Chapter 10

The City and 'the Homeless': Machinic Subjects

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The history of sociological thought is punctuated by a vast array of studies forming what one could call, in a Foucauldian way, the 'economy of homelessness': namely the 'knowledge of all the processes related to population in its larger sense' (Foucault 2000: 216–17). This 'economy' ranges from topics such as the causes of homelessness, the gender differences among homeless people and inquiries around the housing stock to, for instance, the role of neoliberal economies in reproducing the phenomenon. Despite this variety it is possible to recognise a common lacuna in the approaches adopted to investigate homelessness: the lack of thoughtful inquiries revolving around the ontology and epistemology of being (and becoming) a homeless woman or man. As Neale pointed out almost two decades ago, 'homelessness [. . .] has often been explained somewhat simplistically and atheoretically as either a housing or a welfare problem, caused by either structural or by individual factors, with homeless people deemed either deserving or undeserving' (1997: 48).

The main problem of this lack of theorisation is related to the kind of knowledge that the above 'economy' produces and re-produces over time. The translation of under-theorised academic work into research reports, policy-making and media portrayals contributes to a discourse on homelessness characterised by stigma, lack of agency and assumptions on homeless people's capabilities and will (Takahashi 1996). Although there are scholars who have been aware of this issue – see, for instance, the work of Veness (1993), Ruddick (1996), Gowan (2010) and Robinson (2011) – there have been few attempts to thoughtfully theorise what the American anthropologist Desjarlais has called 'the experience of homelessness', where 'experience' is not conceived 'as a universal, natural, and supremely authentic entity [. . .] but as a process built sharply out of cultural, historical, political and pragmatic forces' (1997: 10).

Tackling this theoretical and empirical challenge – which concerns both the ways one conceptualises 'homelessness' as well as the ways one approaches it in its unfolding – must necessarily begin from one of the most under-theorised aspects of the matter: quite surprisingly, that of the relationship between homeless people and the *city*. Although this relationship has been described by seminal anthropological works (Anderson 1999; Duneier 1999; Snow and Anderson 1993), and despite the recent shift promoted by the 'performative' scholarship in geography (Cloke et al. 2010; DeVerteuil et al. 2009), the 'homeless' and the 'city' still largely appear as two separate entities: at best, interweaving on the basis of utility and proximity; at worst, the one portrayed as just the backdrop for the other's actions. But what if urban homelessness is more than just a matter of location, of travel behaviours or of bounded control? What could be gained in treating the 'urban' and the 'homeless' as collective matters rather than discrete entities? And how could such a theoretical inquiry be effectively enacted in field research?

The following pages rely upon and expand the performative approach to homelessness, with the aim of offering a suitable way to 'breathe new life into understandings of the homeless city' (Cloke et al. 2008: 242). In order to do so, two interrelated adjustments are proposed: the re-conceptualisation of the city as a 'vitalist mechanosphere' and of the subject as 'post-human', and the implementation of a methodological approach based on the notion of 'tracing assemblages'. Key aspects of Deleuze and Guattari's work on subjectivity – rhizomatic thinking and becoming – as well as insights from the latest developments in urban theory will serve as guides for the proposed theoretical framework and its methodological implications. The proposed approach is then illustrated through narratives of observation carried out during a ten-month period of ethnographic fieldwork I undertook in Turin. These observations consist of field notes and exchanges with practitioners, gathered while volunteering in two different Catholic faith-based organisations (FBOs) (a morning soup kitchen and a shelter) and a public drop-in, as well as field notes based on the daily street journeys I undertook with several short- and long-term homeless individuals. The core of the proposed approach and its political value are summarised in the final section of this chapter.

A Vitalist Mechanosphere

The first step is to promote a topological and vitalist understanding of the city in order to show the heterogeneity of the components and forces

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that make up the urban. One promising resource toward this end is the emerging literature on urban assemblages, which sits at the intersection of Deleuzo-Guattarian thinking and Actor-Network approaches (Anderson and McFarlane 2011; Jacobs 2012; McFarlane 2011). Despite the disparities among its positions – for instance related to the theorisation of 'assemblage' (Greenhough 2011) – this literature proposes an ontological take on the city that 'does not presuppose essential and enduring identities' (Escobar 2007: 107). The city, according to this approach, is understood as a set of more-than-human articulations that are always open to the emergence of new events rather than as a determinable, human-driven, socio-spatial artefact. Farías and Bender elegantly summarise this when they argue that the city is 'a multiplicity of processes of becoming, affixing sociotechnical networks, hybrid collectivities and alternative topologies' (Farías and Bender 2010: 2). The aim of assemblage urbanism is not to arrive at a definition of *what* a city is: the aim is precisely to avoid a definition and to understand *how* a city is and, of specific interest for this chapter, to grasp *how* homelessness is.

