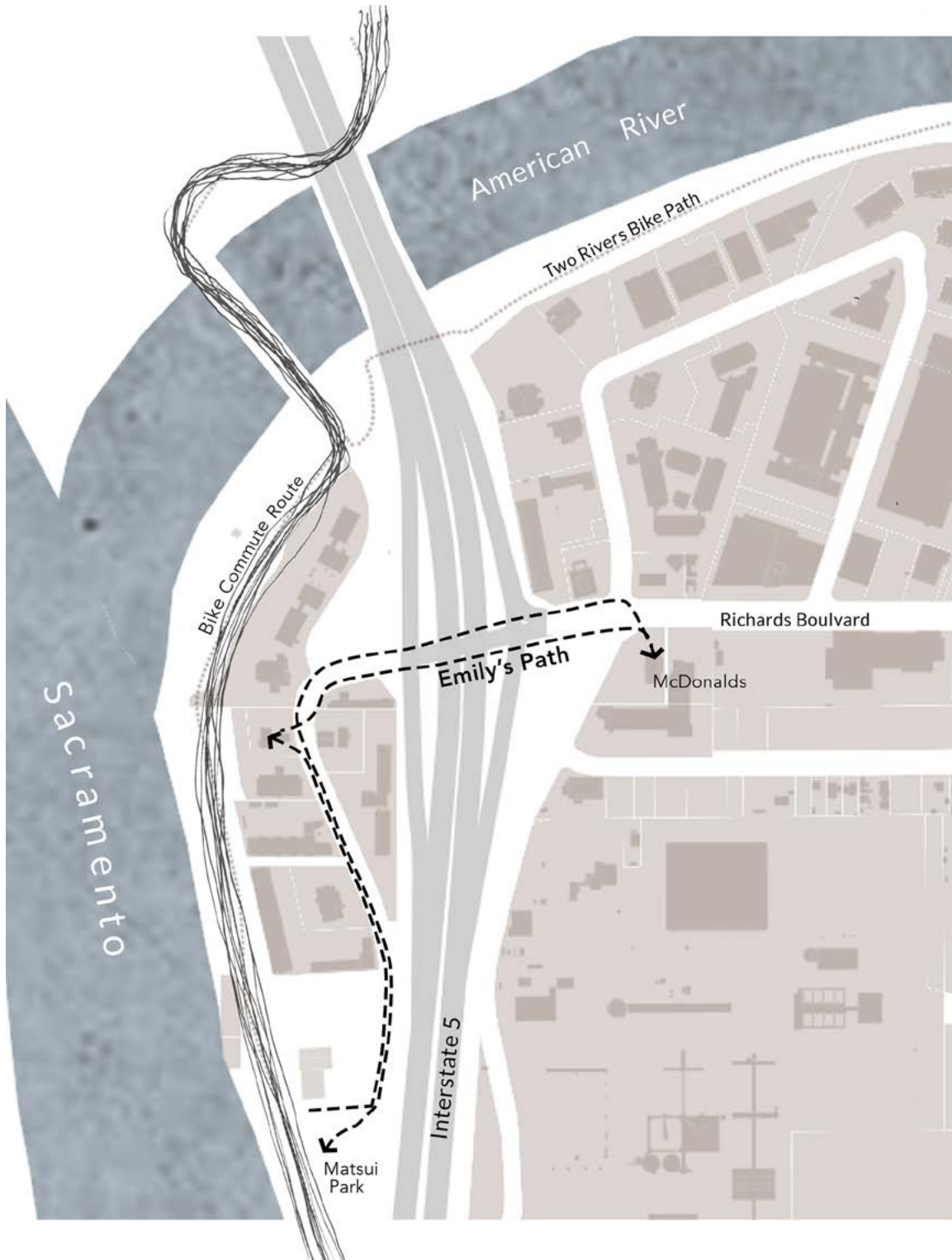
Map 4.7. Emily's bicycle path in the context of the north-south bicycle commute.

Many people experiencing poverty turn to the bicycle for transport. Despite the association of bicyclists and bike infrastructure with gentrification in American cities, the rate of bicycle commuting is higher among the poor than the wealthy. For the poorest commuters earning less than $10,000 per year, 1.5% of them bike to work, while the number for wealthy bicycle commuters earning over $100,000 is only 0.4% (McKenzie, 2014). The bicycle is inexpensive compared to alternative modes. Walking is free but reaches only a small area. Bicycle commuters may reach up to 30 km, although most homeless bicyclists travel short distances. Bicyclists pay approximately $350 per year for their commute (Schwartz, 2011). The bus can reach larger areas of the city but is less convenient and flexible. Sacramento bus riders pay $2.25 per ride, so an average bus commuter pays approximately $1,125 per year for their commute. Light rail is similar: faster than a bus, but a more limited territory. The average urban car commuter, with the greatest speed and range, pays approximately $8,470 per year for their commute (American Automobile Association, 2017), making it difficult to afford for those in the lowest income bracket. A study of New Zealand transportation modes confirms this analysis, finding costs highest for cars, taxis and walking (Nariida Smith, Veryard, & Kilvington, 2009) (walking only because they factored in the "cost" of time). The transportation modes with the lowest costs were bicycle and heavy rail.

Homeless people in Sacramento and Santa Cruz often maintain a bicycle for getting around. Those who spend the day along the American River Parkway or San Lorenzo Park in particular use bicycles to move along the extensive bike paths. Observations of homeless people outside in both cities suggest the number of homeless people moving on (or with) a bicycle was greater than the number of domiciled people commuting by bicycle. Of the 1071 behavioral observations of people outside during daylight hours in the two neighborhoods, 45% of them appeared to be homeless (6% unknown). Of those homeless people, 55% were either moving or waiting to move (waiting at a bus or light rail stop); 21% of observed homeless people were biking or pushing a bicycle (Figure 4.10). My observations do not fully represent homeless movement in the neighborhoods (for instance, they do not include homeless people driving), but they do suggest that homeless people in Sacramento and Santa Cruz use bikes at a greater rate than the 1.5% of low-income people earning less than $10,000 per year who commute by bicycle.
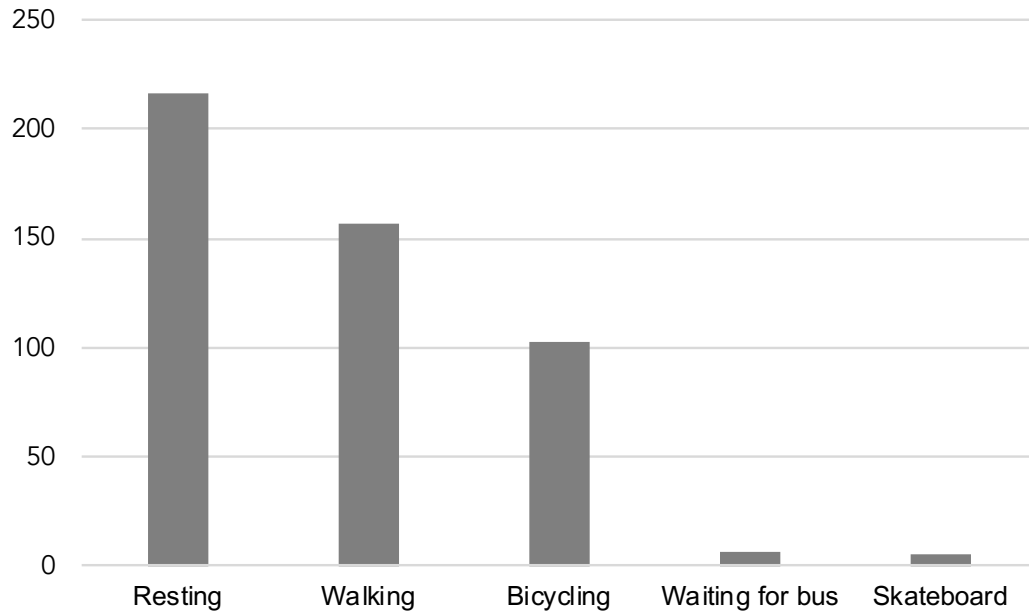
Figure 4.10 The behavior of observed homeless people outside in public spaces in two Sacramento and Santa Cruz neighborhoods

While both Sacramento and Santa Cruz have extensive bicycle infrastructure (compared to other U.S. cities), the infrastructure is more opportunistic than planned. Bike paths in both cities run along the rivers, pathways perpendicular to the routes of bicycle commuters. The lack of periphery-to-center routes makes it more difficult to commute by bicycle, potentially due to twentieth century transportation planners associating bicycling with recreation, not getting to work, and a further association of bicycling with children (as a toy) prevalent in media (Furness, 2010). Santa Cruz has attempted to rectify the disassociation between bike and commuting to work with bike lanes on east-west routes to downtown. In early mornings and afternoons, I observed a significant number of bicyclists in lycra clothing and full panniers entering and exiting the downtown area, suggesting the use of bike lanes by commuters.

The movement of homeless bicycles contrasts with formal, sanctioned movements of car and bus, travel reinforced by the dominant infrastructure. Homeless people participate in informal mobility, relying on its labor intensive, low-tech qualities (Cervero & Golub, 2007). Here, I define informal mobility slightly differently as non-normative movement against or in spite of existing infrastructure, such as walking or biking with things, jaywalking, and moving too slowly (i.e. across an intersection), all characteristics of homeless bicyclists as described. There is an aesthetic quality to this movement that people assess as belonging to a homeless person.

I detail experiences of homeless bicycle choice and use in Chapter 5. The bicycle, while inexpensive, flexible and adaptable for homeless people, is also disruptive to other modes of transportation. Too fast for pedestrian areas and too slow and fragile for heavily-traffic automobile areas, the bicycle exists in an in-between state. From the perspective of many car drivers, bicyclists get in the way, particularly when the bicyclist does not follow regulations and norms of traffic flow. Homeless bicyclists in particular disrupt norms of recreational bicycling that takes place along the river trails in both cities, such as: movement should be fast and consistent, bicycles should not be carrying belongings, and bicycles need to stick in their lane. The flexibility of the bicycle, an advantage for homeless people, leads to its condemnation when used by homeless people.

Walking

On a warm summer morning, Gerald, a white man in his fifties dressed in a long-sleeve shirt and wearing a broad-brimmed hat, began collecting aluminum cans downtown, starting early to get there before the other recyclers. He walks through alleys in a weaving pattern pulling two luggage carts that gradually fill. When I ask him if it might be easier on a bike, he says he is more "accepted" walking downtown. When his cart is full, he walks down the sidewalk along 7th Street, under the railroad tracks, then next to the railroad's wide vacant lots to the Recycling Center where he will turn in his cans. He will earn enough money for some kind of lunch and maybe to do laundry. After working, his time is his own. He likes to stroll back downtown to the Sacramento Public Library to work on the computers there, but ever since he got into a conflict with a security guard, he is not welcome. ("That security guard has a lot of issues!") Instead, he walks to the library in West Sacramento to use their computers, a distance of four kilometers, "only an hour." For Gerald, walking is work. In talking with him I mentioned the health benefits of walking and he responded: "Don't quit your day job."

Walking is work, particularly on pavement, when after one or two hours of walking feet and knees begin to complain. Yet it is also the most flexible kind of travel (for able-bodied people) as pedestrians adapt to social and environmental conditions. Every form of transport requires some walking if only at the beginning or end of each journey. Walking in the social literature moves from the everyday of de Certeau's "man in the street" (Certeau, 1984/2002) to the special or even sacred movements of a meaningful/political act (Solnit, 2001).

For homeless people, walking assumes the more prosaic roles of reaching a destination and encountering others on the way.

Map 4.8: Gerald's daily walking journey

Walking, as a primarily social activity, enhances a homeless person's opportunities for desired connections, as well as opportunities to avoid unwanted encounters. Walking's flexibility leads to management of social

relations in movement. Homeless people continually scan their environment to determine "friend or foe," shifting categories of threats which may include police, business owners, or other homeless people. Not only does the slow speed of walking facilitate this scanning, but homeless people feel most accepted by others while walking. This stems from long-held imaginaries of homeless people as tramps, vagabonds and transients, always from elsewhere (Cresswell, 2001). While they walk, they fit this imposed identity and do not threaten the urban aesthetic of the city. When they stop, they may be asked to 'move along' by police or park rangers (see Chapter 6).

Several homeless people interviewed, when I asked about walking, stated a preference for the bus in all but the shortest distances. The benefits of speed and comfort are sought by homeless people just like the domiciled. Biking was also viewed more positively than walking by several participants:

> *I ask him why he bikes.*
>
> *"Because you don't have to walk!" he says, as if there couldn't be anything more obvious.*
>
> *I see… because you can go long distances.*
>
> *Yea, I can go places, carry stuff* [Field notes].

Yet to say homeless people walk because they "have to" would not quite capture the ethos of walking present in the two cities. Homeless people walk on sidewalks, street shoulders, bike paths and dirt trails, casually stopping along the way whenever someone they know or might want to know walks by. At times, moving slowly is an advantage in the city. I observed homeless pedestrians walking while looking for someone, walking when concerned about being seen, walking when trying to find a spot to sit and rest without being bothered, and walking when you have all day with nowhere to go in a hurry.

> *For instance, on Sundays when they have a breakfast over at Chavez (Park), he'll walk over there just to*
> *eat a meal and relax. It takes half an hour to get there. "I take my time; there's not much traffic"* [Field]
> *notes].*

Walking is not only a rich, visual experience, but a temporal one. The time of walking effects how much traffic a pedestrian might have to negotiate, how much noise they hear, and how long it will take to get there.

Walking at night differs from walking during the day (R. J. Smith & Hall, 2013). The rich, visual experience dissipates. Traffic slows; there are fewer people to encounter. People walking at night do not feel as safe (Clif-

ton & Livi, 2005). Yet, for some homeless people to stop walking is even more unsafe.

> *In the early morning hours, I walk past a young female pedestrian with a large backpack slung over her*
>
> *shoulder. We pass each other on the Parkway's bike path. She avoids eye contact, walking purposefully.*
>
> [Later around nine o'clock…] *I head back south into the light industrial/office area. The young woman*
>
> *I saw up in the Parkway is sprawled on the grass, fast asleep in front of an office building, her backpack*
>
> *serving as a pillow* [Field notes]..

Some single youth and women find it too dangerous to stop at night and sleep somewhere, so they keep walking, using the day light hours to sleep.

While some walking is forced, other walking is a tool of self-expression and transgression. Most homeless people walk on the sidewalk or the shoulder of the road when available. Yet, a small subset of homeless people jaywalk forcefully, moving into the street in the face of oncoming traffic in an attitude of belligerence, sometimes yelling at approaching cars. I attribute this jaywalking to the need to establish an identity, assert one's personhood, through the disruption of the dominant flow of automobiles (see Chapter 7). Walking's flexibility allows shifts in movements to make use of a hole in the fence, to avoid a park ranger or someone else, or to find an inconspicuous camp. Walking is the mode of transport untethered to a determinate, urban infrastructure and thus State control. As such, some have suggested walking itself as transgression (Certeau, 1984/2002; Jacks, 2004; Vergunst, 2010).

I observed people walking dispersed throughout the study neighborhoods. In Sacramento, homeless pedestrians moved through the interior of the Richards Boulevard neighborhood (mostly industrial) (See Map 4.9). They shared the Two Rivers Bike Path with office workers walking on their break from the State Highway Patrol offices. And as they moved into the Alkali Flats neighborhood to the south, there numbers decreased in relation to domiciled pedestrians. The pattern of walking suggests that the percentage of homeless people walking outside in a given neighborhood goes up when traditional conditions of "walkability," such as small blocks, sidewalks and mixed use, decline or disappear. The Richards Boulevard neighborhood is not a nice place to walk. Along N B Street between Loaves & Fishes and the Union Gospel Mission, the sidewalk disappears forcing homeless pedestrians to move along a gravel shoulder. Despite the low walkability (or because of the low walkability), homeless people pre-dominate in the pedestrian landscape.
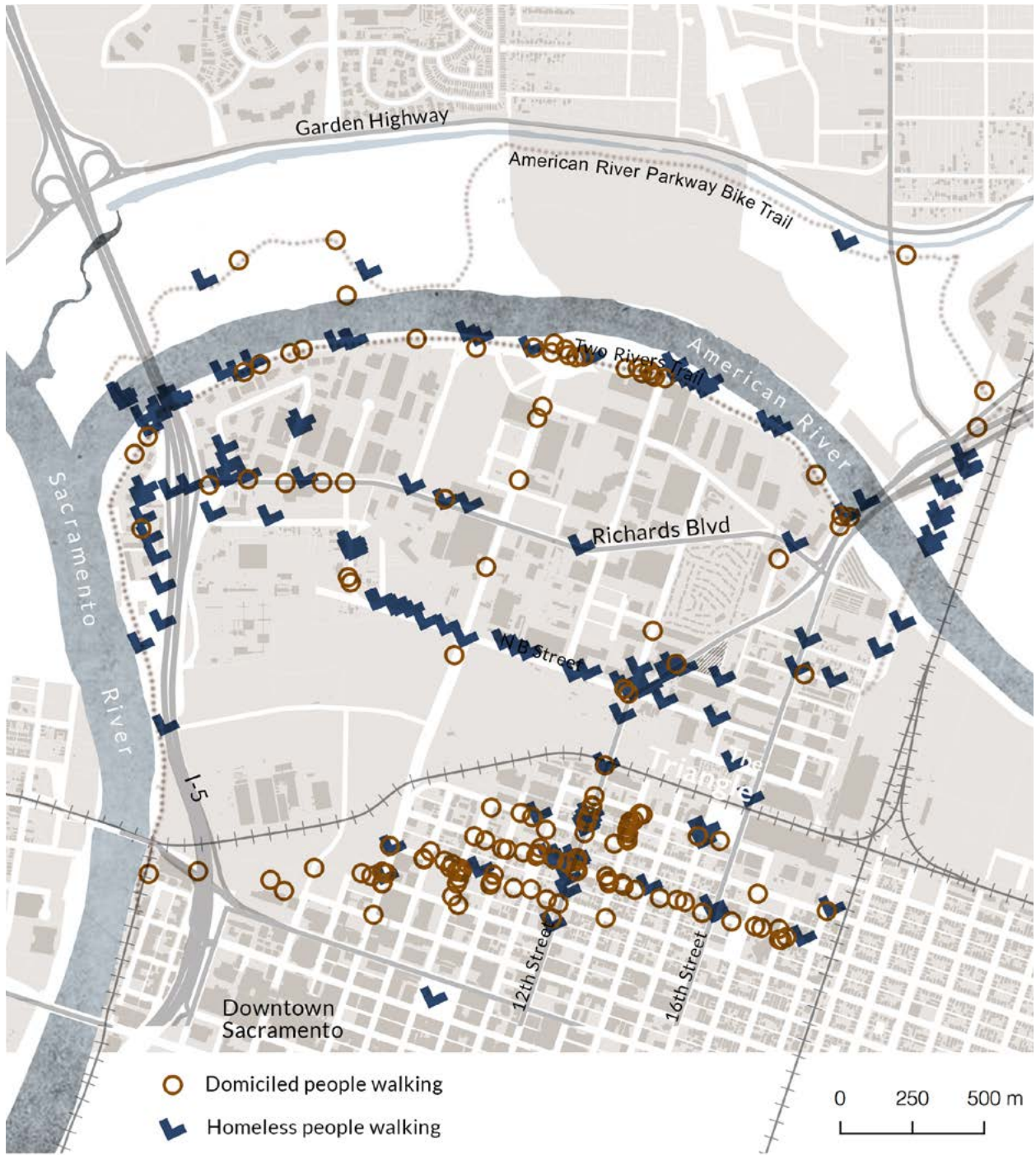
Map 4.9. Homeless and domiciled people walking in Sacramento

Map 4.10. Homeless and domiciled people walking Santa Cruz

Legend:
- Homeless Pedestrian
- Domiciled pedestrian

Map labels: Homeless Service Center, Hwy 1, San Lorenzo River, Water St, River St, Mission St, San Lorenzo Park, Cedar St, Pacific Ave, Front St, Soquel Ave, Ocean St, Laurel St

Scale: 0   100   200 m

In Santa Cruz, pedestrians concentrate along the Pacific Avenue retail corridor (Map 4.10). Early in the morning, before the shops open at 10 am, homeless people make up a significant percentage of the few people walking on the avenue's wide sidewalks. After the shops open, homeless pedestrians dissolve in the crowds and it is the homeless panhandlers sitting at the edge of the sidewalk that are most visible. Homeless people walking outside of the Pacific Avenue business corridor blend with other pedestrians. They move south along the San Lorenzo River bike paths from shelters in the north to socialize with friends at the pedestrian bridge or on the Benchlands. North of the Mission Highway, however, there are few pedestrians who are not homeless. In a similar pattern in Sacramento's Richards Boulevard neighborhood, the light industrial neighborhood around the Homeless Service Center does not have pedestrian amenities or many reasons for people to walk there.

While walking is the predominant observed mode of transport for homeless people in both cities (Figure 4.10), some homeless people cannot walk due to a physical or mental disability. Most notable on the streets of Sacramento are those in motorized or push wheelchairs. They wait at bus stops, at intersections for the light to change. Powered by a motor, their arms, or a friend or family member, it was difficult to distinguish whether they were experiencing homeless or not, since both domiciled and homeless people in wheelchairs appear to carry significant belongings with them. However, I observed the largest number of wheelchairs in the immediate vicinity of Loaves and Fishes and the Union Gospel Mission. For those disabled homeless people without some type of mechanized movement, walking slows down. It takes one woman with 'bad legs' ten minutes to walk from Mary's House to Friendship Park, a distance of less than a block, using a walker. Another woman with a leg that did not bend, thus creating a kind of shuffling gait, took 30 minutes to walk seven blocks from Friendship Park to the light rail stop at Alkali Flats.

The closed system of the bus

> *An older man with blue jeans and a long, black coat ambles over to the bus stop where I sit. He kicks a small plastic bottle of chocolate milk away from his planned seat on the curb and it rolls over to me. "Sorry about that." He sits down slowly, creakily on the curb about 10 feet away. He wears baggy American flag shorts over his jeans and his feet are clad in thick brown sandals with black socks. Mumbling as he sits down, he is still somewhat disturbed by the other man's argument* [previously].

I ask him where he is headed. He turns to me and I see he has one eye that wanders. He is headed over to Loaves and Fishes for lunch. It starts at 11:30. After that he needs to get some soda. Someone gave him five dollars, so after lunch he's going to go over to Dollar Tree on 15th Street to buy some. They close at 8 pm so he should have plenty of time to get there... depending on light rail and the buses. I must have looked confused (it was difficult to understand his toothless mumble) so he repeated the Dollar Tree story.

It is difficult to get back to his [homeless] shelter by 10 pm. You have to be in by 10 pm and he has a class somewhere up in del Paso. And these guys [the shelter] are a Christian organization! Even if he leaves his class by 9:30, what with the bus and light rail, it is very difficult to make it back to the ... [shelter].

He pauses and looks around.

Then he sighs and says: "I need to get off the #*@* streets before winter comes." I grunt in assent. Yea, it is very difficult being out here with his ailments. He's had surgery on his knee. And he's had an infection on his little finger. "An infection is no joke."

The #33 bus pulls up and people get off. He stands upright slowly and moves to his cart. He tells me maybe he'll see me up at the meal. And then he pushes his cart in front of the back door of the bus. A black, male driver in a clean, light blue shirt gets off the bus, opens the back doors from the outside and pushes a button that starts the disabled platform to descend. As it descends, the bus driver turns to the few of us at the bus stop and tells us we have five minutes.

The older man gets on to the platform with his cart and is lifted up into the back of the bus. The bus driver turns to us and repeats what he said about five minutes. An older, black man with a cane approaches the front door and the bus driver announces they can wait inside if they want [Field notes].

In Sacramento, buses and light rail are used frequently and visibly by homeless people. The cost of entry for both modes is lower than that of a car. Both systems serve a diverse range of socio-economic classes, are run by the same agency, Sacramento Regional Transit (SacRT), and charge the same price for ridership. In an interview with the chief of police for the SacRT, she described the bus system as a "closed" system, based on the presence of a driver who monitors and controls access to bus ridership depending on fare payment. The light rail system is therefore an "open" system, as people enter and exit at each stop at will; there is no gatekeeper. From a security standpoint, this is a key distinction. But it also works well from a socio-relational view to help in understanding the experience of riding the bus and light rail for homeless people. Because of

this closed system, bus access relies on social relations. This potentially could mean a passenger is greeted and affirmed. It also means a passenger can be rejected. (I have observed two bus drivers refuse someone entrance to a Yolo County bus moving through West Sacramento because the potential passenger did not meet driver expectations of conduct before the opportunity to pay for their fare. Both potential passengers were young black males).

While 86% of all Sacramento residents have *access* to bus service, the average Sacramentan used bus service just 0.6 days of the week, compared to 5.5 days using the car (S. Handy & Heckathorn, 2017). The number of bus riders is declining in Sacramento. In 2005, 18 million passenger trips occurred on the bus in Sacramento; in 2013, the number was 14 million (Figure 4.11). In 2009, during an economic recession, Sacramento Regional Transit reduced the number of bus routes significantly. According to SacRT planners, they chose routes to be eliminated solely based on ridership, ranking all bus routes by the number of riders and lopping off routes with the fewest. A few routes have been restored since 2010.
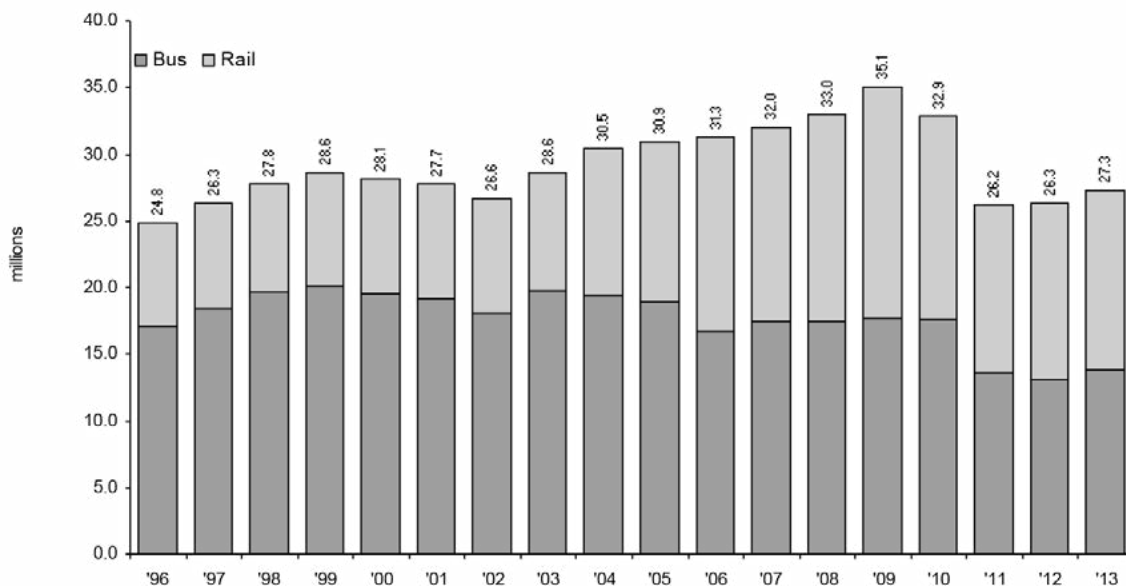
Figure 4.11 Sacramento public transit service consumption: unlinked passenger trips per fiscal year (Sacramento Regional Transit, 2015)

Homeless people frequent Bus Lines #33 and #15 (Map 4.11). The 33 runs a short looping route from the Alkali Flats light rail station through the neighborhood, under the railroad tracks along 16th Street, before

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dropping people off near Loaves and Fishes. The farthest north it extends is Richards Boulevard. The route appears to be too short to attract much ridership, but the several times I have ridden the bus, it has been more than half full of elderly and homeless people unable to walk over to Loaves and Fishes or Richards Blvd. Disabled people get half price monthly bus passes if they can show medical proof of disability. According to SacRT planners, route #33 is in the top half of ridership. Route #15 traverses an alternative Sacramento, a city both aware of its underpinnings in the railyards/industrial/military workings and its central positions in the striving progression of a California city. The route moves from downtown, through Richards Boulevard, north on Highway 160, crosses Arden Way, then heads north on Norwood Avenue through several low-income neighborhoods. The bus route provides access to Sacramento's affordable housing for many residents, as well as transportation for homeless people to connect with friends or family in the area.

