From Free to Forced - Exploring Mobility among People Experiencing Homelessness

Marica Marinović Golubić
Faculty of Croatian Studies, Department of Sociology, Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: mmarinovi@hrstud.hr
ORCID: 0000-0002-5650-3040

Suzana Sakić
Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: suzana.sakic@gmail.com

Lynette Šikić-Mićanović
Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: Lyn.Sikic-Micanovic@pilar.hr
ORCID: 0000-0002-3836-0701

ABSTRACT For a long time, it was thought that the mobility of homeless people could be typically described as free and unrestricted. More recently, this mobility assumption has been challenged to the extent that it has been claimed that is not only restricted, but completely forced. Clearly, the mobility paradigm is inadequate to describe the movements of homeless people who are often subject to exclusion, relocation, confinement, and coercion. This is particularly evident in the theory of expulsion, which is critically reviewed and applied in this article. Based on qualitative research including interviews with 45 people experiencing homelessness in Croatia, we explore different dimensions of forced movement with attention to the broader socio-economic context.

Key words: homelessness, mobility, expulsion, forced movement.

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1. Introduction

There is a constant and long tradition of studying the relationship between mobility and homelessness. This tradition has spanned from representations of constant movement among homeless people, best exemplified through ideal types such as tramps, drifters and vagabonds (Anderson, 1998; Lankenau et al., 2008; Snow & Anderson, 1987), to being significantly fixed, spatially enclosed and restricted. The latter is embodied in descriptions such as a homeless person sleeping in a temporary shelter, on a train or in the street for long periods (DeVerteuil, 2003; Kawash, 1998; Kerr, 2016; Lindquist, Lagory & Ritchey, 1999; Rahimian, Wolch & Koegel, 1992; Wolch, Rahimian & Koegel, 1993). Recent research introduces concepts that connect these two cognitive poles, such as being fixed in mobility (Jackson, 2012), mobilities and frictions (Bourlessas, 2018), and expulsion of homeless people (Kaufman, 2020). This offers a kind of rejuvenation of this research field, and more nuanced understandings of this phenomenon.

The aim of this paper is to apply the concept of expulsion (Sassen, 2014; Watt, 2018; Kaufmann, 2020) to explain the mobility of homeless people in our own qualitative study and check whether the concept functions in a context that is geographically different from the one in which it was first presented. As Pleace (2016a: 31) and Lancione (2016: 166) suggest, the European social context is radically different from its North American counterpart. For this reason, it is not possible just to translate the many concepts linked to homelessness that have emerged within the American tradition, as they need to be critically evaluated. Expulsion as a framework for explaining the mobility of homeless people originated in North America. Forced (im)mobility is a grey area of mobility studies since it is difficult to empirically distinguish when freedom ends and force begins, and how it affects different individuals (Lowe & DeVerteuil, 2020; O'Connell Davidson, 2013). Kaufmann (2020) borrows the concept from Sassen (2014) and defines six ideal types of homeless expulsion: residential expulsions, service exclusions, warehousing, racial banishments, violent expulsions, and ostracism. Each type parallelly functions as a path to homelessness, i.e., they represent ways to explain homelessness. Through this analysis, the paper aims to achieve the following two goals: to broaden the concept of expulsion as a framework for explaining homelessness mobility and to discover the implications of homelessness mobility research on the wider research area of mobility.

2. Current relations between mobility and homelessness

As already noted, the relation between mobility and homelessness has been widely discussed, but without clear guidelines. The phenomenon has been researched in many different locations, during different time periods and among various groups of homeless people. Any attempt to single out some similarities is challenging. Thus, only

