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HOMELESS INTERSPERSION IN URBAN SEATTLE:

THE POWER OF ROUTINES IN MAINTAINING A DIVIDED POPULATION

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ABSTRACT

Seattle has been a site of growing homelessness for over a decade and now, it exists in a state of interspersion, where the homeless and the homed live spatially proximate but socially distant. In response, Seattle has employed a policy of regular homeless encampment sweeps and the socio-spatial exclusion of the homeless from increasingly gentrified spaces. In light of this background, this study seeks to understand how Seattle's homed residents have adapted to the increasing homeless presence, as well as how Seattle's homeless denizens have responded to their increasingly gentrified surroundings. Through nine qualitative interviews with homed and homeless individuals in Capitol Hill, WA, this essay suggests that a process of routine acclimatization maintains a state of relatively peaceful interspersion between homed and homeless residents. By tacitly learning each other's schedules, homeless and homed residents are able to share the same spaces at different times or in different ways, thus avoiding each other socially while remaining spatially proximate. These findings may imply that, in response to growing homelessness, cities may be able to adopt policies that foster understanding and apathy between the homeless and homed, which may in turn generate a relatively tolerant state of interspersion between the two demographics.

Routinization has become an increasingly important part of jobs and work. As technology has begun to adequately quantify time, so has human work become defined by measurable hours and schedules. Giddens (1985) writes that the clock was pivotal to the industrial revolution, as it allowed multiple individuals to synchronously meet and work together for a definite period of time. This has bled into contemporary work, as working schedules have become standard for almost all work and the prevalence of Just-in-Time logistics has made a quantifiable form of time sacrosanct. However, it may not end there, as modern scheduling has made time an increasingly valuable commodity, with modern phones, for instance, engaging in an attention economy for their users' traction. In this sense, there is thus reason to believe that the impacts of routines have exceeded beyond just the vocational sphere, and it may instead already be impacting social norms and daily behaviours. As the adoption of routines is characteristic of contemporary lifestyles, then so too could the loss of routine be considered socially deviant.

The United States homeless epidemic has risen alongside the rise of quantifiable time and routinized schedules, with homelessness becoming an ever-present reality in more and more of America's cities. As homelessness has continued to rise across the United States, many considering it to be an offshoot of the ongoing United States drug epidemic that is further spurred by the lack of affordable housing and adequate wages in many American cities (Hanratty, 2017; Crane et al., 2016). Alongside the rise in homelessness are multiple attempts to curb its growth, ranging from the criminalization of basic activities sleeping, to the gifting of fully complete houses to the worst cases of homelessness (Smith, 1996; Woodhall-Melnik & Dunn, 2016). However, there is still little consensus regarding the most effective means to reduce homelessness, leading to a patchwork system of solutions with little generalizable success

to build upon. The near-future of the homeless crisis is bleak, and there is little clear direction to navigate away from its wake.

This brief overview of routinization and the ongoing homelessness crisis serves primarily to contextualize this discussion on these very two facets. Specifically, this study asks the question: how has the socio-spatial makeup of Seattle responded to the increasing rates of homelessness? Put differently, how has the behaviour of Seattle residents changed in response to the increased presence of homeless individuals living in and among homed residents?

Through qualitative interviews with homeless and homed individuals in Capitol Hill, Seattle, this essay will underline that routines convey social expectations and pressures across differing socioeconomic groups, thus maintaining homed and homeless interspersion in the area. This is built around the understanding that homeless individuals still possess and create routines despite the loss of normative pressures such as a home or a job. Homed residents adapt to these routines and this, in turn, maintains a state of homeless and homed interspersion in Seattle as these differing groups adapt to each other's presence within the same spaces through a process of acclimatizing to each other's routines.

For clarity, when discussing homelessness, this essay is discussing individuals who, for any reason ranging personal faith to economic realities, is without a permanent address. This includes individuals who willingly become homeless for reasons of spirituality or mental wellbeing, as well as individuals who are forced into homelessness due to the economic pressures of automation and gentrification. The goal of this essay is not to make distinctions between individuals based on the cause or kind of homelessness observed, but rather shed light onto the living situation that is shared by homeless individuals across the United States – using Capitol Hill, WA as a case study.

THEORY BACKGROUND

The notion that routines apply a form of social pressure is primarily founded on our understanding of social stigma. Specifically, it builds on theory which suggests that institutional systems and social capital exert social expectations on both the individual and mezzo-level group, with this essay specifically focusing on the effects of poverty and homelessness. It is important to note that poverty is treated here as inherently relational, as "it is lived, managed, negotiated and reproduced in relationships with others" (Lubbers et al., 2020, p. 8). Put differently, the ascribed status of poverty and its subsequent social ramifications are determined in-part by the socioeconomic status of an area's residents, spatial aesthetic, and extant power dynamics. This relational perspective of poverty does not define poverty based on a category of material constraints or weak social ties, but rather examines the relationship between poverty and privilege, focusing on poverty as a site for conflict and crises (Heynen et al., 2018; Lawson & Elwood, 2018; Lawson et al., 2015; Mosse, 2010; Hickey, 2009; Green, 2006; Goode & Maskovsky, 2001). It conceptualizes the reproduction of poverty as a result of a multicausal political, economic, cultural, and social process, while also taking into account the possible effect of social networks. Though defining a multicausal process rooted in different variables is beyond the scope of this study, this essay will attempt build upon the relational perspective of poverty by suggesting that homeless individuals belong to a community that is bereft of typical modes of routines – namely, housing and occupation.

Underscoring this relational perspective on poverty is a focus on the accumulation of homeless individuals within homed communities – which is a phenomenon best labelled as interspersion. In a divergence from historical patterns of spatial exclusion, homeless individuals within Seattle, WA are not corralled into ghettos or slums, but they have instead set up

encampments and sleeping spots in the parks and neighbourhoods frequented by Seattle's middle- and upper-class. Garrido (2019) coins the term 'interspersion' as he writes on a similar phenomenon occurring in Manila – where political patronism and a reliance on social connections for work has also generated a living situation where the poor and working-class live in and among the rich and middle-class. In Garrido's (2019) work, this produced a state of inter-class tension as differing socio-economic populations were regularly in contact with another, and

Figure 1: Seattle Fire Department reports of homeless encampment fires. Jan 1, 2021 – December 31, 2021. Source: Seattle Fire Department

this research study is concerned with whether a similar process may be occurring with Seattle's homeless population. Figure 1 highlights the confirmed sites of homeless encampments through data from the Seattle Fire Department, and it is ostensibly clear that homeless encampments within Seattle are dispersed across the city instead of being confined to specific districts. To further this point, this data only captures encampment fires, and it does not effectively convey the true, likely greater number of homeless encampments present in Seattle. In this sense, this study essentially interrogates interspersion and its applicability to another city in a different locale, while simultaneously gauging the impact that a loss of routine may convey.