In Santa Cruz, the contemporary history of their Metro bus lines mimics that of SacRT's, with cuts in service in 2010 during the recession (Figure 4.12). In the County of Santa Cruz, 2.8% of daily trips occur using transit (Dykar, 2010), while in the city itself, that number increases to 6% (City of Santa Cruz, 2017). In 2016, Santa Cruz Metro again reduced existing routes and service by 10% in order to bring their operations budget more in line with their revenue. Unlike SacRT, Santa Cruz Metro did not reduce the routes with the lowest ridership, arguing that rural routes would always have the lowest ridership and recommitting to a goal of providing services throughout the County (Santa Cruz Metro, 2016).
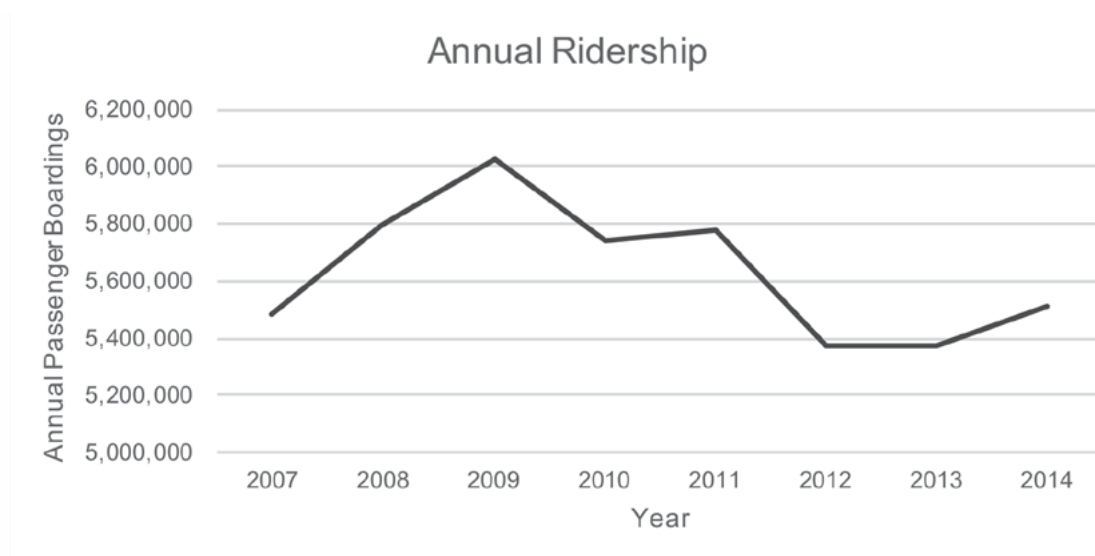
Figure 4.12 Annual ridership on Santa Cruz Metro buses
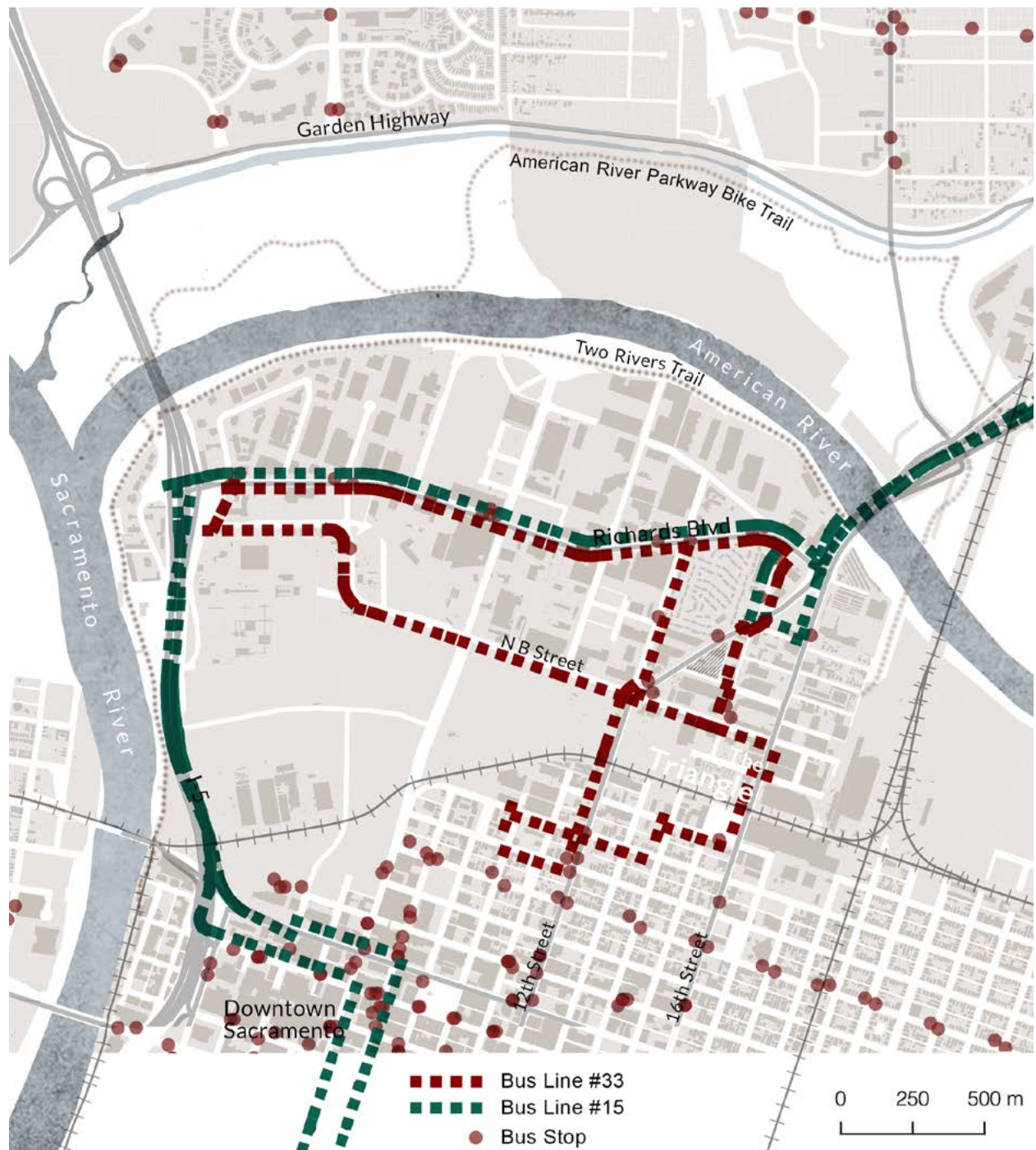
Map 4.11: Sacramento bus routes frequented by homeless people
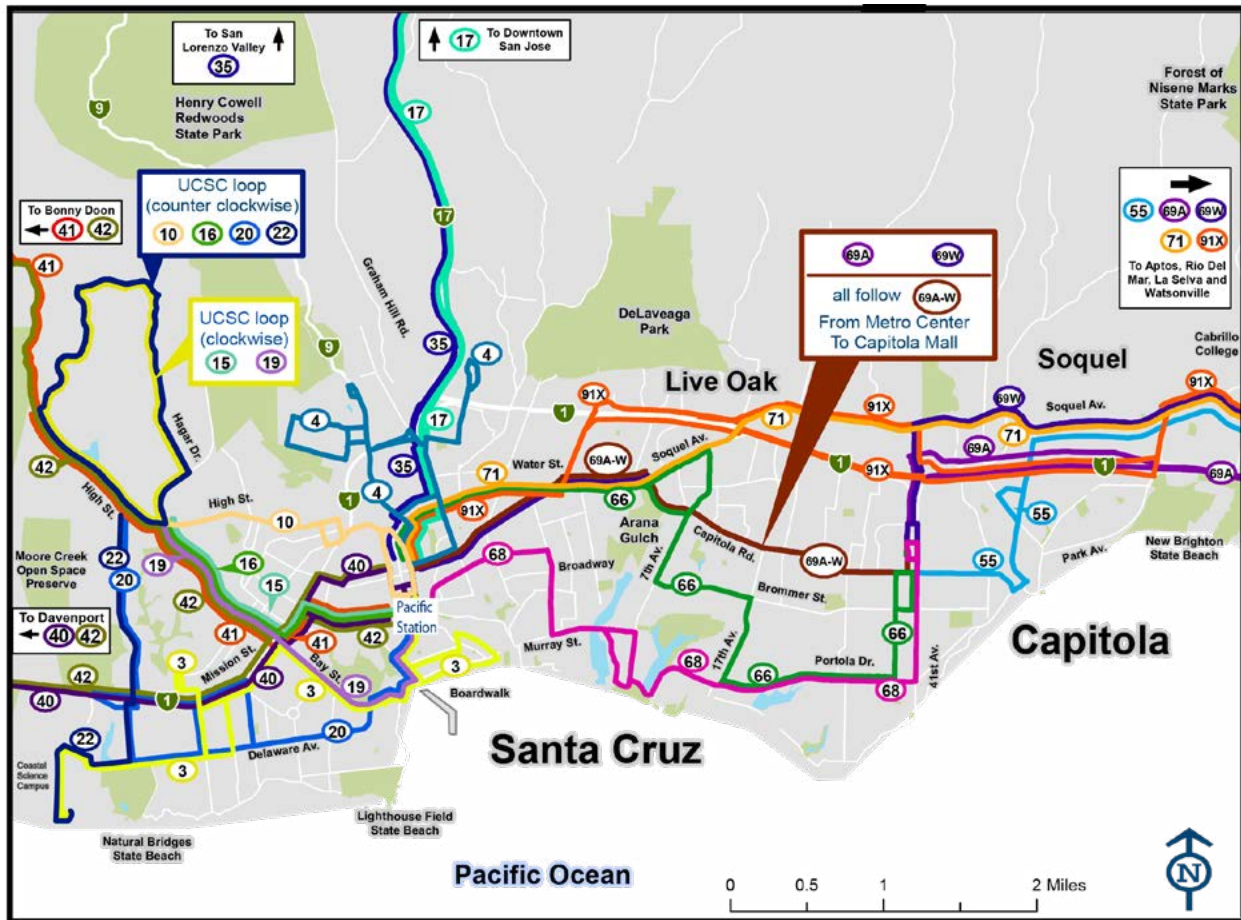
Map 4.12: Santa Cruz bus routes from Santa Cruz Metro. Line #4, used by homeless people, is light blue and center left (from Santa Cruz METRO).

In Santa Cruz, homeless people observed sitting at the central downtown station tend to either not get on any bus, as they are just marking time, or they get on bus #4, the bus route that heads north on Ocean Street before splitting, first east to the Emmeline Complex and county services, then back west to Harvey West Park and the Homeless Service Center. Because the route dips into two neighborhoods, it takes 30 minutes for a passenger to get from downtown to the Homeless Service Center, a 15 minute walk.

Scholars have attributed the low percentage of bus travel in the United States to the infrequency and unreliability (perceived) of buses, the lack of access to parts of the city, and to the discourse around bus travel (M. Jensen, 1999). Funding limits the ability of bus providers to improve service, as they are not able to support operations from fare revenue. This economic challenge is influenced by the discourse surrounding bus travel and public transportation. Transit is considered subsidized, while automotive travel is not. Discourse here

includes the words, ideas and practices rooted in an automotive culture of movement. This discourse centers around *who* rides the bus, not necessarily the provision of the service itself (although they are related). Elon Musk, the automotive entrepreneur, states the problem: "Why do you want to get on something with a lot of other people, that doesn't leave when you want it to leave, doesn't start where you want it to start, doesn't end where you want it to end?... and there's like a bunch of random strangers one of them who might be a serial killer?" (Walker, 2017). In the comment section of Sacramento's Regional Transit Plan, riders mention homeless people as a concern or a problem. For example...

> *"I'm sick of the bums messing around for bus fair [sic] while the bus is moving. I'm also sick of people playing their loud music, leaving their food and trash on the bus, and spitting in the bus. Let's address that." (Sacramento Regional Transit, 2015)*

A civil engineer at U.C. Davis put it succinctly "Nobody rides the bus because who wants to sit with homeless people?" "Nobody" here reflects a distinction among people between the somebodies -- wealthy people with cars who deserve clean, flexible transportation -- and everyone else – the poor, smelly and possibly people of color who ride the bus. Nobody rides the bus because then they would have to sit down next to homeless people, a class of citizens even lower than nobody, who the engineer would rather not sit with and who are not part of a system of transportation. These nobodies are the "part which has no part," not fit for participation in the life of the city (Rancière, 2015).

This discourse on deserving passengers, while dominant, is not one-sided. Transportation planners and social service organizations in Sacramento and Santa Cruz support bus services for poor people. SacRT is implementing an on-demand shuttle service that caters to low-income and elderly residents in the city planners believe will make the city more accessible. Homeless people riding the bus are using an inexpensive mode of transport, helping them reach destinations beyond their confined neighborhoods. At the same time, according to elites, the presence of homeless riders discourages wealthy people from riding the bus. They become closely associated with bus travel, belonging to it at the same time they are trespassing in it, as systems of transportation are for others. Even in the transportation mode most closely associated with homelessness, homeless people are transgressing norms of urban travel.

The open system of light rail

Because of the closed nature of the bus, drivers can control who gets on, ensuring all passengers pay a fare.

In light rail, passengers enter in an uncontrolled manner when the wide doors open. In light of this, Sacramento has struggled to manage light rail ridership and the safety of passengers, not because the system is particularly dangerous, just that it is open. On average, Sacramento light rail provides 47,000 passenger trips each week, similar numbers to the 50,000 passenger trips on the bus (Sacramento Regional Transit, 2015). The fare for one-way travel on light rail or the bus is the same: $2.50. Light rail has designated tracks, faster travel over (mostly) farther distances and fewer stops. There are only four lines of light rail in Sacramento, so the bus system with its 69 routes provides more accessibility.

Sacramento light rail and the public at large have had an ongoing relationship that closely follows national trends. In the 1970s, Sacramento Transit Authority gave way to Sacramento Regional Transit (SacRT) and the first light rail system was envisioned for the city. In the 1980s, SacRT developed plans and built the first two rail lines from downtown north to Citrus Heights and from downtown east to Mather Field. Sacramento residents generally thought positively of the light rail corridors, but scholars criticized the two lines for being costly, inaccessible and inappropriate for low-density cities in contrast with carpool lane alternatives or additional buses (Johnston, Sperling, DeLuchi, & Tracy, 1987). Initial ridership was just 15,000 per week in the first year, when 40,000 was originally forecast (Pickrell, 1992). The positions against light rail stemmed from an economic/efficiency argument and railed against the irrational decision-making of the politicians. Yet, there was also acknowledgement that while technically "irrational," the light rail projects served as a boon to low-income riders, environmental advocates and the overall city imaginary.

In the 1990s, a route on the Blue line was added to the south (less affluent) neighborhoods. Language surrounding light rail began to wrestle with land use, particularly promoting the idea of Transit Oriented Development (TOD), using light rail stations to spur dense residential and office development nearby. The language of TOD still appears in contemporary SacRT literature (Steer Davies Gleave, 2009) and was mentioned positively by both planners interviewed. In the 2000s, ridership increased (Sacramento Regional Transit, 2015). In 2010, at the tail end of a recession, Sac RT cut services and stopped proceeding with plans for the Green Line extension and other new capital projects.

The latest ridership numbers show a 10% decline in ridership from 2016 to 2017. In an effort to boost ridership, SacRT has completed several studies of rider behavior and opinion. The issues most important to riders

(and potential riders) remain more routes (particularly the Green Line to the airport, although estimates for potential ridership are low) and more reliability in trains and times (Sacramento Regional Transit, 2015). Since more routes would require significant capital expenditures, the agency has focused on improving the reliability of trains, the safety of the ride and the aesthetic experience. The process of transport improvement involves converting the transit experience from heterogenous interactions one finds on public streets to a homogenous experience of a safe and secure ride. In an interview with the Chief of Police for SacRT, she maintains riders value frequent fare checks by transit officers to validate themselves and prevent people from riding for free. To that end, SacRT has increased the number of transit officers to one per train. In 2017, each light rail station received two or three video cameras linked to police headquarters at Richards Boulevard, so SacRT employees can monitor each station and warn people through a PA system to cease prohibited activities (i.e. smoking, fighting). They have a 90% compliance rate.

For homeless people, light rail offers a clean and fast mode of transit to places both north and south. While I have observed homeless people get on the Green line, all homeless people I interviewed who discussed light rail rode the Yellow Line which runs by Loaves & Fishes. People experiencing homelessness shared the broader public's concern with light rail's lack of accessibility, a challenge inherent to any track-based system. However, homeless people had the specific concern that there was no stop along 12th Street by Loaves & Fishes (see Map 4.13). Homeless people use the Yellow Line running along 12th Street, walking two kilometers from Loaves & Fishes down to the Alkali Flats light rail station. One woman walking with an unbending leg left Friendship Park at 2:10 pm and arrived at the Alkali Flat light rail stop at 2:40 pm, moving at approximately one mile per hour. Her disability did not make it impossible to reach the stop, just difficult and time-consuming. When I asked SacRT planners why there was a gap, they said there were not enough "trip generators" in the area, a planning term for sources of ridership such as high-density residential or office space. In order to receive federal grant monies necessary for the construction of light rail infrastructure, Sac RT proposals must demonstrate the presence of trip generators. The several hundred homeless people who visit Loaves & Fishes everyday are not trip generators; they do not have a home or work in an office.

In cases where no trip generators are present, potential or future trip generators may be counted. For instance, Sac RT extended the Green Line to Richards Boulevard and 7th Street in anticipation of extending it even farther in the future to the airport and placed a stop there in anticipation of the dense residential devel-

opment proposed in Township 9, a planned development that remains vacant after the 2009 recession halted development. Light rail stops adjacent to vacant land along Richards Boulevard where there are no pedestrians but does not stop along 12th Street where there are pedestrians (Map 4.13). SacRT now has plans for a stop at Loaves & Fishes, not to accommodate homeless people, but to accommodate the proposed high-density residential neighborhood that will replace the Dos Rios affordable housing the city leveled.

Homeless people also expressed concerns about the paying of fares. If they do not have the $2.50 to ride, they have two choices: walk or get on the train without paying and hope a transit officer does not ask for their ticket. According to legal staff at the Tommy Clinkenbeard Legal Clinic, fare evasion is the single most common citation homeless people receive. One homeless activist believes a ticket for fare evasion is not always the result of a homeless person not purchasing a ticket. Sometimes transit officers check tickets quickly and if the homeless person cannot extract their proof of fare quickly enough, they receive a citation. I explain the cycle of fare evasion, ticketing and community service in Chapter 7.

Comparison of homeless travel modes in two cities

There are distinct similarities between Sacramento and Santa Cruz in terms of homeless mobility. Both cities see a pattern of homeless people sleeping in the urban wilds and then moving into areas closer to downtown during the day. Often this movement is walking or biking. In both cities, the management of visibility while moving is important to homeless people, a management enhanced through the flexibility of walking or biking. Both cities have extensive bus networks with specific shorter routes that benefit homeless people, particularly those with physical disabilities. And homeless people in both cities travel differently than the domiciled; they walk more, bike more often, take the bus more and drive less.

There are also differences in homeless mobility, starting with the motivations for movement. Santa Cruz homeless people experience more police harassment for sitting on sidewalks, sleeping in parks or congregating in open space, thus are forced to move elsewhere. Their movement may be over shorter distances as the resources they need can be found in a tighter, smaller area, making short-distance modes of travel, such as the skateboard more of an option. In Sacramento, distances between meetings, appointments, resources and services are greater. Light rail is an option if homeless people want to travel long distances, do not have money and want to take a chance on avoiding a ticket for fare evasion. By comparing the two populations, the neces-
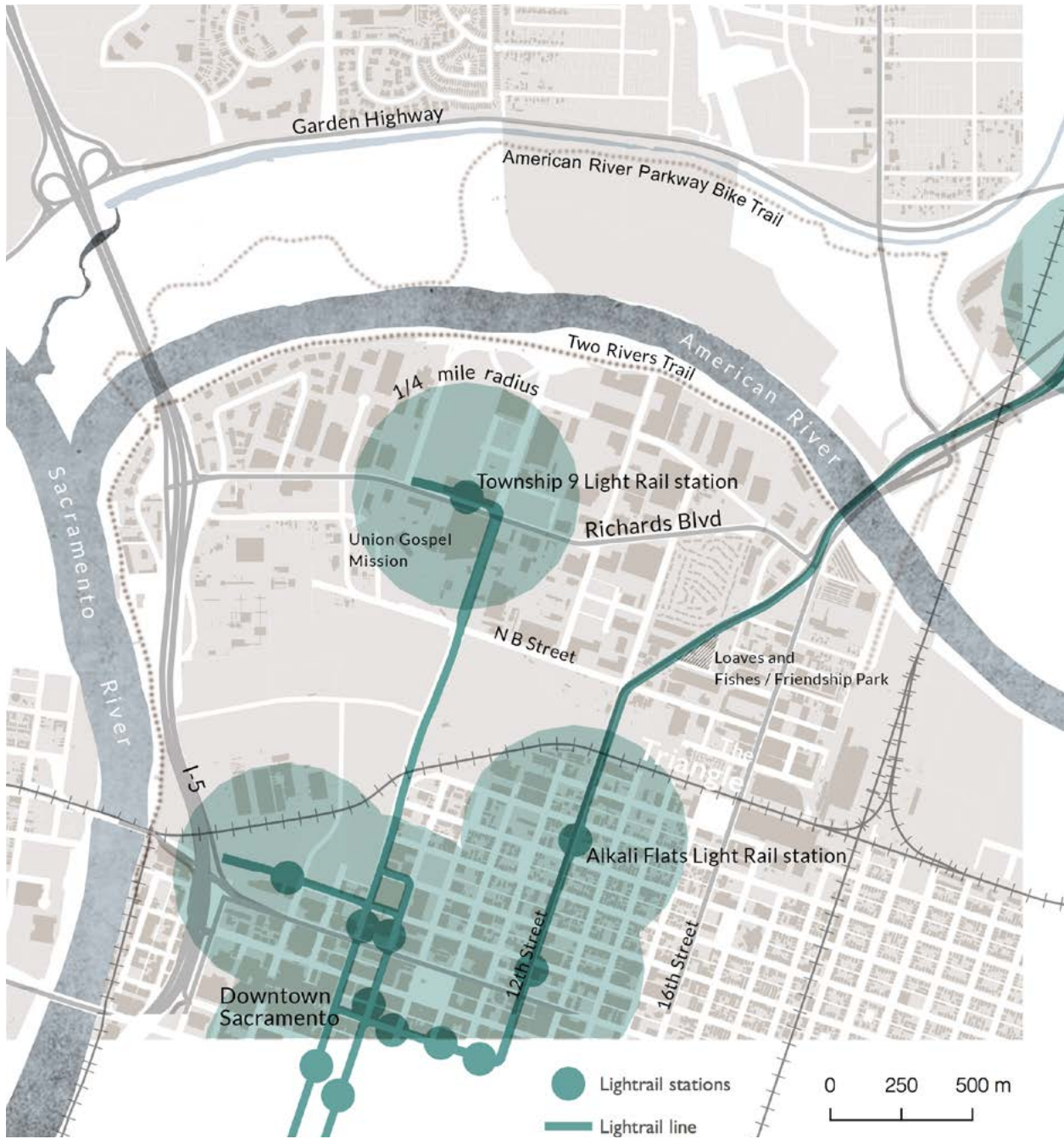
Map 4.13. Light rail stops in Sacramento around Richards Boulevard along with a quarter mile walking radius

sary accessibility and affordability of transportation stand out as informing homeless mobility by enhancing homeless people's ability to adapt to changing environmental and social conditions.

Chapter 5: Homeless Bicyclist and Accessibility

For thirty miles, the American River Parkway straddles its namesake river, flowing through the city of Sacramento. Homeless people inhabit narrow slices of land between adjacent warehouses, levee and river. At each tent complex, a few homeless people reside, surrounded by possessions and a smattering of bicycle parts. Bicycles lean up against trees nearby. On one particular spring morning, a homeless camper bicycles up and over the levee, down to the alleyway on the other side, along the sidewalk of 12th Street, then parks the bike and enters a corner convenience store, before heading back with some beverages for the community. For this trip, the bike proves to be a fast, efficient and inexpensive way to travel.

Many people experiencing poverty turn to the bicycle for transport. Despite the association of bicyclists and bike infrastructure with gentrification in American cities, the rate of bicycle commuting is higher among the poor than the wealthy. For the poorest commuters earning less than $10,000 per year, 1.5% of them bike to work, while the number for wealthy commuters earning over $100,000 is 0.4% (McKenzie, 2014). Bicycling is an efficient mode of transportation (Komanoff, Roelofs, Orcutt, & Ketcham, 1993). It costs relatively little compared to alternative modes of travel (Smith, Veryard, & Kilvington, 2009; Walks & Tranter, 2015). However, in a society dependent on automobile travel, infrastructure and economy, relying solely on a bicycle has implications for one's mobility. People with the lowest incomes who lack a car have a lower total range of movement (Blumenberg & Pierce, 2012). This leads to the question of how people who cannot afford cars get to places they need to go.

Most studies of bicycling transportation and poverty come from outside the United States, places where scholars have focused on informal systems of transport (for instance, Bryceson, Mbara, & Maunder, 2003). In China, rapid urban growth has led to less bicycle use and decreased accessibility overall for the urban poor (Peng, 2005). In the United States, studies tend to focus on spatial patterns of inequities in bike *infrastructure*. A study in New York City found a city-wide prioritization of new bikes lanes in higher income neighborhoods that already had good access to transit over lower income neighborhoods (Applebaum et al., 2011).

For the poorest of the poor, those without homes and often without incomes, transportation becomes even more challenging. People experiencing homelessness encounter the greatest constraints to their movement, due to lack of funds, resources in limited areas, and regulatory and policing restrictions. They have no home base from which to leave, no daily commute to work in the traditional planning sense, and no funds required for access into the motorized system of mobility. Cities need a better understanding of the homeless transportation experience as they access services, find food and work, and participate in social life. This study addresses the following questions: How do homeless bicyclists move through the city within a transportation system devoted to the automobile? And how does the bicycle influence accessibility?

I use two compatible methods to answer these questions: 1) mapping behavior in public streets and spaces, and 2) practicing a mobile ethnography as a participant observer, walking and biking on familiar routes through the city, stopping and interviewing homeless people I encounter. Interviews suggest people experiencing homelessness find an adaptable and independent mode of transportation in the bicycle. Homeless people ride bicycles to enhance accessibility to formal and informal spaces and to other people. Understanding homeless movement leads to a re-definition of accessibility as the potential availability of interactions *while moving*.

Accessibility and the challenge of homeless movement

In the second half of the twentieth century, transportation in the United States emphasized mobility, the ease of movement (CITE). People wanted to get from point A to point B as quickly as possible (it was assumed), thus minimizing the "cost" of travel. Transportation theory relied on economics, people making rational choices to expend the "least net effort" to move about the city (CITE). Transportation geographers and planners emphasized "utility maximization:" if destination B's utility outweighs the utility found at origin A, a move occurs (Lowe & Moryadas, 1984). The emphasis on mobility or mechanized movement led to a vast network of road infrastructure, services, supply lines and spreading development dominated by the automobile (Fotsch, 2009; S. Handy, 2002; Miciukiewicz & Vigar, 2012).

While improving mechanized movement of motor vehicles enhanced movement for some, it also hampered or even curtailed movement for others. British geographers describe direct and indirect constraints imposed on people through transportation as *transport exclusion* (Hine & Mitchell, 2001; Lucas, 2012; Lyons, 2003).

Elderly, children and those in poverty may not have access to a car, and thus be unable to reach far-flung neighborhoods to find a job, visit friends or access services. Transport exclusion studies identify several factors in transportation that perpetuate inequity, such as speed of travel, cost, organization and connectivity of infrastructure (Hine & Mitchell, 2003). In contrast to mechanized movement or 'through-put,' these factors are subsumed under the concept of *accessibility* or the ability of people to reach a destination or opportunity (Cass, Shove, & Urry, 2005; Cervero, 1997; S. Handy, 1993, 1994). Handy and Niemeier (1997, p. 1175) define accessibility as "the spatial distribution of potential destinations, the ease of reaching each destination, and the magnitude, quality, and character of the activities found there." Increased accessibility reduces transport exclusion, allowing the excluded to participate in the full range of the urban experience.

Accessibility literature contains several expansive treatments of what accessibility means (Cervero, 1997; Farrington, 2007; S. Handy, 1994) and how to measure it (Church & Marston, 2003; S. L. Handy & Niemeier, 1997; Iacono, Krizek, & El-Geneidy, 2010; Wixey, Jones, Titheridge, & Christodoulou, 2003). Within the context of disadvantaged peoples, four related questions regarding accessibility have been asked (see also Geurs & van Wee, 2004):

1. *Accessibility to what?* – Litman (2003) and Levinson (1998) describe an accessibility of *opportunities*, i.e. a job opening. Studies on accessibility often measure the number of *destinations* available to the traveler, an opportunity found at a specific location (see Burns & Golob, 1976; Iacono et al., 2010).

2. *Accessibility by whom?* – The person or group of people traveling shapes and is shaped by their origin, motivations, mode of travel and destination (Hoffman & Lugo, 2014; Shen, 1998). This is a particularly important question in transport justice, the desire to increase accessibility for disadvantaged peoples.

3. *Accessibility at what time?* – Time, as in the time of day, the frequency of travel and the duration of the journey, plays a critical role in accessibility. Here, Hagerstrand's (1974) time-geographies and Kwan's (1998) studies on the influence of gender on time-space prisms have provided insight into the temporal complexities of movement.

4. *Accessibility by what method?* – How someone reaches a destination informs the distance, the route and the duration of travel. A pedestrian can reach fewer places overall than the driver of a car during the same time-frame.

An accessibility approach allows planners to address more complex factors of traveler identity, time constraints and modal choice, but continues to rely on a destination or a suite of potential destinations to understand movement. To more closely approximate travel behavior, transportation planners have developed trip-chaining and activity-based modeling. Trip-chaining acknowledges multiple destinations on a travelers' route, more in line with daily travel patterns (CITE). Activity-based models replace destinations with activities, multi-dimensional actions that may or may not reside in one location but motivate travel (CITE). Despite the additional complexity, the conceptualization of travel remains rooted in points/locations, continues to assume the minimization of travel time, and continues to maximize through-put (in a safe manner) (Schwanen & Lucas, 2011).

In contrast, the "mobility turn" in the social sciences offers a dynamic approach to the study of movement that challenges and supplements utility maximization in transportation. *Mobility* here is the meaningful experience of movement (Cresswell, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006). Mobility emphasizes the social and political components of movement, how it is always in relation to people, surroundings, and systems in which it operates. Mobility studies examine the movement itself, the flows, accelerations, driving, riding, speeds, conflicts and navigation, not so much the destinations (although fixed points continue to shape movement (Hannam et al., 2006)). Mobility studies also examine *im*-mobilities, the limits and constraints of a socio-political world preventing movement. *Who* moves affects how they move or if they can move. An aggregation of daily commuters may obscure the diversity of travelers, their reasons for travel and their accessibility. Rosenbloom (2004) argues the different travel patterns of women, particularly mothers, has been neglected in transportation research, despite the increasing prominence of the school run and kids' activities. Bullard et al. (2004) suggest an aggregate of suburban commuters excludes African Americans who may bear the brunt of freeway costs without experiencing any of the benefits.