one thing is certain: movement is an integral part of homeless people's lives. As May (2000: 737) points out, "the experience of homelessness cannot be considered apart from the experience of movement – of varying kinds and at a variety of scales". However, what kind of movement is this? What drives this movement? Wolch, Rahiminian and Koegel (1992, 1993) emphasize that the movement of homeless people is connected to the success of their survival strategies. Specifically, they depend on homeless people's social relations, availability of urban resources and wider contextual factors, such as access to social services, housing policies, etc. Homeless people's migrations are connected to place utility and coping status, so it can be concluded that they are connected to places that provide homeless people with accommodation, food, work or money, social services (including physical and mental health care), and social support (including informal relations with family and friends). Lindquist, Lagory and Ritchey (1999) debunk the myth about homeless people as tramps with no firm connections to the local community and prove that a large majority of homeless people did not arrive into the community 'from the outside' but have been its long-term residents. Additionally, they explain a two-way relationship between social connections and homeless migrations – one the one hand, frequent migrations weaken social connections, while, on the other hand, those whose current social connections are weak, often use migrations to strengthen those connections. Cloke, Milbourne and Widdowfield (2003: 22), while writing about migrations and homelessness, consider structural factors and emphasize that "the shifting nature of formal welfare provision and the complex geometries of power within the city force homeless people to make complicated journeys through urban space". The same authors, building on previous research (Davis 1991, Mitchell, 1997), point out that different surveillance strategies and local laws/regulations, attempting to remove homeless people from city spaces, play an important role in movements of the people experiencing homelessness. Adlam (2020) also problematizes this issue, giving examples of local governments in England and Wales, which offered to pay rough sleepers, who were living on the streets, to return to their original places of residence.

Mostowska (2013) opens the field of migrations and homelessness into a new direction. She first introduces a new profile of homeless people into the European western horizon – labour migrants from countries of the former Eastern Bloc, who have been rising in numbers since the European Union enlargement. She emphasizes that homelessness is no longer connected to internal migrations, but also to international ones. Following the preceding research tradition (Wolch, Rahiminian and Koegel 1992, 1993), she links pathways to homelessness and possible exits from homelessness to personal capital and migration networks, i.e., the possibility of maintaining contacts and connections in the country of arrival, as well as with family and friends in the country of origin. The work of Hermans et al. (2020) also belongs to the niche of new labour migrants – homeless people from the territory of the European Union. This work has a quantitative orientation, which means that it engages more in the analysis of statistical data and legal frameworks than in the subjective meanings of movement.

The work of Bourlessas (2018) and Jackson (2012) examines the subjective meanings of movement, but also detachment from migrations and towards mobility. Writing about young homeless people, Jackson (2012) explains their mobility as a tactic of survival and differentiates between three types of mobility. Firstly, mobility as a resource - using mobility to get to know the city, explore new things in the city and new routes. Secondly, mobility as a loss - being forced to leave a certain area in the city and leave to another part of the city, and finally, mobility as managing - going to different parts of the city due to different possibilities and needs, for example, to maintain contacts with the family while simultaneously attempting to become independent. Developing this kind of mobility typology, the author investigates the link between mobility and fixity, and concludes that being 'fixed in mobility' is characteristic of young homeless people (Jackson, 2012). 'Fixed in mobility' means that their movement is without motion, i.e., although they are mobile, they are forced to choose between default locations or a small number of available options.

Two conclusions can be drawn from a review of these studies. First, it is important to distinguish the difference between mobility and migration. Mobility is a broader term as it refers to the movement of people, things and objects, while migration refers to the "movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State" (Sironi, Bauloz & Emmanuel, 2019). Second, it seems that most of the described movements of homeless people are semi-forced, and that the spaces that are accessible to homeless people are usually highly regulated. Their time spent in many public places is limited through surveillance or closing times. They can only find their place in liminal spaces where different systems meet, at the margins or in the woods, at the beaches and similar spaces in nature, which are uninhabited and unfurnished. All this shows that the homeless population, although highly mobile, is mobile within heavily restricted and defined routes (Jackson, 2012: 740). For this reason, it can be concluded that their freedom of movement is only an illusion. Kerr (2016) concludes that the prevailing feeling among his interviewees was the feeling of immobility, i.e., impossibility of changing one's own status despite significant physical mobility. This is what Hage (2009) calls stuckedness, a feeling that a person is 'stuck' in life, i.e., that the person is in a state of essential immobility and the impossibility of leading his or her life in a desired direction. This is not about physical, but subjective mobility, although dissatisfaction with one's own life can often trigger a spatial change. O'Neall's argument about the difference between the physical and essential, subjective mobility (2014: 9) is a similar one; he introduces the concept of boredom. Boredom occurs if there is no place and no reason to go, to move, for example as in the case of unemployment. Although physical mobility can be extensive, persons do not participate in social exchange and life is lived on the margins. Thus, we can see how spatial marginalization for homeless people is social at the same time. However, as Bourlessas (2018) warns, it would be wrong to assume that homeless people are denied the freedom of movement. This is exactly what Kaufman disagrees with

when suggesting that the mobility paradigm cannot be used to explain the mobility of homeless people, and that "much of this scholarship implicitly associates mobility with autonomy and freedom and is therefore not appropriate for understanding displacement, exclusion, and homelessness" (Kaufman, 2020: 3). To examine this claim further, we will first analyse the concept of expulsion in more detail.