Assemblage urbanism conceives the city as a mechanosphere of vitalist entanglements always open to possibility and change (Amin and Thrift 2002). In this sense the 'homeless city' ceases to be just a matter of places (sidewalks, train stations, public parks), services (soup kitchens, shelters, drop-ins), institutions and relations between people, as canonical scholarship has taught so far (see, for instance, Ravenhill 2008). Rather, it becomes a matter of entanglements between small objects and bodies, discourses and power, performances and blueprints for action – a universe of capacities that need to be traced in their contextual deployment. The homeless city is a rhizome of eventful post-human crossroads (Simone 2010) *within* which – and not only where – multifaceted experiences of homelessness are constituted.

In order to navigate this intricateness one needs a non-reductive, non-Cartesian account of subjectivity (Pile and Thrift 1995). Examples can be found in the work of diverse philosophical thinkers such as Lefebvre, Derrida, Butler and Foucault, who move away from the Freudian and Lacanian subject – a subject locked into phallocentrism and textuality – in order to account for the variegated 'contextuality' of the self (Wylie 2010). However, it is only with Deleuze and Guattari that such 'contextuality' is rendered visible and its complexity fully taken into account: the subject ceases to be *only* matter of text, body, rationality or power relations, but becomes understood as an ongoing, never-finished assemblage of the human, non-human, discursive, technical and potential

matters making up the world (Deleuze and Guattari 2009). In other words, the subject is just one of the parts (breakable into smaller parts) of the mechanosphere described above. It is defined by it, it is made by it, it is constituted through it and it does constitute it: the subject is not determined by the strict boundaries of the rational self because rationality itself is just a product (and a producer) of countless other machines (Deleuze and Guattari 1977). Deleuze, and more particularly Guattari (Guattari 2010), do not bring to the fore a definitive theory of the subject but allow us to navigate the broad rhizomatic canvas where the subject becomes with the other assemblage of the world. There are two important things to note here.

First, 'machines do not depend on *techne* [. . .] There are also technical, aesthetic, economic, social, etc. machines' (Lazzarato 2006: 1). This means, quite simply, that in the life of a homeless person the machines that matter are not only cars, mobile phones and electronic access-cards to service provision, but the concrete of the pavement, an overcrowded shelter and its smell of used linen and cheap soap, the weight of a heavy backpack, an abandoned railway carriage with its rust, shadows and creaks, the smile of a volunteer after a joke, the gesture implied in serving food, the furniture of an emergency shelter, or the inquisitive eyes of a social worker, a priest or a person passing by on the street. Second, and consequently, the (homeless) subject is 'collective': it is the expression of 'the heterogeneity of the components converging to produce subjectivity' (Guattari 1996: 193). This does not mean that the subject disappears in a collective mist, but simply that in order to grasp the subject one needs to look at the collective process of machinic affiliation through which subjectivity is constituted, challenged and reassembled. This means to understand the inner-self as an elongation of the mechanosphere and vice versa, in their productive constitutive tensions. Rosi Braidotti has depicted this process very clearly:

> [S]ubjectivity is a socially mediated process of entitlements to and negotiations with power relations. Consequently, the formation and emergence of new social subjects is always a collective enterprise, 'external' to the individual self while also mobilising the self's in-depth and singular structures. (Braidotti 2011: 18)

The shift from canonical homelessness scholarship is huge. The experience of homelessness cannot be understood any longer as a matter of personal culpability or lack of will, nor simply as the outcome of broader economic causes, but can only be grasped as an ongoing process

of subject formation where the latter is always a collective endeavour – a matter of contextual material and discursive arrangements to be addressed in their processual heterogeneous becoming.