Among disadvantaged people excluded from some transportation, homeless people make up a complicated group. Wolch and Rowe (1992) determined that the movements of homeless people in Los Angeles revolve around service-centers, never getting too far away from needed resources. Jackson (2012) found homeless youth in London, England to be constrained by their urban map of welcoming spaces and non-welcoming (gang-populated) territories. Jocoy and Casino (2010) portrayed homeless constraints on movement from bus driver discrimination and censure from other travelers. Not all homeless people experience immobility in the

context of transportation; policing of homeless people often forces mobility, an admonishment to "move along" resulting in walking or biking somewhere else (Jocoy & Casino, 2010). This means the "pull" or derived demand in conventional transportation planning may not apply; homeless people also move because of a "push." The request to "move along" pushes homeless people from a place of rest, forcing them to travel even if no destination has been determined (Hall & Smith, 2013). An examination of homeless mobility must recognize that homeless people are often safer and more accepted *while they are moving*.

In addition, homeless movement is not just a response to social or environmental conditions, but an active shaping of the city as they go. Their tactics of walking, carting, wheeling and biking may be at odds with the dominant planned qualities of the city's transportation, often existing in marginal spaces where movements are unobserved (Certeau, 1984/2002; Duncan, 1978).

To understand the movement of homeless people requires a more complex approach than those rooted in mechanized movement or destination-based accessibility. Conventional transportation forecasting that uses an origin (home address) and assumes utility maximization does not apply. A more relational approach to accessibility is needed. Hansen (1959), in an early definition of accessibility, combines the accessibility-of-what with an accessibility-by-whom describing it simply as "the potential of opportunities for *interactions*" (1959, p. 73, italics mine). Hansen goes on to articulate potential accessibility and land use, setting up future empirical accessibility studies in transport geography.[1] His interactions have been replaced by destinations, neglecting the importance of embodied "co-presence" or face-to-face encounters as a key motivation for movement (Urry, 2002). To complicate matters, social interactions occur within and during movement, not just at origin or destination.

Combining the socio-political effects of movement and Hansen's emphasis on interactions, I define *interactive accessibility* as the shifting set of opportunities to encounter people and places. It is more than a suite of pre-determined, potential destinations, but a series of unfolding options before, during and after movement itself. To process unfolding options requires continuous decision-making related to route and direction, speed, the body, and other people. Shifting from destination-based to an interactive accessibility means a more complex understanding of transportation. Slower, more open modes of transportation may increase

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1   While Hansen included 'interactions' in his definition, the rest of his article emphasizes destinations, even 'points', similar to conventional discussions of accessibility. He does acknowledge the changing nature of accessibility patterns, but this is primarily in reference to land use (Hansen, 1959, p. 76)

accessibility by granting access to finer-grained spaces and relationships (i.e. it is easier for pedestrians to interact with others around them than it is for someone driving at high speeds). Using the concept of inter-active accessibility may increase understanding of homeless movement and others who encounter unique constraints and barriers to movement related to their perceived identity.

A Socio-Mobile Approach to Examining Bike Mobility

To continue the work of others who have studied homelessness and transportation, I rely on a socio-mobile research approach to address the important social and cultural context they move within. There is no experience of movement absent relations to other people (and objects). A socio-mobile approach contrasts with 'discrete choice:' the idea that individuals make a choice on which mode of transportation, which route to take and when to go, independently of others (see Ben-Akiva & Lerman, 1985). In a socio-mobile approach, abstract models may provide insight, but methods primarily rely on experiences of a social context. A summarized example from my field notes will illustrate the challenge of modeling homeless movement as individual choice:

> *As I talked to a homeless man on the bike path near his encampment by the river, another man riding a dirt bike without a seat meandered back and forth over the edge of the path, then slowed. He yelled down to the other two inhabitants of the camp that the 'popo'* [police] *were on their way* [camping is illegal in Sacramento]. *A woman inhabiting the camp then yelled at my companion and said "Come on! Wolf is coming. We're leaving!" They began to pack up their things.*[2]

Conventional transportation models and surveys would be hard pressed to capture this transportation choice ('we're leaving!'). It existed relationally between people. The camp's inhabitants had a cooperative relationship with the man on the dirt bike, so they were warned to get ready to leave. They had an antagonistic relationship with the police, likely based on past experience of wielded power, made manifest in the fear expressed by the woman. And they had a relationship with each other, negotiating when to pack up and leave, a relationship strengthened by the semi-intelligible slang they used for police. Those relationships existed in a particular context of mobility, being camped between the bike path and the river, so as to be able to move out at a moment's notice with as many things as their bikes and trailers could carry.

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2   See the introduction to Chapter 6 for the complete field notes describing this incident.

A socio-mobile framework requires observation of movement and interactions in the field, as well as an understanding of the larger mobility and landscape context. Qualitative methods, such as participant observation, have the potential to yield insights into traveler's motivations, their relationships and the locations of complex movement. In particular, qualitative studies can supplement quantitative transportation studies in the area of accessibility, a difficult to operationalize quality of transportation systems (Clifton & Handy, 2001; Geurs & van Wee, 2004). A qualitative approach also acknowledges the complexity and shifting nature of the researcher-subject relationship in the field. I relied on Cloke and his research team's treatment of ethics in research on homelessness to address the gap between researcher and subject (Cloke, Cooke, Cursons, Milbourne, & Widdowfield, 2000).

Setting and population of homeless bicyclists

I examined two neighborhoods frequented by homeless people, one in Sacramento and the other in Santa Cruz, California. These two cities were chosen because of their large populations of homeless citizens per capita and environments conducive to biking. Both cities have waterways flowing through the city center with open space and bike paths. In both cities, homeless people have appropriated these parks and paths for their own use on weekdays. The parks offer respite from encounters with disapproving others and times to socialize with other homeless people. The bike paths offer safe connections to some parts of the city.

Sacramento (pop. 500,000, 1.5 million in metro area) sits on the floodplain of the Sacramento River in the Central Valley of California, giving its topography a certain flatness conducive to bicycling. According to the American Community Survey, 1.4% of Sacramento's commuters bicycled to work in 2000 rising to 2.5% of commuters in 2012 (McKenzie, 2014). This is the largest percentage of bicycle commuters among major cities in California. In addition to a flat topography, Sacramento has a network of bike paths following the two rivers that is separate from the road network and close to downtown. Sacramento's homeless people (pop. 1,779 in 2016 or 0.4% of the city population (California State University, Sacramento, 2018)) occupy the Richard Blvd, downtown, midtown and Broadway neighborhoods, along with parks and open space throughout the city, such as the American River Parkway.

Santa Cruz (pop. 65,000, 275,000 in metro area) lies on the coast at the north end of Monterey Bay, promotes itself as a beach town more than a city, and has more varied topography. Bicyclists make up an even greater share of its commuters, 8.4% (Dykar, 2010), possibly reflecting the influence of mild weather, auto parking challenges and the presence of a large university. Santa Cruz County operates a bus system, but not light rail. Santa Cruz's homeless people (pop. 1,204 in 2016 or 1.9% of the city population (Applied Survey Research, 2015)) occupy a smaller area along the San Lorenzo River, Pacific Avenue, the light industrial area north of the Mission Highway and the forested slopes north of town.

Numbers on homeless bicycling are scarce. Commuting preferences (some homeless people work), transportation mode and location are not recorded or published as part of the nationwide Point-in-Time homeless surveys required by HUD for access to federal funding (U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, 2016). Of 487 behavioral observations of homeless people in this study, 23% were moving on (or with) a bicycle in Sacramento, while 16% of homeless people in Santa Cruz were observed biking (see Figure 4.10). These percentages have significant limitations and do not represent all homeless movement in the neighborhoods (for instance, they do not include homeless people driving), but they do suggest that homeless people in these two cities use bikes at a greater rate than the average low income commuter (McKenzie, 2014).

Analysis of bicycle movement

From the field notes and interview transcripts, I extracted all mentions of bikes and bicycling. For each substantial observation, event or dialogue on biking, I asked three questions derived from a socio-mobile framework relating to why homeless people bike and the spatial permutations of this type of movement:

1. What kind of movement is experienced by homeless people on a bicycle?
2. What spaces do homeless bicyclists occupy? What spaces are they bicycling to?
3. If accessibility is defined as the availability of interactions, then how do bicycles enhance or detract from relations with others?

By asking these three questions, we move beyond a simplistic binary analysis (why choose to bicycle or not?) to address the more complex conditions and choices of movement experienced in everyday urban spaces. After describing each event according to the framework provided by the questions, I compiled event descriptions in groups and wrote memos to elucidate mini-theories of bicycling in the neighborhoods. The analysis of both observations and interviews provides a fuller picture of the experience of homeless movement.

The Movement of Homeless Bicyclists

Homeless people's movements while bicycling differ from domiciled bicyclists in three ways, related to their speed of travel, the movement itself and their belongings. The most frequently observed characteristic of homeless bicycle movement is a change in *speed*. Homeless people move at a range of speeds, but often bike slowly. Along the American River Parkway bike path in Sacramento, where recreational bicyclists in sport cyclist clothing predominate, speeds are constant and fast; movement is purposeful, facilitated by the length of this particular bike path which extends 43 kilometers. In contrast, homeless bicyclists on separate paths or on streets cover shorter distances at lower, fluctuating speeds. Homeless people make full use of the ability to change speeds often slowing down or stopping to interact:

> *On Ahern Street, a man on a bike passes me and then slows down and stops next to a woman under a blue tarp supported by the chain link fence. She was in the same place yesterday. They talk.* [Field notes]

Or here, a man pulls alongside a woman at the end of an alley in spontaneous choreography:

> *A younger male with a long goatee and gray overcoat on a bike carries a big satchel with red handles over his shoulder. He bikes down the south side of the levee to the end of Tenth Street slowly. He sees a woman approaching on another bike. Twice they circle around each other at the end of the street talking. She wears a gray puffy coat and rides a bike with a black empty Burley behind it. They part and she bikes up the path to the top of the levee.* [Field notes]

The changing speeds of the bicycle facilitates interactions and the ability to move with another person, even if they are walking. The exposed nature of the cyclist – to the elements, to the bike and pavement – makes cycling more sensory, according to Spinney (2009), affecting navigation of the material landscape. I would add exposure to others on route also affects navigation and speed.

Observed homeless bicyclists also weave back and forth, *meander*, shift from riding to pushing the bike (when encountering hills or rough terrain) and go short distances before doubling back. For example, a young man on a dirt bike approaches on the bike trail, but suddenly pirouettes, veering off down a dirt trail in another direction past a sign stating: "No Bikes." Some homeless people consider the bike more fun, meaning in one sense "less hassle" than a car but in another sense, more playful. In an interview with a shirtless man lying down next to his bike in a Santa Cruz park, the bicycle offers freedom:

> *On a bike, he just flies through town. He doesn't require a car. With a bike, he doesn't have to obey laws,*

you know. He's a bit of a rebel. And while some biking is risky, he likes the risk. He can bike up on the sidewalk and weave through cars, you know? [Field notes]

The man's experience of "flying through town" recalls the research of Fincham (2006) and Spinney (2010) on bike messengering, where speed is the method of experiencing place. To get "through" town is directly related to the ability to move in an unregulated, uncontrolled manner. Meandering movement does not require dedicated bike paths. Homeless bicyclists appear to move adeptly on sidewalk, dirt trail, street or embankment. In town, bikes may increase one's mobility because of their anarchic/flexible nature.

For those without a place to live, the bike serves as a carrier of *belongings*. In Sacramento, it is not legal to store personal property in public space (Sacramento City Code 12.52.040). Leaving things at a camp without someone watching them may result in theft. Many homeless people carry everything they own with them. In both Sacramento and Santa Cruz, the bike trailer loaded with belongings was encountered far more frequently than the stereotypical grocery cart of the "bag lady." Belongings lashed to a bike or contained in a trailer include bed rolls, tarps, dogs, clothing, guns, tools and found objects. The bicycle works particularly well for carrying recycled cans and bottles, one potential way homeless people earn an income (Gowan, 1997). Homeless bicyclists hang garbage bags filled with aluminum cans from both handlebars and haul two or more bags in a trailer. At times, belongings overwhelm the original purpose of the bicycle as an object to ride. The loaded bicycle becomes too heavy to balance and the owner must walk beside it, pushing the load along.

The movement of homeless bicycles contrasts with formal, sanctioned movements of car and bus, travel reinforced by the dominant infrastructure. Homeless people participate in informal mobility, relying on its labor intensive, low-tech qualities (Cervero & Golub, 2007). Informal mobility is movement against or in spite of existing infrastructure, such as walking or biking with an overloaded cart, jaywalking, and moving too slow (i.e across an intersection), all characteristics of homeless bicyclists as described. There is an aesthetic quality to this movement that people assess as belonging to a homeless person. Homeless people are accepted while moving, since they are frequently asked to "move along." Yet their informal movements, against the flow of traffic, reinforce their "non-citizen" status (Feldman, 2006).

The Interactive Accessibility of Bicycling while Homeless

The different movement patterns are not just a result of fostering interactions, claiming territory or managing stuff, but a different relation to urban space. Homeless people must occupy both formal, visible space, such as a commercial street, and informal, hidden space, such as a vacant lot. This often requires the informal qualities of the bicycle – it's customization, changing speeds and multi-purpose nature – to create opportunities for adapting movement to the local landscape conditions, the micro-routes of a homeless person's daily life. Bicycling occupies a middle ground between the unconstrained nature of walking and the controlled nature of driving. Homeless bicyclists consistently disrupt notions of where a bike can and cannot go. Aberrant pathways occur in both natural open space and along busy intersections:

> *An older man with a gray beard walks up to the levee, grabs a bike parked there and rides east along the bike path, pulling a shopping cart with a few things in it. He stops up on the levee about 100 meters away, leaves the cart and bikes down a short dirt path to a camp (3 tents) by the river.* [Field notes]

And in Santa Cruz just north of downtown:

> *A young man on an orange, mountain bike heads south on the opposite side of River Street over the sidewalk. He wears scruffy clothes and a loose-fitting Army jacket. He jets in to the driveway of the outdoor shopping center and circles back around. A large semi-truck is turning left into the center, so the bicyclist pulls over to the north side. Then as the semi passes, he crosses River Street in front of on-coming traffic and heads west on Portico.* [Field notes]

Homeless bicyclists must occupy public space devoted to car transportation, requiring crossings counter to vehicular flow. Observations of homeless bicyclists then indicate a propensity to use the whole landscape for cycling, not just the bike path or lane.

The adaptability of the bicycle to a myriad of landscape conditions provides homeless people access to informal spaces, embankments in the freeway right-of-way, and wedges of concrete between tracks and street. Often, inhabited informal spaces are the product of high speeds, that is, the necessary 'clear zones' and grade changes of mechanized transportation infrastructure. For instance, the concrete embankment along 12th Street in Sacramento rising up to the railroad bridge borders a narrow sidewalk and four lanes of one-way, automobile traffic moving at 45 mph (Figure 5.2). The continuous speed of cars makes it impossible to park at this location; cars must speed past. Homeless people walk or bike along the sidewalk and sometimes against

traffic on the narrow shoulder to reach the steep embankment providing shade and social connections.

> *I head south on 12ᵗʰ Street toward the railroad overpass. About eight people rest in the shade on the concrete*
>
> *embankment… The man riding a small dirt bike missing a seat rides by along the shoulder. Right before*
>
> *the overpass, in one motion he jumps off his bike and scoops it up over the curb and sidewalk, resting it on*
>
> *the lower edge of the embankment. He starts talking to a group of five people at the top of the slope.* [Field
>
> notes]

These are tiny marginal spaces, created by formal movement and infrastructure; formality producing infor-

mality (Dovey & King, 2011).
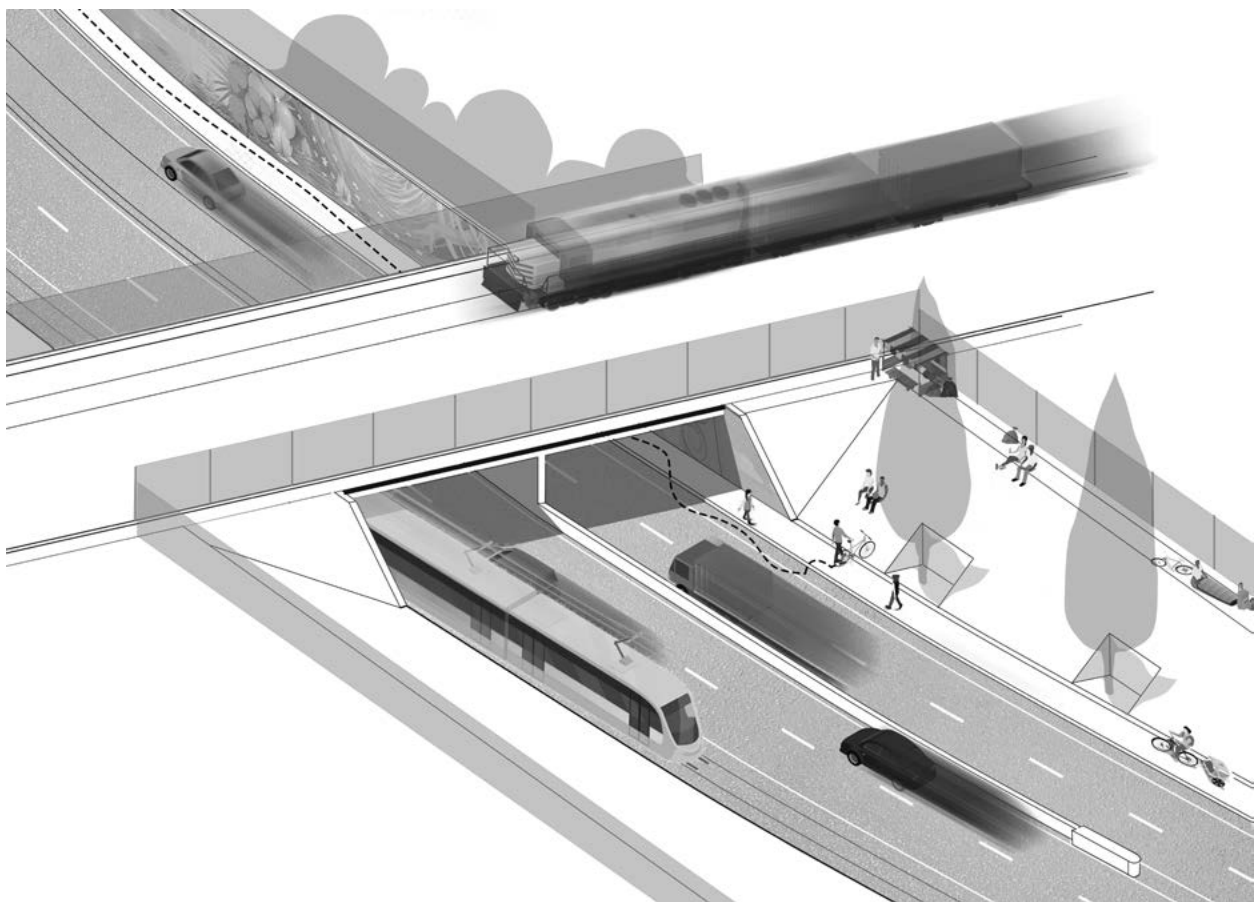
Figure 5.1: 12ᵗʰ Street underpass looking west. Homeless people access the informal wedge of concrete between chain link fence, speeding automobile traffic and the railroad bridge.

Bicycles enhance the interactive accessibility of potential encounters. Improved accessibility arises from the

ability of a person to change speed to meet or go-along-with another person. In this view, accessibility does

not necessarily increase as speed increases. Faster movement may broaden one's range and increase available

destinations but *limit* accessibility to spontaneous interactions during the period of movement itself. Like walking, riding a bicycle does not enclose the rider in a vehicle, thus allowing for greeting others on the path, street or sidewalk. Observed homeless bicyclists in this study often greeted acquaintances who were bicycling, walking or at rest.

> *A man bikes west on the bike path by the large trees next to the warehouse. He slows down behind some trees so I cannot see him. When he becomes visible again on the bike path, he has been joined by another man dressed in a black t-shirt walking, while wheeling a cart with bags. The bicyclist balances his bike, riding slowly next to the other. They talk. When they reach the park, the bicyclist continues west speeding up and the older pedestrian veers south through the park.* [Field notes]

For them, while bicycle accessibility includes access to relatively distant places at the neighborhood scale, it centers around the flexibility and control over their own movement, as they decide when to start and stop, in a relational approach to movement in the urban landscape.

Potential interactions are not always positive. While the most common relational phenomenon observed was a spontaneous greeting while bicycling, the bicycle's flexibility and its ability to move between car and pedestrian environments also makes it conducive for *avoiding* interactions (and places, i.e. heavily patrolled K Street Mall). Avoidance of interactions entails an active moving away from other homeless people, office workers walking over lunch, the police or threat of police and the researcher. I observed a bicyclist with a loaded cart and large dog move away when a maintenance truck arrived, two men on bikes heading off as a park ranger on an ATV approached, and several would-be encounters with homeless people stopped on the bike path who moved away before I could walk up to them. According to an older male living on the streets, "you don't want to make eye contact with crazy people. Stay away."

Destinations and interactions

Destinations still matter for homeless participants. In Sacramento, they include shelters, parks, recycling facilities, family members' apartments, convenience stores and various offices of the state, such as the Social Security office and the County Courthouse. The farthest destination mentioned by multiple people was a Walmart store, approximately five miles away from the neighborhood, in range for those who bicycle or ride the bus. In Santa Cruz, the range homeless people occupy appears to be smaller (with the exception of homeless recyclers). There, city and social services concentrate in the center of town on either side of the San Lorenzo

River. Those homeless people who need to travel farther distances do so to camp in the forested areas north of town.

Homeless participants believe they can access locations in both cities they need to reach, although in practice they often restrict themselves to the Richards Blvd. and the San Lorenzo neighborhoods of the two cities. Homeless people discussed biking "around town" and people on bicycles who "go some distance." One Santa Cruz man described his bicycle as getting him "to almost anywhere around within 10 miles" (although no specific destinations were mentioned). I had this exchange with a homeless man who sleeps on the street in Sacramento:

> *I ask* [Manuel] *if he just goes from Friendship Park over to Ahern Street* [nearby]. *And if so, why does he need a bike? He corrects my assumption that he just stays in a small area ("Oh, no, no, no"). He goes all over. Really a bike can take him anywhere in Sacramento. Sometimes at 6 am he'll go down to the donut shop on 16th Avenue to get something to eat. Or he'll go to a coffee shop.* [Field notes]

Manuel uses a bicycle to get anywhere, although when he gives examples of "anywhere," they are nearby locations. A formerly homeless person from Sacramento describes his reasons for bicycling, echoing Manuel:

> *"You know, I can go anywhere on a bicycle. Plus, I can throw a bicycle on the bus, on light rail, so if you had to go a distance and didn't want to pedal. But living on the street, doing dope, you're in the best shape of your life. Believe it or not. I mean, your teeth may be rotting, but physically, I mean, your muscles are just… Your packing everything with you for the most part. And everywhere you go, you're using your legs, you know, exercise."* [Interview with formerly homeless man]

Here, accessibility is tied not only to available destinations and flexibility of travel (jumping on the light rail), but also physical health. Their strength and endurance facilitate carrying their possessions with them, improving access to other parts of the city through this facilitation without which they would be tied to their place of origin (because of their possessions).

In both neighborhoods, homeless bicyclists encounter barriers to movement such as high-speed traffic or fencing of private and public property. However, some barriers to movement may enhance the movement of homeless participants or at least the inhabitance of less-traveled areas. Homeless people are more likely to occupy and move through spaces of dead-ends and backyards than bicycle commuters on their way downtown or recreational bicyclists working on their "miles." A comparison of the American River Parkway bike path in

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Sacramento, a continuous 25-mile route east to Folsom Dam, and the Two Rivers Bike path, a short-segmented route with a barrier at the east end, shows it is the short route with the barrier that hosts homeless bicycling (see Figure 3). In this case, the barrier prevents recreational bicyclists from going very far, thus creating a backwater of transportation inhabited by homeless people who appreciate the lack of visibility. This lack of visibility or street life may be why so many homeless people were seen bicycling through the Richards Boulevard neighborhood of light industry and along the bike/pedestrian bridge behind the car dealership. These spaces are more conducive to informal mobility, marginality and hidden habitation (see Duncan, 1978; Harter et al., 2005; Ruddick, 1996 for an extended discussion).

In Santa Cruz, homeless bicyclists are also spread out throughout the study area: downtown (Pacific Ave), San Lorenzo Park and area north of Highway 1 (see Figure 4). Within this small area, the bicycle permeates bike paths, streets, sidewalks and open space. Recreational and commuting cyclists tend to stay along the San Lorenzo River and the two east-west bike lanes for commuting. Yet, the bike lane along the river runs north-south, making the bike infrastructure unresponsive to normative east-west commuting patterns (Bonham & Cox, 2010), but enhancing the travel of homeless people who enter the city from the shelter and from encampments in the north.

Some homeless participants had only vague intentions of a destination at the beginning of the day. As they travel, they encountered an acquaintance who tells of food handed out at a different park and they redirected their movements. This may occur even when the homeless person starts out from an origin with a clearly defined destination, say a potential job. Figure 5 shows a simplified, abstract view of accessibility with one point of origin and four potential destinations. Alongside the abstract view, I present a view of interactive accessibility of a homeless person based on several interviews of actual travel. This kind of accessibility relies on decision-making while moving. Movements can be systematic as in the homeless recycler or they can be spontaneous, but they adapt to changing environmental and social conditions on route.
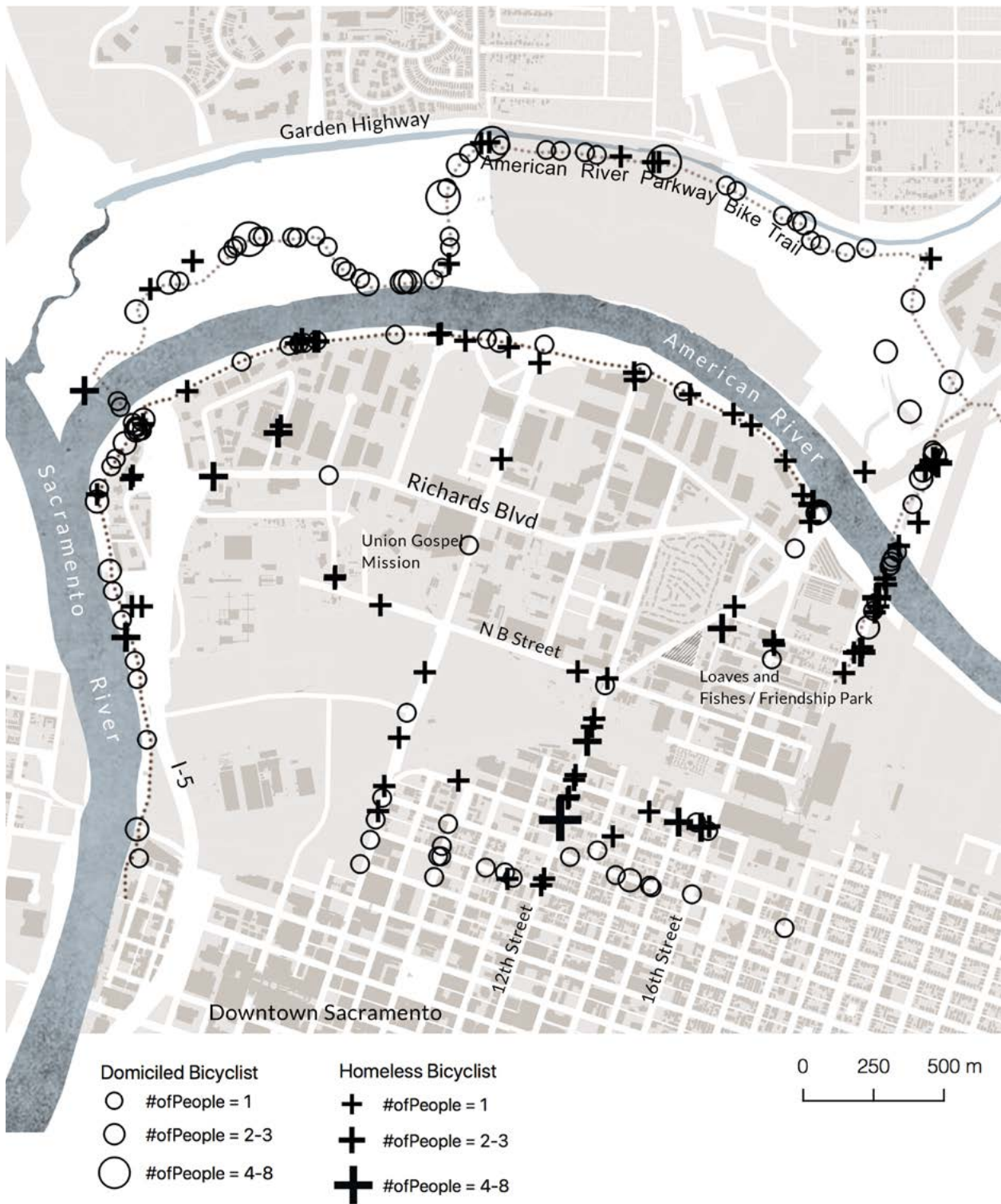
Map 5.1: Sacramento map of bicycling paths comparing homeless bicyclists with domiciled bicyclists.

