

## WANDERERS, WANDERING LIVES AND AGING



<https://doi.org/10.56238/arev6n3-119>

Submitted on: 10/12/2024

Publication date: 11/12/2024

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### ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the intersectionality between the aging process and the living conditions of road walkers – people who abandoned the sedentary urban life and deserted to the highways, starting to live as wanderers, walking daily on the shoulders and staying overnight under bridges and viaducts or in some corner of gas stations and restaurants where, Also, they get food donation. The research was guided by the following questions: what is the experience of aging on the road, as a wanderer? What are the main problems, challenges and perspectives? Walkers of all age groups, including those over 60 years old, were interviewed on the shoulders of highways. The results indicate that there is a perception, among them, of premature aging, but they are not concerned with aging. They think of abandoning life on the road only when they can no longer walk, surrendering to any destination, such as an institution for the elderly, or even to death itself.

**Keywords:** Aging, Wanderers, Highways, Wandering.

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## INTRODUCTION

The aging of the population has been taken as an object of study by different scientific disciplines and as an object of attention by public policies to the extent that demographic censuses point to the growth of the proportion of the elderly population with its impacts on the economy, politics, social and family organization, health, quality of life indicators, among others (AZEVEDO, 2023).

Faced with the complex scenario of the current living conditions of the elderly and the projections that indicate an increasing number of elderly people and fewer children and young people, due to the fall in the birth rate, the sciences have focused their efforts to ensure not only the increase in longevity, but also improvements in the quality of life in old age. Notions of healthy, active aging and successful aging have radiated through the different disciplines that make up the field of Gerontology and have guided much research in this area (FONSECA, 2016).

Another important notion that is also disseminating in the production of knowledge today refers to the recognition of the multiplicity and differences in the experiences of aging. It is increasingly becoming clear that aging does not occur in the same way for everyone, that this experience or the conditions in which people age are different. Intersectionality (CRENSHAW, 2002) has been widely assimilated in studies of aging and has generated more refined knowledge regarding the specificities of the experiences and living conditions of the elderly related to social class, gender, race and ethnicity, psychosocial environment, sexual orientation and other crossings, as indicated by the studies of Araújo and Silva (2020), by Correa et.al. (2023), by Vieira et.al. (2023), Azevedo (2023), among others.

Despite all these intersectionalities investigated, others are yet to be discovered and addressed, given the complexity of the aging phenomenon. One of them, practically unknown to science, concerns the experience of aging by those whose lives are marked by the desertion of settlements and territorialities that support a sedentarized way of life, that is, relatively stable, based on delimited and durable temporalities and spatialities, characteristics of everyday life. This is the case of the so-called wanderers are people who have deserted the sedentary life, abandoned any jobs, temporary jobs or "odd jobs" that they did as a source of income, who abandoned family (wife, children or parents), abandoned a residence, city life, circles and relationships of friendship and other territorialities and took the "direction of the road" or "left for the stretch", as they themselves say (JUSTO, 2011). They live alone, walk alone and hardly enter the cities. Some have

been in the "stretch" for a long time, as they call their daily habitat - the segments of the roads they travel on a daily basis - and many declare to be over 60 years old.

Road walkers are practically invisible to the eyes of science, society or the State. There are no statistics, estimates of the number of this population, much less any description of its profile in the Brazilian territory. They live at the mercy of chance, the unpredictability of what may happen along their walks along the shoulders and the way they can be received and treated at service stations, in restaurants and snack bars that they occasionally enter to get a meal, a corner for the night or by the employees of the highway concessionaires, truck drivers and other characters who travel on the roads. Some even declare that they have lived in the stretch for more than 30 years and most do not intend to leave this way of life or do not believe in the possibility of returning to have a job, a home, in short, to return to some form of sedentarization.