Tracing the Assemblages of Homelessness

The subject and the city cannot be mapped and navigated once and for all, but only traced in the provisional unfolding of what Deleuze and Guattari called 'the micropolitics of the social field' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 7). But how might it be possible to investigate such micropolitics? The methodological approach that I have employed derives directly from the assemblage ontology, and in particular from assemblages' tetravalent systemisation (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). This aims to pay attention to the material (content) and immaterial (expression) elements that compose every assemblage, and to be ready to follow the different articulations that may occur in their becoming (territorialisation – deterritorialisation – reterritorialisation) (Dewsbury 2011). In tracing the assemblage of homelessness I therefore focused on the following three matters:

1. *Expression*. The discursive side of homeless people's everyday life. This includes both homeless people's accounts, as expressed in their own voice, and third-party depiction related to service provision, media portrayals and policies.
2. *Content*. The practice-based and performative side of homeless people's lives which includes the set of practices, materials and spaces consciously or unconsciously activated in their daily performances.
3. *Articulation*. The relational development of the assemblages emerging from each contextual content/expression dyad, which can follow paths of stabilisation (territorialisation) and destabilisation (deterritorialisation). Following its articulation one is able to show how the assemblage becomes ingrained in the everyday experience(s) of homeless people and how it challenges and changes their becoming.

Expression, content and articulation cannot be taken as established 'social facts', ready-at-hand in the field. What is expression at one point can easily become content at another: their distinction is blurred, and it must be so (DeLanda 2006). The fieldwork is in this sense a recollection of events, in which the triad above are just signposts to trace the action, not a 'container' of action itself (Harman 2009). But tracing the action is not enough. The key is to understand its relational becoming as 'micropolitical', meaning that at each and every moment things are

capable of producing new things: new assemblages, new subjects and new urban machines. It is through the analysis of this production that critique becomes possible: the things that are produced, as well as the ways through which they are produced, are all merely neutral. Through their capacities and external relations they factually bring to the fore heterogeneous experiences of homelessness that are matters of trauma, fatigue or stress, but also of hope, joy and momentary escapes (lines of flight). The scope of approaching homelessness from the standpoint of the *vitalist city* and *post-human subject* is, therefore, to reveal what effects these becomings have on homeless people themselves.

In order to both trace the assemblage of urban homelessness (via the retrieval of its expressions, contents and articulations) and to evaluate it through homeless people's own experiences, the field activity is of necessity ethnographic in nature. It is only through extensive participant and non-participant observations that one is able to perceive, experience and then describe the vast array of assemblages characterising homeless people's everyday life (Robinson 2011). These assemblages comprise discourses, practices, bodily performances, urban materialities, scheduling, affective atmospheres – to cite just a few of their elements, which are arguably hard to uncover with quantitative methods of investigation or by concentrating only on analysis of public policies (as the bulk of the literature on homelessness arguably does). In the end, tracing the assemblage of homelessness leads to a complex and unfinished map of the machinic subject: a cartography permeated by assemblages that are described in their capacity to create heterogeneous experiences through rupture, disjunction, painful alliances, solidifications and possible lines of flight.

One Example: Unfolding the Assemblage of Help

The vignettes reported below emerge from the investigation of a particular urban assemblage of homelessness: that of 'helping the poor'. This is a complex and variegated assemblage which is mainly brought forward by public and private institutions, where an increased role is played, at least in Europe, by FBOs (for an overview see Beaumont and Cloke 2013). The relevance of investigating this assemblage is twofold. First, the practices and discourses involved in 'helping the poor' do have a prominent role in shaping – for good or ill – one's own experience of homelessness. Second, the current literature on FBOs and homelessness arguably tends to overlook the more nuanced dynamics that underlie the provision of charitable services to homeless people, which are

uncritically taken as 'good', being of their nature 'caring acts' of 'love' (Lancione 2014).

In what follows I concentrate on the assemblage of 'eating', analysing a specific service provided by a centre for homeless people managed by the Company of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul (a society of apostolic life for women within the Roman Catholic Church), where I have been volunteering at least four days a week over a period of ten months. The centre is located not far from the main train station of Turin and consisted essentially of a couple of rooms, the bigger one filled with around twenty tables (four seats at each) and adorned with illustrations of Catholic prayers and holy scenes painted on the walls. The Vincentian nuns used this space to provide multiple services to homeless people: a morning soup kitchen (the only one available in the city, 250 breakfasts on average per day), distribution of sandwiches in the evening (around 150 units), free distribution of clothes, a free medical clinic, a counselling service and a monthly distribution of food parcels.