Each route or transect (i.e. 7th Avenue., Two Rivers bike trail) was observed once in the morning and once in the afternoon. Note: homeless bicyclists are scattered throughout the Richard Blvd neighborhood, while domiciled (recreation and commuting) bicyclists are concentrated on the perimeter and the American River Parkway trail.
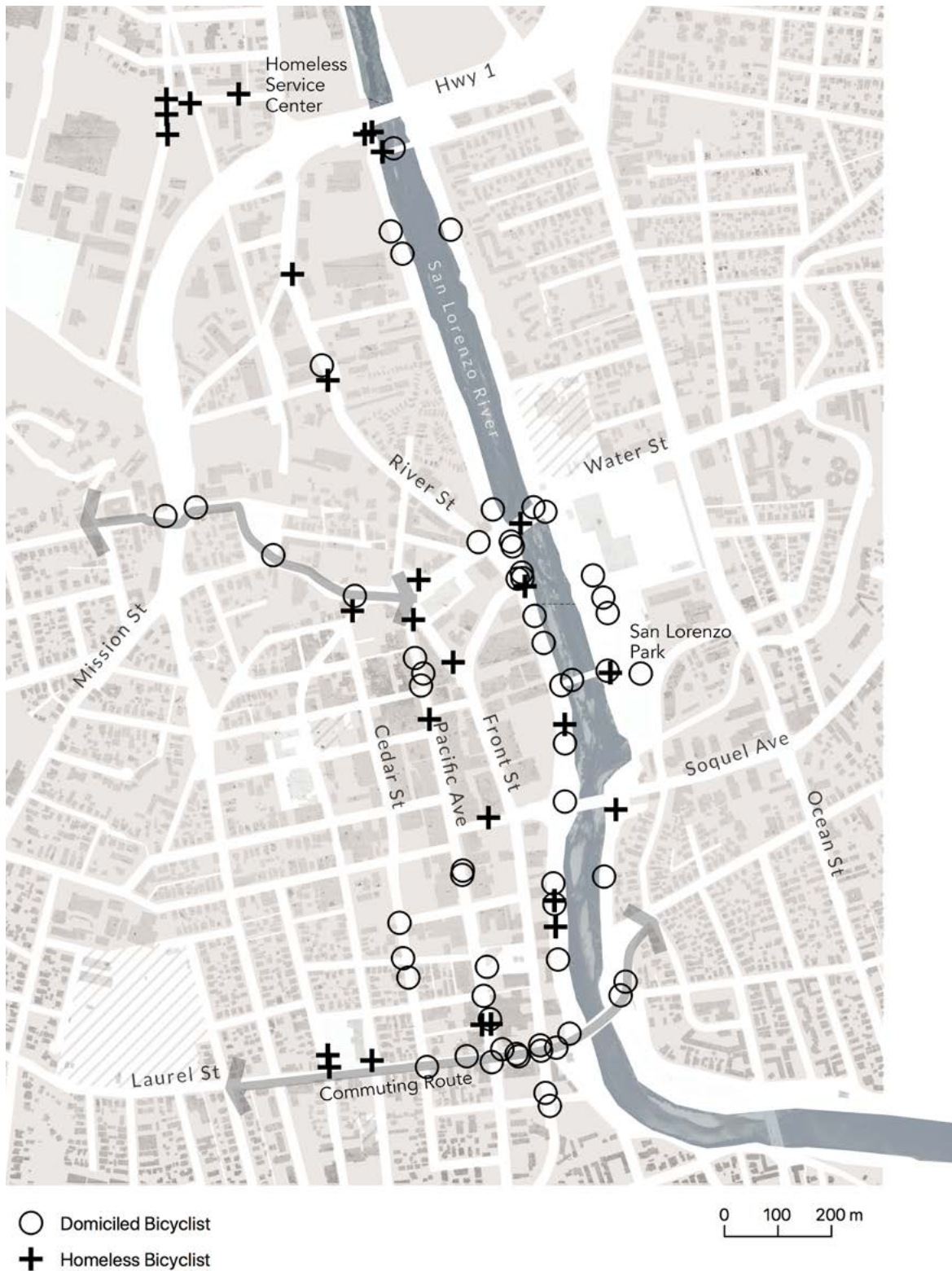
Map 5.2: Santa Cruz map of bicycling routes comparing homeless bicyclists with domiciled bicyclists.

Each route or transect (i.e. Laurel Ave., River Street) was observed once in the morning and once in the afternoon. Clusters of three or more homeless bicyclists occur at Laurel Park, north of Pacific Ave near the Clock Tower square and near the Homeless Service Center.
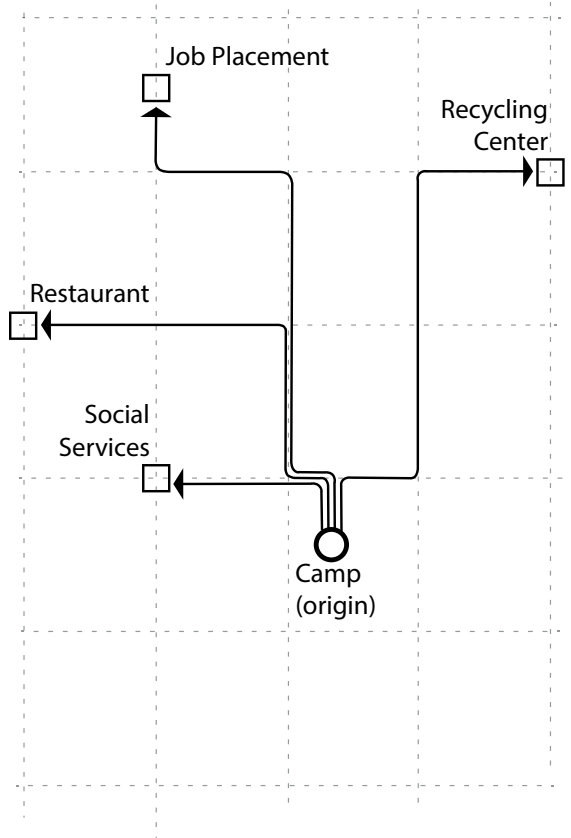
1

Assumed Trips of Homeless People based on Destination-based Accessibility and Network Analysis

Diagram of four job destinations based on interviews. Trips assume routes would follow grid of streets/formal transport infrastructure.
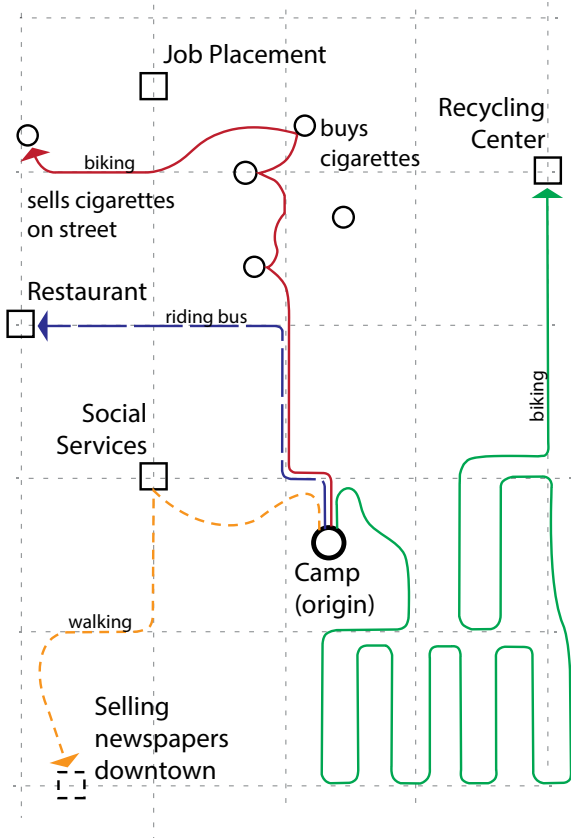
2

Actual Accessibility to Jobs/Interactions for Homeless People

Diagram of four 'destinations' relating to work based on interviews and field observations:

A. A homeless man walks to the social service organization, has lunch, socializes, then receives a weekly quota of newspapers to sell.

B. A homeless woman rides the bus to a restaurant where she washes dishes.

C. A homeless man starts out biking to the job placement office, but along the way he sees friends who he stops and engages. One of them sells him a carton of cigarettes, so he diverts his path (choosing a new destination *while moving*) to sell individual packs of cigarettes to other street people.

D. The recycling bicyclist does his rounds in the afternoon, ending up at the recycling center to redeem his haul.

Figure 5.2: The movements of homeless people looking for work as shown by conventional accessibility models and as described in several interviews.

Movement is a negotiation in both senses of the word: a navigation of landscape and people, as well as an unfolding dialogue with others… bartering, arguing, flattering, cajoling. This more verbal meaning of negotiation is not unrelated to transportation; it is the point of transportation. Homeless participants negotiate constantly as they move through a space shaped by others within a network of relationships. Interactive accessibility is a measure of this negotiation. This type of accessibility includes both destinations and people, both a 'pull' and a 'push' in terms of demand, and both static choices and unfolding decision-making responding to changing social and environmental conditions. Interactions both motivate transportation choices and are the context within which transport choices are negotiated.

The bicycle and access to urban space

This research relied on a mobile ethnography to address homeless bicycling and accessibility, moving with homeless people and talking to them to reveal patterns and behaviors in the urban landscape. Observed patterns led to a better understanding of how social relations shape a homeless person's accessibility. Observations showed homeless people negotiating the urban landscape and the concomitant social relations with aplomb, moving seamlessly from formal spaces of street and bike path to informal spaces of vacant lot and open space. To avoid or transcend transportation exclusions such as the cost of travel, police patrols, and shrinking public space, homeless people rely on bicycles for their flexibility, low cost and change of speeds. These qualities of the bicycle increase the fine-grained, neighborhood-scale accessibility of their bicycling movement, while not transcending the constraints to larger, city-wide movements.

The exploratory nature of the study prevents drawing conclusions about transportation mode preference, conclusions better served with a comprehensive survey of homeless people. The positive portrayal of the homeless use of bicycles is not meant to suggest homeless people prefer bicycles over a car. It is quite possible that with adequate funds and money for gas, homeless people would abandon the bicycle and start driving (or use their car for storage and sleeping). Further inquiries into homeless transportation would benefit from travel diaries of homeless bicyclists and eventually, spatial measurements of accessibility to destinations *and* social interactions if decision-making "on the fly" can be operationalized. Accessibility models relying on mi-

cro-simulations of daily activity pattern offer potential methods for expanding transportation modeling into disadvantaged communities.

However, the goal of a more inclusive transportation system cannot be addressed within the confines of engineering. Transportation challenges related to inequity require social and economic analysis, engagement with political discourse and most importantly, the participation of the excluded. As Lugo (2018) notes, increasing understanding and acceptance of bicycling does not necessarily result from expanded infrastructure, but requires the engagement of the diverse bicycling community in its entirety. A city that encourages bicycle movement may not need to install more bike lanes or other formal bike infrastructure, instead, relying on existing streets and informal spaces to enhance accessibility. A reduction in car traffic would benefit informal movement in more significant ways than more infrastructure, making urban movement more inclusive by increasing space for alternatives.

The concept of interactive accessibility, an accessibility rooted in the dynamic and unfolding social context, offers the best explanation of homeless movement, its motivations and context. An interactive accessibility foregrounds the social nature of travel, placing movement in a political context where the identity of the traveler, in this case a homeless person, directly informs their movement. Homeless bicyclists engage in a series of spontaneous directional, speed and destination-based decisions while moving. These findings then offer alternative analyses of not only moving through the city, but thinking about the city, not as a place to maximize speed or mobility, but as a place to integrate more relational movements.

Chapter 6: The 'Move Along' - Rest as Transgression

This chapter examines the geographies of homelessness and transportation policies through the lens of homeless rest and transgression. (Chapter Seven will examine homeless mobility and transgression). Homeless people in Sacramento and Santa Cruz have difficulty moving around. For instance, a homeless people may not be able to afford a light rail pass to move into a different neighborhood. Or a homeless person must walk with a disability through a landscape of automobiles, speed and infrastructure. *Yet homeless people are most accepted (by society) while moving; it is rest that transgresses.* The public discourse and policies on rest/home shapes the movement of homeless people, in particular, the partitioning of the city into places of stasis and places of movement. Homeless movement occurs within the context of their mobile identity, their experience of barriers to rest, and the making of a "home" within the confines of public space. I argue that homeless people negotiate urban landscapes – in movement and rest – by managing this identity through their visibility and through the use of space counter to its designated purpose/partitioning.

I begin with an encounter with homeless people at their temporary home in public space to begin exploring the nature of homeless rest, movement and visibility. From October 2017 field notes taken on a cool, sunny morning at the Two Rivers Bike Path in Sacramento:

> *I pedal west on my bicycle. A very tan, white male stands in the middle of the bike path ahead. He flags me down as I approach, so I stop. He has a prominent jaw, partially shaded under a black hoody. When he speaks, he slurs his words together, so it is difficult to understand what he says at times. He starts to tell me that his phone doesn't have a charge anymore. He shows me the phone. "Do you want to borrow my phone?" I ask.* He says yes, and that he can sit down in the pathway [presumably to alleviate my concerns about him running off with the phone]. *I say no need, and hand him my phone, after I plug my password in and select 'phone.'*
>
> *He says he has to call 'her' to pick him up. (I assume he means his daughter based on later mumblings). I ask him where he needs to go. He evades the question, reiterating that he just needs someone to pick him up.*

Down the embankment at his encampment, garbage and bicycle parts are strewn along the slope all the way down to the water. Several bike wheels, tires and a couple of bike pumps, but I do not see any intact bikes. Two grocery carts stand at the top of the levee, filled with things and covered with blankets. A skinny white female with short black hair sits on a black sofa with one corner missing. It's perched at the edge of the embankment, giving her a nice view of the water. Nearby, a white male with a shaved head stands next to a gray dome tent. He does not turn around, intent on working something with a tool in his hands.

The man in the hoody finishes talking and hangs up. He begins to move toward me, but then dials another number. Somehow, speaker phone has been switched on so I can hear loud ringing. When she picks up, she is yelling "Aaaahhhhh!!" and he quickly turns off speaker phone.

An older, white male passes us walking west. A white male bikes west, wearing a small cowboy hat. I recognize him from Friendship Park.

The man with the hoody and my phone walks back over to me and starts to fiddle with the phone. I ask him if he needs to text, and he mumbles something while punching keys.

It takes him about five minutes to text.

During that time, a white male with dark hair and beard bikes up to us on a silver dirt bike with a missing seat. He bikes slowly, meandering along the path. When he reaches us, he turns in to the gravel at the side of the path giving a wide clearance. The white male with the shaved head in the encampment is sitting down now next to some blue tarps, whittling a stick. The guy on the bike yells down something incoherent to him. "What?" More incoherent talk comes out of the dirt biker. Now, he is even with the man with the shave head – one up above on the levee, the other down below seated. He's still biking and as he moves off says something about "Pobo coming!" The man with the shaved head says "Pobo?" Then turns to the white female and starts talking to her.

The hooded man is done texting. He gives me the phone and asks me how you delete the address. I am momentarily confused, so he points to the information icon. "Oh, you want to delete the text?" And I show him

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how you go back to the list of texts and just swipe it, and then choose delete. He says "Wow, that is a lot easier on that phone" He then thanks me for the phone. I ask him his name, and he says [Max]. I introduce myself.

During this time, the white female below in the encampment has become agitated. She says "Lost boy! Come down here" directed at Max. She walks towards us partially up the levee, never looking at me.
"What's the rush? Where are we going?" He doesn't move.
"Lost boy, come on! Wolf is coming, we're leaving!"

I tell him I hope he gets to where he needs to go and bike west. As I leave, Max continues to stand in the middle of the bike path.

I make a large loop on my bicycle to the north and then back south, reaching the Two Rivers Bike Path a half kilometer east of their encampment about one hour later:

I go up the alley to the Twin Rivers bike trail. It's getting hotter. On the north side of the warehouse there, a tractor equipped with those scoops they use for yard waste picks up piles of debris below the levee. Then as I get a little farther, I see they are doing some bigger work… brush removal, taking down a fence. What used to be a jumble of bushes and fence and tents is now about an acre of cleared dirt. Four or five vehicles, plus a policeman stand in the vacant lot below (see picture). *Just beyond them, but looking like they are next, two homeless people busily pack up their encampment under the trees. It is unclear where the brush and debris clearing will stop.*

For Max and his friends, camping on the Parkway offers a respite from moving around, a safe place to keep his things and a chance to socialize with others on the corridor. But it is a tenuous existence. As he talked on my phone, a man on a dirt bike warned his friends the police were on their way. They reacted in fear and began packing. The police, I discovered an hour later, were not on their way. They were overseeing the destruction of vegetation and homeless encampments farther down the Two Rivers bike path, presumably at the request of the absentee property owner who wanted the vacant lot cleared. The *threat* of the police on their way was enough to get Max and his friends moving.
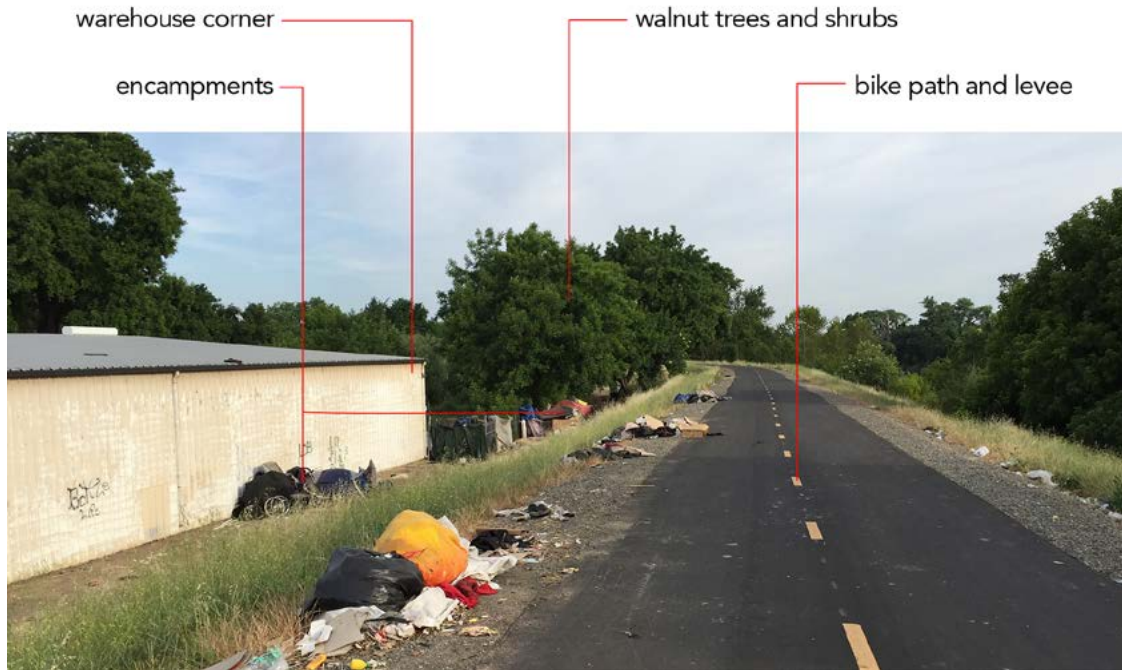
Figure 6.1 Homeless encampments as seen from the top of the levee looking west, May 2017.

Figure 6.2 Same area of homeless encampments during brush and tree clearing looking south, October 2017

warehouse corner

Figure 6.3 Property looking south from the top of the levee, October 2018

The few studies on homeless mobility emphasize the difficulty homeless people have in moving around. Wolch and Rowe (1992), through an analysis of trip diaries in the Los Angeles area, concluded homeless people concentrate their movements around social service centers in relatively tight territories. Jocoy and Casino (2010) confirmed the tendency of close ties to social services and more limited movements, but broadened their analysis to discuss the issue of power. Often more mobility for homeless people is associated with more power; they would increase their social networks, access a diversity of opportunities and experience greater freedom (see previous chapter). Yet, Jocoy and Casino (2010) found in the diaries and interviews of homeless people it is *mobility* that renders them powerless, as when the police ask someone to move. In exploring the experience of homelessness in the urban landscape, I found exclusions to both movement and rest, as Jocoy and Casino did.

The partitioning of the city and exclusion of homeless people

In the County of Sacramento on the night of the Point-in-Time Count in January 2017, volunteers counted 2,052 people sleeping outside, in tents or in their car (California State University, Sacramento, 2018). On the same night, 1,613 people accessed emergency or transitional shelter in the county, adding up to a total of 3,665 people experiencing homelessness. Only 44% of homeless people in the County slept in a shelter that night.

In 2008, a group of homeless people protesting the lack of affordable housing in Sacramento set up a longer-term tent city in the rail yards between downtown and the Richards Boulevard neighborhood (Parker, under review). The police soon evicted the group and they moved to a site adjacent to the Union Gospel Mission, a major provider of homeless services in the same neighborhood. Tents and disheveled tarps straddled the sidewalk and the gravel shoulder across from the Mission. After a month, the two police who specialized in relations with homeless people asked the group to move again and suggested the vacant lot near the Blue Diamond plant (Lomazzi, 2017). The site is a large, open brownfield along the American River owned by the railroads on the city side of the levee. A warren of paths and homeless camping spots along the American River Parkway on the floodplain terrace branch out from this spot. It is not visible from major highways or residential neighborhoods with the exception of a small group of houses to the south. The homeless occupants named it 'The Wasteland' ("From Wasteland to No Land," 2009).

Residents of the Wasteland welcomed an increasing number of homeless people as the calendar turned to 2009, growing to accommodate 300 people. They formed a community of survival to procure drinking water, remove waste from their campsites and police themselves. One resident constructed a picket fence in front of his tent; another resident assembled a tent complex and sublet a portion of it ("From Wasteland to No Land," 2009). The group became self-organizing, sorting into small neighborhood groups within the Wasteland who would look after each other's belongings. The media exposure and numbers of homeless people attracted mobile services, such as church vans showing up with food and a graduate program from the Bay Area testing eco-toilets.

A number of questions arose for Sacramento officials in response to the presence of a large concentration of homeless individuals. Who were they: brand new homeless people reeling from the recession or long-term homeless community members? Why were they in the Richards Boulevard neighborhood, an area identified by the City of Sacramento *with a specific purpose*: development of additional housing through public private partnerships (Environmental Science Associates, 2017)? To understand the presence of homeless people camping in the Wasteland requires an examination of homelessness in Sacramento and its origins.

Sacramento's tramps, hobos and homeless

Sacramento's origins, in the Gold Rush for 1848 and 1849, divided immigrants into land owners/rent-pay-

ers and squatters. After Sutter subdivided his land into a grid to establish the city, squatters occupied vacant parcels in hopes of attaining squatter's rights to the land. The grid contained private blocks of land sold to land speculators as well as four blocks devoted to public space/parks. A mass of squatters in tents making up a third of the 1849 population occupied the space south and east of the city. Eventually the courts ruled that squatters had no claim to the land (Pisani, 1994). "Tent city" and "squatters" remained in the lexicon of local newspapers for the next 10 years, but gradually receded (i.e. *Sacramento Daily Union*, 1851). By 1870, the newspaper Daily Union began using the word "tramp" to describe a new kind of mobile squatter, one unbound by the moral responsibilities of place, home or work (i.e. "The Tramp in California," 1876). One rooted in notions of movement and the railroad, thus non-threatening to those rooted neighborhoods. The informality of tent city gave way to formal political and architectural structures culminating in the establishment of Sacramento as the State Capitol of California in 1879. In the face of this, tent cities recede and newspapers describe *individual* tramps seeking alms in wealthy neighborhoods, getting hit by a train or arrested for stealing. Only a few specific articles suggest cooperation amongst a community of tramps, in the "hieroglyphic" markings used to communicate weaknesses in home defenses ("The Tramp in California," 1876) or in the mutual seeking of shelter in an abandoned building ("Untitled," 1877).

In the 1920s, hobos and tramps, romantically associated with "life on the road," flowed through Sacramento in small numbers, riding the rails in pursuit of temporary or seasonal labor. Sutter's original grid of parcels was now developed, pushing small transient camps to the north, just outside of city limits. For both hobos and other migrant laborers, the periphery of Sacramento offered a temporary place to stay close to the railroads (and the next town) (Reis, 1993).

After the economic crash of 1929, unemployment rose from 5% of the working population to more than 20% in three short years. The local cannery in Sacramento laid off many workers. Fewer jobs meant more evictions and more homeless people migrating to the edge of town to join the itinerant farm laborers camped there. Local itinerant laborers now had to compete with over 600,000 migrant laborers entering California in search of work, often driven from Midwestern states by the drought (P. Taylor, 1936). The itinerant labor camps expanded, becoming large shantytowns by the railyards, at places called "Rotten Egg," "Rattlesnake" and the "Jungle" (Reis, 1993). As in other regions, residents named these shantytowns "Hoovervilles" after

the unpopular sitting president. Sacramento's Hoovervilles eventually spread over a broad arc of the American River floodplain just north of the city boundary (Map 6.1).

Map 6.1 Maps of Sacramento tent city locations in 1850, 1933 and 2009

The eventual start of World War II resulted in conditions of near full employment with the opening of McClelland Air Force base. Vagrants disappeared from the public imagination, although not from the urban landscape. For several decades after the war, they continued to occupy the West End of Sacramento by Front Street in close proximity to several service agencies. The area served as a large source of migrant farm labor, at one point supplying 15% of the agricultural labor in California, but gradually devolving into a "skid row" (Prince, 2012). Then, in the 1960s, the Sacramento Redevelopment Agency re-purposed the sliver of land between the river and the under-construction interstate highway to "preserve" the historic Old Town Sacramento for tourism and redevelopment, resulting in the eviction of many vagrants and corresponding services (Lastufka, 1985). They also tore down the "slum" housing of the West End, including Japantown and parts of Chinatown, eliminating 5000 affordable housing units and single-resident-occupancy hotel rooms (Wildie, 2013). Growing numbers of vagrants re-congregated along J Street downtown and along 12th Street to the river. In the 1970s, the federal and state governments de-institutionalized support services resulting in the numbers of homeless people rising nationwide (Dear & Wolch, 1992). Homelessness in the 1980s and 1990s became a prominent problem, particularly in California cities. Many could not or would not avail themselves of shelter facilities and ended up sleeping rough. In Sacramento, these urban campers continued to inhabit the low-lying floodplain of the American River and the Richards Boulevard neighborhood to the north, the same area occupied by Hooverville fifty years before. Smaller tent cities, looser aggregations of tents began to emerge in some of the traditional places of homeless dwellings, such as Rotten Egg and the Jungle.

To briefly summarize, homeless people camping outside in Sacramento are not a new phenomenon. Their continued presence arose from the partitioning of the city into (mostly) private parcels. The private parcels or blocks were developed with housing which proved to be unaffordable to migrant laborers, the unemployed and the destitute. After World War II, the lack of investment in downtown housing created dilapidated structural conditions that provided inexpensive housing for those experiencing poverty in the West End. In the 1960s, Sacramento's Redevelopment Agency leveled those blocks resulting in the loss of 5000 affordable housing units. The loss of affordable housing and deinstitutionalization on a national scale greatly increased the numbers of homeless people. Shelters and social services for homeless people could not keep up with increasing numbers. The City, instead of addressing the affordable housing problem, tried to regulate homeless behavior and activity by making it illegal to camp. Hundreds of people now camp each night along the American River Parkway, on concrete sidewalks in the Triangle, and in vacant lots dispersed throughout Sacramento.

Santa Cruz's tramps, hobos and homeless

Santa Cruz does not have as long a history of squatting, migrants and homelessness as Sacramento, but its identity as a beach/tourist haven has led to much larger numbers of homeless people for its size. Santa Cruz first developed as a source of wood for San Francisco and coastal California, but soon turned to tourism. The fateful purchase of land along the San Lorenzo River by Elihu Anthony and the resultant subdivided development established Santa Cruz's downtown along a river floodplain, ensuring it would flood over the decades. It also located downtown on plastic floodplain soils vulnerable to earthquakes. Over the years, tourism, the natural coastal landscape and beaches, and this small economy would be intertwined in a give-and-take between preserving an environmental ethos, welcoming tourists and encouraging them to buy things. The reason people visit Santa Cruz is its natural setting on the coast. Development at times, has threatened that beauty.

In coordination with the railroads to promote tourism, in 1907 developers created a boardwalk amusement park destination, still associated with Santa Cruz today. Railroads, agriculture and lime extraction continued to drive the economic growth of the fledgling resort town for decades. Business interests maintained control of city governance through the 1960s, at which time, with the advent of the University of California, Santa Cruz, they lost their seats on the city council and their leadership role in shaping city policy (but not development) (Gendron & Domhoff, 2009). This is somewhat unique in that usually a growth coalition rules the city

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(Logan & Molotch, 2010), but in Santa Cruz, the progressives have been able to maintain power on the City Council.

In the 1980s, like other cities in California, the population of Santa Cruz's homeless people rose, likely due to increasing housing costs, the reduction of federal housing subsidies by 80% and the deinstitutionalization of mental facilities (Dear & Wolch, 1992). Homeless people set up on the downtown pedestrian mall along Pacific Avenue. The growth coalition of civic leadership portrayed these homeless people as "homeless by choice," ex-hippies living a lifestyle free of responsibilities. Progressives argued for a more systemic view of homelessness, citing rising housing costs, but did not have the political capital to provide city funds for homeless services (Gendron & Domhoff, 2009). The concern, widely cited by leadership, was that "hordes [of homeless people] would be coming here from all over the country" (as cited in Gendron & Domhoff, 2009, p. 110). Over the next few decades, this occupation of the downtown has led to what Mitchell (2003) calls "urban revanchism" or an attempted re-taking of territory previously held, in this case, by downtown business interests and seen to be lost to the chaos and filth of the homeless people.