3. Homelessness and Expulsion

In his work on expulsion, Kaufman (2020) starts from the position that expulsion is a form of social exclusion through spatial displacement. Kaufman believes that this displacement is always forced and strips the person being displaced of all autonomy (2020). It is characteristic of modern capitalism, which simply excludes certain groups of people in its search for profit increases. Expulsion as a form of homeless mobility is not entirely new – Lindquist et al. (1994: 692) mention expulsion as a way in which societies had previously solved the problem of outcasts. Moreover, based on Sassen's (2014) theoretical framework of expulsion, Watt (2018) also writes about urban involuntary housing mobility using London as an example and mentioning homelessness. He focuses on three categories: evictions, displacement, and expulsion. Similar to the later work of Kaufman, he creates six types of expulsion: expulsion from the domain of social housing (limited access to social housing), expulsion from emergency accommodation, prolonged stays in insecure accommodation, expulsion from certain neighbourhoods, expulsion from homelessness support, and accelerating rents and escalating evictions in the private rental sector (Watt, 2018: 69). When Sassen originally talks about expulsion, she points out that the opposite term is incorporation – inclusion. According to her, expulsion is banishment of people, organizations, and places to the edge of a system; it is much more serious than mere inequality and most often irreversible (2014: 1). As Kedar (1996) explains using historical examples, there are sister concepts to the concept of expulsion. These are: deportation, eviction and exile. He links deportation to criminals and criminal acts; describes eviction as a process that has been frequent after war conquests; and exile is reserved for individuals and the sphere of politics. On the other hand, expulsion marks banishment of an entire category of people outside physical borders of an entity. What according to Kedar differentiates expulsion from other forms of spatial relocation is its group character – it refers to a category of people, not individuals. What is more, the intention of expulsion is not the physical elimination of members, but removal of the key category that characterized them. Kedar maintains that a person could avoid expulsion if he or she changed their behaviour or their religious identity (1998, 167-168). Kaufman (2020) discusses this forced mobility in detail and lists six modes of expulsion, which we will now examine.

Residential expulsion – the first mode of expulsion refers to denying the right to housing. When private market entities govern the housing system, poorer people will find

housing unaffordable, and limited social housing will force people to move and find cheaper accommodation.

Service exclusion – the second mode refers to pronounced measures of state savings in health and social services provision. As already shown in the literature review, certain services for the most vulnerable social categories are not equally available in all parts of the state and are often the reason why individuals move, for example, into bigger cities.

Warehousing – the third type of expulsion is an example of how the system can generate homelessness through 'warehousing' people to temporary, geographically different locations – such as prisons, psychiatric facilities, correction facilities, foster homes, etc. People are usually not in the position to choose the location of these institutions and after staying in them, they experience disruptions that are not easy to recover from.

Racial banishment – the fourth mode of expulsion happens due to someone's skin colour, i.e., background.

Violent expulsions – the fifth mode of expulsion, although seemingly functioning at a personal level, has a very strong power of spatial or social displacement. As Kaufman (2020, 15) argues, "socially, violence severs people's interpersonal ties and access to familiar resources, thereby increasing their social marginalization. Spatially, violence compels people to move for survival."

Ostracism – expulsion from family or community due to alleged or real transgressing of social norms. This social marginalization, just like other modes of expulsion, is accompanied by physical marginalization.

All these modes of forced movement were created by combining factors at a personal, family, local, national, but also supranational level. They are, thus, structurally determined, but also determined by personal conflict situations. They are also paths to homelessness. However, before applying this model to our own research, we would first like to give an outline of homelessness in Croatia.