The Assemblage of Eating

An integral part of the assemblage of eating, both in the morning and in the evening service, was queueing. In the morning homeless people were waiting on the sidewalk in front of the FBO's building, sometimes up to two hours before the commencement of the service (Fig. 10.1). At 7 a.m. the main door of the centre was usually opened, allowing people to wait inside and to form another long queue at the door to the breakfast room. Even though they were in the end the same people, the two queues were fundamentally different. The first – on the sidewalk outside the soup kitchen – exposed homeless people both to environmental harshness and to the gaze of people and cars passing by, while the latter – within the premises of the building – allowed for a higher degree of privacy (especially in regard to the gaze of people and cars).

In those moments right before the commencement of the service, people were usually careful to maintain the position they had gained in the queue outside. As soon as the breakfast room was opened, however, people rapidly moved inside shouting at each other: a flux of bodies, bags, coats, smells and speech was then compressed in a tiny spatio-temporal context made up of a door passage and a few seconds. In this space arguments emerged very easily, since people often tried to cut in front of each other to get through before their peers. The fights always played out on a racial basis: the Italians would argue that the migrants

Fig. 10.1 Homeless people forming a long queue outside the Vincentians' soup kitchen (photograph by the author (2010))

were trying to sneak into the room without respecting the queue, while the migrants complained about how badly the man guarding the door (always an Italian) was treating them. Arguments were even more heated during the evening service, the distribution of sandwiches and

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associated queue for which were always located *outside* the soup kitchen on the adjacent sidewalk. Here people were constantly fighting to retain their position in the queue, sometime defending a place that they had 'held' for someone else in exchange for favours. These arguments often ended in physical altercations, leading the FBO to suspend the evening service for several days in a row.

The breakfast was served each morning by two nuns and some volunteers (three or four persons including myself) between 7.30 and 8.30. The tables were made ready before the commencement of the service with a basket of bread, four cups with spoons and paper towels. Breakfast usually started with one of the nuns praying and giving a short sermon, most of the time about the meaning of poverty and the importance of Catholic charity. The following scene, which I have recorded in my field diary, is exemplary:

> One early December morning, a nun was talking to the homeless people seated in the soup kitchen (she usually did this just before serving the breakfast).
>
> *Nun*: 'We should always remind ourselves of the people who are less lucky than you and me. People in poor countries, with war. And we should never forget that Christ is close to them, as he is close to you too. The love of Christ makes us feel stronger and better, it is protective and warm . . .'
>
> *Homeless person, from the back of the room*: 'So Jesus Christ was not with me last night in the train station. It was damn cold!'
>
> [A ripple of laughter from the crowd]
>
> *Nun*: '. . . it is protective and warm. We should never forget that with the love of Christ we can overcome all difficulties . . .'

After the speech, the service took place. Volunteers were going around offering either tea or coffee, biscuits and, depending on the availability of the day, heated pizza, yoghurt or marmalade. Homeless people were entering and leaving continuously for one hour, in turn, creating a constant flow of bodies and backpacks, suitcases, umbrellas and other items (such as sheets of cardboard, books or plastic bags). People were mostly sitting in groups that tended to follow a pattern, in some cases according to the nationality of the individuals, in others the time they had been spending together in the street. They would sit very close to one other, usually still dressed in the same thick clothes that they had worn to get through the night. The proximity of bodies and things, the constant movement of people coming and going, as well as the movement of the volunteers into and out of the kitchen with trays and kettles, generated a peculiar chaotic atmosphere filled with repetitive movements,

instructions from the nuns and the hubbub of people eating, drinking and bumping into each other. The smell of the soup kitchen was a damp one, of wet clothes, a hint of urine and hot reconstituted milk– the same smell over and over again for the months I have been going there. Sometimes the olfactory and auditory density of this ambience was broken by arguments, among homeless people, or by discussion concerning the service, between homeless people and the volunteers. Both were, however, managed in a matter of minutes, usually by the man guarding the entrance to the room.