To first outline the characteristics of the homeless population in Seattle, the homeless are a minority in city of Seattle, but they have been steadily growing in number as time has gone on. From 2007 to 2020, the number of households experiencing homelessness has risen from 7,902 to 11,751 and, in 2021, only 5,183 of the households experiencing homelessness were sheltered in temporary housing (United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2007, 2021). Homeless individuals tend to be predominantly male, either white or Black and above the age of 24. This is compared against the 344,629 households living in Seattle by 2020, highlighting the relatively low number of homeless households in Seattle (United States Census Bureau, 2020). However, as previously stated, the number of homeless residents has been steadily growing since 2007, and it is a problem that has become ever more palpable as the city of Seattle may be unable to accommodate this growth.

The resulting product is an explosion of homeless encampments across the city – a phenomenon which is worthy of its own dedicated study – and a governmental response the prioritizes the removal of homeless encampments instead of remedying the core issues at play (Greenstone, 2021a). This is predicated on the notion that an increase in affordable housing and

temporary housing supply will result in a reduction in homelessness, and this theory ostensibly seems sound, as gentrification is a root cause behind the increase in homelessness in Seattle. In this sense, increasing affordable housing supply will allow victims of gentrification to find housing nearby. However, this is an incomplete solution, as it does not view poverty as relational, multi-casual process, but rather sees poverty as caused by a singular phenomenon: a lack of affordable housing supply. This suggests that all homeless individuals attempt to become homed, but this notion is most clearly rebuked by the presence of the willingly homeless – individuals who intentionally become homeless for reasons that are still poorly understood by the academic literature. These individuals do not aim to become homed and thus an increased supply of affordable housing will do little to deter their presence on the streets while, at the same time, highlighting the multi-causal reality behind Seattle's increase in homelessness. In an attempt to understand multiple shades of, and causes for, homelessness, this study has interviewed a person who is willingly homeless, and this study will include their perspectives with regard to the importance of routines in contemporary society.

There is also a particular dearth of research into both the effects of routine destruction as well as the specific elements of homeless living. Most notably, research on homelessness has tended to focus on their material misgivings, relevant public policy, and the supply of affordable housing locally available (Schutt & Garret, 1992; Hanratty, 2017). In contrast, this study attempts to understand the homeless through the lens of a stigmatized lifestyle. This research does not analyze the homeless as a deviation from normative housing, but rather as a deviation from a normative lifestyle, complete with relevant wants, needs, and stumbling blocks that shape a homeless pseudo-culture. Through interviews with homeless individuals, it becomes clear that there is a common set of needs and wants, as well as mainstays of normative culture that

homeless individuals seem to collectively embody. It also becomes clear that homelessness cannot be treated as something that everyone wants to escape from. Said differently, there are elements of homelessness that are attractive to some individuals – such as a social network that can be largely permissive of illicit drug use, for instance – and it is thus unfit to treat homelessness as only an issue to be resolved. The fact that elements of homelessness are attractive indicate that homelessness may provide a functional basis for activity or lifestyles that cannot be completed in a normative societal setting. For this reason, research that approaches homelessness as a potential lifestyle are imperative for understanding the phenomenon at greater depth, but relevant research is noticeably missing. This study thus attempts to fill this gap in the research through an exploration of the homeless and their routines.

Further, the impact of routines, and their destruction in the case of the homeless, cannot be understated, as routines form the social ether that undergirds social behaviours and expectations. Said differently, the homeless live a lifestyle that is not compatible with the high time and space demands characteristic of modern routines, and it may thus be possible that routines and routine destruction are socio-economic hurdles that homeless individuals must face. To illustrate, Onwuachi-Willig (2016) found that the destruction of everyday routines is characteristic of cases of collective trauma – highlighting the deleterious effects of routine destruction through the case of Emmet Till. We may be able to infer that homelessness – an instance where individuals lack the daily regimen provided by a place of work, a place to live, and places to conduct activities – conveys a sense of trauma due, in part, to the selfsame loss of routines that is caused by homelessness. Further, the proliferation of homelessness across the United States may be producing and reproducing social stigma through routines at a continuously increasing scale. In this sense, the importance of routines in mediating daily

interactions cannot be underestimated, as their destruction may be causing large degrees of individual and collective trauma.

This essay understands social stigma to be predicated on the ascription of differing social roles, which prescribe a sense of communal meaning in interactions, and it is important to consider the role of the homeless here insofar that it both produces and perpetuates stigmata. Put differently, the kinds of roles that a person adheres to culminate in a pseudo-deterministic process where a person's behaviours and expectations are a product of their roles. Bauman (1976), in a critique of similar works by Parsons, writes on this:

> "When known to both protagonists of an interaction, [role-requirements] will provide the sought-after 'stability of meaning' during the exchange. The partners enter their interaction 'pre-fabricated', processed by society, with the meanings of their acts firmly attached to their possible actions well in advance, as the appurtenances of the assumed role. Meanings are not negotiable, they are given from the start or some time before the start, and the only outcome of a departure will be a distortion of communication." (p. 20).

This asserts that social roles and their respective requirements are fundamental to social interaction, and any attempt to diverge from ascribed roles will only serve to muddy communication. In this sense, it is important to consider the overarching role of the homeless here. It is not fit to relegate the actions and roles prescribed by homeless status under the moniker 'working-class' or 'lower-class.' Said differently, it is incorrect to lump homeless individuals under current descriptions of class status, as they are not subject to the same class-consciousness or socio-economic pressures that are adopted by homed individuals in poverty. Instead of being perceived along similar to rhetoric to the working-class, homeless individuals are often regarded as the victims of a drug epidemic, mental health issues, or as a product of

political ineptitude and corrupt systems, as opposed to only a failure of personal agency or floundering economics (Agans & Liu, 2011). We can infer thus that not only have perceptions of homelessness been gradually moving away from narratives of bad luck or personal fault, but the issue of homelessness in the United States has become increasingly politicized. In this sense, public perceptions of the homeless often disconnect homeless individuals' agency from the vocational arena, instead viewing the homeless as victims of troubled societal systems. Put simply, the homeless may be somewhat unique in their divergence from normative pressures, and their distinctive circumstances can shed a unique light on social behaviours in a way that current understandings of poverty and the homeless fail to take adequate account for.

Specifically, routines form the foundations of bureaucratized society by relegating the most fundamental elements of societal survival to mere habit. To generalize, society and leadership styles have gradually developed an indifference towards the elements most fundamental to societal survival. Early societies tended to use religious and social rites as a means to maintain these survival elements but, in many contemporary societies, they have instead been supplanted by governmental bureaucracy and apathy stemming from routinization (Andreski, 1983; Bauman, 1976). Though this may at times be beneficial – as the indifference of bureaucracy can spur governmental stability and minimize social consequences – the key point here is that routinization exists as the bedrock of a society's systems. Said differently, as societal organization has developed over time, a society's functions have been increasingly delegated to routines and habits – leading to societies that are wholly built on these routines. To parrot Bauman, Weber, and Andreski's points, it is most likely Western societies that can be attributed this bureaucratized, routinized society and, as a result, the loss or destruction of such routines may be significant in the lives of the affected individuals.