4. Croatian context of homelessness

The Croatian homelessness context can be characterised by two main points. First, it was officially recognized only recently, in 2011 (see Social Welfare Act). Although the problem of homelessness existed before this, there was no official definition. Prior to 1991 (when Croatia gained its independence), socialism proclaimed equality for everyone, which meant that the state ensured that all its citizens had jobs and accommodation. Homelessness (i.e., sleeping out in the open) was suppressed with differ-

ent forced measures (Gjeri Robić 2017: 229; Šikić-Mićanović, 2013: 102). However, even during socialism, accommodation was provided by the Red Cross for persons in transit. After 1991, with the collapse of socialism and a state-run economy as well as the transition to a market economy, the number of visible homeless people increased, as did the interest of national researchers in this topic.

The second specific point, linked to the first, is the minimization of the homelessness problem. In public and political discourses, the problem of homelessness is rarely mentioned, as if it did not even exist. According to the Centre for Social Welfare data for 2021, 525 homeless people were registered in Croatia (Ombudsman Report for 2021). Nevertheless, the Croatian Homeless Network estimates there are more than 2,000. They live in conditions of absolute homelessness ("without a roof over their heads" or are currently living in a shelter), but when considering persons living in inadequate and insecure conditions, then estimates reach as high as 10,000 (Ombudsman Report for 2019). Next to minimization, there is also criminalization, which is directly linked to expulsion. According to the Law on Violations of Public Order and Peace (The Official Gazette 5/90, 30/90, 47/90, 29/94), "those who participate in vagrancy or begging shall be punished with a fine in the national currency equivalent to 50 to 200 Deutschmarks or a prison sentence up to 30 days". Residing in a public place/place not intended for living is treated as vagrancy, especially in a situation when a person does not possess valid identification documents. Typically, this is the case with many Croatian homeless people because an ID card, as the main identification document, is linked to an address of residence. Together with fines for vagrancy and begging, Act 2 of the Law stipulates the possibility of removal from the area where the violation was committed, colloquially called "exile".

5. Methodology

This paper is part of a comprehensive qualitative research project on homelessness and pathways to social inclusion.[1] As part of the project, research materials were collected with the use of different qualitative methods (semi-structured and "walk along" interviews with people who are experiencing homelessness and practitioners in homelessness services, participant observation during volunteer engagement of researchers in non-profit organizations working with homeless people and taking field notes). The combination of these methods gives a comprehensive picture of the homelessness phenomenon (Carpiano, 2009). This paper is primarily based on transcripts from 62

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[1] This study is part of an international project "Exploring Homelessness and Pathways to Social Inclusion: A Comparative Study of Contexts and Challenges in Swiss and Croatian Cities". Our main research goal is to understand homeless people's everyday lives and 'give voice' to marginalised people experiencing homelessness to increase our understanding of this phenomenon that has been largely ignored and misunderstood in Croatia.

semi-structured interviews conducted in Zagreb and Split from October 2019 to September 2021 with people who have experienced homelessness. It should, however, be emphasized that interviews have not been conducted with 62 different interviewees, but that research was longitudinal, which means that interviews were repeated with some of the interviewees, depending on their availability, to establish changes in their living situations. In the first round, 45 persons were interviewed, while 15 of them were interviewed again in the second round, and two persons, due to specific changes in their living situations, were also interviewed in a third round. The number of research participants who were available for the second interview after the first interview reflects significant mobility within this population. The authors of the study regularly visited homeless shelters, soup kitchens, day care centres and other various meeting places and venues used by people at risk of homelessness in the two largest Croatian cities (Zagreb, Split) during two years of field research. People at risk of homelessness presented their daily routine and the places available to them to the researchers in walk-along interviews. In addition, one of the authors of the study regularly volunteered in an association that helps homeless people distribute food (which she was already doing before this study).

When selecting people for the interview, care was taken to ensure that all different groups of homeless people were represented. Thus, the sample included people living on the street with no shelter at all, then those living in temporary accommodation and those living in inadequate accommodation such as sheds, garages or abandoned buildings. Care was also taken to include women in the sample in each of these categories. The categories were defined through analysis of the literature, but also through evidence gathered in the field. It is a purposive sample, whose aim is to include as many different cases as possible in order to obtain a detailed description of the phenomenon of homelessness (Gobo, 2007: 418).

All interviews were transcribed, anonymised and coded, which was followed by thematic analysis as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2012). As stated earlier, the aim of this article is to examine whether Kaufman's (2020) homeless mobility model can be applied to the Croatian homelessness context. It is a response to Pleace's (2016a: 3) and Lancione's (2016: 166) studies that talk about the need for local, contextual framing of each theoretical concept related to homelessness. While conducting thematic analysis, topics (types of expulsion) as described by Kaufman were identified. However, themes related to migrations and the mobility of homeless people that remain outside of these categories were also identified and can, thus, serve as grounds for the broadening of the mentioned model.