The quality of the food was of great concern to the homeless people I encountered. Food was generally sourced from private donations – bakeries, supermarkets and private citizens – and was usually already beyond the expiry date printed on the package. The case of yoghurt in the Vincentian's soup kitchen records a practice common among such service providers in Turin (Lancione 2013). When yoghurt was available, usually served one day over its expiry date, the vast majority of homeless people would first check the date and then, if it had passed, either refuse it or take it but complain about it. Jokes about the laxative quality of the 'nuns' milk and coffee' were commonplace. Complaints about the hardness of the bread or the blandness of the biscuits were equally common. Such grumbling aside, people were not leaving food on their plates, but in fact often taking packets of biscuits with them for the day.

Eating was not only performed within the four walls of the soup kitchen, in isolation from the rest of the city. Besides the network of donations sustaining the service, one of the most peculiar aspects of this assemblage concerns the time one had to devote, and the space across which one had to travel, to access it. It involved a complex arrangement of bodies, buses and trains, schedules, money, services' opening times, personal preferences, etc. This assemblage of eating was, de facto, intimately part of a wider urban mechanosphere. One of the reasons why some individuals preferred to queue outside the soup kitchen very early in the morning was directly related to the opening times of Turin's public baths (at the time, usually from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. only) or the similar opening times of other public services (like the office taking care of the city's social services to homeless people) and the fact that the only soup kitchen offering a hot lunch was open between 11.30 a.m. and 1 p.m. Without entering into details, *washing* and *eating* were two related urban assemblages that could be closely aligned and thus work together only through meticulous calculation, constant effort and reli-

ance on other urban machineries (like public transport) (Lancione and McFarlane forthcoming).

Machinic Experiences

Eating in the soup kitchen is a socio-technical endeavour entangling homeless people with the materiality, discourses and ambience of the place. It is within these micropolitical articulations that the machinic nature of homeless people's subjectivity is assembled, challenged and reassembled, leading to sets of heterogeneous experiences of homelessness that cannot be accounted for by a priori theorisation or normative discourses. Bearing in mind that *eating* is only one of the assemblages making up the 'homeless city', three experiences brought forward by it seem worth highlighting.

The first can be called *the experience of feeling out of place*, and it is related to the sensation – consciously or unconsciously expressed by many short-term homeless people I have encountered – that the soup kitchen was not a 'place for them'. If the literature has touched upon this internal struggle – think for instance of those works highlighting the linguistic devices used by homeless people to 'take distance' from the peers they perceive as the 'real homeless' (Snow and Anderson 1987) – less has been said about the role of certain assemblages in reproducing a specific 'homeless atmosphere' that does affect how people feel and perceive themselves (Anderson 2009). Overcrowded rooms filled with noises, strong smells and anonymous encounters (both between homeless people and with the volunteers), as well as sermons restating each morning the discursive framework of the service provision (the 'poor' helped by charitable love), are just a few of the things which people had to confront in the analysed case. These elements, articulated with one another, produced a powerful affective atmosphere that for the short-term homeless people conjured a sense of disjunction with their perceived status as merely 'temporary homeless'. Some devised makeshift alternative behaviours by avoiding queueing outside the Daughters of Charity's premises (and the gaze of the passers-by) and the vast majority of them always tried to sit at tables with each other, in order to minimise contact with long-term street dwellers. However, as I witnessed many times, a simple disruption in the fragile equilibrium of these arrangements – for instance, the unavailability of sitting space close to the preferred companions – led those people into serious emotional distress. The 'homeless atmosphere' was always there, and the painful encounter with it almost unavoidable.

The second experience is closely related to the first one, and can be called 'the experience of feeling homeless'. If short-term homeless people struggled to accept their new social identity – that of 'being homeless' – long-term ones were (uncomfortably) living with it. Although they neither minded showing their faces on the sidewalk nor cared about their seating arrangements, they were still negatively affected by the 'homeless atmosphere' of the soup kitchen. The case of the out-of-date food is a clear example. The habit of checking the expiry date on the yoghurt, as well as the constant complaining around the quality of the food, are tokens of a more profound sense of dissatisfaction and emotional distress regarding their condition. Take for instance what one of these people once told me:

> You see? I know it's good . . . it's only one day out of date [referring to the yoghurt] . . . But it's not good they give us this. See? Also when I collect the pack [a box containing food items distributed once a month in the same centre] it's the same story. Everything is European Union . . . Would you eat this stuff? I mean, of course you eat it . . . but it's not good, it's not right.