With regard to homeless, there is reason to believe that they themselves are subject to this destruction of routines. As the homeless tend to be dispossessed of the elements that make up a routine – such as a place to stay or an office to work – they are subsequently disconnected from the societal bedrocks that are routines and bureaucracies. That is not to say that they are totally disconnected from society, as homeless individuals may still interact with bureaucracies to attain temporary housing or access to free food, but the homeless may live in a role that is not shared by many others within Western society: the role of the economically forgotten and socially excluded. In this sense, the homeless possess a role that is financially, socially, and spatially downtrodden, as they lack both the vocations, the social connections, and the spatial means to precipitate a mainstream, normative lifestyle. Said differently, to some extent they lack the means to produce a life that is typical of their respective society. Though this not unique to homelessness alone, as homed individuals struggling with poverty are likely to be subject to similar circumstances, the loss of a home is a significant divergence from poverty on its own, as it disconnects individuals from spatial grounding based around a typical, static home – and the consequences thus will be examined in detail in this paper. With this in mind, it is important to consider the homeless as both economically and socially disadvantaged, and from that gauge how their social and spatial perceptions have been affected thusly.

This essay essential posits another vector for, and variable that modifies, the effect and magnitude of social stigmata: adherence to normative routines. By this, this essay is discussing routines that are grounded within normative social norms – such as going to work, avoiding illicit substances, or spending leisure time with one's family – and this distinction is important as homeless individuals still possess daily routines of their own making, but not the kinds of routines that align with normative society. As will be explored further in this essay, some

homeless individuals generate pathways through cities that they will walk or bike through every day for the express purpose of having a routine to complete. Others may visit the same store or location at the same time every day – either to gains something like food or cigarettes, converse with the people in the area, or both. Others yet may be bound to the bureaucracy of welfare systems, as they meet with similar people every day to try and gain housing, welfare, or stable employment. Or, in some cases, some homeless individuals may even just stay in the same spot all day, either because they see little reason to navigate the city, or they intend to partake in illicit substances already available where they are. These occurrences are not conveying a loss of routine – in fact, the routines of homeless individuals seem almost built into stone and constant for each individual – but rather that homeless individuals lack the normative foundation that routines are made up of and, in the absence of this foundation, generate their own, different routines. In this regard, the homeless exist as a case of disconnection from normative routines, and they are thus an interesting examination point for theory surrounding stigmata with regard to routines.

METHODS

To gauge the perspectives of local residents in Capitol Hill, WA, nine qualitative interviews were conducted with residents in the area. Five of those interviews were conducted with homeless individuals who frequent a community service venue for food – the name of which will be omitted for anonymity. The remaining four interviews were conducted with homed residents and volunteers within Capitol Hill, WA. The interviewees were recruited by convenience and snowball sampling, and they were compensated with a personally-funded $30 USD gift card for a local grocery store.

Six interviews were conducted in-person, two interviews were conducted through the teleconference platform Zoom, and one interview was conducted by phone call. The audio of all interviews was recorded, and transcripts were generated manually for all interviews. The interviews themselves were semi-structured with general guiding questions to steer the topic of the interview, while also including elements of natural conversation. The free-flowing nature of this form of interviewing allowed for a greater range of subject matter to be explored, depending on what is salient to the interviewees (Weiss, 1994). In this sense, the methods applied here are specifically suited to the relatively unearthed academic landscape of homelessness, while also attempting to accommodate the reservations of a stigmatized population in the homeless.

The interviews for homeless and homed residents differed in questioning and purpose. For the homed interviewees, questions and subject matter largely pertained to how their movement and activity across the city was impacted by the presence of homeless individuals and encampments. These questions were aimed at discerning what feelings were elicited in homed individuals by the homeless presence, as well as how they have either adapted or maladapted to the interspersion of homeless and homed. During this, their perceived causes of homelessness were also discerned. For the homeless, the questions were largely interested in how they navigate their day-to-day requirements, what kinds of people they meet in the process of meeting their daily needs, and which areas of the city they tend to frequent – including the kinds of routes that they tend to take. Within these questions, the interview also attempted to discern the homeless' opinion of homed residents and whether this has changed over time, as well as the narratives that the homeless possess when discussing their own homelessness. These interviews took place after a two- to three-week period of rapport-building, in which I volunteered at a local community service organization to build a relationship with the organization's homeless patrons. Through

this two-pronged approach of homeless and homed residents, the perspectives that these groups have on each other, as well as the way that they have affected each other's lives, can be better understood. Put simply, this approach is designed to understand the effects of interspersed homelessness from both sides of the issue: homed and homeless.

SITE

Capitol Hill, Seattle, WA

Capitol Hill, WA was selected due to recent events that highlighted the issue of income inequality and political dissatisfaction in its resident populace. Namely, in 2020, several Seattle residents declared Capitol Hill to be part of the Capitol Hill Autonomous Zone (CHAZ) – which was also known as the Capitol Hill Occupation Protest (CHOP). This protest was conducted as a response to policy brutality against Black Americans around the nation, with protesters occupying the local police precinct before claiming the local area as autonomous from the United States government. Through this, the protestors aimed at assuring rights and safeties for Black Americans, but it is important to note that the CHAZ or CHOP was not formed in a vacuum, and instead exists as the culmination of socio-economic tension, differing class identities, and the ill-impact of growing gentrification. In this sense, Capitol Hill, WA is not simply a site of latent homelessness, but its rapidly shifting socio-spatial environment has buttressed the struggles of homeless living against ivory towers in the form of renovated apartments.

To briefly contextualize the history of the research site, it is important to recognize Capitol Hill, WA as a site of increasing economic growth. Following in the footsteps of many American cities, Seattle's economic shift away from a manufacturing economy led to waves of unemployment during an event known as the Boeing Bust – where airplane manufacturer

Boeing's departure from Seattle's manufacturing economy led to unemployment in the area. It was during and immediately following the Boeing Bust that Capitol Hill, WA faced an influx of small business owners, as artists changed abandoned buildings into theatres and studios. This revitalized Capitol Hill while also simultaneously developed a progressive culture that is particularly in tune with the struggles of the LGBTQ+ community. Today, the artistic roots of Capitol Hill are still conveyed through its rainbow-colored roads and varied murals, but these features bely increasing socioeconomic tensions within the area. In an attempt to restructure its economy, Seattle semi-successfully shifted its economic policy towards the growing tech industry, while also redesigning its neighbourhoods around the concept of urban hubs: self-contained neighbourhoods that are equipped with the venues and amenities to be relatively self-sufficient, while also being connected to one another by a robust public transportation system (Seattle City Council, 2020). This urban redevelopment policy led to a tech- and university-focused economy that is home to multiple large corporations like Microsoft, but this growth carried with it another issue in gentrification.