In our sample, the majority (89%) have Croatian nationality and citizenship, which is in line with previous findings. Two male interviewees are Serbs, and have dual (Serbian and Croatian) citizenship, two interviewees (one male and one female) have Bos-

nian nationality and citizenship, and one male interviewee is stateless and has an unresolved residential status. With the exception of two men with dual citizenship who had to move from Croatia to Serbia due to war circumstances, there are no examples of discrimination based on nationality.

6. Research findings - Is expulsion working in the same way in different parts of the world?

Findings from this study show that movement is an integral part of the homeless experience. International and internal migrations for predominantly economic reasons as well as family-related and political reasons were all identified in this study. However, the main focus of this study is on forced mobility.

The first mode is residential expulsion characterized by situations in which the state transfers responsibility for safe housing to individuals who need to be competitive to ensure housing. In the case of homelessness, this situation also acquires a spatial dimension because people need to move to find a "sanctuary" (Kaufman 2020: 12). Although Croatian and Canadian contexts differ significantly, a similarity to the Canadian context described in Kaufman's study can be seen in the development of neoliberal economy, in which the real estate market is privatized. According to Bežovan (2019), 82.9 percent of apartments in Croatia is in private ownership (this data is from the 2001 census). Besides the implication that persons/families who do not own their own real estate property need to rent, it also points to the fact that persons who own a single property that they use for residence, due to unfavourable circumstances (for example, unemployment, loans) can easily become residentially excluded. Hamann (2009) points out that the neoliberal approach does not ignore these problems, but moralizes them, emphasising the personal responsibility of individuals. A number of people in our study lost their homes due to loan fraud, embezzlement, divorce, war, unemployment, etc. Kornelije, one of the interviewees in our research, explains how he became homeless after the bank repossessed all his assets since he was a guarantor for a loan that could not be paid.

> *How did it start?* [laughing] *I became homeless in October last year. So, I was a guarantor for someone's loan, and then our dear bank and FINA* [Financial Agency] *took my apartment, my weekend house and my car...* [short break,]. *I don't know what to say. All of this on the street started after that. For the first month, I slept under the* [anonymised location] *bridge. I didn't know what these soup kitchens were. They are not really advertised. Then I found a soup kitchen, and then another, and I started living and eating, and everything else.* (Kornelije)

Another example here is related to sofa surfing[2], which is also a type of housing exclusion. Particularly for persons living on the street, although this is insecure and temporary. For example, Oliver provides a good case of this and how these living arrangements within a relatively short period of time were beyond his control. First, he sleeps on the floor at a friend's rented room that does not even have the basic facilities, but has to leave (due to landlord's complaints). He then moves to stay with a work colleague, but has to move again because of a strong earthquake that destroyed this accommodation, then he moves to stay with a relative, but this is also only temporary.

The second mode of expulsion that Kaufman (2020) mentions is service expulsion when state welfare and health protection is lacking or is overly bureaucratized, so that many citizens are left with no basic services, which again coerces them to be mobile in search of realization of their rights from the welfare and health system. According to the Croatian Social Welfare Act (The Official Gazette, 138/20), local governments are responsible for homeless care while units of local/regional self-government are responsible for opening shelters and distributing food to soup kitchens. Despite this legal provision, these services still do not exist or are not sufficiently developed in certain Croatian counties, which also forces mobility. For example, persons experiencing homelessness in search of resources, gravitate towards Zagreb or other cities where an extensive offer of these services, particularly non-profit, non-governmental ones exist. When asked about the situation in his town of birth, one of the interviewees who rode his bike 160 kms to the capital responded in the following way:

> *Pretty bad. Pretty bad compared to Zagreb. Fewer opportunities for survival.* (Niko)

However, even when there is a more developed network of services within a city, as for example in Zagreb, many remain excluded due to administrative problems. Subsequently, they cannot access services, which forces them to be mobile within the city. This is a good place to present findings from our research about the constant movement of people experiencing homelessness from day-to day, and how exhausting this can be. For example, Tina explains how she must change wagons (in the absence of a shelter service) at least 10 times a day in search of warmth and a place to stay.