Small details like the packaging of food, the expiry dates or the fact that the bread was never fresh but already some days old, did matter for long-term homeless people because those things were constantly reminding them of their abnormality (Canguilhem 1989). As with the short-termers, this group too put up alternative deterritorialisations in order to avoid these feelings. Another long-term homeless person told me that he preferred to eat just once a day, using his own money, rather than frequenting the soup kitchens available in the city:

> The soup kitchen is not for me. The food, the people . . . I feel better in the bar, I can relax there. I look at the people. They got TV too! Cottolengo [another FBO soup kitchen in the city] is not for me. Too many people there. Too many immigrants. Have you ever been there? No, no, no. If I can, I eat kebab here [. . .] If not, I'd rather stay in the bar anyway!

The last experience worth noting here, one which was common both among short- and long-term homeless people, is that of 'feeling under pressure'. This is a double-faceted experience related both to the timing of being homeless in the city and the encounters with different others. First, despite the popular view that homeless people have lots of free time on their hands, the opposite is often true. The timings of the available services generate a map that, if overlaid with that of the public infrastructure of the city and with that of physical and monetary limitations, reveals how homeless people struggle to find the appropriate time and resources to do everything. If one sleeps in a shelter, has to commute

to the other side of the city to eat in a soup kitchen and must in between look for a job while also attending counselling meetings and other forms of help (like the distribution of second-hand clothes), the day is soon gone before one even realises it's already time to queue for the night shelter again. Second, emotional pressure and distress are constantly present in the overcrowded encounters between different others, with arguments and fights always ready to erupt. As I have seen many times, the intensity of these clashes actually rises in regulated contexts (such as soup kitchens and shelters) where normative atmospheres are more prominent, to radically diminish in contexts where homeless people organise themselves to achieve their own ends (such as looking for a job in the informal economy). The experience of 'feeling under pressure' is thus a complex entanglement within which the soup kitchen is just one knot, a knot that plays its role in ratcheting up the sensations of stress, displacement and time pressure constantly at play in the machinic lives of these people.

Openings

Despite the shortcomings of the services described above, and despite the grumbles voiced by the homeless about them, they were generally grateful for the provision of food and clothes by the Daughters of Charity at their centre. In fact, this and other services are of fundamental importance, since they often provide the only help available to this population. However, how the experience of homelessness is constituted within those services matters. It is only by revealing and acknowledging the nuanced dynamics at play in those spaces that homelessness can be appreciated in its multifaceted complexity. The literature has offered examples of critiques of this kind (see Allahyari 2000; Evans 2011; Johnsen et al. 2005) but more must be done to bring to light the grounded entanglements that are often overlooked by traditional scholarship.

The approach proposed in this chapter is all about this point: it is an effort to theorise and describe the assemblage of homelessness taking into consideration that homeless people, like anyone else, are subjects constituted within entanglements of a post-human kind, that escape normative categories, bounded spaces and self-centred narratives. The key is to bring together the *vitalist city* and the *post-human subject* and to account for the numerous assemblages that on a daily basis constitute heterogeneous experiences of homelessness. It is only there – within the machinic unfolding of those experiences – that one can note the partial

deterritorialisations that might serve, if positively boosted, to provide alternative articulations. Starting from such deterritorialisations one could look forward to small-scale changes: a different configuration of tables, a shift in the blueprint governing the distribution of food, a more attentive relation to people and their individual needs, the redesign of services bearing in mind the intricate topologies of being homeless in the contemporary urban landscape – to cite just a few. Are these options enough to end homelessness? Certainly not. But they will be enough to shake the established ground that arguably tends – through its unquestioned arrangements – to 'institutionalise' homelessness and its people (Basaglia 1968; Lyon-Callo 2000).

The city and homeless people are one collective subject made up of a maelstrom of assemblages: a 'micropolitics' that Deleuze and Guattari, among other thinkers, allow us to navigate without fixing it, reducing it or adapting it (Guattari 2009). In the end, tracing, analysing and describing this complex cartography is a political task because it can foster cultural and practical changes. Mapping the homeless subject is, in this sense, a tripartite movement:

> first, towards redrawing the old maps in ways [. . .] that delegitimate the claims to truth of those maps which rely on an unspoken universal and universalised subject; second, towards the resymbolisation, resignification and parodic repetition of the maps that we already have; and, third, towards new maps of the subject [. . .] in order to re-establish tolerance towards different practices of body and subjectivity. (Pile and Thrift 1995: 50)

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