Scremim (2022) carried out an important study with road walkers on federal highways in the State of Paraná, in research developed over the years 2019 and 2020. With the collaboration of the Federal Highway Police, a questionnaire was applied to 85 hikers who passed through the police bases, in order to draw a profile of this population. It was found that the age ranged from 18 to 64 years, that 56% were in the range of 31 to 50 years and only one person, corresponding to 2% of the interviewees, declared that they were over 60 years old. Regarding the length of life in the stretch, it was found that 54.5% declared that they had been living on the road for at least 10 years; 29.5% between 11 and 20 years old; 7% between 21 and 30 and 9% had been for more than 30 years. This is a pioneering study in terms of trying to map the profile of this population and generate quantitative data, which do not exist in the scientific literature or in statistics generated by Brazilian public agencies or services. The studies and census data that come closest to the reality experienced by the wanderers, relatively abundant, are those carried out with homeless people, among which it is possible to identify the so-called "trecheiros": people who live in constant transit from city to city, looking for seasonal jobs or surviving on the help of public or philanthropic assistance entities (JUSTO, 2023). Although the trecheiros may eventually walk along the shoulders of the highways, they are not to be confused with the wanderers who live exclusively on the roads.

This can be inferred from this quantitative research and qualitative research conducted by Justo et al. (JUSTO, 2023; FAIR; SILVA, 2023; FAIR; SILVA, 2020; FRENCH; JUSTO 2020) is that there is the presence of elderly people, over 60 years of age, among

road walkers, even if in a smaller proportion than at other ages and that the experience of aging, in these conditions, brings other specificities, in addition to those pointed out above. In addition, walkers, even those who do not reach the age criterion of 60 years, age on the road, in walking through space and time.

It is exactly this aging on the road that we intend to address in this article, based on a broad research that has been conducted on the wandering way of life of wanderers, with funding from FAPESP, process no. 2021/13434-5.

## **OBJECTIVE**

The main objective of this research was to expand the intersectionalities of studies on human aging, to encompass specificities, problems and challenges of the aging experience in road walkers. How do long-lived wanderers live? And for those who have not yet reached the age of 60 but are aging on the roads, what do they think about old age? Is it possible to use the same markers and criteria to differentiate, typify or categorize "elderly" wanderers? Would there be premature aging among road walkers when compared to non-walkers? What does the study of the aging of road walkers add to scientific knowledge and to the formulation of public policies aimed at the elderly, taken in their complexity and diversity? These are the central questions that guide this article.

## **METHOD**

This is an excerpt from a research project that has been developed for years with road walkers in the state of São Paulo. Several aspects have already been investigated, such as reasons for breaking with a sedentary life, survival strategies on the road, hardships faced in this way of life, achievements, meanings of wandering on the highways, gender issues that arise in wandering on the roads, risks and dangers faced, among many others. However, aging on the road, the experience of aging in the stretch, although appearing in the speeches of the wanderers, was never specifically addressed.

To this end, excerpts from interviews conducted between August 2022 and June 2023, with road walkers, were selected for the specific discussion of aging in this population. Ethical aspects were duly safeguarded, according to Resolution 510/2016 of the National Health Council, and the study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee under opinion number 7,033,346.

Field research with road walkers brings its own challenges and places demands that are not very familiar with traditional research in social psychology or even in the classic ethnographies of anthropology. Entering the world of the wanderer or trying to immerse oneself in it, map or carry out ethnographies demands, methodologically, to be equal to the conditions in which they live and assume them in the way of doing research (JUSTO, LIMA, CEDENO, 2019). Chance, provisionality, ephemerality, unpredictability, displacement, wandering are some of the conditions that need to be assumed by the researcher in his scientific work. There is no other way of contact or approach with the world of the wanderer than by going out, like them, to the road, to the highways and, in the same way, without a direction, route or duration of the rigidly established route, even if in the comfort of a vehicle.