> *So, I am chronically tired. Literally, literally. We hop from wagon to wagon from morning until the next day, we check which has heating, then we look at who is there until it warms up, then the railway staff come as the train is leaving, so we have to leave that wagon and run into another one… And that's about 10, maybe more, wagons a day.* (Tina)

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[2] Sofa surfing refers to the strategy of securing accommodation by staying temporarily with friends/acquaintances. The term is often used in the context of hidden homelessness, where a person has a physical roof over their head and temporary shelter, but no privacy or legally secured accommodation. The shelter is therefore temporary, inadequate and unsafe because it is based on informal arrangements (Pleace, 2016b).

A series of studies warn of the problem of service expulsion (Goedemé & Janssens, 2020; Chareyron & Domingues, 2016; Van Mechelen & Jassens, 2017), explaining that homeless people constitute a group that is often, due to different administrative reasons, unable or has difficulties to participate in the use of services. This can be illustrated in the following example that shows a homeless person's attempt to cope and find accommodation during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown in the spring of 2020:

> *I only went there* [the police station], *I went into the station and asked them where to go, I had nowhere to go. They said there was a number advertised on the TV that I should call. I told them I wasn't carrying around a TV set in my pocket… Then they gave me that telephone number. But you couldn't reach that number, I was calling for days. When they finally answered, they directed me to the Red Cross in the City of Zagreb. They asked me to give them my personal information, identification number, and so on…I told them that I had nothing. You know what, they told me, go call the number advertised on TV.* (Miro)

Kaufman calls the third mode of expulsion warehousing. This is institutionalization (shelters, prisons, foster families, foster homes, psychiatric hospitals, etc.) and the transfer of persons from one institution to another, which, in the end, influences the ability of persons who were institutionalized to cope, particularly after they exit the institution. This is well illustrated in the following example, in which Lovro explains that he has been to almost all the prisons in Croatia. This has undoubtedly aggravated his situation of homelessness, as housing was never secured upon release.

> *I've been to almost every prison in Croatia, except Gospić and Karlovac, or wherever. And I've been to all of them, Lepoglava, Pula, Split, Dubrovnik, Bilice, Remetinac, Lepoglava, Glina before the war, the prison hospital in Šimunska street […] before deciding which prison in Zagreb they would put me in.* (Lovro)

As Metraux & Culhane (2004), explain, time after prison release in combination with residential instability increase the risk of shelter use, while shelter use increases the risk of subsequent reincarcerations. In the literature on homelessness, the term warehousing is common when long-term accommodation of homeless people in shelters is being discussed. Von Mahs (2002) points out that, due to the enforced proximity to other people with severe social problems, the risk of different, unacceptable behaviours (such as substance abuse) is increased, but what also increases is shame, which has negative effect on their self-esteem, and ultimately life chances.

We can neither confirm nor deny the existence of Kaufman's fourth mode, related to race, in the Croatian context. This mode is one of racial banishment. Šikić-Mićanović (2010) points out that in her sample of Croatian homeless people, 95 percent has

Croatian citizenship and 88 percent is of Croatian nationality. In our sample, the majority (89%) have Croatian nationality and citizenship, which is in line with previous findings. Two male interviewees are Serbs, and have dual (Serbian and Croatian) citizenship, two interviewees (one male and one female) have Bosnian nationality and citizenship, and one male interviewee is stateless and has an unresolved residential status. With the exception of two men with dual citizenship who had to move from Croatia to Serbia due to war circumstances, there are no examples of discrimination based on nationality. Although homeless people are in many ways a heterogenous social group, there is homogeneity when race/nationality is concerned, which decreases the possibility of this mode of expulsion within the Croatian context, but this statement should be made carefully. A young interviewee participating in our research is a member of the Roma national minority. Although she has Croatian nationality and citizenship, she mentioned prejudice in society and experiences of discrimination due to her Roma ethnicity, but she connected this neither to how institutions treated her, nor to her mobility. However, there should be some space left for possible confirmation of this mode of expulsion in the case of a different sample structure (for example, if the research had included more homeless people of Roma origin).