Seattle as a whole, but especially Capitol Hill in particular, has been a site of growing tension at the hands of increased economic growth. Gentrification – the process by which increasing land values push out residents by means of them being unable to keep up with the new cost of living – has been at the forefront of friction between Capitol Hill's varied population. New tech industry employees are attracted to the artistic scenes on display within the neighbourhood, and thus they have move into Capitol Hill in a wave of gentrification (Sakamoto, 2017; Arikan et al., 2019). At the same time, the changing socioeconomic demographics in the region have stoked tensions, as new, financially-privileged residents are buttressed against older, financially-disadvantaged residents. These circumstances have created a spatial aesthetic that

places brand new single-family homes against ramshackle apartments, dividing the neighbourhood's spaces into patchwork and aesthetically disparate buildings. It is important to consider the salience of gentrification in the lives of Capitol Hill residents, as its effects are not only palpable, but unmissable as the homeless are forced to lie outside upscale buildings and shopping venues. In this sense, the products of gentrification are intimately connected to the struggle of Capitol Hill's homeless.

These struggles are only further compounded by Capitol Hill's reputation for political activism – highlighted through the demands brought on by the Capitol Hill Occupation Protest. This protest underlines the significance of income inequality in the minds of Capitol Hill's residents, as its demands sought to remedy both racial and economic injustices. The protest demanded three things: a 50% reduction to local police funds, the dropping of all charges against the CHOP's protestors, and, most significantly, the reinvestment of police funds into the local neighbourhood with an emphasis on historically Black communities (Frohne, Chin, & Dompor, 2020). It is important to recognize that, for a largely disorganized protest that failed to meet any of its goals, the fact that a whole neighbourhood could gather sufficient support to occupy the entirety of Capitol Hill, WA is significant in and of itself. The CHOP lasted multiple days and denied governmental access to the region, while at the same time providing for residents through mutual aid systems and raising funds through an open market. This underlines the existence of the racial and economic issues within the area while also highlighting the drive to resolve said issues. With regard to the homeless, this further suggests that the economic issues that plague Seattle and Capitol Hill, WA are present in the neighbourhood, and their salience is emphasized through the CHOP that aimed specifically to remedy growing economic inequality.

Gentrification, in this sense, is not only intimately connected to the struggles of the homeless, but it is also closely connected to the struggles of Capitol Hill, WA as a whole.

Building further on this is the prevalence of encampment sweeps in Capitol Hill and Seattle as a whole, as the city has taken on a policy of encampment destruction as a means to remove the homeless issue. In attempt to placate politically-significant homed residents, the Seattle government is engaging in the practice of regular encampment sweeps – where existing homeless encampments are destroyed at regular intervals by law enforcement authorities. This process is conducted to ensure that public spaces are made available for appropriate activity by the public through the restriction of undesirable populations like the homeless (Amster, 2003; Cianciotto, 2020). These encampment sweeps not only remove an individual's temporary living situation in homeless encampments, but it also minimizes the sense of stability that a homeless individual could possess. As the encampment sweeps are essentially destroying a homeless individual's home, these sweeps prevent routines from truly forming, because homeless individuals subject to these sweeps are forced to pack up and recreate their encampment elsewhere. The key effect here is that, at this preliminary point, encampment sweeps do not seem to minimize the occurrence of encampments, as homeless individuals simply create another encampment elsewhere. The result is that city policy seems to be encouraging the process of routine destruction that this essay is positing, creating an atmosphere that is both hostile to homeless individuals and neglectful of their needs.

Concurrent to these encampment sweeps is the spatial segregation of individuals deemed undesirable by homeowners and businesses – highlighting another vector by which the homeless are unable to engage in the construction of normative routines. Seattle policy attempts to placate politically significant residents by spatially segregating homeless and ostensibly criminal

individuals from specific locations, thus encouraging a disconnection from the elements of normative routines in the homeless. Carr et al. (2009) find that, in another neighbourhood within Seattle, local homeowners and businesses exerted their political influence to ban homeless and criminal individuals from accessing local services and loitering in the area – effectively segregating these individuals from the neighbourhood itself. Though only a single Seattle neighbourhood was observed, Carr et al. suggest that this process could be occurring in other Seattle neighborhoods specifically because this form of spatial segregation is written into law. With legal backing, this process could effectively be used in any neighborhood within the King County borders, making it ever more difficult for homeless individuals to both access the services they need and generate routines for the lifestyle they either want or must live with.

The crux of the topics discussed here is that Seattle is not a city hospitable to homeless residents, and it in fact actively engages in processes that benefit homed residents at a detriment to homeless residents. Whether it is by regularly removing homeless encampments from amenities and public locations, or if it is by legally backing practices that restrict homeless movement and activity, Seattle's practices have generated a politico-social landscape that supports wealthy homeowners at the cost of the homeless. This is not financially unsound, as homed residents are more financially and politically beneficial to the local government, and this essay does not intend to criticize Seattle's choice of policy. There may be myriad reasons that Seattle's economical policy is beneficial to the city as a whole, especially considering that the homeless are still a relative minority compared to homed residents. Instead, this overview of Seattle's political and social landscapes serves to convey that the homeless lifestyle is fraught with hurdles beyond a mere lack of money. In line with a relational perspective on poverty, we observe that macro-level processes may connect the emaciation of the homeless to the privilege

of the homed, and understanding both may thus be a prerequisite to understanding the homeless phenomenon. This informs the methods that this study applies, where it interviews both homed and homeless residents, because this study views an understanding of both the homed and the homeless as fundamental to the entire phenomenon.

Community Service Organization

For anonymity, identifying details will be omitted from this description. The community service organization I volunteered with was based within a church, but it was not officially bound to the church or religious ideals, instead renting out church space for the organization's operation. The organization was founded within Capitol Hill, WA, and it had already developed a relationship with many of Capitol Hill's homeless before I began volunteering. The organization hands out meals, coffee, clothing, toiletries, and sleeping essentials at specific hours of the day to any who come in and ask for them – most commonly the homeless. It has also served as a location for the homeless to receive medical aid and vaccinations. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the organization has had to reduce the number of meals and donations that it could give out. The social atmosphere of the organization is one built on politeness and friendliness, allowing me to utilize the organization's friendly reputation with its patrons as a means to build rapport. The atmosphere of friendliness was most obvious during interactions with the homeless which, at times, became riddled with communication difficulties or, at worst, mild aggression.