Regarding the procedures and instruments used, semi-structured interviews were conducted on the shoulders of the highways. The approaches are made following a protocol created over the accumulated experience. When a walker is spotted, the vehicle is parked, on the side of the road, at a certain distance and the interviewers go to meet him, greet him, introduce themselves and ask if he has the time and mood for a conversation. If the answer is positive, a very clear explanation is made about the objectives of the research, the term of free consent to participate in the research is presented and the request for agreement is registered. The participant is consulted about the form of recording the interview: video recording, audio-only or only with written notes for later reporting. In addition to the interview, concomitantly, observations are made including clothing (clothes used, cap, type of footwear, objects they carry with them and where they pack them, wheelbarrows or bicycles that they eventually use to facilitate the transport of belongings) and the landscape of the road (characteristic of the highway – single or double lane, existence of a central wall, state of conservation, mainly on the shoulder, traffic flow; service stations, toll plazas and bases of operation of concessionaires and highway police; the surroundings of the highway – rural, commercial or industrial activities installed in its vicinity), near cities, residential houses or other types of buildings on surrounding farms and farms and other fixed elements of the landscape.

For the purposes of this article, 36 interviews were selected with walkers on the shoulders of the highways where they walked, in the period mentioned above (between August 2022 and June 2023), on the following highways in São Paulo: Raposo Tavares highways (SP 270), between the cities of Presidente Prudente (SP) and Avaré (SP); SP

327 highway, between Ourinhos (SP) and Santa Cruz do Rio Pardo (SP); SP 333 highway, between the cities of Assis (SP) and Ribeirão Preto (SP); Castelo Branco Highway (SP 28) between the cities of Santa Cruz do Rio Pardo (SP) and Sorocaba (SP); Anhanguera Highway (SP 330), between the cities of Campinas (SP) and Ribeirão Preto (SP); Washington Luís (SP 310), between the cities of São José do Rio Preto (SP) and São Carlos (SP); Marechal Rondon Highway (SP 300) between the cities of Araçatuba (SP) and Bauru (SP); SP 225 highway, between the cities of Santa Cruz do Rio Pardo (SP) and Bauru (SP).

The interviews were selected in the categories related to the interviewees' statements about the experience of aging on the road. These stretches of highways were chosen because they are important road corridors. Although it was not considered a relevant data for this research, a greater flow of walkers was found on the Raposo Tavares, Castelo Branco and Anhanguera highways.

The interviews were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. In the quantitative analysis, the age of each interviewee and the time that each one has lived in the stretch, as a wanderer, were computed. In the qualitative analysis, the technique of content analysis, proposed by (Bardin 1977), was used to identify and categorize the units of meaning that qualify the interviewees' speech regarding the subjects and themes addressed. In this article, two categories on aging have been listed, namely: "Problems and challenges for aging in life wandering on the roads" and "The experience of time and the perspective of old age".

## RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS: WANDERERS, WHO ARE THEY AND HOW DO THEY LIVE?

Road walkers are people who live walking along the shoulders of highways, carrying a bag or backpack on their backs in which they pack all their belongings. Usually they take with them a bottle of water, some leftover food, one or another piece of clothing, warm clothing or blanket, a piece of plastic tarpaulin to protect themselves from the rain or to cover the floor to sleep. There are those who use bicycles or a makeshift wheelbarrow to carry their belongings (JUSTO, 2023).

The "carrinheiros" usually carry among their objects some type of stove (gas or alcohol), basic kitchen utensils, groceries, drinking water, clothes and warm clothes, personal hygiene and cleaning products, tools for small repairs, objects that they collect on



the shoulders for sale, such as recyclables and scrap metal, plastic sheeting to cover the floor or improvise a small roof or cover, objects of sentimental value and so many other items that vary, depending on the use or even exchange value they have for each one.

An important distinction to be made among these walkers on the shoulders of the highway concerns their relationships with the cities, with the city environment. Wanderers live day in and day out on the road, inhabit the highways, make them their home, transform their walking or wandering wanderings into a form of existence. They avoid the city environment. They enter the cities only in cases of extreme necessity, such as a serious health problem, severe bad weather, sale of recyclable materials that they collect on the roads, purchase of foodstuffs, repair of their bicycles or wheelbarrows, a sporadic trip to an ATM, depending on each case. They say they do not like the city environment, which they consider refractory to them and dangerous.