Kaufman's fifth expulsion mode is violent expulsion, referring to violence in interpersonal relations, which can force a person to move/run away from a violator and become mobile to cope and survive. Although it can appear in different forms, in both the Croatian (Šikić-Mićanović, 2010, Družić-Ljubotina, Kletečki-Radović & Ogresta, 2016) and international context (Malos & Hague. 1997; Bimpson, Green & Reeve, 2021), it is frequent with women victims of partner/domestic violence. Explaining the relation between gender-based violence and homelessness, Bipmson, Green and Reeve (2021) point out that being a victim of violence means developing a set of new needs, apart from existential needs connected only to homelessness, which makes female homelessness experiences different from male homelessness and requires special services. Based on experiences of female interviewees in our sample, we can confirm these findings from previous research. To illustrate, Nataša, a 40 year old homeless woman, explained how domestic/partner violence intertwines with forced mobility:

> *He flipped, went to the kitchen, and took a big kitchen knife. He came to the living room, drunk, under the influence of alcohol, and said that he would slaughter me. I got scared, really scared, so I immediately decided to leave and packed two bags, and later I came to get all my other stuff with a friend.* (Nataša)

Kaufman's last, sixth mode of expulsion is ostracism – when people are expelled from their families or communities, which forces them to become mobile. In the Croatian context, ostracism is frequent with people who suffer different forms of addiction, but also when family ties are not strong. Eight interviewees in our sample experienced ostracism because of their addictions, even though their addictions were often caused

by family traumas. Jakov, a 64 year old male interviewee, described his experience of ostracism, due to his addiction problems:

> *I've never been to prison, I've never been involved in dealing drugs, I only spent every-thing I earned on these various substances, then my parents kicked me out of the apart-ment, so I spent, I'll tell you exactly how long, I don't know, I've spent some 7 years* [on the street]. (Jakov)

In a similar way, a 41 year old male interviewee with mental health issues explained ostracism when supportive family members passed away:

> *Well, my brother died in 2012, and my mother died in 2014. I was not in a good relationship with my father, and he kicked me out of the house.* (Neven)

7. Discussion

The results presented above show that, regardless of different national contexts, Kaufman's model is to a large extent applicable to the Croatian context of homelessness. However, what has not been emphasized in his study, but proved significant in the Croatian context, is the model's dynamics, i.e., the fact that one mode of expulsion initiates mobility that, in the end, results in another type of expulsion. We can explain this by using one of the abovementioned examples. An interviewee, Nataša, who fled her partner's violence, went to another city in the hope that she would find accom-modation at a women's shelter. However, since she did not have an address registered in the city in which the shelter was located, she could not gain access. As a result, she was also excluded from services, which motivated her to return to Zagreb perpetuating further mobility while homeless.

In relation to broadening the model, criminalization and removal from a certain area – "exile" – was relevant in the Croatian context. In interviews, but also while doing fieldwork in Zagreb as researchers, we came across several cases of "exile". Some cases of "exile" referred to the entire area of Zagreb, while some only referred to certain parts of the city. In most cases, homeless people ignored these measures and developed strategies of becoming less visible. For example, in a "walk along" interview, Janko put on a cap and a mask when he went to an area from which he was banned to be less recognizable. He also carried a backpack to look more like a tourist. Literature on homelessness, mobility and migrations almost does not mention homelessness and return migrations, while this proved particularly important in the Croatian context, since "failure" abroad, when a person leaves in search of better life opportunities, often impacts further mobility or leads to return migrations.

> *Yes, we went to Germany, found a job, but when we arrived in Germany, we were misled about the job. We were receiving social assistance before that and the state gave us an apartment, we were part of the Centre's housing care, but when we left for Germany and were deceived, we lost the apartment.* […] *And so, when we went back there* [to their hometown]*, we lost our housing rights.* (Leonardo)

However, we need to ask – is everything forced? Where is the line between voluntary and involuntary, personal and imposed choices? For example, interviewees described situations in which they continually combined leaving for another town or abroad and returning to their hometown, not because of "failure", but to see their children. These are situations in which they described themselves as free and curious persons who found it more suitable to travel, learn, visit and imagine, than to be in one place all the time and do the same job their entire life. Also, these were situations in which homeless people from continental Croatia would go to one of the seaside towns in the summer, if homeless services were available there, etc. The answer, or at least a part of it, may be hiding in Waldron's (1991) conclusion that, thinking about homelessness in the context of freedom, emphasizes the fact that poverty is not passive, and that homeless people are part of a system that strips them in different ways of their freedom and denies them the opportunity to act as "agents".