It is important to understand that many of the organization's homeless patrons, often due to either extensive drug use or mental disabilities, are unable to effectively communicate with others, thus undermining the generalizability of this study's findings. They may be unable to

understand what is being said, or they may convey a strong, negative reaction to anything being said, or at times they seemed unwilling or unable to listen to anyone around them. More mildly, some individuals found it uncomfortable to have an extended conversation with anyone, and thus refused to be interviewed as part of this study. With this in mind, all the homeless interviews were only with individuals who could be communicated with at length, which may deviate in characteristics from the overall homeless population. These interviewees tended to be male, above the age of 40, and either racially white or Black in appearance, which is ostensibly in line with the general characteristics of the homeless population. However, the lucidity of their speech during an extended conversation may in fact not be representative of the majority of the organization's patrons and, as such, their daily practices and routines may also not be representative of the homeless population.

Notably, the organization refuses to provide public bathrooms for homeless residents as a means to restrict illicit drug activity, which is in line with the policies of other businesses nearby and may be indicative of the way that local businesses and residents view the homeless. When I asked why bathrooms were not provided for the homeless at the community service organization, they remarked that the privacy afforded by bathrooms allow for the homeless to partake in illicit substances outside of public sight, and the fact that this practice is common among Capitol Hill's businesses, while simultaneously being uncommon outside of the neighbourhood, speaks to a common set of practices that businesses have adopted to adapt to increased homeless presence. This may yet again underline the extent of the homeless presence in Capitol Hill, as business have already adopted practices designed to minimize the attraction of homeless patrons.

Further, this serves to convey the profile of both the organization and the organization's homeless patrons. Businesses and organizations have clearly been affected by the homeless

presence in Capitol Hill, as they have had to adopt policies that trouble homed residents in a pitch to curb homeless presence in their establishment. Even if homeless presence is desired, such as with the community service organization I volunteered with, similar practices of bathroom removal have been implemented to minimize undesirable activity. From the perspective of local residents and businesses, this suggests that substance abuse is both undesirable and common in Capitol Hill's homeless, and this characteristic appears in my own interviews with Capitol Hill's homeless.

ANALYSIS

Homelessness as Social Stigma

The theoretical grounding within the field social stigma is based on reoccurring patterns with the interviewees that correspond to similar patterns already prescient within the literature. Specifically, a reoccurring pattern within all the interviewees was the tendency to classify a more deviant 'other' group within the overall homeless community. This classification was made based on multiple differences – namely by referencing that the 'other' group tended to abuse illicit substances more often, were facing mental disabilities that made communication very difficult, or lacked belief in Christianity – but their description of this 'other' group was always from the position of a self-proclaimed outsider. This may be an attempt appear more socially acceptable when in the presence of an individual 'in' mainstream society, which may have also been the case during interviews, as the interviewer was a university student while most of the interviewees were homeless. By seeing similar phenomena occurring within the homeless community, a theoretical grounding within social stigma seems apt, and this essay thus attempts to contribute to that literature by exploring the effect of routines.

For instance, Jay is a 44-year-old, homeless white man from Seattle. He had been homeless for a year prior to our interview, and he is the only interviewee who is willingly homeless due to spiritual reasons. When asked about his opinion on Seattle's homeless, he responded that "I'm not one of them … I'm houseless," in a sense, identifying his own lifestyle as separate from the lifestyle of the 'other' homeless group. Continuing, Jay also highlighted some of the underlying motives behind his lifestyle, as he said, "I don't do drugs … I've got to be a good Christian boyfriend," using the term Christian to underline both the religious beliefs as well as the socially expected behaviours. We can thus infer that homeless individuals, or at least Jay in this case, may be subject to social pressures in the form of religious expectations that are, to some extent, derived from more mainstream society. This notion of socially-derived pressure would explain the emphasis on mainstream Christian beliefs and behaviour exhibited by both Jeremy and all other interviewees, regardless of their own opinion of the religion.

A common topic that came up organically through interviews was also the interviewees tendency to, without being prompted, describe something they want to change about the homeless community. The focal point here is not the specifics of what the interviewees want changed, but rather that change within the homeless community is a salient enough topic for all homeless interviewees that it prompts discussion within the interview. Jay describes, for instance, how he wants to encourage the homeless community to stop stealing: "I want to show them that stealing is not okay. That's what I want to bring to the homeless. Like, when you see a sleeping bag that is clearly in a hidden spot, I'm not going to touch that!" Similarly, Philip, a 50-year-old man who had been homeless for 5 years, noted, "I want to make bathrooms for the homeless community … like how your [community service organization] doesn't even have bathrooms. When I become mayor, I want to make bathrooms for the entire homeless

community." Another interviewee, Donald, an older male who had been homeless for several decades, said, "There are so many jobs out there. I want to help people look for them." The changes themselves differ between access to necessary resources, like bathrooms, and behavioural changes, like a reduction in theft, but the fact that this topic appears so consistently across all homeless interviewees without prompting is ostensibly significant.

This may speak to the power dynamics between myself and homeless interviewees, who may be uplifting their own social desirability by describing how they want to change an ostensibly troubled population. Put differently, homeless individuals may feel pressure to view the current state of the homeless community as undesirable, in turn producing responses that highlight what they want to change about the homeless community. Kyle, a 50-year-old, male, longstanding employee at the community service organization, described how the difficulties of being homeless mandated responses that portrayed homeless individuals in a positive light: "They've got to curry favor. I get it, though. When you're homeless and everything is hard to come by, you've just got to do it." With regard to social stigma, Kyle is suggesting that being homeless begets social stigmata that makes resources difficult to come by and, as a result, homeless individuals are likely to play into social desirability biases as a means to gain resources from more privileged individuals. Said differently, social stigmata place pressures on homeless individuals to convey themselves in a more positive light as a means to gain necessary resources for living, leading to a continuous pattern where homeless interviewees bring up what they want to change about the homeless unprompted. This further underlines the stigmatized nature of being homeless in Seattle, as homeless individuals may feel forced to describe the faults and necessary changes to the homeless community as a result.

Homeless individuals also describe feeling excluded from modern society, evidenced by a case of a premeditated effort to socialize with homed residents. Due to the social exclusion experienced by homeless individuals, there exists cases where homeless individuals plan and attempt to socialize with homed residents. Donald discusses how he caught a fish and released it into a local park as a means to generate discussion with the homed parkgoers:

> "Have you been to Cal Anderson park? … When the water [fountain] was full, I released a carp in there, and it swam around for a day and half … I was sitting there one day and this kid goes 'Mom, look, a fish!' and his mom spanked him for lying. I said 'Ma'am no, there's a fish. Look.' She started apologizing to the kid. Then people were taking pictures, seagulls were chasing it, dogs were barking at it. It was cute."

This instance highlights the social exclusion of the homeless through the fact that the release of the fish into the water fountain was largely premeditated. Donald had bought fishing equipment, caught a fish, and kept the fish alive long enough for it to be transported to the park, where he then released it and loitered in the area to observe what interactions it would generate. Though this instance does not describe a clear-cut case of social exclusion, it does highlight the lengths that homeless individuals will go for the sake of social interaction, which may be best explained by an extant atmosphere of the homeless' social exclusion. In this sense, not only are the homeless subject to resource deprivation, but they are also subject to the kinds of social exclusion that begets premeditated efforts to generate social interactions.