The so-called "trecheiros", unlike the wanderers, seek the urban environment, live in constant transit from city to city in which, as a rule, they end up interacting with the homeless people who live in the place. They resort to the help of the municipality's social assistance services for food, clothing, overnight accommodation and, mainly, to obtain bus travel passes to other cities. They also resort to the help of the local population through what they call "achaque" or "mangueio", that is, requests for cash donations. The trecheiros walk along the shoulders of the highways normally when they do not receive travel passes from the social assistance services of the cities or do not get them to the destinations they want. When they are walking on the shoulders of highways, they can easily be confused with walkers.

Among other differences between them, there are those related to the reasons that led them to abandon the sedentary life, starting to live as wanderers, walking on the shoulders, and the meaning they attribute to this way of life. Some abandoned family, job, residence because they felt extremely unfortunate, desolate with the misery in which they lived, with conflicts and family disagreements, according to them, making life unbearable. Others plunged into deep feelings of loss, depression and emptying of the meaning of life in the face of the death of their parents, wife or children with whom they had strong bonds. In these cases, heading for the road, in a leisurely aim, appeared as a way out or escape from intense suffering. There are those who glimpsed on the road and in walking the search for freedom, adventures, the exploration of other places and landscapes and the expansion of life. It is also possible to find, among them, those who imagine themselves to be fulfilling a

mission assigned by some deity or self-imputed by a fatality of life. In some cases, it is a grandiose mission, such as saving humanity from some catastrophe or impending chaos. In others, the mission of wandering the roads seems to predominate as a punishment, as an attempt to repair a guilt for painful debts, but difficult to be apprehended (JUSTO, NASCIMENTO, 2005). Abuse of alcoholic beverages and drugs is also a declared reason for them to start living wandering the highways or, what is more common, wandering from city to city, as in the case of trecheiros (NASCIMENTO & JUSTO 2000; BULL & BERNARDO, 2011)

Some of them see wandering on the roads as a life of penury and suffering that they would like to get rid of, if they had an opportunity, while another part says they are disillusioned with the sedentary life they had previously and seek in wandering the roads, "without threshing floor, or border", the possibility of a better life or, at least, not oppressive as many qualify his previous life (JUSTO, 2023).

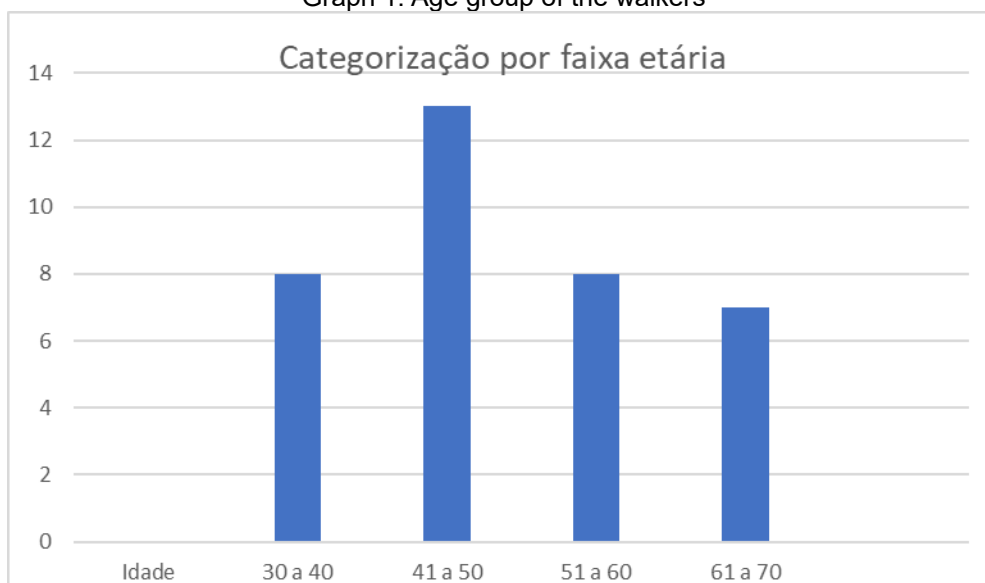
Survival strategies are different, especially among wanderers and trecheiros. The former resort to service stations and restaurants on the highways to get a place to sleep (or sleep in the "bush", as they say, spreading plastic to cover the floor and a blanket to warm themselves), to get water and food, usually donated by restaurants. Throughout these years of research and interviews, wanderers and trecheiros stated that they do not go hungry on the road. Restaurants donate a "lunchbox", however, as long as they do not remain in the premises and continue walking. The "carrinheiros", mainly, get some income from the sale of recyclable materials that they collect on the shoulders. The trecheiros also resort to the help of restaurants installed on the highways, but the main survival strategy comes from the "aches" and "mangueios" in the cities and the help of social assistance from the municipalities. Some do odd jobs in the city and in the countryside.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **PRELIMINARY QUANTITATIVE DATA ON AGE AND LIFE SPAN IN THE STRETCH**