Conclusion

This paper is based on the analysis of 62 in-depth interviews with 45 persons who have experiences of homelessness, conducted in two of the largest Croatian cities over a period of two years. The aim of this article was to examine whether the concept of expulsion, i.e., forced mobility, as an explanation of homeless people's mobility, can be applied to the Croatian context, a context that is different from the original context in which the concept was coined. It should be noted that Kaufman's terminology (2020) is the result of quantitative research, while our research was qualitative. The conducted interviews show that modes of expulsion are not as strictly divided as in Kaufman's work (2020) but are related. They are also much more complex, as expected when observed qualitatively, i.e., more "closely" and "in depth". Expulsion or forced banishment is certainly a trigger for homelessness, but some other cumulative factors should also be considered, such as family status as well as social and financial capital, to mention only a few. According to our research results, expulsion is only a secondary event, which is an immediate cause or trigger but is not the underlying or the only reason for homelessness.

Furthermore, it seems crucial to point out another issue in relation to Kaufman's concept of expulsion that examines homeless mobilities. This relates to the terminology and (non)-reference to the existing research tradition. The idea that homelessness can be explained with forced change of place is elaborate and interestingly carried out,

but what remains unanswered is how each of the six modes of expulsion relates to the existing concepts and terms, such as displacement, eviction, institutionalisation, etc., which have long been recognized and in use. Clearly, one needs to come up with terminology to develop a concept, but it seems that, for example, residential expulsion is only a nicer name for a classic case of apartment loss, loss of the right to residence due to not paying rent or some other similar reason.

Speaking of terminology, a certain inconsistency is present in relation to the use of terms within the majority of academic corpus on mobility and homelessness, which is the result of authors' positions in different disciplines.

Statements confirming that most of mobility of homeless people is semi-forced or limited proved to be true in our interviews as well, and in this respect, Kaufman is partially correct. When talking to persons experiencing homelessness, it became obvious that they have few options at their disposal. However, it also became clear that there is always a level (however limited and disrupted) of personal autonomy and freedom within each person, which could, but did not need to, get activated in their struggle to exit homelessness.

How should a social researcher interested in migration studies approach migration among people experiencing homelessness? If we follow events at the global level, it can be expected that "marginal migrations" of the excluded and those living in poverty will have a growing importance. For this reason, studying conditions of movement among marginalised groups makes perfect sense and should be further developed. This particularly concerns further qualitative research on types of forced mobility, especially those provoked by actions of the welfare system. It can be concluded that Kaufman's typology of expulsion can be applied to the Croatian context with the broadening of the typology related to expulsion resulting from the criminalization of certain types of homelessness. With somewhat stricter use of terminology, it would be possible to develop a theory that is applicable to different types and contexts of homelessness mobility.

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Od slobodne do prisilne – istraživanje mobilnosti osoba u iskustvu beskućništva

M a r i c a   M a r i n o v i ć   G o l u b i ć
Fakultet hrvatskih studija, Odsjek za sociologiju, Zagreb, Hrvatska
e-mail: mmarinovi@hrstud.hr

S u z a n a   S a k i ć
Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, Hrvatska
e-mail: suzana.sakic@gmail.com

L y n e t t e   Š i k i ć - M i ć a n o v i ć
Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, Hrvatska
e-mail: Lyn.Sikic-Micanovic@pilar.hr

Sažetak

Dugo se smatralo da se mobilnost beskućnika tipično može opisati kao slobodna i neograničena. U novije se vrijeme ta pretpostavka mobilnosti propituje do razine da se tvrdi kako mobilnost nije samo ograničena, već u potpunosti prisilna. Jasno je da paradigma mobilnosti nije adekvatna da bi se opisala kretanja beskućnika, koji su nerijetko podvrgnuti isključivanju, preseljenju, ograničavanju i prisili. To je osobito vidljivo u teoriji protjerivanja, koju se kritički propituje i primjenjuje u ovom članku. Temeljem kvalitativnog istraživanja koje uključuje intervjue s 45 osoba s iskustvom beskućništva u Hrvatskoj istražujemo različite dimenzije prisilnih kretanja, uz uvažavanje šega socio-ekonomskog konteksta.

Ključne riječi: beskućništvo, mobilnost, protjerivanje, prisilno kretanje.