There were also signs that homeless individuals had internalized narratives of self-fault when discussing the cause of their own homelessness. When the interview shifted towards the perceived causes for homelessness, multiple interviewees emphasized self-fault and laziness as the main factor behind becoming homeless – which is actively incompatible with the present

academic literature on the causes behind homelessness. Donald, in interview with him, says that he blames himself for causing his own homelessness, while also going on to claim that homelessness could be mitigated if homeless individuals were not so lazy: “I was just lazy. There are jobs out there … I made $500 just fishing. But people are just lazy, and so was I.” Bruce, a 65-year-old Black man who was recently homed after being homeless for over a decade, expresses a similar opinion, claiming that it was his use of illicit substances specifically that precipitated his homelessness: “I was drinking on the job. Didn’t want to work. I’m clean now and that’s how I got a house.” These claims would suggest that homelessness is caused by self-fault, but the academic literature instead suggests that it is urban neglect or the realty of poverty traps that may fuel homelessness (Wilson, 1987, 1996; Anderson, 1999). There is thus a discrepancy between the homeless and the academic literature regarding causes for homelessness, which begs the question: what encourages these narratives of self-fault?

The presence of a fallacious narrative in self-fault may, again, point towards a stigmatized homeless population that either internalizes the social signals they receive, or utilizes self-fault as a means to gain resources from more privileged individuals. Though this study cannot conclusively decipher what factors influence the internalization and reproduction of self-fault narratives, it can hypothesise the reasons behind it, and it is likely that narratives of self-fault are both socialized into homeless individuals and potentially act as an effective way to ingratiate a homeless individual with homed residents. Kyle speaks to this when he claims, “It’s all an attempt to curry favour. I’ve had employees give homeless people car rides and it’s dangerous, you know? They treat you like a friend, but they really need you for what you got.” Kyle’s claims would suggest that friendliness in homeless individuals is entirely transactional – where politeness and friendliness are traded for favours – though it is also important to recognize

the social messages that homeless individuals receive. Agans & Liu (2011) find that 62 percent of their respondents view homelessness as largely or caused by self-fault and laziness, regardless of academia's claim otherwise. In this sense, these individuals may also be receiving signals from their social network and mainstream society that blames them for their own homelessness. Most likely, it is a combination of these factors that produce internalized narratives of self-fault in homeless individuals, and this may prove to be a fruitful avenue of research going forward.

Though it may seem sensical that homeless individuals are stigmatized, these observations serve to underline the kind of stigmata that homeless individuals are subjected to: socio-spatial exclusion. In the case of the homeless, these stigmata create a state of total resource deprivation that contextualizes the kind of pressures that homeless individuals face in lieu of more common pressures such as a home or job. Specifically, homeless individuals are both excluded from normative social networks and spatial necessities – such as bathrooms – that are common to other groups, even deviant ones. As a result, the homeless face pressures to gain basic resources such as bathrooms and food, but also social interactions with normative members of society – evident through Donald's premeditated effort to generate social interactions through fishing. In this sense, the loss of normative pressures is replaced by a new set of pressures based around basic resources, social interactions, and spatial necessities – and these pressures contextualize the routines the homeless individuals do create as they navigate their day-to-day in an urban environment.

Homelessness as Routine Creation

When individuals become homeless, it does not seem as if they lose the desire or ability to form routines – they merely lack the normative elements that ground most people's routines. The homeless interviewees, in fact, tended to develop their own daily routes for various

purposes, such as gaining resources. Jay describes how he would frequent a specific store because one of the store's employees would regularly give him cigarettes: "Yeah, I would go to this store and just bum some cigarettes, you know?" He goes on to describe how he would frequent and memorize different welfare services to receive necessary goods and food: "Yeah, there's community dinners and community lunches and you can just go to those for food." In this sense, instead of housing or work as the fundamental elements of a routine, places to gain resources – such as food and shelter – become salient from the homeless perspective. This serves to highlight, first and foremost, that routines are still an ever-present facet of homeless lifestyles, but also that, in the absence of work and housing, community service organizations and cheaply priced stores become significant objects in city navigation.

It is also significant to highlight here that, in the case of routine destruction in homelessness, new routines were also formed for, in part, the sake of having routines. Even when necessary resources have already been attained, homeless interviewees still showed a penchant for making routines without any singular goal. Eric, a 63-year-old Black man from Cleveland, OH described how he would bicycle from South Seattle to North Seattle and around the greater Seattle area for no specific purpose: "I would take my bike from South Seattle and just go north. I've biked from South Seattle to Bellevue, just because I want to." Jay described how we would go from Capitol Hill to Jefferson Park in South Seattle almost every day because he enjoys the walk: "Have you ever seen Jefferson Park? It's really beautiful. I walk there every morning." In this sense, their movement around the city is not curtailed due to their lack of normative routines. Instead, as the homeless often have more time in their day to budget towards different activities, routines that incorporate travel – such as cycling, walking, and riding the bus

– instead become the norm. In this sense, the destruction of routines produces new routines, regardless of whether said new routines possess a specific purpose.

Homeless interviewees also described a penchant for normative hobbies, indicating that ties to normative societal norms are still present in their considerations. When asked about what they tend to do in their day-to-day outside of resource gathering, homeless interviewees almost unanimously replied with some kind of normative hobby. Donald highlights his newly partaken hobby in fishing: “I love fishing. I want to take all my friends out to the water and just fish. There’s even good money in it.” In an interview with Jay, he described how he loves meeting new people and walking around the city: “I would run into people on the street and if the vibe is right, I’d just go up, like, hey! … I walk to the park every morning.” Eric mentions that he still enjoys frequenting bars and engaging in romantic trysts with bargoers: “I go to bars. Have a drink. Hang out with people, and if I meet someone I like, then who knows?” These responses underline that, even in the case of routine destruction brought about by homelessness, hobbies still act as a fulcrum by which routines are built around. As hobbies play a large role in the day-to-day of homeless interviewees, it is indicative of the fact that homeless individuals are not wholly disconnected from the hobbies and routines they had already generated, nor are they unable to formulate new hobbies because of their homelessness and lack of resources. Further, the fact that all the homeless interviewees responded with a normative hobby may be representative of the power dynamic between me, as a member of relatively mainstream society, and them, as members of the stigmatized homeless community. As I present as a member of mainstream society, I may be exerting social pressure through the power difference between myself and the homeless interviewees, resulting in responses that appear more palatable to normative expectations. All of these facets suggest that the opinion and norms of mainstream

society are still salient in the mind of homeless interviewees, and the possession of some kind of normative routine, in the form of hobbies, is a method by which they can continue to abide by some normative expectations.