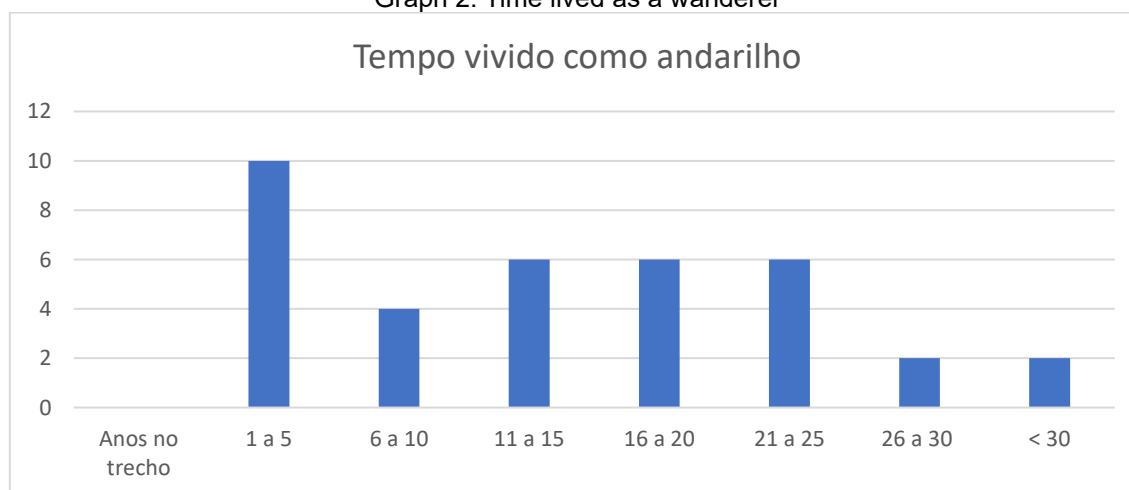
Graph 1: Age group of the walkers



Source: the authors

Regarding the age group, a significant part of the 36 interviewees are between 41 and 50 years old and are aging on the road. Seven wanderers claim to be over 60 years old. The time lived in the stretch ranged from a minimum of one year to a maximum of 48 years. The average time lived in the stretch was approximately 15 years, while the average age was approximately 44 years.

Graph 2: Time lived as a wanderer



Source: the authors

In Scremin's (2022) research, the average age was approximately 40 years, similar to ours (44 years). Another relevant data measured by both surveys refers to the prevalence of age groups. In the study by Scremin (2022), 56% of respondents were in the age group between 31 and 50 years old. In our study, the proportion of this age group was

much higher (80%), with a higher concentration between the ages of 41 and 50 years. Another significant difference is related to the proportions measured among those of more advanced ages. In Scremin's (2022) survey, the proportion of wanderers over 60 years of age was 2%, that is, only one, in a universe of 85 wanderers, while in ours this proportion reached 28% or, in absolute numbers, seven, out of 36.