In October 1989, a 6.9 earthquake occurred 15 kilometers from downtown Santa Cruz, resulting in the collapse of Pacific Mall into a pile of rubble and the death of three people. 310 businesses were destroyed and 1615 damaged. The proximity of downtown to the river and the loose-quality of soils and the older brick construction of the buildings contributed to the damage. The growth coalition saw an opportunity to rebuild a better, more economically robust downtown (Gendron & Domhoff, 2009) and quickly recommended a public-private partnership in which business interests predominated in the new plan for downtown shopping. Soon after, the city council leadership hired consultants to propose a new plan for Pacific Avenue. The consultants proposed a "garden-type" street with urban plazas, a small park and plenty of seating. There was a strong reaction against this proposal from all sides, as being too like the old pedestrian mall, which was "dark and shadowy" with too many places for (homeless) people to sit (Garr, 2001). Until the "social problem" was dealt with, department stores would not lease buildings in the area. The city formed Vision Santa Cruz, a consensus-based, "non-political" process for planning downtown. This led to a series of compromises: the city would build a shelter for homeless people, but it would be located near Highway 1, away from the downtown area. All open space would be removed from the downtown plan, the sidewalks would be widened, and cafes would install private tables and chairs for seating. Most benches would not be replaced. Those benches to be

installed would be shortened and be placed perpendicular to the direction of travel, so that shoppers wouldn't have to run the gauntlet of panhandlers as they walked. While promoted as consensus-driven, homeless people were not included in the process of consensus. The new design of Pacific Avenue failed to keep out homeless people and the city had to hire "hospitality hosts" and more police officers to encourage them to move along.

Like Sacramento, Santa Cruz's homeless population centers around a river, San Lorenzo Creek, which flows from north to the ocean just east of downtown. On the east side of the creek, a large park has been constructed and maintained, connected to downtown with a pedestrian bridge. Below this park, a flat, floodplain terrace of grass called the Benchlands is surrounded by trees and the remnants of a disc golf course. In the fall of 2017, the city decided to formalize the homeless encampments along the Benchlands, providing do-it-yourself shelter through the winter season. On a December morning visit, I arrived as a park ranger parked his city truck down on the grassy benchland at the northern end of a long row of tents. Two parallel rows of tents faced each other across an expanse of grass. On the backside of each row, one meter high, plastic construction fence anchored by steel posts ordered the space, along with painted grass marking squared-off campsites on the ground. I counted 44 tents in both rows; not all squares were filled. The park ranger started down the western row, jiggling tents with his hand. He told the people inside something, then he moved on. As I got closer, it appears he was telling them they have about 5 minutes [to what, get out? pack up?]. People started exiting the tents, rummaged through things in and around them, and walked across the grassy space to talk to a neighbor. The ranger at this point made it almost all the way around, down the western side and halfway up the eastern side… notifying tent occupants. Another younger ranger drove his park ranger truck from the bike path down the embankment and parks his vehicle next to the other vehicle. Near the entrance of the pedestrian bridge, two grey outhouses had been placed. Small plastic washstands stood between the outhouses. A Honey Bucket truck arrived and began pumping sewage out of the outhouses. By January of 2018, the Benchlands encampment had supporters including those who worked with homeless people who praised its shelter provision, centralized access to portable health care and opioid overdose antidotes as well as detractors who pointed to an increase in bike theft in the area and potential pollution of the river (York, 2018).

Figure 6.4 Homeless day use of Benchlands by San Lorenzo Creek from the pedestrian bridge, July 2017.

Figure 6.5 Homeless encampment within the Benchlands by San Lorenzo Creek from the pedestrian bridge, December 2017.

By spring of 2018, the formalized camp on the Benchlands had disappeared. According to homeless people and newspaper accounts, the creek began to rise making it dangerous to camp in the lowlands. The City of Santa Cruz relocated the sanctioned tent city just north of the bus storage area and the water purification plant on a fenced-in lot along River Street. When I arrived in the summer of 2018, River Street tent city was locked up. I could see a series of pallets with a few tents on them in between the slats of the high chain-link fence, but there was no one around. I walked past the lot on the gravel shoulder, past two small apartment buildings, and then the buildings ended and the road curved into the forest. I edged along the guardrail for a few meters, perched up above a forest valley of the San Lorenzo Creek. Looking down below into the trees, a man in a blue sweatshirt cooked something on a camp stove beneath a bower created with branches and the dense shade of a redwood tree.

Today, homeless people camp at a site called the "Gateway" adjacent to the Mission Highway. The city has been unable to find enough shelter beds to remove the camp. The commercial core of Pacific Avenue is thriving economically. Homeless people of all types still occupy the street and benches, but there are not so many of them as to overwhelm other pedestrians. The city of Santa Cruz still provides very few services for homeless people, given the large number of per capita homeless people that reside in the city (20% sheltered in Santa Cruz County compared to 44% sheltered in Sacramento County). Tourism continues to dominate the economy. The police (for the downtown and Highway 1 areas) and park rangers' (for San Lorenzo Park) frequent, visible presence actively discourages loitering of homeless people. I found it more difficult to begin conversations with homeless people in Santa Cruz, possibly due to suspicions I was working for the police. Santa Cruz has a police force of 1.47 officers per 1000 residents (City of Santa Cruz, 2015), compared to Sacramento's 1.32 officers per 1000 residents (Chavez & Lillis, 2017). There is a potential relationship between police presence/ticketing /arrests and the promotion of the town's image as a tourist destination that requires further study, but the *perception* of safety and security is linked to a more prosperous tourism industry (Pizam, Tarlow, & Bloom, 1997). Key to that relationship is the concept of visibility. Police should be present and visible to increase the perception of security. What Santa Cruz failed to accomplish through the re-design of Pacific Avenue, it continues to attempt to do in the patrolling of central neighborhoods and the removal of homeless people.

The effects of partitioning of cities

In both cities, urban form influences homeless camping to a certain extent. The Wasteland, Jungle and Rotten Egg occupy hidden or obscure open space central to the city and proximate to social services. Concrete campers revolve around Loaves & Fishes and the Union Gospel Mission, social service agencies located in a light industrial area because no residential neighborhood wants them. In Santa Cruz, the smaller size of the city allows homeless campers in the surrounding forests to access the city center fairly easily on bike. These spaces – vacant lots, railyards, sidewalks outside of shelters, forested hillsides – offer respite, acceptance and community from the myriad struggles of homeless survival. They are also tenuous spaces *because* of the partitioning of the city. The division of space into public and private, in particular, makes the inhabitation of public space in a private manner suspect. This also applies to the division of space into places of stasis and places of movement; rest on the streets or sidewalks (places of movement) is forbidden (Fig. 6.6). And continuing the partitioning of space, the sub-division of places of movement into different travel modes means that certain types of movements will also be suspect (see Chapter 7). Partitioning's result: little space left for homeless people to occupy.
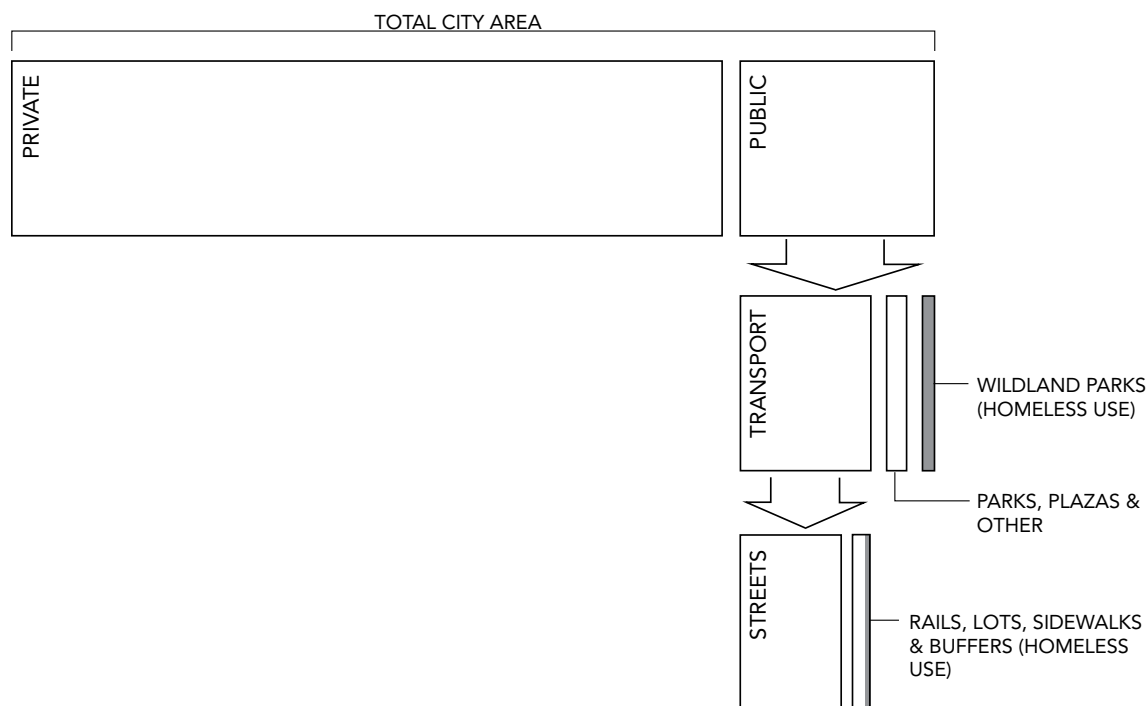
Figure 6.6: The partitioning of urban space in California Cities beginning with public/private, then stasis/movement (transport) and ending with streets for automobiles and everything else. Homeless people occupy the gray areas.

Urban form only influences; it does not determine. Camping outside in an un-recreational manner has never been a land use designated by the city. Encampments disrupt the urban order. This leads to questions of homeless inhabitation in a partitioned city: In addition to camping/sleeping, do homeless people occupy space in a different manner than the domiciled? If different, how do cities 'encourage' homeless people to conform to more normative patterns of inhabitance? And what types of urban space serve homeless people as refuges from this encouragement?

Urban removal of homeless inhabitants – the "move along"

Contemporary homeless people experience rejection on a city-wide scale. They are not ignorant of efforts to "clean up" the city or to improve the economic and aesthetic quality of a particular neighborhood. Representatives of SafeGround, a homeless-led initiative to fight the anti-camping regulation in Sacramento, discussed the problem of debris in areas of homeless encampments and the resultant public outcry, while noting the parallels between cleaning up the trash and "cleaning up the city" (of homeless people) (2008). I argue the only socially-acceptable homeless person is one who is moving. Movement indicates (to the broader public) someone's status as non-resident; they are not "from here." Signs of encampments, such as the presence of debris along the Two Rivers bike path or outside the Homeless Service Center, belie the idea of homeless-as-non-resident through the visual evidence of inhabitation, even when homeless people are no longer there. Cities make every effort to prevent homeless people from inhabiting or coming to a stop. There are different methods of exclusion in Sacramento and Santa Cruz related to the partitioning of the city.

The first type of barrier to homeless rest is the gradual hardening of property boundaries in the city. The fence or wall encircles private (and some public) areas to prevent people from trespassing. In the four years this study has been going on, four vacant lots in the Richards Boulevard neighborhood have been surrounded by new chain-link fences with barbed wire or new wrought iron fences. No fences or walls have been removed during that time. Fences go up even in locations where the presence/access of homeless people would not seem to affect property owners, such as the backside of an industrial building (Fig. 6.7). Property owners call on the police to monitor the aesthetics of a place, in addition to patrolling for criminal activity. In the story at the beginning of the chapter, the track-hoe and brush clearer tore down the broken-down fence and thick vegetation below the levee. A new fence was soon put up at the property boundary by the owner.

Figure 6.7. A new fence below the Two Rivers bike path on the back side of a warehouse.

Homeless people continue to gain access to enclosed vacant lots and public right-of-way by cutting holes in a fence or by entering spaces from adjacent private space. In hidden or obscure spaces, homeless occupation may occur for many weeks on a nightly basis. In Sacramento, a large population of homeless people camps along the American River Parkway. In Santa Cruz, many homeless people camp in the forests surrounding the city to the north.

The second barrier to homeless rest is anti-homeless policy-making and enforcement. Sacramento City Code 12.52.030 prohibits camping in public or private space. Adopted in 1995, it has been a fluctuating process of exclusion. First proposed in the 1980s, a slightly different anti-camping ordinance passed then, giving rise to homeless protest at the Union Gospel Mission and the formation of the Sacramento Homeless Organizing Committee (Lomazzi, 2017). However, the city overturned the ordinance because it required a determination from the City Manager and the Public Health official, making it impractical. The City tried again, this time placing the ordinance under the jurisdiction of the City Manager to avoid similar legal and administrative

issues. It worked. Since then, homeless activist groups have challenged the lawfulness of the ordinance in the courts. Civil rights attorney Mark Merin and plaintiff John Kraintz filed a lawsuit challenging the legality of the ordinance, after police cited homeless people camping on Merin's private downtown property with his permission in 2009. In November of 2017, the Court ruled the ordinance did not specifically discriminate against homeless people, the defendants able to show examples of anti-camping citations given to people not experiencing homelessness.

Enforcement fluctuates in even more dynamic ways than the ordinance and its legal challenges. The Berkeley Policy Advocacy report (Fisher, Miller, & Walter, 2015) indicates a gradually increasing number of camping citations along the American River Parkway (Figure 6.8). The increase continued after the report until 2016, during which, anecdotally, citations appeared to decrease as more tents appeared along the river. In the winter of 2016 and 2017, high flood waters forced homeless campers to move out of the riparian brush and into more visible areas on the city-side of the levee. Whether due to increased compassion from rangers or lack of public disapproval of camping in the winter, this resulted in groups of homeless camps in 2016 lining the Two River bike path. In later winter of 2017, I counted 66 tents between the levee and the industrial warehouses, extending from the State Highway Patrol to the 16th Street bridge. In the summer of 2017, park rangers and police cited more people for camping, reflected in the clearing of brush (and homeless people) described in the story at the beginning of the chapter.

The enforcement of anti-camping and sitting laws is a regulation of space and identity. Sacramento camping prohibition means space cannot be used as shelter. If camping is prohibited everywhere, then homelessness (with the exception of those in shelter beds) is prohibited everywhere. This was the argument of the plaintiffs in Allen v. City of Sacramento (2015). The court ruled that it is not cruel and unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment of the Constitution because the ordinance targets a behavior or act, not a condition of being. "Sacramento's ordinance punishes the acts of camping, occupying camp facilities, and using camp paraphernalia, not homelessness" (Allen v. City of Sacramento, 2015). Yet the behavior is a *forced condition of being* for all homeless people without access to shelter beds, making homelessness itself a crime for over one thousand people every night. By describing camping as an act and referencing the 1962 Supreme Court decision of *Robinson v. California* on whether being a narcotic addict was a crime, the courts dismissed the 'cruel and unusual punishment' argument of the plaintiffs. However, if sleeping is required for existence and must occur

in space, then Sacramento's ordinance does punish the condition of being homeless or homelessness itself. The city is in a bind: identity cannot be punished (that would be discrimination), so identity must be converted into a punishable action (Kotef, 2015). The city, in an attempt to remove homeless people from city space, has outlawed the condition of homelessness as well as homeless people.

Sacramento County Park Ranger Illegal Camping Citations Issued by Year, 2004-2014
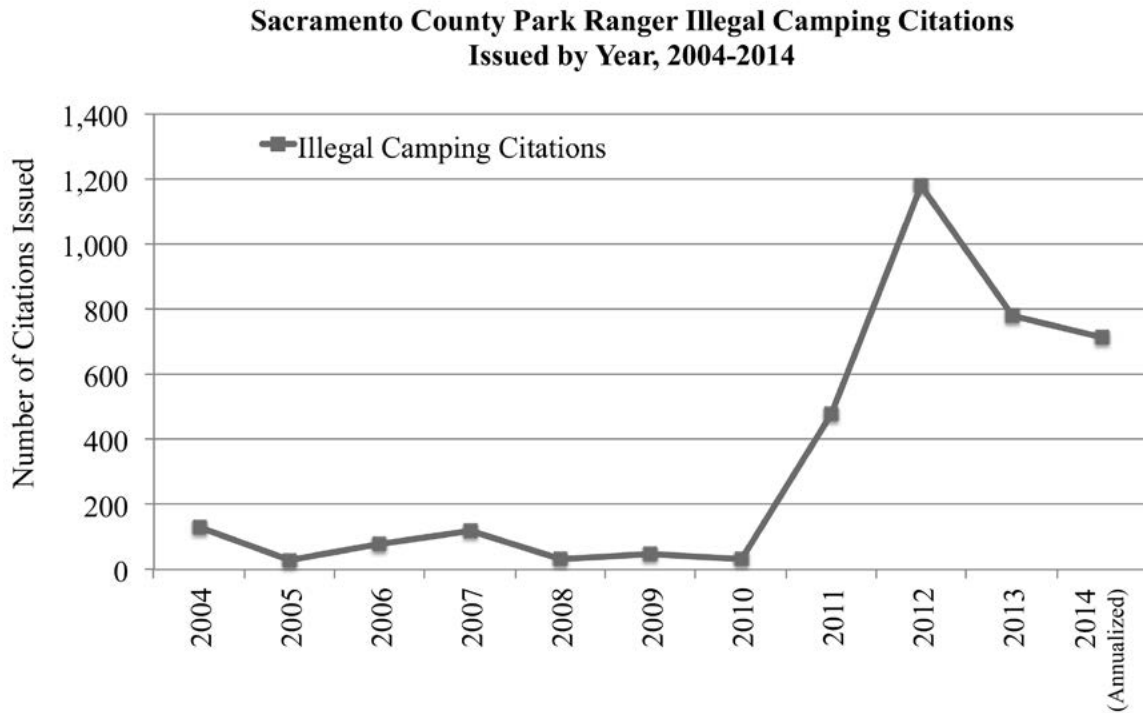
Figure 6.8 Change in Sacramento camping citations over time. (Fisher et al., 2015)

In September 2018, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Boise, Idaho's anti-camping ordinance could not be lawfully enforced when the city did not provide enough shelter beds for the homeless population (Berzon, 2018). The City of Sacramento stopped enforcing the anti-camping law in response to the decision of the Court of Appeals until legal issues related to human rights can be resolved (Hubert, 2018). In a visit to the Two Rivers bike path in October of 2018, tents had transitioned to entrenched tent complexes, elaborate structures of tent, tarps, gateway/entrances, and porches, signs of increasing permanence.

The enforcement of the anti-camping law regulates space, but also time. The City is less concerned with the occupation of space in the daytime (although loitering is also a crime) than it is with occupation of space at night. At night, occupation rejects the urban norms of apartment or house as a place to sleep. Time influenc-

es enforcement; time is used as enforcement. In an agreement with the City, Loaves & Fishes opens Friendship Park as a day use area for homeless people from 9 am until 2:45 pm. Shelters in Sacramento and Santa Cruz require residents to leave the premises during the day and may require residents to return before a certain time to receive a bed, a curfew. These curfews may curtail the plans homeless people have to take night classes or connect with others (see interview p. 71). The formalized tent city along the Benchlands in Santa Cruz required the homeless residents to drop their tents and leave by 10 am every morning. These times ensure the rest and movements of homeless people are controlled according to negotiations between the City and social services (Buccieri, 2014).

Keeping them moving - enforcement

The third barrier to homeless rest is the specific action of the "move along," the forced initiation of movement by police and the pinnacle of aesthetic space/time control. Movement may be directly requested by police or park rangers, or it may be indirectly prompted by the sight of or rumors of the approach of police, as seen in the initial story. In another example, along the San Lorenzo Creek bike path in the summer, a park ranger rode north on an ATV. The homeless men sitting on the concrete seat wall rose as one and walk away from the bike path as he approaches. They crossed Front Street; I lost sight of them amongst the cars in the parking lot. Up at Mission Park, homeless people tended to nap during the day in the shady grass. A white Parks Department truck pulled up to the sidewalk on the west side of the park. A park ranger clambered out of the car, walks over to a Latino man sleeping on a bag in the central open space. He bends down to talk to the man, gently shaking the recumbent figure. They talk, then the recumbent man gets up and begins packing up his bag. The ranger walks back to the truck, where he is accosted by an older woman with a backpack who tells him stories of her latest suffered indignity.

In extreme cases, not only can a homeless person's shelter and belongings be confiscated, but a homeless person's body can be violently evicted. The elaborate process of eviction takes places publicly:

> *At the intersection of Front Street and Water Street, two police cars are parked. East down Water Street,*
> *in the dark shade of building and trees, about five homeless people have set up camp, mostly carts filled with*
> *stuff. An older white woman lies next to her belongings under a tree by the curb. She is very tan. There are*
> *empty bottles of Gatorade and other drinks lying around her. A circle of eight police, seven men and one*
> *woman with short cropped hair, stand, almost in a circle around this woman. One of the police is wearing a*

white shirt with the words "Downtown Park Ranger" on the back.

I walk to the intersection intending to cross, but then I hear someone yell in a whiny voice "Please let me go!!!" Two of the officers are attempting to get the woman to sit up or stand. She wails: "I don't deserve to go to jail!!" "Can I die please?!! Ahhh!!" One of the policemen is talking to her, but I cannot hear what he has to say. "I want my life back….!!!" Police say something to her, continue talking. They've got her sitting up now and in handcuffs behind her back. She sits in the dirt with her legs out in the street, facing east, away from the onlookers (3 office workers and 3 homeless people at the intersection). She continues "Please let me go !!... [whines something]… I'm soorrrrryyy!!"

One of the officers who had been here earlier drives a police car heading west on Water Street. When the light turns, the police car maneuvers a U-turn and parks next to the woman in handcuffs. Still a few meters to go though. It takes a while. The woman is wailing and struggling. Two officers pick her up, carry her over to the car, but right before she gets in, she really starts struggling. There's an awkward moment where she cannot seem to get in the car, but the lanky, older police office with the cropped white hair is talking to her now. She calms down enough to be put in the car and they close the door. An officer walks around the car, gets in the driver's seat and they move off east down Water Street.

Encounters with police do not always end in movement, sometimes they end in jail, an enforced stasis, the prevention of movement. A formerly homeless man offered this account:

> *"The one time I got a ticket by a ranger, some idiot… a homeless guy… I was under the Green Bridge. It was winter. And somehow this knucklehead comes in sometime in the night and I didn't hear him. It was the next pylon over and he built a fire. And the ranger shows up, and I'm there too, and he's right next to this guy and he comes up and gives me a ticket. And I said 'Well, I understand.' But that was my home, I lived there. And, uh, so I went to work. I worked at the Hungry Hunter and I got a voucher for $20 off lunch and I rode my bike back in and found the ranger and said: 'Here. No hard feelings.' I never had a problem with the rangers. The police, the only time I had a problem with the police was when the park flooded out and I had to sleep under I-5 bridge, and then, and they would do their little raids…*

"Three times I got stopped under the I-5 bridge right here. The cops would come in in the worst weather possible at 5 am in the morning and there would be 30 people under the bridge and they would come from both sides and write out tickets. They would haul you to jail for 23/24 hours. They would move you from one cell to the next. And you'd think I'm getting out. 'B**, yeah, c'mon!' And they were just moving you to another cell, until you got to the big cell. There was a … They wanted you to remember that that was wrong. Then you go before the judge and he would dismiss it for time served.

"Yeah. They only did that when they got the pressure, when, you know, when people, joggers, going on by say 'The homeless are getting out of hand here' or whatever, and then the pressure would come down and you would have to move out..."

In this description, the former homeless man emphasizes his social relations with the rangers, a going back and forth between illegality and legality, as part of his personal management of camping outside. Despite the focus on stasis, movement is integral. He discusses the danger of moving to a more visible, but sheltered, camping area, the movement of the police, and moving between jail cells as a way to "remember a wrong." Homeless people manage these movements, both towards and away from, in a constant dance of alertness and suspicion. Is this person approaching someone I can trust? Or is it someone who will steal my stuff later or write me a ticket? Movement is a tool for getting by, negotiating positive and negative relationships.

Tents are the material manifestation of this movement, a bridge between the permanence of home and the flexibility of packing up and moving on. Tents facilitate the flexible process of establishment and removal. As shelter, the tent's value lies in its transportability. It is easy to disassemble and pack up when asked to move by police or park rangers. There is a rhythm to the contemporary process; a small group of homeless people establish a temporary community in hidden areas of the American River Parkway like "Sherwood Forest" or the "Jungle" for a few nights, before being discovered by nearby residents, who phone the police, who then ask them to move, sometimes even giving them hints about a potential encampment in which they will not be bothered for a few days (Vollmann, 2011). The limits of property and the City's anti-camping ordinance create the formal conditions of homeless people's perpetual criminality: not enough shelters, illegal to sleep outside, informal trespass of public and private space.

Inhabiting space to manage visibility

An older, white male wearing a straw hat, amber ski goggles and a red and blue fleece with a Southwest flavor walks along a Pacific Avenue sidewalk pulling a wagon. He stops and sits down at a bench. His wagon has a long, bent handle and tall wooden sides. He rummages through his things in the wagon and pulls out a tall camp stove and canister of gas. He places the stove on the concrete planter bed in front of him, lights it, then places a pot on it with water to boil. A little later, he puts the hot water in a thermos-type cup along with a tea bag. He sits awhile…looks around and drinks some tea. He puts the cooled stove and pot back in the wagon. Twenty minutes later, he stands up and walks south on the sidewalk pulling the wagon.

Central to the idea of homeless people at rest is the tension of their haphazard occupation of space. They live in public space as private individuals with public and private needs. Urban space has social cues in its physical comportment and the behavior of other people, clues for how one should behave. On Pacific Avenue, the shady sidewalk is lined with businesses selling surf wear, books and candles. Groups of men and women walk along chatting with each other, ducking into the shops to exclaim their low-level excitement for an object they have found. And in that context, a man wearing ski goggles stops at a bench to have some tea, not dissimilar to the tea I am drinking at the coffee shop across the street while writing up field notes. Yet, I have paid for this seat by purchasing tea; he has brought his own.

A woman in all-black clothing unfurls a sleeping bag on the ground in the shade of the trees in Cesar Chavez Park in Sacramento. She lays down. After a few minutes, she gets back up and walks over to the central fountain. She steps over the circular seat wall into the water and stands there. Then she lays down in the water submerging herself. Back standing, then submerges herself again. She moves over to the fountain, standing under it, letting the drops of water stream all over her. Eventually, she clambers out. A man sitting at a nearby picnic bench with a friend yells at the lady: "Don't do that!" She yells back at him and curses. They exchange banter and the two black men laugh. She goes back to her sleeping bag in the shade and puts a heavy black jacket over her wet clothes.

Homeless people occupy space in an unformed manner; that is, they inhabit spaces contrary to the original, practical intent or purpose of that space. Often attributed to mental disabilities or rebellious behavior, much of the unformed mannerisms stem from a lack of the private space of a home, for example, reclining in public, pausing to stare blankly at the horizon or brushing one's teeth. Embodied movement becomes an indi-

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cator of belonging in the city. Behaviors, such as taking a shower in public, stigmatize a person as "homeless" and slightly off.

There is an aspect of homelessness, and of transience in general, in which temporarily inhabiting a space means making it their own, making it private. Coming to rest in a chosen spot (under a tree in a park for instance), settling down on a blanket or pad, removing things from a bag and spreading them around… the arranging of belongings parallels the arranging of a personal life.

> *I walk along the bike path and traffic recedes. Then I encounter a white female sitting off the path on a bed roll. A roller luggage sits beside her. She does not look up, but is rearranging her things, as if she is getting comfortable for a night spent by the river.*

Even for those who own very little, personal belongings hold meaning, a method of inhabiting.

However, personal belongings contradict the 'public'-ness of space. This has been codified. In Sacramento, city code prohibits the storage of personal belongings in any public areas (City Code 12.52.040). Homeless people, who cannot leave their things behind in camp or at a shelter (unless they rent a locker), must carry their things with them. If they cannot carry their things with them, they cannot leave their encampment (lest it be stolen), greatly restricting their movements. Stuff becomes not only a primary identifier of homelessness, but a means for regulating their behavior, particularly reducing camping. If a citation cannot be given to a homeless camper because of camping, the storage of personal belongings in personal space can be more easily proved, *as long as those things are visible*. The clutter of personal things, laid out on the ground (i.e. the bike wheels and camping paraphernalia in the story that led off the chapter) exposes the precariousness and homelessness of the camper for all to see. Aesthetic norms of city space and behavior disallow inhabitance of public space, since these things strewn about the landscape are *private* belongings.

In addition to the uniqueness of carrying personal belongings, homeless people stand out for their purpose-less (appearing) behavior in public space. The public imaginary of homeless people as those who have a lot of time during the day bears some resemblance to homeless people encountered, but certainly not all. Preliminary inquiries of homeless people in Oakland found the majority of those staying overnight in the CityTeam shelter go to jobs during the day. Homeless people in Sacramento and Santa Cruz spend a good deal of their

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day working temp jobs, participating in an informal economy (i.e. selling drugs or cigarettes), or a myriad of appointments at the courthouse, with social workers, or for social security, as discussed in the previous chapter.