This underlines another aspect of being homeless: all the interviewees grew up in a homed environment before becoming homeless, and they may thus be relatively well-equipped to handle the normative expectations levelled upon them. Jay, for instance, mentions that he was both middle-class and educated before willingly becoming homeless: “I have two master’s degrees, worked nine-to five … gainfully employed.” Eric mentions that, prior to becoming homeless, he had served in the United States military and possessed a home. Though Kyle, in an unrecorded conversation with him, mentions that many of the homeless originate from the foster care system, many of the homeless I interviewed were well acquainted with normative expectations because they had lived along those expectations for many years before becoming homeless. Perhaps the profile of younger homeless individuals differs from my more elderly sample but, as will be further explored in this essay, the relationship between the homeless and the homed is partially mediated by this reality.

In sum, these observations suggest that the loss of normative pressures in the homeless does not produce chaotic days with randomly scheduled activities, but the homeless instead create routines to meet their daily needs, as well as for the sake of simply having routines. This suggests that there exist This creates a state of total resource deprivation that contextualizes the kind of pressures that homeless individuals face in lieu of more common pressures that routines outside of normative pressures that dominate the day-to-day navigation of homeless individuals, and it further implies that these routines can incorporate homed residents through social interactions, evidenced by Jay and Eric’s interactions with residents on the street and in bars. In

this sense, routines allow homed and homeless individuals to amicably interact with another, which implies that a state of interspersion may be partially maintained by the cross-cutting social interactions that routines facilitate. The function of routines in this manner is thusly further explored in the following section.

Routines as Social Pressure

Routines may also act as a way for homed individuals to interact with homeless individuals by keeping account of their schedules. Within the community service organization I volunteered at, a common practice was to level casual expectations of punctuality and attention to schedule in homeless patrons. Kyle, in an interview with him, discussed how he would make small remarks of punctuality and scheduling when interacting with homeless patrons as a way to build a connection with them: “If I see a new guy come in a couple times, I’ll start expecting that he’ll be there at specific times. Like, it’s 12:20 so I’d expect [the homeless patron] to show up now. And then if he’s late, I’ll be like, ‘Where were you?’.” This is a common practice within the community service organization, and it represents a way by which routines can be used as a way to level social expectations on different socioeconomic groups. By making casual references to lateness and punctuality, Kyle is able to express his expectations to specific homeless patrons, effectively building a new set of social norms with them and leveraging their respective power-dynamic to have the homeless patron return in the future. Though the effectiveness of this strategy is an empirical unknown, it does present a way by which routines are leveraged to bridge gaps in socioeconomic classes, thus allowing community service employees to interact and exert influence over homeless patrons.

However, this relationship works both ways, as homed interviewees were also acutely aware of where and when homeless individuals congregate as a means to avoid locations of high homeless activity. Routines may also act as a way for homeless individuals to exert influence over homed residents, as their presence at certain times and locations becomes salient in the mind of Capitol Hill's homed residents. Anna, a 22-year-old woman who has lived in Capitol Hill for 3 years and, in that timeframe, she has memorized which streets to avoid because of the homeless presence in the area:

> "I usually remember the street they stay on and try to avoid that. I don't remember the name of the street, but it's the one near the Trader Joe's [a grocery store chain] … I try to go around the park when I'm coming home at night. You can usually see [the homeless'] tents in the park. It's not a big deal during the day, but it gets scary at night, so I try to avoid it."

Jane, a 22-year-old who had been volunteering at Capitol Hill for a year, expresses a similar sentiment: "You know that corner in front of the college, Seattle Central? There's usually, like, a group of homeless people who just hang around there. I notice myself walking faster when I'm in that area and feeling very threatened." These responses would suggest that the homeless are able to exert their own influence over the homed residents by effectively 'claiming' an area of the street as theirs. Homed residents nearby become aware of these locations and avoid them at certain times of the day to better avoid the homeless – in effect being subject to the power-dynamic between homeless and homed at play. Said differently, the schedule of the homeless is significant in the minds of homed residents when they gauge different routes through the city, thus encouraging said residents to pick routes that best avoid the locations where the homeless

congregate. This is the mechanism by which routines can exert power over differing socioeconomic groups.

The effectiveness of this relationship however varies, as not all homeless patrons are willing to return in the future despite leveraging the power-dynamic, nor do all homed residents avoid locations of homeless presence. Without a controlled analysis, this essay cannot discern the absolute effectiveness of power exertion through routines, though there is anecdotal evidence that supports the notion that it can vary. Anna mentions, for instance, that despite being avoidant of homeless presence, she takes the time to bring the homeless food if she has some left over: "If I buy something from the restaurant and I don't finish it … I usually bring it to them [the homeless]. I don't usually say anything other than, like, 'Hey, here you go!' And they say 'Thanks!' and that's it." Similarly, Jane mentions that, despite feeling uncomfortable with the homeless presence, she does not think they are doing anything wrong: "Generally, homeless people just kind of mind their own business. Yeah, they scream and they yell but they won't come up to your personal space and, you know, make me feel threatened." In this sense, the use of routines to exert influence is not accompanied by outright avoidance of the homeless, and Capitol Hill residents instead live proximate to the homeless while remaining socially detached from them. Essentially, it produces a state of interspersion.

With regard to interspersion, these two differing socioeconomic populations – homed and homeless – may be able to co-exist because of the process of learning each other's schedules. This essay posits that the use of routines within power dynamics is what allows differing socioeconomic groups to live among each other while remaining socially distant. For instance, Jay, a homeless individual, mentions that he is familiar with Capitol Hill's homed residents and, as such, they treat him amicably: "The people around here know me and I know them, so if they

see me in the park then they know I'm not going to bother anyone. They give me a little wave and I wave back and we go on our way." Similarly, Jane, a homed resident, echoes a similar sentiment:

> "Even like walking down the Ave [a local commercial street] … there are, like, constant homeless people. They just kind of live on the Ave, so I kind of know who they are already, and they never came into my personal space … As long as they're not affecting me, I don't think it's an issue to walk down the street."

Jay and Jane's experiences suggest that, by becoming familiar with each other's routines, homeless and homed individuals are able to adapt to each other's presence, creating an atmosphere of relative amity. This paper argues that this phenomenon is what allows the homeless to live in a state of interspersion among the homed. By adapting to each other's schedules, the homed and the homeless are able to avoid and share facilities and spaces without becoming socially connected, thus creating a despondent social climate filled with individuals from varying socioeconomic groups. The power of routines is thus the ability to make two very different classes live alongside one another. Further research into this phenomenon would do well to consider how the social makeup of a space changes according to time of day, as it is likely that the configuration and uses of various spaces changes according to the hour.