As for the lifespan in the stretch, there was a significant difference. The study by Scremin (2022) recorded the predominance of those who had been up to 10 years old (54.5%), while ours recorded the predominance of those who had been living for more than 10 years in the stretch (57%). However, it is necessary to consider that both surveys are not fully comparable because they differ in terms of the number of participants interviewed (one had 85, the other had 36) and the region in which they were carried out. One was carried out on the federal highways in the region of Campos Gerais, in the state of Paraná, while the other was carried out on the state highways in the state of São Paulo.

A much broader survey than these two surveys would be necessary to arrive at more precise and conclusive data. However, they are the only two existing surveys in the country that bring quantitative and qualitative data on the way of life of wanderers in their wanderings on the shoulders of highways. They constitute a crucial starting point for the deepening of knowledge and for the opportunity of some public policy, already late, aimed at this population.

## PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES FOR AGING IN LIFE WANDERING ON THE ROADS

The data on the time already lived in the stretch are quite significant and serve as a reference to estimate the growth of the population of wanderers. Similar to what happens with demographic projections, in general, we can conjecture that there will also be an aging of the population of wanderers and trecheiros. First, because, as they categorically state, with the passage of time, in the stretch, the possibility of returning to a sedentary life becomes more distant and unfeasible. The distancing from family members and from some bond with sedentary people deepens until it reaches a total rupture; the creation and mastery of survival strategies on the road are improving; Any prospects of returning to a sedentary lifestyle fade and, what many point out, life on the stretch becomes a kind of "addiction" that is difficult to abandon. Most of those who have been on the road for years say that they do not intend to abandon this way of life, that when they make a stop, for some reason of force majeure, they feel anguished and with an enormous desire to return

to walking and wandering on the roads. One wanderer said, verbatim: "when I stand still for a long time, I feel itchy feet". Another interviewee reported his experience of this rage to walk:

Because I'm almost 50 years old, now I stay in the city for a while, but in the beginning I didn't even stop in the city, I walked, walked. I walked step by step, without hitchhiking, without help, from Bessa beach, from João Pessoa in Paraíba, to Pedro Juan Cavallero, Paraguay, from Ponta Porã, without rest, from Sunday to Sunday, from Monday to Monday, it was where I infected my foot, and there I had an almost generalized infection, paralyzing my left side of my body, where my family had to rescue me and I spent a year without walking. So I can say, literally, that I walked till my foot bled

Walking and living in a wandering way can turn into a compulsion. This type of compulsion has long been diagnosed in psychopathology as "dromomania" or ambulation mania, as can be seen in the Dictionary of Psychology (APA, 2018) and in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders - DSM-5 (APA, 2014).

Another fact that points to the growth of the elderly population among the wanderers is the fact that there is no social assistance or protection policy that could, among other actions, give those who wish to do so, some alternative to get off the road and from wandering life.

Practically all of the 36 interviewees, when asked about aging on the road, stated that it is a very difficult process. According to them, fatigue intensifies with age, the willingness to walk longer decreases considerably, discomforts such as body aches, lack of physical vigor and even courage to face adversity and setbacks begin to appear. Some say that they don't even like to think about it, that they intend to continue on the road "as long as I can" or "as long as God wants", and then they will leave themselves to their own fate. They do not see any alternative for the future, with advancing age.