But for many, the days stretch long in a fight with boredom. As one man explained: "Boredom is a killer. You know, what do you do? You go to the library and read… Most people, they don't have anything to do, they get bored; they get high." The problem is exacerbated by the inability to find public space where someone who is sitting or lying down does not seem out of place. In my field notes, a young woman in Santa Cruz searched for such a place:

> *I am walking behind a young female with dreadlocks wearing a camouflage jacket. She has come up from the Benchlands and hesitates at the pedestrian bridge, then she continues west over the bridge at a slow pace…*

> *The camo gal walks across River Street into the entrance of the Trader Joe's parking lot, then down next to the businesses to the north. By the time I cross River Street, she is out of sight. Maybe she has gone into the counseling service center there? But I continue walking all the way to Front Street, weaving in and out of people and stores. At Front Street, I catch a glimpse of her walking slowly across the street to the north. She now saunters by a bank with those old, drive-up windows. I cut across the now-defunct banking lanes… On the other side of the bank and around the corner, she has sat down. She leans against the wall of the Veteran Affairs Office building behind a parked gray truck, placing her backpack beside her. I keep going.*

The young woman is a latter-day, feminine flaneur, walking through the city without purpose, except she wears the garb of the destitute instead of the middle-class intellectual (Buck-Morss, 1986). She continues to walk, only resting out of sight in a corner of a parking lot; she seeks a place to be left alone. The parking lot would not be many people's preferred resting spot -- devoted to cars, a constant back and forth of activity -- but she could sit for hours behind a couple of trucks without being noticed, depending on the business the parking lot served. Or she could be spotted and cited for loitering.

Loitering transgresses the idea that urban citizens should be engaged in an activity, that people should have a purpose. Loitering attacks the partitioning, not just of the city, but of people and their labor. A loiterer works at nothing, organizes nothing and purchases nothing. He or she situates their body in a place of retail or

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industry as if unaware of the informative context of their surroundings… a storefront, busy traffic, or a disc golf course. The loiterer both revels in the public-ness of space, the freedom of any activity, even no activity, and attacks public space, for public space was divided from private space to provide urban movement and places of assembly. The loiterer does neither. Along Pacific Avenue in Santa Cruz, the pedestrian needs to be shopping or purchasing food. In observations of homeless people loitering, I would spend time loitering myself, which I found to be awkward, unused to standing around on a sidewalk doing nothing. I would look at my phone. I would read the advertisements for upcoming concerts posted on the wall. I would take notes. At the Alkali Flat transit stop in Sacramento, I walked from the sidewalk to the raised platform to await a train. I began taking notes based on observations at the stop. A north-bound train came by and everyone got on with the exception of myself and the security guard wearing a bright yellow vest.

> *A young, black male security guard approaches me and asks if I have a fare. "No" He asks me again. He says I need to buy a ticket to sit in the median/transit stop. I ask him if I can sit all day here if I buy a ticket. This seems to be a little confusing, so he suggests I just walk across the tracks to the sidewalk by the apartments. "You can sit there all day! It's not our property."*

Why would I be at a transit stop and not want to move? Without purpose, stationary people threaten the publicness of space.

It is particularly obvious when people sit or lie down on a sidewalk, also illegal in Santa Cruz. The city has wrestled with loitering for the past three decades, approving laws that ban sitting on sidewalks (City Code 9.50.012), lying down, busking in too much space (Ordinance 2013-14) and sitting on public benches for too long (City Code 9.50.013). The codes require a complex understanding of legal wording, spatial distance and the values of the city. For example, City Code 9.50.012 states:

> *In the C-C community commercial, C-N neighborhood commercial, C-B commercial beach, CBD central business district, and R-T tourist residential zoning districts, no person shall sit upon the following enumerated portions of a public sidewalk:*
>> *(a) At any bus stop;*
>> *(b) Within fourteen feet of any building. Where any portion of a building is recessed from the public sidewalk, the fourteen feet shall be measured from the point at which the building abuts the sidewalk;*

(c) Within <u>fifty feet</u> of any ATM machine or cash disbursal machine, or any other outdoor

machine or device which disburses or accepts coins or paper currency except parking meters and

newspaper vending machines;

(d) Within fourteen feet of any fence that abuts a public sidewalk;

(e) Within fourteen feet of any drinking fountain, public telephone, public bench, public trash

compactor, information or directory/map sign, sculpture or artwork displayed on public property, or

vending cart;

(f) Within fourteen feet of any street corner or intersection;

(g) Within fourteen feet of any open air dining area or café extension; or

(h) Within fourteen feet of any kiosk.

In this code, a sitting person threatens an ATM machine three times more than he or she threatens a drinking fountain, intersection or dining area. The specificity of "fourteen feet" suggests an arbitrary quality to the regulations, but also credits both police and homeless people with an uncanny ability to visually measure distances.

While the public may consider loitering to be without purpose and so to be discouraged in partitioned public space, the loitering of homeless people builds social networks as they move into and out of social groups.

A middle-aged, black woman swinging a purse walks west across the street over to a group of five or six peo-

ple standing in front of the convenience store across from the Alkali Flats light rail stop. Three other people

stand along the wall, two with bikes. She talks to a black woman who has just rested her bicycle against the

street light post. The bicycle falls down, and the tall man with her, picks it back up and makes a joke about

it. They all laugh.

In Santa Cruz, along San Lorenzo Creek, Latino men gather by the concrete seat wall to shoot the breeze. Outside the Homeless Service Center, small groups of two or three hail each other from across Coral Street. Loitering is ultimately relational… a pause between friends passing by, a practice in patience. A loiterer is content to let the world come to her.

Loitering with others may be perceived as more transgressive than loitering alone. In an interview with John Kraintz, one of the founders of SafeGround, he describes inhabiting a certain camp area for the purposes of establishing community:

> John: "Right down in here [points to the northeast] *this used to be a camp, or not a camp... This whole area here has got homeless camps in it. This is an area called "The Log".*
>
> *Researcher: The log?*
>
> *J: "The Log" was a place where people would come together and discuss issues of the area.*
>
> *R: Oh. Homeless people would do this?*
>
> *John: Yea. it was... This is sort of a ... It was a community. It was enough of a community that rangers threw the log into the river to get rid of it. They didn't want a community building out here.*
>
> *R: So, there was an actual big log that people would meet at?*
>
> *J: Yea, it could hold maybe about 10 people on it. Big old fallen tree… And they got rid of that. They're definitely afraid of people organizing. It's what needs to happen."*

Loitering fails to be loitering when parks are opened up to daytime use by homeless people. The specific purpose of an open space for homeless people, for loitering in a sense, is what makes Friendship Park, operated by Loaves & Fishes, so informative regarding the social relations of homeless people:

> *The overhead shelter just south of the entrance has three older model green picnic tables that seat four people each. At the first table, three black people sit and one Asian man. At the second table, four black males are playing dominoes, slapping them down and talking smack to each other and to a couple of the guys at the first table. The third table seems to be a little more relaxed. Three black males and a white male are playing cards. The white male is the most talkative, occasionally yelling at his cards… "give me something good!"*
>
> *A heavy-set black man with a mustache occupying this third table has been in this same place every day I have visited the park. During his card game, he looks over to a black woman spectator on the nearby bench and asks her if she needs some water. No, she is all right. During the game, several people approach him to ask him for something… help with food stamps, for instance. They increase in numbers as lunchtime gets near. He yells over to a white woman exiting the park to come back and talk. She stops and heads over to*

him. They discuss her social situation. When she leaves, she promises to let him know when ___ happens.

She pirouettes away; another person comes over to take her place.

Outside of the formal space of Friendship Park, controlled by an agreement between Loaves & Fishes and the City of Sacramento, the challenge is to find space for congregating. If society hates a resting homeless person, it really hates a group of them. Santa Cruz battled for years to prevent the construction of a homeless shelter. When it was finally approved, it was under the condition that it would be located north of Mission Highway in an industrial area, a significant distance from residences. Santa Cruz knew that homeless people congregate around shelters. It is not just the aesthetics of a group of homeless people that is the problem, i.e. litter, dirty clothes… It is the perceived threat of crime, closely associated with homeless people in the public view (Wardhaugh, 2000).

For homeless people, finding a place to inhabit during the day with other people is difficult. In Santa Cruz, those places may include the Benchlands and San Lorenzo Park, Laurel Park, Mission Park and the areas around the Homeless Service Center. But the area near the clock tower and along the bike paths gets patrolled too frequently. Park rangers approach and talk to groups of homeless people, many of whom disperse on their approach rather than get harassed. In Sacramento, there is less police harassment, except as you move close to the Capital and K Street Mall. People still inhabit the area around social service centers (Map 6.2), but also those pockets of wild along highway rights of way and the rivers. Police and security guards also ask people to move:

> *I park near the State Highway Patrol Offices in Township Nine to find a Palladin Security car parked next to two white males in sleeping bags in the median by the fountain. A white male in a dark blue uniform, looking like a police from afar, is talking to them. One of the men gets up, takes off his jacket and starts packing up… He's next to a bike connected to a dilapidated bike trailer. The other is still sitting down when I saunter past.*
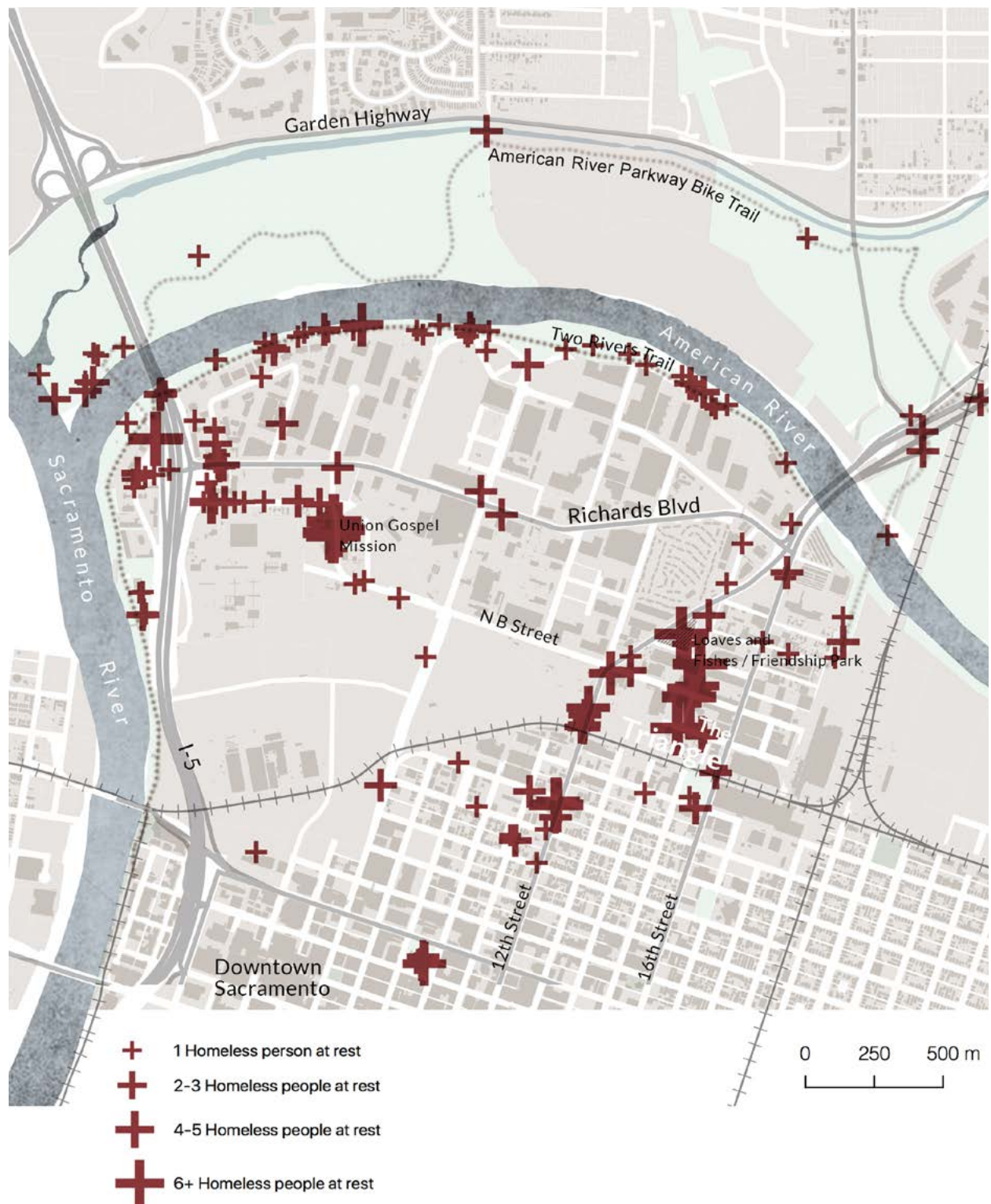
Map 6.2 Observed homeless people at rest in Sacramento in relation to open space

Beyond those formal places and sidewalks near a shelter, homeless people inhabit indeterminate places –spaces left over from the partitioning of the city. Barron refers to these spaces as "terrain vague," a general term for the places existing outside of commodified, organized urban space (Barron & Mariani, 2013). More than indeterminate land, terrain vague exposes the rigidity of land use and zoning through informal activities and natural regeneration. Terrain vague exists from the placement of buildings as objects in the landscape, without relation to space and each other, thus creating left-over spaces. Terrain vague exists from the buffering of speed, the designation of spaces of movement that require buffers for safety and control. In particular, these spaces form in places of cross-over between transportation mode, i.e. railroad and highway. I discuss two types of terrain vague as urban wild and as eddies of transportation.

Inhabiting urban wilds

Urban wilds within the city, whether parks or vacant lots or slivers of vegetative thickets, becomes places of rest and sociality (and sometimes danger). Their obscurity, in the sense of visually impenetrable vegetation or distance from other people, allows for private inhabitance and activities. These are the places most comfortable to homeless people in the day. At night, homeless people may band together to protect themselves from harm or theft. A formerly homeless man, now in his 60s, describes his time on the American River as good while he had a van he could camp in.

> *He had privacy, but it got increasingly difficult to drive around* [due to the onset of a medical condition]. *Someone at night came and attacked his van, beating on the windows trying to get in. In 2001, he got rid of the van and began camping by the river. This was a lot harder. The people out there by the American River live in communities that really protect each other. But even so, it was unsafe. People are crazy. He lost a lot of friends. I ask him how and he says they were murdered. He describes sleeping on a bench and someone coming up and hitting him on the head with a rock. Another time, a man threw a full bottle of liquor that hit him in the head. It was luck it just missed his face. In 2005, he had to get inside. He had a disability and needed a private place so he could lock the door.*

Homeless people form small temporary communities along the parkway for protection and to watch each other's possessions. But not everyone in the urban wild camped with others. A formerly homeless person describes his campsite:

"I would throw out my tarp and lay down my blanket and sleeping bag, lay my bike down and lock it up, hook onto it, I had bungee cords. Cause people could just come in and take your stuff. I'd use my shoes and my coat as a pillow. And then roll everything up in the morning, put it on my bike, pick up whatever trash may have blown in, throw it in the garbage can. Off I go."

However, even this individual used the American River Parkway, specifically the Discovery Park area, as a place to spend his days hanging out with other homeless people:

Researcher: "So, you wouldn't camp with other people?

Mitch: Not unless I had to…

R: Or go around with other people?

M: Well, no, I had my other family in the park. I didn't sleep with them. Even though homeless… homeless people have other people they consider their family.

R: Sure.

M: And even then, I wouldn't give a hundred dollar bill to them and expect to have it back the next week. But if you didn't show up, then they would call around to see if you were in the hospital or whatever.

R: You felt relatively safe with them…?

M: Oh yea. Oh yeah. People you get high with. People you get drunk with. I can remember one Thanksgiving in the park, in the back of the park, they have a big open pit, it's like four feet wide and 10 feet long. About a month ahead of time we planned, you know, "I'll bring this. And I'll bring that." We had a bunch of wood, when it was first light, bed of coals. We had a turkey, stuffed it, wrapped it in a bunch of foil, and buried it in those coals… would turn it every once in a while to keep the fire going. And by early evening, turkey's done, everything's done and we all ate together.

R: That's really cool. A great picture.

M: Yea, it was. It was. Of course, everybody ended up drunk. Still, for a while there, it was Thanksgiving with your family."

In the indeterminate landscape, riparian vegetation grows into dense thickets, asphalt pavement slowly erodes and homeless people forge paths through the brush. If there is design, it is the design of a tableau or stage upon which diverse performers move. It is flexible. A bike path hosts recreational bicyclists, meandering

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homeless men with bags of recycled cans, office workers walking at lunch and a real estate agent driving his SUV to show a client the view of the river. Along the American River Parkway, the local preservation society would like to remove the homeless from the area. It needs to be "cleaned up" to return it to its "pristine" state (Jahn, 2005). While removal of trash and debris is an admirable goal, the removal of homeless people from public space who do not have access to private space is problematic. Sarah Dooling (2009) calls the pitting of pro-environmental river and open space advocates against a vulnerable and impoverished population "ecological gentrification" – the exclusion of a group of people from a natural area by means of environmental discourse. The preservationists are only comfortable with indeterminate open space if it is seen as natural; no people allowed. A study of American River Parkway users called nearby residents at their homes to assess their use and opinions of the park (Berg & Martinez, 2006), excluding homeless people's opinion or influence on the planning of the parkway. In my estimates, recreational bicyclists (who supposedly have homes) and homeless people frequent the parkway in equal numbers, yet only one of these groups received the opportunity to contribute to the future vision of the park. By narrowing a public space to one single purpose (in this case, recreational bicycling), planners removed the opportunity for indeterminate space to surprise and challenge.

Inhabiting eddies of transportation

Automobiles shape cities more than any other spatial force. As stated in Chapter 4, 80% of public space in the Richards Blvd. neighborhood is devoted to the automobile (versus 13% sidewalks), and 62% of public space in the Alkali Flats neighborhood (versus 35% sidewalks and planter strips). In downtown Santa Cruz, 61% of public space is devoted to the automobile (versus 39% sidewalks) (see also Figure 6.6).

Outside of the urban wilds along the rivers, homeless people inhabit transportation's buffers, grade changes and rights-of-way. They cannot stay in lanes of car traffic, but they can occupy the sidewalks, resting in the shade of a building during the day or setting up a tent or sleeping bag as the city goes dark. In Sacramento's Triangle, as many as fifty homeless people, called concrete campers, will camp along the sidewalks of Ahern and N B Streets at night, in close proximity to Friendship Park. According to staff of Loaves & Fishes, some of the homeless people have been there for 30 years. Loaves & Fishes has an agreement with the City to keep a porta-potty open 24 hours; in turn, the City has removed the gate and opened the alley (for access). As

many as 400 people use the porta-potty during the afternoon and night (when the Park is not open), making it difficult to maintain.

Concrete camping entails setting up a temporary shelter, i.e. blanket, tarp or cardboard, along the sidewalk at dusk, sleeping in this space, then getting up early to dismantle it and start the day. It is hard on the body. Concrete campers are vulnerable to theft. In talking with a Latino man:

> *He has difficulty sleeping due to pain in his legs. Usually getting to sleep around 4:30 or 5 am. One night, when they were camped, just around the corner from Loaves & Fishes, his wife got up to use the Porta-Potty at Friendship Park. When she got back, her bike was gone. This must have happened after 4:30 am, while he was sound asleep, which is unusual that he slept that soundly.*

The straggled shelters along Ahern or N. B Street prevent pedestrians from using the sidewalk or accessing buildings. If they camp in a more visible area, in front of an active business say, the police are called and they are asked to move along.

In the process of establishing a temporary camp on a nightly basis, homeless people only need small wedges of space, usually within the street right-of-way. The process requires alertness and some agility, becoming more difficult as chronically homeless people age. Because the person occupies right-of-way, sleeping out exposes one to harm or theft due to their visibility. They seek small hidden spaces. As an older white man describes it: "You have to be careful. They target the elderly and disabled." Here is his nightly pattern:

> *When he gets to camp, he lays down a layer of cardboard, then a tarp, then a sleeping bag. When it's winter, he'll put another sleeping bag on top of that.*
> *I ask if it gets that cold here. Oh yeah, it's not the temperature, it's the wetness, the humidity.*
>
> *One time, he bought some new clothes at Walmart. He didn't make it back in time to put them in his storage place. He went to sleep and put his new clothes on top of him, but they still got wet and muddy.*
>
> *To stay dry, McDonalds is open a long time. You go in there and buy a cup of coffee and they're ok with homeless people. Denny's is open 24 hours.*
> *He sleeps out around McDonalds. No one bothers him there.*

I ask him if he sleeps on the concrete. Well, there's a concrete sidewalk, then a strip of dirt and some Ole-ander bushes, so no, he sleeps on the dirt.

Homeless people inhabit two other transportation places: highway easements and the spaces under highways. Highway easements along I-5 in Sacramento and along Highway 9 in Santa Cruz host homeless campers at night, but do not appear to be occupied during the day. These easements often would not be considered habitable by most people. They can be very close to the speed and noise of traffic, as well as harmful emissions. The ground may sharply slope making it difficult to find a spot for sleep. And they are often hidden behind chain-link fences. The harsh conditions, speed and noise of traffic keep other people away. The ground can be dug to form a bench, creating a place for sleeping. An unobtrusive hole through a fence prevents others from discovering one's camp.

In my initial fieldwork, my lack of imagination or understanding of where homeless people went hindered observations. For instance, during my first visit to the American River Parkway, I met and briefly interviewed an older white male with a large backpack sitting at a picnic table. He described his daily movements between Discovery Park and the Union Gospel Mission. The next week, I saw him walking along the bike path under I-5 and wanting to follow up, I walked after him. He was not walking fast, but when I reached the other side of the freeway, he was gone. Only weeks later did I discover a small hole in the fence (since made bigger and now torn down completely) which provides pedestrian access to a narrow path at the bottom of the freeway embankment which is the most direct route to the Union Gospel Mission.

The area under a highway structure may be too exposed for homeless people. Bike lanes run under the Interstate 5 and Highway 60 bridge in Sacramento as well as Highway 1 (and even Water Street Bridge) in Santa Cruz. With pedestrian and bicycle traffic even at night, it is obvious to other homeless people and park rangers when someone is camping there. However, it does offer the advantage of complete protection from the elements. A homeless man and his wife I was interviewing at Friendship Park became agitated when rain clouds began to form in the northwest. He said he would have to be leaving pretty soon, as they wanted to claim a spot he knew about under the interstate before it rains.

All this takes place within the context of movement, and more particularly speed. In a partitioned city, where retail occupies one area, light industry and housing other areas, the movement of people and goods becomes paramount to the functioning of the city. Speeding up the movement of people and goods requires space. The fastest transportation modes of airplane, car and light rail require largest buffers or empty space around it (if safety is also a concern). According to design standards, when automobile traffic reaches 55 mph, highways should have at least a seven or eight meter clear zone on each side (AASHTO, 2011). Freeways, with traffic moving at 65 mph, require a clear zone of ten meters (Figure 6.9). As speed increases, crossings become vertically separated, so that both flows of traffic in different directions do not have to stop. This vertical separation requires bridges, tunnels, embankments, walls and/or railings to funnel traffic safely. This vertical separation also requires an embankment from the higher road or rail down to the ground level, which increases the clear zone required by as much as 50%. Thus, speed creates the conditions for left-over spaces existing primarily for safety or to connect divergent grades. These spaces are not meant for habitation, but for the preservation of empty space. They are a result of the partitioning of the city into places of movement and places of stasis.
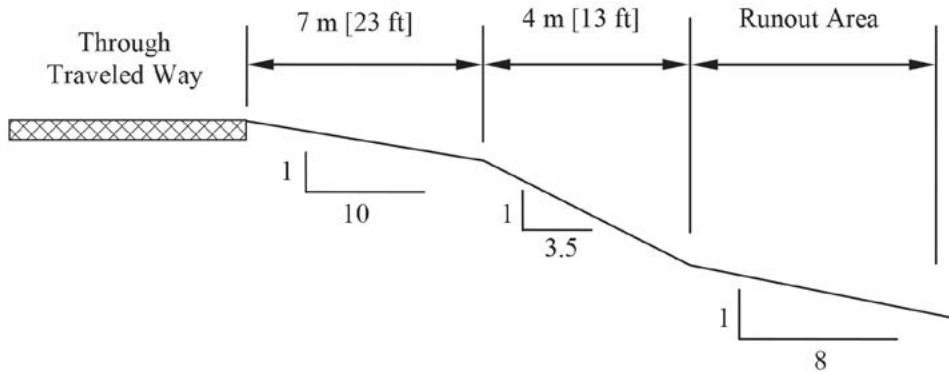
Discussion—Since the non-recoverable foreslope is within the recommended suggested clear-zone distance of the 1V:10H foreslope, a runout area beyond the toe of the non-recoverable foreslope is desirable. Using the steepest recoverable foreslope before or after the non-recoverable foreslope, a clear-zone distance is selected from Table 3-1. In this example, the 1V:8H foreslope beyond the base of the fill dictates a 9 to 10 m [30 to 32 ft] clear-zone distance. Since 7 m [23 ft] are available at the top, an additional 2 to 3 m [7 to 10 ft] could be provided at the bottom. Since this is less than the 3 m [10 ft] recovery area that should be provided at the toe of all the non-recoverable slopes the 3 m [10 ft] should be applied. All foreslope breaks may be rounded and no fixed objects would normally be built within the upper or lower portions of the clear-zone or on the intervening foreslope.

Figure 6.9 Cross-section of a *freeway* "clear zone" showing total distance when embankment has a slope greater than 1:4. From AASHTO's 2011 Errata.

I often walked between the Alkali Flats neighborhood and Richards Boulevard. The two neighborhoods are divided by railroad tracks that have remained in this location for over one hundred years (Map 6.3). The railyards have dominated Sacramento north of downtown during that time (although development has been proposed on much of the railroads property). There are three places to cross the tracks, and in all three places the road dives under a railroad bridge: 7th Street, 12th Street and 16th Street. To get to Loaves & Fishes from downtown, homeless people frequent 12th Street (either via walking, biking, or bus). When walking north, the pedestrian crosses 12th Street to reach the sidewalk on the west side (light rail tracks take up the east side of the street). As the sidewalk descends under the tracks, the pedestrian walks by a colorful mural on the retaining wall. Underneath the bridge, it is very dark with the noise of three lanes of south-bound cars traveling 40 mph into the city. On the other side of the bridge, the pedestrians passes a steep concrete embankment on the left (see Figure 5.2). At the top of the embankment, a chain-link fence runs along the tracks, then cuts over to prevent people from getting onto the railroad property (although holes have been cut in the fence). Between the fence and the sidewalk, fifteen or so people may sit on the embankment or lie in the shade at the top. At various times, pedestrians walking by below will stop and ask for a smoke or for information on drug procurement. Despite the bleak environment of speeding traffic, concrete and chain-link, people exchange friendly banter throughout the day. On a recent visit, a group of teenagers pulling a wagon stopped by to offer pre-made food and water to the people on the embankment with several men getting up from their perch and walking down to grab a water bottle.

The homeless person moving through the city searches for a place to rest, outside the surveillance of people and police. Frequently transportation right-of-way provide those places of rest. They manage their visibility to manage social relations. When moving and thus safe, they may be comfortable being visible. When resting and thus threatened, they may need to hide or find an unused, left-over location, such as the urban wilds or highway right-of-way. Discomfort is enforced by police and park rangers through the "move along" – a forced movement to nowhere. The homeless person at rest or inhabiting a place transgresses social norms of movement, i.e. the tramp.
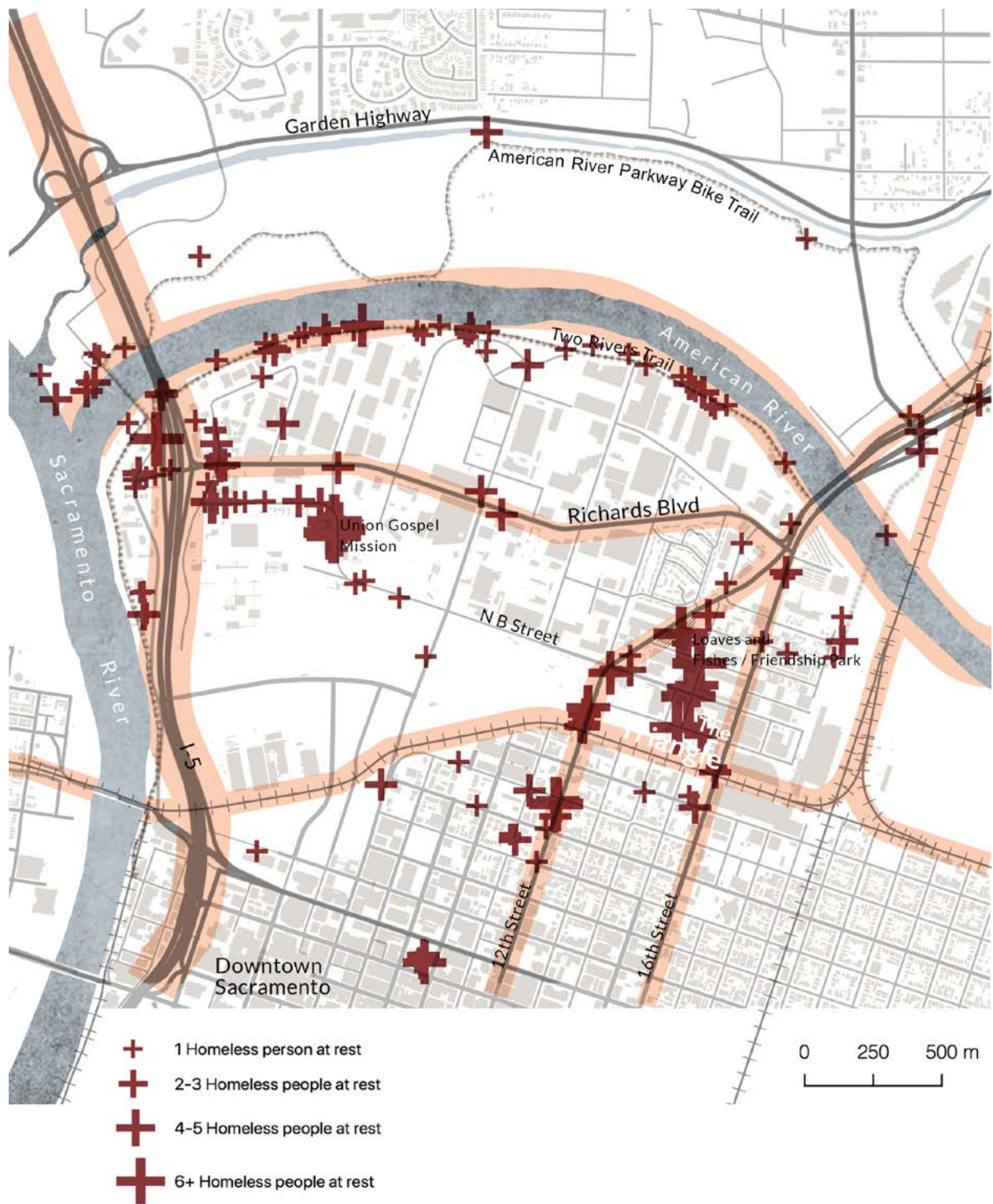
Map 6.3 Homeless rest and its relationship to the railroad and highway infrastructure in Sacramento

Transgression of socio-spatial partitioning

What inspires the fences, the anti-camping laws, and the patrols? Why is the act of resting-while-homeless so threatening? Based on the empirics of field observations, as well as interviews with planners and newspaper articles on homelessness, I offer three intertwined reasons for the perception of homeless rest or stopping as transgression. Homeless rest transgresses the partitioning of the city into use areas, people's vision of a progressive city, and ultimately the idea of the "part which has no part" participating in the workings of the city through residence.