An Atmosphere of Apathy

When we consider the social impacts of homelessness, a question begotten by the visible interspersion is how homed residents perceive the homeless as a result, and there is evidence that homed residents describe feeling apathetic to the homeless situation. The interspersion of homeless and homed may also be fuelled by a sense of apathy and despondence by homed

residents, leading to a reality where homeless interspersion has become the new status quo. Jane speaks to this when she describes her own futility in the face of growing homelessness:

> "I did try going to volunteer at like soup kitchens and stuff … but recently, I just don't feel like me, personally, can do much to help the community at all. I can't really make a significant change. Like, I'm so powerless."

This experience is corroborated by Jake – a 23-year-old, male employee at the community service organization I volunteered at – when he says, "You look at all the homeless people on the street and you just think, like, what can I even do? Even working here, there's just so many people that you can help and there's so many more out there." Jane goes on to describe how a lack of relatability with the homeless is also stoking this sense of powerlessness: "I personally have never experienced homelessness … Seeing these homeless people, they're not integrated into my own personal life. So, I guess there's just no intersection there to relate to them or, at this point, even try to help out." These responses indicate that the homelessness has both grown large enough that people feel powerless to stop it, but also that homeless and homed residents have become so socially disconnected that aiding the homeless, for some, is an untenable task. This would suggest that an atmosphere of apathy has befallen Seattle's homelessness issue, thus further exacerbating the already-extant homelessness crisis plaguing the city.

Homed interviewees pinpointed the political climate as the reason behind their own apathy. Said differently, as the local government is failing to curb the homelessness issue, some homed individuals begin to see the problem as unsolvable. For instance, Jake describes how he blames Donald Trump's presidential tenure for stoking hatred against the homeless, thus making their living situation more difficult and limiting opportunities for upwards mobility:

> "There is [sic] a lot of right-wing politicians who have really made it difficult for the homeless … I think that after Trump's presidency, it's just been harder to get people what they need, and it's harder for them, especially now."

Similarly, when asked about Seattle's efforts at curbing homelessness, Anna responded, "They're not doing enough. Absolutely not." Though this study did not dive into the effect of local policy and politics with regard to the homeless, the inability of Seattle's politics to remedy the homeless issue is a topic salient in homed interviewees. In this sense, the political climate may also affect the effectiveness of power-projection through routines, and an analysis of political policy in a time of homeless interspersion may yet highlight patterns that this study cannot adequately tease out.

In this case, it would seem that the maintenance of interspersion through routines is accompanied by a sense of social and political apathy by Seattle's homed residents, and it unclear whether interspersion can be adequately maintained through routines without this atmosphere of apathy. It is, for example, likely that routine acclimatization between the homed and homeless is predicated on the lack of blame that Seattle residents place on the homeless. If Seattle's homed residents instead view homelessness to be caused by self-fault or laziness, then said homed residents may be unwilling to tolerate the homeless presence, thus undermining the effectiveness of routines and endangering the current state of interspersion. With this in mind, it may be prudent for future research to be comparative in nature – examining whether the homed and homeless in different locales mimic the apathy currently present in Seattle. Further, if a state of interspersion is founded upon narratives that do not blame the homeless for their own homelessness, then this implies that policy which fosters inclusion and understanding of the

homeless would be effective in generating a relatively tolerant state of homeless and homed interspersion.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This essay seeks to contribute to the scholarly understanding of poverty and social stigmata by examining the interaction of differing socioeconomic groups. Through an examination of the homeless and the homed in Capitol Hill, WA, this essay underlines that routines possess the ability to communicate social expectations across differing social and economic classes. By examining the perspectives of Capitol Hill's homed residents and homeless denizens, it becomes clear that the present state of homeless and homed interspersion is, in part, made permissible due to a process of adapting to one another's routines. This understanding is predicated on the notion that, even in the absence of some normative pressures, homeless individuals still undergo a process of routine creation – oftentimes adopting normative hobbies or daily travel routes for the sake of having a routine. These routines become understood by local residents, who then memorize and avoid the times and spaces occupied by the homeless, thus producing a relatively peaceful state of co-existence between the homeless and the homed. Additionally, in homeless interviewees, narratives of self-fault were found to be the dominant perceived cause of their homelessness, whereas homed residents instead view homelessness to be largely caused by a failure of local political leadership.

The implications of this finding may shed light on homelessness as a growing problem within the United States, as it suggests that apathy to homelessness and routine acclimatization are linked in some manner. If it is verified that routine acclimatization is what allows interspersed populations to co-exist, then it would suggest that city residents are able to adapt to

increased homelessness so as long as homed residents respond to homelessness with relative apathy – and little input is required from local governing authorities outside of regular encampment sweeps. We can see, for instance, how Seattle has adopted a policy of encampment sweeps in response to rising homelessness, which the city has continued to press on with despite resistance from local residents (Bowman, 2022). However, simultaneously, the city has continued to increase its spending on homeless programs in a legitimate bid to tackle the homelessness issue, even expanding homeless programs to a regional level instead of only within Seattle (Greenstone, 2021b). In this case, rising homelessness has been met with spatial exclusion through encampment sweeps but also increased monetary support from governing authorities, which has thus far been sufficient in placating Seattle's homed residents away from any widely organized action to end homelessness. This, in turn, may be encouraging a state of apathy, routine acclimatization, and, by product, interspersion between the homed and homeless.

At the same time, it may contribute to work like Schutt et al.'s (1992) policy recommendations for homelessness, as this study also highlights that homed interviewees do not necessarily view the homeless in a negative or combative light, regardless of whether or not said homed residents feel threatened by the homeless. Some homed interviewees, for instance, highlighted their lack of relatability with Seattle's homeless, which only encouraged the apathy to homelessness that was already felt by the interviewees. In this sense, if a city wants to broker a greater sense of apathy to growing homelessness – and thus encourage interspersion between the homed and homeless – then Seattle's current policies may in fact serve as an effective case study of how to negotiate the seemingly tenuous dance of support and neglect for the homeless. However, as a whole, the potential of routines is only a singular piece in the patchwork

landscape of social stigmata and relational poverty, and this essay does not seek to assert that homeless interspersion can be explained by routines alone.

Future research based around homeless interspersion would do well to examine differing spatial areas of homeless interspersion, as well as what factors produce the level of interspersion visible in Seattle. It should be noted that this study does not ascertain why interspersion occurred in Seattle – as opposed to, for instance, Chicago – as it instead seeks to understand how interspersion is maintained in Seattle. Then, towards the opposing end, it would be beneficial to understand how homeless residents decide the location of their encampments, as well as the social hierarchy present within these encampments. By examining thus, the spatial factors behind homelessness will be greater elucidated, and local policies may be able to minimize homelessness without sweeps by incorporating an understanding of homeless encampment decision-making. With regard to homed residents, it may be beneficial to examine Seattle's interspersion in even greater detail, with particular attention paid to its boundaries. This study attempts to establish that Seattle exists in a state of homed and homeless interspersion, but it does little to uncover where the boundaries of tolerance lie. In this sense, understanding the extremities of tolerance may be able to answer the important question: when does interspersion become intolerable?

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