Close to 50 years of age, the interviewee, whose excerpt from a speech was previously quoted, attributed to this age the decrease in the pace of his walks on the road and the option for a longer stay in the cities where he passed. The living conditions of walkers impose demands on the body that can considerably reduce their resistance to long or constant walks, even more so when the life span on the stretch is significantly accentuated. Exposure to the sun, the lack of minimum health care, the effort to carry their belongings, especially in the case of the carrinheiros and those who hang several reasonably heavy bags on their bodies or those who make long daily journeys pedaling old and precarious bicycles, the food dependent on what is donated to them or, else, prepared

in an improvised way on the edge of the road and so on, it mistreats and overloads the body and can accelerate the pace of aging. Burnt and wrinkled skin, calloused hands, teeth with flaws and cavities, cracked and darkened feet are some of the signs of the action of chronological time on the body of the wanderers, which generated in the researcher, in most of the interviewees, the impression of an age much higher than that declared by them.

Regardless of the time on the stretch and the length of life, it is very likely that at some point the wanderers will have to abandon the wandering life on the road. According to them, categorically, it is not possible to fully age on the road or remain on it until the end of life, except in cases of death by being run over or sudden death due to some untreated health problem. It is unfeasible to live on the road with some dependence, especially motor or with some impairment of locomotion. Any cognitive deficiencies or emotional problems are even avoidable, but those related to motor skills are not.

Those who see some alternative for when they can no longer walk and live as wanderers mention seeking help in social assistance services, in the cities, for hospitalization in an institution for the elderly. There are very few cases of mentions of any possibility of seeking help and support in old age from family members. This means that the demand for help from social assistance, in the support of the old age of wanderers, can be even greater than in the cases of sedentary old age.

The case of a wanderer interviewed who declared to be 69 years old and to have lived on the stretch for 58 years is quite radical regarding the issue of aging on the road. According to him, at approximately nine years of age he would have already started wandering, first living on the street and then he would have definitively left for the road, to live as a wanderer.

According to her account: "my mother gave me to a family. I gave problems to the family, I was very sick and the family didn't raise me, I was very sick, I was going to give them problems, so they put me in an orphanage." After a while at the institution, he ran away from there and lived with "two boys, but it didn't work out and I fell on the stretch". This would all have occurred in Ponta Grossa (PR). According to him, in the beginning "it was not difficult to live on the stretch, because there was a lot of work, I did odd jobs on farms". He also worked as a cardboard collector and then hit the road definitively.

The interviewee says that he would still have six years to live on the road. In his words: "I graduated on the road and grew old on the road". As age advances, the body weakens and it becomes more difficult to walk, to take long walks of 40 or 60 km in a day,

according to him, adding to the speech of other interviewees. He pondered that he can still walk up to 30 km in a single day, if necessary.

According to the interviewee, he does not usually have health problems. She reported that she had a prostate problem that trapped urine. He sought medical attention and received medication. The doctor reportedly said that he should use a probe. But he argued that he could not use a probe. "How am I going to walk around with a bag hanging?" he asked. He lived with difficulties for some time until a friend recommended a home remedy: "tea from a vine called a monkey's ladder". According to him, he would have drank the tea for twenty days and solved the problem. He continues to drink this drink until then and that "acquaintances" buy for him over the internet.

He declared that he receives "elderly aid, from the government". He enters some city, monthly, to withdraw the benefit, but, according to him, it is not enough for food and other basic expenses. He does not see any other alternative life, off the road, collected in some kind of settlement or shelter. He literally said: "no one will welcome". He said that he has no intention of leaving the road and that he intends to continue on it until it is possible or he dies.

Of the twelve interviewees who declared to be over 60 years old, only one said he received a pension and another said he received "government aid" every month. Added to this data is the fact that a great feeling of frustration and social distancing predominates among them, which leads them to ignore the possibility of claiming some type of benefit or aid from government social programs or philanthropic institutions. Some say that they never sought any type of social assistance, while others said that they were not well served or even that they felt mistreated, which ends up producing a neglect and discredit of the wanderers in relation to society and the sedentarized way of life from which they deserted.