The partitioning of the city is social. Designating areas of land use, activities, wealth and poverty shapes not only the physical environment, but social interactions of acceptable and unacceptable behavior. Santa Cruz's history of downtown development after the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake illustrates the process: a growth coalition comes together, rejects the proposed open space along Pacific Avenue as it might attract homeless people and drug dealers, and approves a pedestrian mall designed to attract shoppers to the retail center of the town (Gendron & Domhoff, 2009). Who you are influences where you can go. Pacific Avenue is zoned for retail, developed by civic and business leaders, designed for shoppers, and patrolled to ensure people shop (and do not loiter). Homeless people along Pacific Avenue are thus "out of place." Cresswell (1996) uses this designation of "out of place" to illustrate the structuring of the landscape based on expectations of social propriety. Anything outside that social propriety is a transgression of it, used to show what is normative by contrast. In a sense, homeless people transgress place just by entering it or staying in it.

The partitioning of the city is spatial. The partitioning is done through common forms of pattern making in the urban setting: zoning, patrols, redevelopment projects, housing loans and investment in infrastructure. Spatial partitioning is intertwined with people partitioning. In Sacramento, this partitioning began with the initial founding of the city into a grid of mostly private parcels of land. It continued through the late 1800s with the dominance of the Southern Pacific Railway as the defining economic and *spatial* driver of the city. The contemporary economy no longer relies on the railroad, but the railroad continues to spatially define the area north of downtown. In mid-century Sacramento, the process of partitioning shifted to zoning and rede-velopment. It was a tool to remove poor residential areas from the city core, thus contributing to the swelling of the homeless population.

Space partitioned is regulated space. If the City establishes a purpose for each space, then each space has numerous non-purposes, activities which are not allowed (i.e. manufacturing in a residential area). The partitioning of space works against homeless people because none of the purposes include resting while homeless. Yet, the partitioning of space also assists the homeless since anytime space is partitioned there will be left over slivers of unoccupied land.

The social, spatial and mobile uses of urban space continue to influence the physical structure of the city, its policies and their enforcement. Collectively, each practice – fencing, policy-making and enforcement – maintains partitions, necessary due to the fragility of partitioning (Rancière, 2005). In Sacramento and Santa Cruz, I found the social use of space to be fragile, constantly shifting. In contrast to Rancière, the physical landscape woven together with fencing, streets and open space endures and grows. It may be fragile (requiring maintenance) but the motivation and energy to perpetuate this partitioning is consistent. The railroad is no longer an economically dominant force, but the railroad infrastructure and movement continue to shape the city and the movement and habitation of homeless people. It is the social perpetuation of inequity that is fragile, a state of balance teetering when homeless occupy a wealthy neighborhood or when a poor neighborhood is gentrified. A group of homeless men bed down for the night at the back of a vacant lot on North B Street in Sacramento. A few months later, brush is cleared and a chain-link fence encloses the property to keep them out. In Santa Cruz, homeless teenagers line Pacific Avenue with blankets upon which they display their crafts for sale. In 2016, the city enacted a regulation prohibiting selling something on the sidewalk for more than an hour; they must keep moving.

The partitioning of the city is perpetuated by the *spatial imaginary*, a collectively held vision of what a city should be. It has strong normative tones, offering decision-makers a moral compass for improving a city. In Santa Cruz, the spatial imaginary assumed an outsized role in the redevelopment of downtown after the Loma Prieta earthquake. According to Gendron and Demhoff (2009), city leadership agreed on the purpose of downtown Santa Cruz as a retail center for residents and tourists (who could afford to buy things). The strength of the deeply held, spatial imaginary of a "clean," "safe," and profitable downtown could be seen in the agreement of both sides of the political spectrum (business conservatives and social progressives). The City embraced the idea of using the aesthetics of downtown and the spatial configuration of Pacific Avenue

to limit pedestrians on the street to those who could afford to shop. Downtown was designed to exclude homeless people through the situation of benches and the elimination of pocket parks or any substantive open space. That it failed did not deter city leadership from continuing to try and exclude (this time, through patrols of "hospitality hosts" and a designated patrol officer).

Each of these reasons for physical, political and social responses to homeless stasis rely on an element of visibility. Only when homeless rest becomes visible does it become political. The border between politics and not-politics, between voice and voicelessness is an aesthetic one (Nyers, 2008). As Rancière avows:

> *Politics... consists in transforming this space of 'moving-along', of circulation, into a space for the appearance of a subject: the people, the workers, the citizens. It consists in re-figuring space, that is in what is to be done, to be seen and to be named in it* (Rancière, 2015, p. 37).

By stopping in a space of circulation, the homeless person appears as a fellow participant in the city, and in the process, reconfigures the space into an inhabited place. When the partitioning of the city is transgressed, partitions are revealed. Bataille describes transgression as revealing the constraint, law, order or code it violates (Hussey, 2006). In a similar vein, Cresswell (1996) states transgression contains the seeds of new spatial orderings precisely because it reveals the taken-for-granted boundaries it crosses. This is not true for all transgression, as practiced by homeless people, but *visible* transgression. The life of homeless people as described is a constant negotiation between visibility and invisibility. Should they seek a hiding place to avoid police or just be left alone? Or alternatively, should they expose their personal inhabitance, thus challenging societal norms at the risk of getting cited for a transgression? "New spatial orderings" are not possible without the political act of appearance in a space where appearance contradicts the spatial imaginary. Rest as transgression illuminates urban problems only when made visible.

Chapter 7: Transgression, politics and homeless movement

In the last chapter, I argued homeless people transgress social and mobile norms when they rest. There are strong associations between homelessness and movement, with tramping through a city. While they are moving, they are not challenging stationary norms of economic and social activity. They are not in place but remain out of place. Transgression of this sort means loitering, sitting on a sidewalk or camping outside. Homeless people also transgress while moving, though in different ways. In this chapter, I tackle the multiplicity and complexity of their transgression while moving, first as a straightforward legal issue of transgressing a law or regulation, then as more normative transgression of controlled movement and the partitioning of the city. I use transgression here to relate their social positioning or subjectivity to how they negotiate the urban landscape.

Homeless people are not a monolithic community, so I discuss different homeless transgressions practiced by different homeless people. A few general conclusions from quantitative studies on homelessness and crime will establish context (see Ellsworth, 2018 for an overview). These findings relate to crime specifically, not the broader category of transgression, but give some indication of homeless people's relationship to crime and safety, as perpetrators and as victims:

1. Homeless people are more likely to be victims of crime than perpetrators (Gaetz, 2006; Lee & Schreck, 2005; Newburn & Rock, 2006). This relates to their vulnerability on the streets, but also the criminalization of homelessness itself (Foscarinis, Cunningham-Bowers, & Brown, 1999; National Coalition for the Homeless, 2006)

2. Homeless people experience physical and sexual assaults at higher rates than the general population, particularly women and the mentally ill (Gaetz, 2006; Kushel, Evans, Perry, Robertson, & Moss, 2003)

3. At the same time, homeless do not perceive the police as helping them. They do not often go to the police when victimized, as they have a generally conflictual relationship with police officers (Newburn & Rock, 2006)

4. Homeless people are more likely to be arrested than domiciled people (Spieglman & Green, 1999)

5. Homeless people are more likely to commit theft than domiciled people (Newburn & Rock, 2006)

6. Homeless people are less likely to commit violent crimes than domiciled people (Spieglman & Green, 1999)

Based on these studies, researchers suggest there is something about the homeless identity that influences their greater rates of victimhood.

> *Violence, threats, intimidation and abuse from the public, particularly where the latter are intoxicated, appear to be an everyday reality for the homeless population. Not only are the homeless unprotected, but their very identity can make them a target of ill-treatment* (Newburn & Rock, 2006, p. 148).

Their victimhood relates to their perceived lack of value as people and their physical and economic vulnerability as they move through urban space. This is particularly true for those experiencing mental illness (L. Roy, Crocker, Nicholls, Latimer, & Ayllon, 2014), although see Draine et al. (2002) for a compilation of social factors arising from mental illness, some having to do with homelessness. A homeless person's identity as a "fallen" individual contributes to the perception that crimes against homeless people may not have the same importance as crimes against the domiciled. Their identity as homeless intertwines with their identity as criminal, so that when someone sees homeless transgression or evidence of a homeless transgression it reinforces the idea of homeless person as perpetrator (rather than victim).

As opposed to the crimes of violence or crimes of property theft, homeless transgression observed in this study tends to be violations of wrong place or wrong time. The police consider these nuisance offences.

Negotiation within and against existing mobility infrastructure

California cities partition mobility. Movement in the city follows demarcated channels in an effort to increase the flow of automobile traffic. Traffic engineers prioritize efficient motorized movement (Litman, 2003). Automobiles move from driveway to street to highway; trains move along tracks between stations; bikes follow the parkway trail until they reach the 7th Street bike lane. Movement works efficiently when it is channelized in designated corridors, otherwise travel modes conflict and safety is compromised.

Partitioning of movement extends to normative behaviors and discourse on movement. Cities prefer certain types of movement over others as evidenced by funding, staffing, planning documents and the actual built infrastructure. While the emphasis on various modes of travel changes over time (see Sacramento's *Grid 3.0* plan), the challenge and expense of changing existing infrastructure ensures new travel modes are only discussed and implemented *within the context* of city build-out of the twentieth century and is centered around the automobile. Existing infrastructure of legacy rail and legacy road moves domiciled residents from periphery to center, suburbs to downtown as fast as possible (Map 7.1).

Speed, the indicator of modernity, operates as a complex disturbance of traditional relationships and communities (Tomlinson, 2007). Speed severs, displaces and disrupts. Speed takes space, expands to bring faster and faster travel to downtown, until the territory of buildings, encampments and conversation disappears amidst the turbulence and eddies of fast travel. Speed is inherently at odds with safety (Pasanen, 1990). The faster a car moves, for instance, the longer the reaction time is needed to brake or swerve to avoid an accident. Traffic engineers have responded to this dichotomy – speed and safety – by designing "forgiving" roads with large clear zones and limited access (Ewing & Dumbaugh, 2009), which work for rural highways but do not improve safety in more urban areas. Still, despite the conflict between safety and speed, it is safe to say that the broader car-driving public wants to travel to downtown as fast as possible (particularly if safety, noise and spatial appropriation can be externalized). Therefore, planners and engineers have "given people what they want" at the expense of the neighborhoods immediately surrounding downtown which are severed with high-speed, high-mobility thoroughfares, thoroughfares which take up a great amount of space (see, for example, Prince, 2012). Both transportation's capacity (or through-put) and safety (at odds with speed) require enormous amounts of public space devoted to automobile movement and buffering. This ubiquitous infrastructure devoted to speed is the context within which a homeless person moves.

Jaywalking and biking against traffic

Jaywalking is the movement across a street at an unsanctioned point or time, usually across the flow of automobile traffic. It is not considered jaywalking to cross at a cross-walk or at an intersection during a green or "walk" light. According to Norton (2007), in the early 1900s, streets hosted pedestrians, horses, carts, bikes and pedestrians. Cars could not move quickly down the streets in the presence of all these modes of transport. The term "jaywalk" originated as a term deriding the country bumpkin, a "jay," unwise to the ways of

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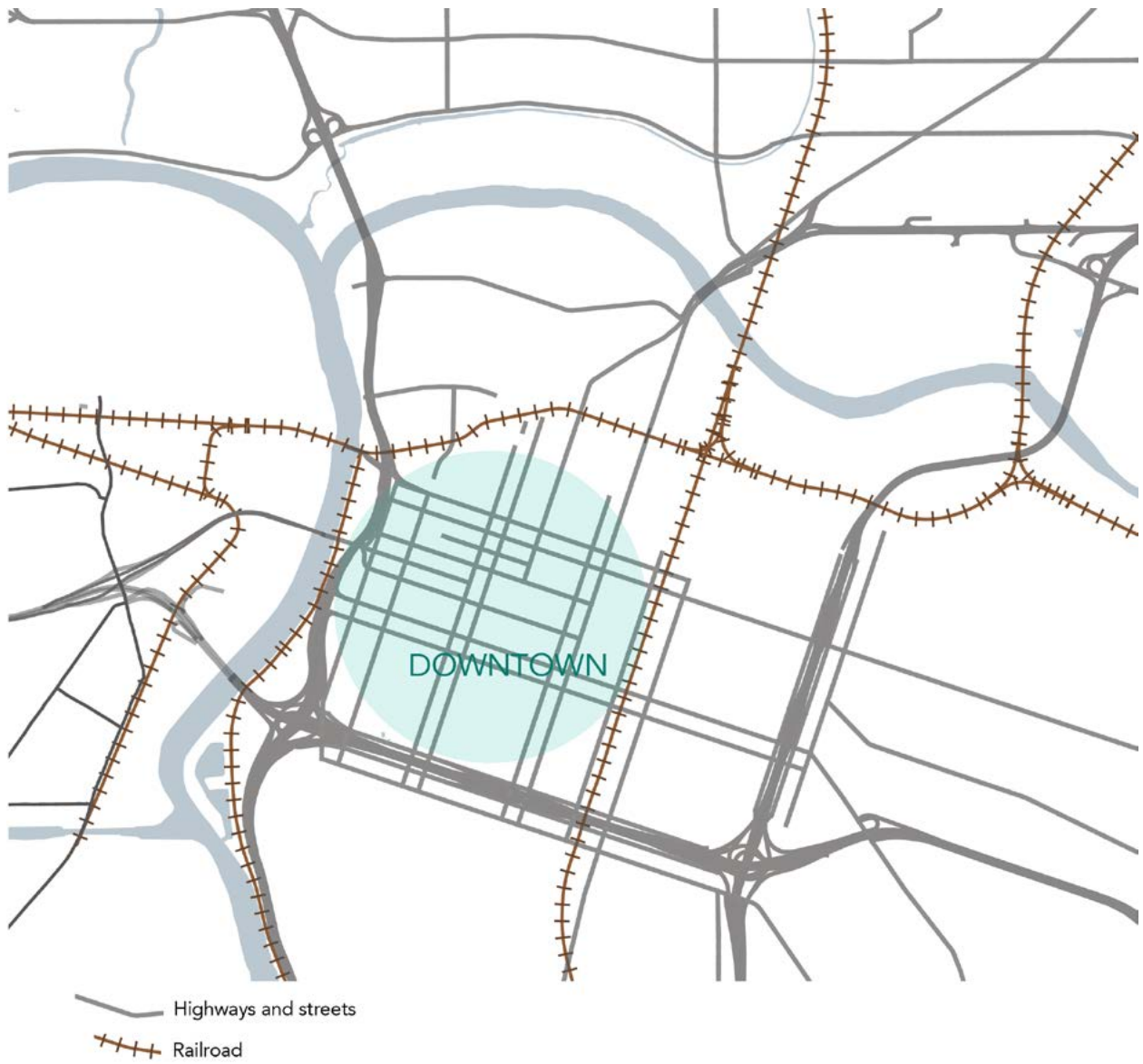
Map 7.1 Sacramento's existing infrastructure, designed to move people from the outskirts to downtown

the city. It was a concerted effort by the automobile industry and the supportive media to encourage pedestrians, the slowest form of movement, to stay on the sidewalk, thus normalizing the idea of streets-are-for-cars (Norton, 2007).

Today, jaywalking is an established misdemeanor for crossing a road illegally. Streets primarily serve automobile traffic. Crossing away from an intersection or against a traffic light hampers (automobile) transportation and may result in a traffic accident. I witnessed numerous jaywalking incidents by both domiciled people and homeless people. Most jaywalking occurred on quiet streets where cars were temporarily absent. In particular, jaywalking predominates across Pacific Avenue in Santa Cruz, despite the presence of small blocks and frequent mid-block crossings, this is likely because the street is one-way, narrow and the amount of pedestrian traffic is high. Pedestrians here feel more comfortable because of the presence of more pedestrians than cars. At a different scale, people in Sacramento often jaywalked across 7th Street between North B Street and Richards Boulevard, because of the infrequency of cars moving through, despite the wideness of the street.

It is not known whether homeless people jaywalk more often than domiciled people, but certainly many of the instances of homeless jaywalking I observed occurred in the presence of oncoming automobile traffic. In Sacramento, a man without a shirt walked across Richards Blvd. against the light, moving his hands in circular motions, meandering up onto the median. As I walked down 12th Street, a man in a tight, white muscle shirt walked from the sidewalk out into the street in the face of oncoming traffic. He paced erratically, then returned to a pile of things with a couple of leftover pizza slices that have been left on the sidewalk. Another man at the entrance of Discovery Park rode his cruiser bike, pulled by a tan boxer on a leash. He wove through the stopped cars waiting to turn right on to Richards Blvd. And finally, a woman with a walker pushed out across 12th Street as the pedestrian light turned from green to red. She got halfway out before the phalanx of cars shot across the intersection towards her. A small blue sedan honked its horn as it approached. She turned and screamed an obscenity at it, eventually reaching the sidewalk.

Biking against traffic occupies a place in urban transgression similar to that of jaywalking. In many places, bikes exist in an in-between place, not allowed on the sidewalk, but too slow on the street to feel safe. In both Sacramento and Santa Cruz, bike-riding on sidewalks is prohibited, except in residential neighborhoods (SC City Code 10.68.030). Along 12th Street, a one-way street entering the downtown area of Sacramento, a bike

lane abuts the right-hand lane. Homeless people use it for moving *with* traffic (going south) and *against* traffic (going north) as the nearest north-bound bike lane to cross the tracks and reach the Richards Blvd neighborhood is 16th Street, four blocks east.

Biking can be transgressive even in designated bike spaces (Map 7.2). A homeless man from Santa Cruz tells the story of flying down the Emma McCrary Trail, a dirt track for mountain bikes, only to come around the corner to find a group of recreational bicyclists stopped along the path. He had to swerve up the hill, hitting a bike, to narrowly miss crashing into a person. Despite the dirt path as a mountain biking place, he felt he was the one transgressing; he was going too fast, out of control and risked injury to others. He did not discuss why the group was stopped on the mountain bike trail. In Sacramento along the American River Parkway, dirt paths and roads peel off the main paved bike trail and head into the brush. Homeless people were observed biking into the brush past "No bike" signs. Despite the area purposed for (recreational) biking, cyclists needed to follow specific locations/pathways to conform to the partitioning of the space.

Trespass

Trespass is encroachment without permission on someone else's property. In the last chapter, I discussed trespass as squatting or camping out illegally. Vacant lots have been fenced off, signs put up and patrols augmented, all to prevent people from camping in the city. In this section, I focus on trespass as movement, similar to jaywalking, but in this sense, movement across private property. For example, in Sacramento, a young man left his camp by the river on a mountain bike, tore down the levee's embankment, jumped the bike onto the asphalt parking lot and moved through the private office park. Down the block, an older man walked through a hole in a chain-link fence to the side of an office building, where he filled up a plastic jug of water from a spigot, then walked back to camp. In Santa Cruz, the abandoned train tracks running north-south adjacent to the Homeless Service Center are a favorite pedestrian corridor for homeless people, despite the "No Trespassing" signs at each road crossing. Private railroad property is particularly vulnerable to homeless trespassing in the two cities, as they occupy significantly large tracks of land and have relatively few resources to patrol or secure the property. Trespass of private property seems to happen in places of abandonment, places unseen or vacant. The Wasteland tent city of 2009 discussed earlier was on private property, some of which was owned by the railroad.

Map 7.2 Counter-map of movement and rest of a homeless bicyclist in Santa Cruz, California. From camp to community, rest to work (bicycle messengering).

In this study, I observed the signs and markers of trespass (i.e., behavioral traces described by Zeisel, 2006)), more often than trespassing behavior. Along the chain link fence by Interstate 5 and the Two Rivers bike path in Sacramento, holes in the fence first appear, followed by removal of whole panels of chain link. Homeless people skirt the lower slope of the levee, hang out during the day or camp (based on the amount of trash), then move through another hole in the fence and the adjacent vacant lot. This route cuts 10 minutes or more from their trip as they walk between Discovery Park and the Union Gospel Mission in Sacramento. The brownfield site of the former tent city, the Wasteland, has since been surrounded with security fence, but even here person-sized holes in the fence appear, next to a "Private Property: Keep Out" sign showing a pedestrian silhouette crossed out. Graffiti covers the sign. Trash and debris, as well as cardboard or blankets on the ground, also indicate trespass in the form of encampments.
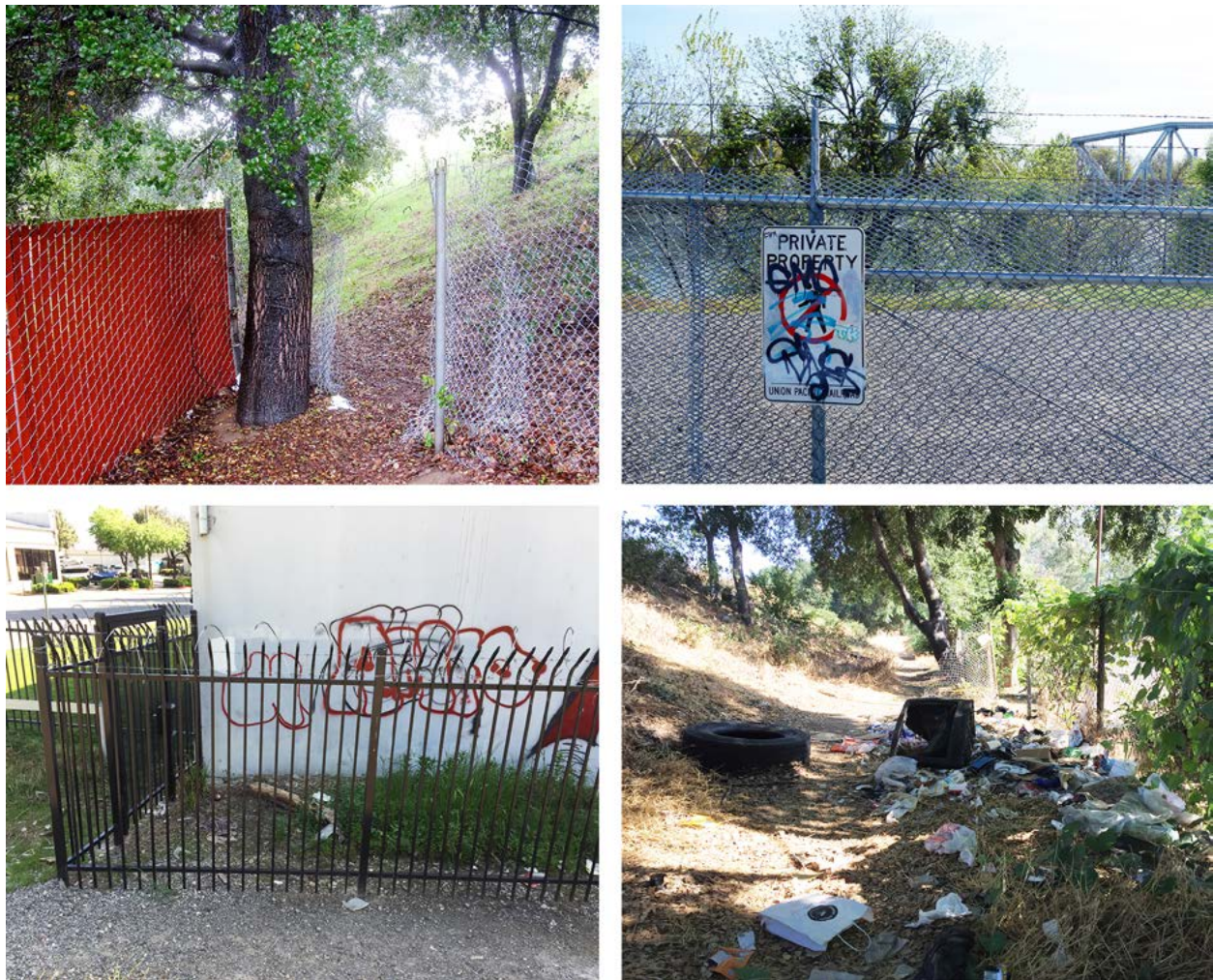
Figure 7.1 Examples of traces of trespass in the urban landscape.

Trespass can happen on public property as well. For example, the State prohibits movement or remnant encampments on freeway right-of-way. It is the creation of space for cars but only those drivers who do something wrong (careen off the road). Five decades ago, highway engineers designed roads under the assumption drivers careening off the highway were responsible for their own safety (D. Prytherch, 2018). Now, engineers assume responsibility for those drivers by establishing a large "clear zone" in which out-of-control cars can recover and get back on the road (AASHTO, 2011). Living in the clear zone or sleeping there is trespass; the space is for the safety of people doing something wrong by veering off the road. The partitioning of movement happens in the designation of highway lanes for speed and the additional designation of clear zones for driver transgression in the form of trespass or getting out of one's lane (potentially life-threatening *because* of that speed). Legally, however, trespass of highway right-of-way occurs by homeless people seeking a place to walk or sleep.

Fare evasion

In contrast to jaywalking and trespass, fare evasion happens not during movement but during access to a specific type of mechanized movement. Fare evasion means not paying for transportation, sometimes to access a closed system (bus) but usually an open system (light rail). By avoiding a fare, homeless people can travel on light rail for free just by hopping on. But fare evasion is not a simple pay-or-not-pay choice, but entrance to a complex system of legal and occupational service, as in the case of Jeremy…

Jeremy is a young Pacific Islander who came to the United States as a child. He first lived in San Francisco, then moved to Sacramento to work as a care-taker for the elderly. He found an apartment to share with a roommate, but his income as a care provider did not pay him enough money for anything besides food and rent. To get to home from working the night shift as a care-provider, he would purchase an all-day bus pass for seven dollars, then ride the bus home. He would then give the pass to his roommate who would use it to get to work and back at 5 pm. At which point, Jeremy would take it back and use it to go to work at 6 pm for the night shift. Togeher, he and his roommate evaded bus fare by sharing a ticket meant for one passenger. When his landlord decided to sell the building, he was evicted and on the streets.

Jeremy found shelter first at the Union Gospel Mission, then at the Volunteers of America Men's Shelter on A Street. When he cannot afford a bus pass, he walks. But his favorite mode of transportation is light rail. He

will walk south to the Alkali Flats stop, then ride light rail two stops north. Two months after I first talked to him, four months after he became homeless, I met him again at the County Courthouse. He had gotten on the light rail and could produce no ticket when the Sacramento Regional Transit police came by, so he was cited for fare evasion.

Jeremy had no money to pay the citation. When residents of Sacramento receive a citation or traffic ticket, they must go to the Carol Miller Justice Center, a Sacramento County municipal building 7 miles away from Loaves and Fishes. When the County built this building, they were thinking of middle-class people getting speeding tickets. The Justice Center is located south of Hwy 50, immediately off the Howe Avenue exit. With plenty of parking and good highway access, the Justice Center appears to be sited and built for the service of automobiles. According to a Legal Clinic lawyer, "the County wasn't thinking of homeless people when they put that out there." Sometimes homeless people will have a citation for failure to buy a pass on the light rail, get on the light rail to go to court, and get another ticket for fare evasion on the way.

Jeremy visited the Legal Clinic at Loaves & Fishes, where he met with a volunteer lawyer. Sacramento has an agreement with the Tommy Clinkenbeard Legal Clinic to provide entrance into the legal system for home-less people, matching them with public counsel and scheduling court dates. The volunteer lawyer asked him to come back on intake day, a once a month meeting with public defenders who arrange a plea deal. At that time, Jeremy was scheduled to go to "homeless court" at Sacramento County Courthouse on the third Friday of the Month. When he arrived at the County Courthouse for his 1:30 pm court hearing, Jeremy waited in the hallway for an hour and a half with other homeless people. Two public defender lawyers called out people's names, then confirmed their hearing date and what they would like to plead. An older man accompanied by a social worker argued with the public defender, adamant that he did not in fact steal a grocery cart. At the end of the argument, he agreed (bitterly) to the plea deal as the alternative was the scheduling of a criminal court trial. A bearded man in a long flannel shirt got into a conflict over an empty plastic chair a woman had been sitting in a few minutes before. Another man talking to a woman friend, eventually left in exasperation. A little after 3 pm, the court opened and we filed in. The public defender called each person's name asked them to come up to the podium where he stands. When it was Jeremy's turn, the public defender read out the charges to the judge. The judge, the defender and the clerk spent time clarifying the charge and then the plea deal: community service or a fine of hundreds of dollars. Once clarified, the judge asked Jeremy whether he

agrees to plead "no contest" and complete 70 hours of community service. "Yes sir." The judge told him he may be seated. Jeremy walked back to the front row of seats, signed the paperwork brought by the bailiff and exited out the back door, while the next defendant meekly approaches the bench. Jeremy had three months to complete his community service hours, administered by Loaves & Fishes and usually consisting of picking up trash in the Triangle. Jeremy then pays for two trips on the light rail with 70 hours of community service work.

Transgression of social norms of travel behavior

In addition to unsanctioned movement, movement against a regulation or law, i.e. jaywalking, there is transgression of the normative component of movement. Transgression crosses social and normative boundaries as well as legal boundaries. I argue "distribution of the sensible" that permeates urban life and form is deeply ingrained in society, to the point where someone or something can transgress this distribution, even when no regulations prohibit the behavior. Here I examine one such type of movement: the bodily way homeless people walk and bike in abnormal ways.

Transgressions of social norms can be movement that is too noisy or too slow. A white male with a shaved head and an army jacket rides west on a bike, away from Loaves & Fishes. He carries two bike wheels in his right hand. The front wheel he rides is just the rim, no tire or tube. It makes a screeching, rhythmic, clanking noise as he moves over the pavement. Later in the day, I am over at the American River. A black male on a bike approaches me. He has a mountain bike with a rope attached to the seat post pulling a grocery cart. He moves slowly and carefully. The cart doesn't have much stuff in it, but the little wheels are complaining vociferously. Both men were relying on unmaintained or dilapidated equipment to move around, resulting in noisy movement. They weave and meander across the pavement or bike path.

Not complying with the normative speed can also be a transgression. A white older male with dark loose clothing pushes a wheeled walker with grips, loaded down with plastic bags and luggage. He walks south next to the Alkali Flats light rail stop. At the intersection he heads west across 12th Street but the light turns red before he makes it across. He stops and waits on the light rail tracks. He proceeds again when the light turns green. Crossing the street, he pushes his cart up on to the sidewalk with some difficulty.

On another occasion, I am walking with an older white male in a wide brimmed hat north on 7th Street to the Recycling Center. He spends early mornings collecting cans downtown. I ask him why he pulls a cart with his haul rather than a bicycle, as others do. He replies: "Could you imagine me with a bicycle and trailer in those alleys [collecting cans]?" Is that because it is more difficult to maneuver? "No, walking's more accepted. People don't look at you in the same way." For this individual, the mode of transportation is a factor in how he is "accepted." Being accepted makes a difference in his movement and feelings of safety. He tells me a story of a man attempting to steal his things while he was downtown. "He came at me to attack me, so I hit him. He came at me again, so I hit him again. He didn't learn. He said: 'If I had a knife, I would kill you.' I guess it was lucky he didn't have a knife. He thought I was an old homeless guy."

Along North B Street in Sacramento, a Latino walks west on the gravelly shoulder of the road. He gestures expansively, throwing his arms up in the air at one point, then looking across the street and gesticulating like he was grasping something from the other side of the street and pulling it towards him. Another day in Santa Cruz, an older white female, very tan, in a skirt and cream-colored fleece walks south, then into Lulu's to examine the food in the cases. When a barista moves towards her, she walks back out and turns south to a store window, where she looks in while making rhythmic swaying motions with her right hand. In both cases, the erratic behavior may suggest a mental illness to some observers. While a significant percentage of homeless people have a mental illness (30% in Sacramento per California State University, Sacramento, 2018)), expansive gestures or rhythmic movements like this may also indicate a more expansive personality, a drug "trip," or just a refusal to move in regular ways.

Mental illness does play a significant role in some homeless person's movements -- where they go and how they get there -- sometimes in dramatic ways. On the way into downtown Santa Cruz after a day of field work, I heard someone shouting. It was dark. I approached the bridge over the San Lorenzo River. The yelling was coming from down below, but there was no one on the riverbank. I saw a man wading in the river. The water was up to his waist so he moved through the it slowly. At first, it appears he was trying to cross the shallow river, moving east but then turning south. He yelled: "I am going to die. Stop trying to rescue me!!" A black man wearing a baseball cap standing in the center of the bridge yelled something down to him that sounds like he was asking if he needed help. Traffic noise on Soquel Avenue prevented me from hearing the

man's response. He stopped moving through the water and stood in the very middle of the river. I stopped and talked to the man observing from above, asking him what we should do. Should we call the police? He pointed to the west bank of the bike path where a cluster of four to five people dressed in black uniforms congregated. Another policeman walked back up to them from the riparian bushes adjacent to the river; he had tried to coax the man out of the river. A Latino approaching me on the sidewalk looked at me and smiled. He said: "That's Santa Cruz!" The policeman walking up the bank to join his comrades said something to them and they all laughed. It wass a humorous situation for all, but the man in the river, who continued to yell he does not need rescuing.

Transgression of the partitioning of movement

All four types of transgression through movement – jaywalking, trespass, fare evasion, and embodied movement – reflect the diversity of transgression experienced by homeless people. They hold in common a transgression of the partitioning of a city's movement. In the last chapter, I argued that homeless rest and encampments transgress a partitioning of the city... its zoning, redevelopment, private property and regulations. In contrast, movement cuts *across* partitions, a literal transgression or moving across a boundary. Cresswell (1996) describes transgression as a practice used to show what is normative and construct the Other (see Chapter 2). Trespass reveals a property boundary, creating the subject of trespasser. Encampments reveal a lack of housing, creating the subject of homeless person. This dual role of transgression, revealing a boundary and creating a subject, applies to the partitioning of movement in a slightly different way than the partitioning of space.

It is critical to ask what is being transgressed in these misdemeanors of movement. What is someone transgressing when they jaywalk? They transgress 1) a boundary – the edge of the street, 2) a type of movement – walking when they should be driving, 3) the direction of movement – crossing rather than moving with traffic, and 4) the time of movement – not waiting for the light to change (if at an intersection). They transgress the spatial partitions and purposes of the city, but also the temporal patterning of movement. Cars would be less useful, less appealing if everyone could use the street in whatever way they see fit, if the street was in the conventional sense "public" space or space of and for the people as a whole, the community at large. Ultimately, jaywalking transgresses controlled flows. Traffic controls in the form of labyrinthian traffic

regulations, lights and signs must be implemented to ensure automobiles flow at a sufficient speed to merit their use. The partitioning of movement makes up the socio-mobile ordering of the city taken-for-granted by those who move.

Fare evasion, by definition a transgression of paying for a ride on public transit, also reaffirms the normative means of movement as long as the subject evading a fare can be assigned an out-of-place identity. The economics of public transportation rely on government largesse for capital projects and improvements but the underlying goal is to pay for itself. The accumulation of fares and monthly passes should pay for bus lines or light rail; the public believes they should be self-supporting. An individual avoiding payment then is not contributing their fair share to the upkeep and maintenance of the system, particularly as this is "public" transport in the sense of available to the community as a whole. Yet, the whole is modified to include only those who can/will pay.

The fare then serves as a filter or screen *to prevent the undeserving from using transportation.* I remember riding the bus in Seattle at a time when King County Metro was considering eliminating the "free bus zone" downtown. A man with a long overcoat and wild hair pulling a cart of things began to exit the bus at a stop at the edge of the free zone. His cart got stuck, he cursed, then argued with the driver, before eventually getting off. As the doors closed, an elderly woman in the front said in a loud voice: "And they wonder why they're getting rid of the free zone!" Paying for transportation would prevent those without means, in this case a homeless man with belongings, from using the bus, thus also preventing the majority of riders from inconvenience and discomfort. Homeless people cannot always pay for the ride, so must rely on subterfuge, evasion and the largesse of bus drivers. Fares divide/partition passengers into those who can pay and those who cannot. As a commodity, transit loses its public quality and becomes targeted to a particular type of passenger who can financially support the system. Homeless people become the "part which has no part" in public transit.

Homeless people challenge how movement in the city should occur and who should be able to move. Their transgressions challenge the dominance of the automobile, however minor. Urry (2000) describes automobility as system having "immense flexibility" but yet "wholly coercive" (as quoted in Paterson, 2007).The system has two conflicting forces at its heart: 1) a flexibility of movement, access and production oriented around the autonomous automobile, and 2) a constraint or ordering, often by the State, to ensure this movement hap-

pens with minimal conflict using the rhetoric of safety. The flexibility of automobility is temporal, stemming from an individual's choice to leave (and arrive) somewhere at whim. The coercion of automobility is spatial, arising from the dangers of speed and the need to channel and buffer that speed with empty space. Coercion takes the form of traffic regulations, channeled infrastructure and discourse on public space. It takes the form of partitioning, i.e. public space is for automobiles.

Homeless movement transgresses automobility's flexibility *and* coercion. It transgresses flexibility due to the movement against the speed and flow of traffic... the spontaneous disruption of (car) traffic. Homeless movement also transgresses the system of ordering movement, the single-purpose channels and buffers meant to maintain flow. Examples of transgression od this ordering include jaywalking, using a car as shelter, biking against traffic and fare evasion. At the extreme, solo-campers, homeless people existing outside of urban communities, even the homeless community, refuse participationg in a more mobile society oriented around cars.

Transgression as politics

It was rare that the homeless people I talked to framed their transgression as a systemic issue. Jeremy never questioned the exchange of 70 community service hours for two rides on the light rail. The group of con-crete campers who frequent Friendship Park described the police giving tickets to people with carts on K Street but did not question why this might be the case. Another homeless man described on-going arrests for camping in Discovery Park, but did not blame the cops, fatalistically accepting his lot. Few homeless people interviewed discussed discrimination or State power; those that did echoed the general complaint of a system set against their survival. These opinions are consistent with Gowan's *sin* and *sickness* classification of home-less discourse on causes of homelessness (Gowan, 2010). Two exceptions to this general compliance were un-covered in this research: the SafeGround movement to protest the anti-camping law in Sacramento (discussed in the last chapter) and the general discourse of social service workers and homeless advocates.

In my interviews, formerly homeless people and social service workers often framed homeless transgression in the context of broader powers and inequity. One homeless advocate, who himself used to be homeless, said he had pictures of bus drivers denying people passage, taking off when someone was trying to get on,

and giving someone a ticket before someone could get their pass out. He seemed particularly angry about the quality of people hired as bus drivers, when they just negotiated a raise. Another homeless advocate distinguished between city regulations and the actual practice of homeless liaison cops who were told to keep homeless people "out of sight, out of mind." He suggested if homeless people cannot be seen, then the city does not have to deal with the issue. This has led to police suggesting homeless people trespass, as in the case of officers telling homeless people they could camp for a while on the vacant lot behind the Blue Diamond plant that led to formation of the Wasteland (Parker, in press).

Observations in the field complicate the picture of homeless acceptance of laws and social norms. I observed people jaywalking, biking the wrong way and trespassing while singing or yelling in a loud voice. People crossed the street in front of oncoming traffic. Homeless people may use jaywalking to deliberately assert their own personhood, to assert their right to the city in which they have no place.

Embodied movement plays a large role in this assertion. To "move against" may reaffirm their place of no place, but it also forces the general public to alter their behavior, recognizing (however briefly) their person-hood. Homeless people seek acceptance into the larger city life, if necessary, forcing people to acknowledge them. The reasons for theft, trespass, camping and biking the wrong way may be related to a street-level "getting by" that helps homeless people procure food, shelter and rest (Snow & Mulcahy, 2001), as in the siphoning of water from an office park spigot, but they may also be psychological strategies seeking to become more than "bare life" to participate in the movement of the city (Agamben, 1998).

Do trespass, jaywalking and fare evasions reveal or reify the boundaries transgressed? Returning to the case of Jeremy, the transit officer who gave him a ticket interrupted his fare evasion/transgression and evicted him from the train. The transgression became visible to all riding the train at the time, because of a public inter-action/conflict. The literal boundary of the fare became clear, but it was already clear to both those who paid and those who did not pay. The systemic partitioning and commodification of movement remains opaque, again through the subjectivity of Jeremy. But here, the subjectivity is one of deserving and undeserving… riding public transit requires an exchange of funds; no money, no ride. The visible transgression has not changed anything… Jeremy accepts the ticket, consults a volunteer lawyer, then enters a plea bargain at a special court time reserved for homeless people. The end result is 70 hours of community service in the Triangle, where he

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returns to his invisible status.

Fare evasion, jaywalking and trespass all confirm the out-of-place nature of homelessness in the eyes of the public. They are not in the right place at the right time with the right ticket. Instead of shining a light on established boundaries and the partitioning of the city, their transgression re-affirms their lack of a role, their part with no part, their inability to participate in the orderly movement of the city. But the transgressions of homeless people do not result in people being more aware of the boundary as Cresswell suggests. No one questions: Why can only cars move on this street? When a homeless person visibly transgresses patterns of movement the out-of-place nature of the person is instead reinforced. The "partition of the sensible" is not questioned. It is reaffirmed by keeping the homeless person in a role of the part which has no part. Transgressions by homeless people do not reveal boundaries (or if they do it is fleeting). They reaffirm the positionality of a homeless person as out of place and the partitioning of movement as the natural order of things. This happens because the subjectivity of the homeless person is defined in contrast with what is normal, right and orderly (Arnold, 2004; Harter et al., 2005).

While mobile transgression by homeless people does not reveal taken-for-granted boundaries, it does operate as urban "dissensus," an intervention of the "part which has no part" into city life to become participants as equals (Rancière, 2015). Jaywalking is temporary dissensus, an inhabitance of mobile space counter to the designated distribution or partitioning of mobility. While I did not find that it made hardened boundaries visible (i.e. the edge of the street or the idea of automobile hegemony), it does make the jaywalker visible as an inhabiter of space. It counters, however briefly, the consensus built through policing of mobility (Rancière, 2004, p. 118; Tanke, 2011). Rancière describes two operations that build dissensus: the questioning of who is a subject (and thus who can take part in the city), and what is the object to be discussed, the topic of politics. I argue that jaywalking, walking against the consensus of automobility, challenges the consensus of who can take part in mobility. It is movement against movement. It turns taken-for-granted spaces into locations of dispute. When the part which has no part jaywalks, there is a momentary realization of their personhood, curse words are exchanged, followed by the jaywalker branded as a "homeless nut" or "the mentally ill" which returns them to their invisible subjectivity. The consensus is confirmed in its rightness and lawfulness. Jaywalking may challenge dearly held beliefs about who is a citizen of the city and thus, who can move (see also A. Roy, 2003), but does not change the assigned identity of the homeless person, reaffirming their subjectiv-

ity. Trespass and fare evasion exhibit a similar pattern. Society may question an individual's humanity but not transportation's inequity.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Homeless people seek access to food, friends and shelter. Access to stable shelter is denied them. They move through interstitial urban spaces to access food, water, friends, informal jobs and other resources. They are in perpetual motion at the scale of the neighborhood, pinging around a small territory. At times they are forced to move, abruptly prodded to de-loiter, to become someone else's problem.

How do homeless people negotiate the city? They do so in the following ways:
1. They move through spaces and corridors within the context of automobility, but outside of it and, sometimes, against it (Chapter 4). They choose alternative and cheaper modes of transportation to navigate the city and relate to other homeless people and the social service organizations which serve them.
2. They bicycle to improve their interactive accessibility (Chapter 5). Bicycling is both efficient and inexpensive, making it an ideal mode of transport to engage with others as they move.
3. They negotiate partitioned spaces of the city to find rest, often accepted when they are moving (Chapter 6). When they stop and socialize in place, they threaten publicly-held notions of who is a citizen and what public space means.
4. They move in ways counter to accepted norms of movement (Chapter 7). This movement does not lead to a re-examination of the dominance of the automobile, but does acknowledge, however briefly, the human-ness of the homeless person amid their slow and meandering ways.

As they move, homeless people relate to the people and systems around them. They track friends, pause to gossip, jut out in front of a car or slow down to avoid police. Each movement, from decision to motion to cessation, takes place within a relational context. Like the tramps of the early twentieth century, homeless people's relationships change through moving; movement makes connecting with others easier, while resting subjects them to censure for loitering and obstruction or private living in public space.

Some homeless movement transgresses as well, not as crossing a boundary but as disrupting a flow. A solitary jaywalker on a quiet street is not a problem; only when jaywalking stalls traffic does it transgress. Automobility is a system of momentum more than a system of movement, perpetuating itself through the frustrations of stopping and the entrenchment of the system. Counter-movement transgresses, first the social norms of speed and through-put and then the traffic regulations set up for their continuation (Norton, 2007). In this context Elton on his mountain bike through Santa Cruz revels in his counter-movement as he jumps the curb, passes motor cars and shoots across a vacant lot. The old man carrying a filled trash bag appreciates the invisibility of trespass along the freeway right of way. And the Latino on the three-wheeled bike pedals north in the face of on-coming south-bound traffic.

Improving transportation equity

Homeless movement in the urban landscape cannot be separated from the transportation context within which homeless people move. Transportation systems have been created and maintained for other purposes, in particular, the movement of people and goods by rail from larger population centers in the east in the 19th century and the movement of people and goods by cars and trucks from the periphery to the center (downtown) in the 20th century (to grossly simplify). In the 21st century, the designated spaces of rail and car are being challenged by new modes of automobility: ride share services, electric bikes and autonomous vehicles. These new modes may inspire cities to change their transportation system. The goal of each proposed system is to lead to better, more efficient travel. They may also lead to an even greater disparity between the transportation haves and the have-nots. What will happen to transportation for those without IDs, credit cards, disposable income or homes? If the expense of travel is ignored, efficiency will be available to some but not all.

In the field among homeless people, it is obvious they will "make-do" in the manner described by de Certeau, walking and biking against the planned present and future urban system of movement (Certeau, 1984/2002). A socio-mobile approach to transportation offers more meaningful methods for understanding this "lower-level" movement. If movement is relational, it is also still movement… a conundrum of free-flowing people and goods critical for economic success but a dynamic difficult to control in any city (Kotef, 2015). Mobility's freedom requires constraints, but mobility's benefits arise from its freedoms. The pendulum has

swung too far to control, particularly in regards to the automobile. As people drive faster and faster, more and more restrictions must be placed on the system of transportation and the urban landscape, resulting in an impoverished people and landscape. As new/old forms of mobility arise (e.g. the electric scooter on sidewalks), they negotiate the relational aspect of movement, just as cities must negotiate their freedoms and controls in the context of those relationships.

If homeless people negotiate the city by walking, busing and biking in an effort to manage their visibility and relationships, what might be done to enhance their travel… to make it easier and less expensive? The world of bike advocacy offers one set of solutions, a gradual transformation of transport infrastructure. A retrofit would include more bike paths (for the beginning bicyclists), bike shares and bike lanes for the experienced bicyclists. Homeless people in both California cities make use of bike paths in particular. And yet, planned roll outs of top-down transportation solutions have not helped the homeless population who have no voice in city plans. What do bicycle advocates now offer? Certainly, contemporary bicycle scholars have begun to address inequities in bicycling with respect to race and, to a lesser extent, class (Golub, Hoffmann, Lugo, & Sandoval, 2016; Hoffmann, 2016; Lugo, 2018). The work complicates the idea of bike-lane-as-solution, given the local histories of discrimination in transportation planning. In Sacramento, bike paths that go someplace, the American River bikeway, are populated by recreational bicyclists who complain about homeless people camping. Bike paths that go nowhere, like the Two River bike path, are populated by homeless bicyclists. Regional connectivity does not help the homeless traveler in the same way. Less planning, less control or designation of bike/non-bike, less partitioning may be the answer.

However, a re-design of several dangerous or unwelcoming streets would enhance homeless movement. Changes to Sacramento and Santa Cruz's current bike and pedestrian system would improve movement. First, in Sacramento, the reduction of automobile speeds and lanes on 12th and 16th Streets is critical. Transitioning from a limited access highway to a wide, urban arterial results in speeding cars and few opportunities for pedestrians and bicyclists to move in the area safely. Removing a lane of automobile traffic would open space for a separated, bi-directional bike and wheelchair lane. Second, the addition of wider sidewalks along N B Street would enhance pedestrian movement, along with a buffer of street trees for shade. The four-lane road only accommodates two-lane use… at least one lane could easily be eliminated (Figure 8.1).
Santa Cruz's transportation challenges stem from larger regional movement between the Bay Area and

Figure 8.1 N B Street looking west showing existing conditions, as well as potential narrowing of the road and a tree-lined buffer

the town. Transportation improvements for people experiencing homelessness would involve reducing

the amount of traffic entering the city from the Bay Area, making it more difficult to get to Santa Cruz, a

non-starter for the region and outside of the city's control. A reduction of traffic would also reduce demand

for second homes and the conversion of granny flats to AirBnB units, decreasing housing/rental prices and

reducing the number of people entering homelessness. Yet Santa Cruz's economy depends on this influx

of tourism and wealth. The city works diligently to attract both. It is unlikely to reorient the economy, even

gradually. At the smaller scale of neighborhoods and streets, Santa Cruz pedestrians and cyclists, at least in the downtown areas, have the amenities they need, whether homeless or domiciled.

The world of public transit offers more opportunities for enhancing the movement and social position of homeless people in both cities. Given the high number of physical and mental disabilities experienced by homeless people, making it easier and cheaper to access buses and light rail. This could be as simple as allowing homeless people access to a free monthly transit pass in Sacramento. A monthly pass costs $100, $50 for seniors and disabled people. If 1000 of the 1600 homeless people got a pass, presumably this would cost the city $100,000 a month or $1.2 million a year in lost revenue (although homeless people certainly do not spend this much on public transit currently). The free pass would eliminate or greatly reduce the number of citations for fare evasion, thus saving the County Courthouse from processing hundreds of these citations each month, reducing their costs by at least the cost of monthly passes for homeless people. This would also free up many of the homeless people who are caught in a cycle of transgression-citation-court-community service to look for shelter or look for jobs.

In addition, constructing a light rail stop in Sacramento at the Triangle for homeless people to move north and south and adding an east-west bus line somewhere north of downtown would enhance homeless transportation. Of the two modes, light rail system needs the most work to be more inclusive. The Triangle stop would have to be accompanied by more humane treatment of light rail passengers who "look homeless." Homeless people complain of security at the stops and officers on the trains. Train drivers blast their horns at homeless people who may be standing too close to the tracks (which may be a safety concern, may just be anger). While a transit stop would improve the situation (and is planned now that the area is slated for redevelopment), it is the relational component of light rail that offers the greatest opportunity to enhance homeless mobility.

According to my observations of riding the #15 and #33 buses, bus drivers welcome homeless people, know the names of frequent riders, quickly offer the lift services to those who appear to be disabled (and even those who don't), and suggest ways to save on bus tickets or routes for getting somewhere else. While the bus takes longer than light rail, it also covers the whole city. The success of the #33, a smaller shuttle bus with a

shorter route, suggests shorter and more nimble services would enhance homeless mobility in areas homeless people frequent.

For Santa Cruz, the bus system also covers a large territory. The city has committed to providing bus service in more remote rural areas, allowing for homeless people camped in the surrounding forest to access downtown if needed. Bus drivers on Routes #3 and #4 were less engaged with homeless people, as well as other bus riders. Routes did not follow paths homeless people might take (with the possible exception of the routes going long distances), at one point, doubling back on areas already traversed. Breaking these routes into two, using smaller buses and training bus drivers in hospitality would increase homeless mobility.

For Santa Cruz, with its emphasis on bringing as many people from the Bay Area to town to shop as possible, the reduction of car traffic may be more problematic. The proximity to the Bay Area and convenient highway access (45 minutes to San Jose) has resulted in very large increases in housing values. Reducing the convenience of car access (something that is on-going with weekend traffic jams on Highway 17) may slow or even reverse the trend of buying second homes in Santa Cruz. However, the idea of restricting growth or lowering housing prices would be politically untenable among the business owners and progressives in city leadership.

By improving transportation for those in poverty, those with the fewest resources, would the system as a whole be improved? The United States has reached a social and environmental saturation point of automobiles, a mode which privileges wealth. "Weak" greening of cars, such as moving to electric or driverless vehicles, may improve energy efficiency but fail to address the social and economic marginalization of the carless. "Strong" greening of transportation system is required to address social, economic and energy needs (see Ch. 6 Paterson, 2007). This would mean the current system of transportation socialism, the federal and state subsidization of automobile traffic, would be curtailed. If by improvement, we mean a less-energy intensive, more relational and more inclusive system, then shifting transportation policy from the wealthy to those in poverty would improve movement.

Application to theory, methods and the homeless community

I began with the idea of socio-mobility from the everyday experience of movement as a social engagement

with others, however brief. Research confirmed this. The movement of homeless people in Sacramento and Santa Cruz is both for the purpose of connecting with others (or avoiding others) and practiced in relation to others. Pedestrians enjoyed the greatest flexibility in interacting with others. They stopped, started, paused at a light, picked up a conversation, walked with others, darted in and out of a store or restaurant. Bicyclists could also engage with people but ran into more conflicts with automobile traffic moving between street and sidewalk. Bus and light rail riders often sat in silence, subtly adapting their behavior to those around them (Goffman, 1959). The exception was Bus #33, within which a small community of homeless people with disabilities seemed to be managed by the bus drivers checking in with people, lowering and raising the lift in the back and answering questions about fares and routes.

The socio-mobility of homeless people takes place within the "partition of the sensible," Rancière's (2004) framing of the shared aesthetic experience of urban life. The partition of the sensible structures the city's landscape through property and zoning, the city's people through the assignation of categories – the counted and the uncounted, and their behaviors into public and private. It is this partition of the sensible that excludes homeless people from the active participation in the city, more than the small interventions of anti-homeless benches and the ineffectiveness of fencing a vacant lot. I found Rancière's conception of this partitioning to be focused on the aesthetics of art. This empirical work contributes to the application of his ideas to every-day urban life.

The socio-mobile methods practiced in order to connect with people while moving proved to be difficult because of the shifting populations. Ethnography with its origins in anthropology requires a consistent connection with a group of people to study its manners and cultures. A mobile ethnography of homelessness does not have the option of extended and consistent engagement with a few individuals without either a period of preliminary work with an amenable social service organization or a somewhat stable community of campers or shelter dwellers. I was not able to partner with organizations in Sacramento and Santa Cruz for the long-term (although they were very helpful in short bursts during the research). During field work, campers in Sacramento and Santa Cruz did not have legal rights to camp (pre-Martin v. City of Boise 2018), thus the small communities that arose along the American River Parkway, for instance, shifted from week to week.

I did find a mobile ethnography rooted in place, the Richards Blvd neighborhood and the San Lorenzo Park area, without long-term relationships, primarily because public and private behaviors in these places was consistent. I could still do short interviews regarding people's movements. I could track people's movements peripherally as I moved through the landscape. I could observe interactions, thus providing insight into what people actually do as opposed to what they said they did (as in interviews). For this place engagement, the behavior mapping proved to be helpful in establishing context, identifying areas of homeless activity in a more rigorous manner and to comparing homeless movement with domiciled movement.

The next steps to understand homeless movement requires a quantitative survey of homeless people and their mobility methods. What modes of transport do they use to get around on a daily basis? How far do they travel? How much do they spend on transportation each month? Survey responses would ground the research and allow statements verifying (or contradicting) claims I have made in this work, such as "homeless people do not drive as much as the domiciled." With approximately 1800 homeless people thought to reside in Sacramento and 1200 homeless people in Santa Cruz, a survey of at least 10% of them (180 and 120 respectively) would reveal broader patterns of movement. The challenge would be to survey concrete campers and forest campers, as well as shelter residents. Past research often has focused on shelter residents as a population of convenience that can be located.

Travel diaries of homeless movement would offer a clearer picture of their daily activities and where these take place. Allowing homeless people to record their daily rhythms over a number of days would reveal patterns of behavior for a population notorious for not having daily patterns. At least for the concrete campers who frequent Friendship Park in Sacramento, this is a misnomer. They do have a daily rhythm to the day. An understanding of this rhythm would again confirm on-going research as well as offer new avenues of exploration such as the temporal relationship between homeless people and social services, how much travel is alone and how much is with others, and a more accurate depiction of the range of travel according to homeless people themselves.

The research's portrayal of barriers encountered by homeless people as they move offers both a confirmation of the challenges they experience on a day to day basis but also opportunities for improving transportation, particularly bicycle and bus access. Improvements do not always mean making the transportation more for-

mal with bike lanes, expanded sidewalks and additional regulations regarding automobile traffic or light rail. Homeless people thrive in areas of informality. Informal movement requires space and ambiguity, conditions which may slow down cars and make transportation safer (Vanderbilt, 2009). The areas that need more informal space are the 12th and 16th Street railroad under-crossings in Sacramento and the crossings of Highway 1/Mission Blvd in Santa Cruz, as well as the surface streets of both cities' industrial areas. Making transportation in the city more conducive to pedestrian and bicycles would improve homeless people's access to job and expand their social network, even if (or especially if) these spaces of movement did not have an obvious justification for route enhancement (i.e. large numbers of people moving from point A to point B).

The de-partitioning of space, or even making spaces more multi-functional, will result in more places of informal rest and movement. A de-partitioning may mean vacant private property reverts to public property if left vacant for a certain period of time. The de-partitioning of people means the particular needs of homeless people may eventually disappear as the city begins to "count" homeless people as part of the community. If part of the community, homeless people become participants in the decision-making of the city and shelters become a more viable option for many. More immediately, it may mean planners count homeless people as trip generators and not as a separate community to be managed for the safety of the "real" riders. This de-partitioning of space and people will ultimately arise from a change in the collective vision of a city. Is a city established for the stability and growth of economic forces? Or is a city an inclusive place of inhabitance and movement for all? The latter vision of inclusion begins with homeless participation in the movement of the city.

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