## THE EXPERIENCE OF TIME AND THE PERSPECTIVE OF OLD AGE

Concern about aging is quite tenuous among wanderers. None of the 36 interviewees, when asked about the main problems and challenges in the stretch, spontaneously mentioned old age. Even when asked specifically about how they imagined living when they got older, they hesitated in their answers, said they did not think about it, or answered generically by mentioning the possibility of living in an institution for the elderly, but without showing great concern about advancing age and the consequent difficulties in continuing their lives walking on the highways.

Old age does not appear in their speeches as a problem, at least not in the intensity and in the way it happens with sedentary people. In these, there is concern with retirement, with possible illnesses and physical and mental limitations, with the guarantee of care and protection of family members, with a possible widowhood, among many others (VELOZ, NASCIMENTO-SCHULZE, CAMARGO, 1999; DANIEL, ANTUNES, AMARAL, 2015). None of this appears in the speeches of the wanderers. Time or temporalities, so striking of sedentary life, especially those that refer to the future, are not in their life horizons. Just as they are not guided by a place of destination for their journeys, by points of departure and arrival, they also do not pursue a future, a tomorrow glimpsed ahead for their lives or an ideal of life in old age.

The main milestone of old age, for the interviewees, is the walk itself and not a place of arrival or a life desired ahead. The arrival of old age, for them, will be given when they can no longer walk, when the body cannot bear it. From then on, nothing else matters: anything will do. The fear of living in an old people's home, which is part of the imagination of the vast majority of sedentary people, does not affect the wanderers. On the contrary, the prospect of being granted asylum in old age may even be welcome to them.

The experience of chronological time does not have any centrality in the lives of wanderers, unlike what occurs with sedentary people. They are not guided by the chronometry of clocks, by this abstract time, according to Bergson's (2006) conceptions. They move by the time lived, by the sunrise and sunset, by the climatic conditions (cold, heat, drought, rain), by the topography of the roads (slopes, slopes, effort to walk), estimated duration of walks in each section, estimated duration of walking between one service station and another or between cities, by the feeling of thirst or hunger. They are guided, therefore, by real time, by the time lived daily (BERGSON, 2006), which does not result from a mechanical or digital chronometer, from a formal mathematical measurement system that imposes itself on life (time to wake up, to sleep, to work, to eat meals and so on).

For this reason, unlike the sedentary who are guided by a chronometry, derived from the calendar, which establishes the stages of life by the number of years, the wanderers do not estimate the arrival of old age in the number of years the arrival of old age, but when they can no longer walk and this only experience, what has been lived, can tell. The duration of life as a wanderer, for them, cannot be established by the number of years, but



by the duration of the experience, by the time that the walk lasts, as long as the wandering on the roads lasts. For the wanderer, time is made by walking.

## **FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The analysis of the intersectionalities between the aging process and nomadism or wandering opens up a significant field of problematizations about the processes of subjectivation that erupt in today's world governed by kinetic forces that drive human beings to expand their spaces and accelerate their movements in all planes of life: in the affective, cognitive, social, economic, cultural, among others.

The relatively recent phenomenon of incitement to active aging denotes the tendency to time/space compression in which life is led to abandon psychosocial stability and parking, to cross borders of all kinds (geographical, national, cultural, affective, cognitive, identity, among others) and to accelerate as much as possible. The old images of "slow old men locked at home with slippers and pajamas" (CORREA, 2009) are now replaced by healthy and active long-lived people, circulating around the city, traveling around the country and abroad, frequenting shopping malls and becoming functional consumers, among other demonstrations of vitality (ROZENDO, JUSTO, 2011). Paralysis in space and time came to be taken as a sign of finitude, death or de-subjectivation, here understood as de-potentialization or annulment of the subject.

Valuing the speed of life brings with it a concern for time. It is necessary to create more time, break and cross borders, explore and explore spaces. The incessant search for increased longevity, for the expansion and diversification of experiences brings with it the appreciation and concern with time and space. It becomes an imperative of life to live intensely as many experiences as possible, moving from one place to another, wandering through objects, relationships, bonds, cultural and identity references, and so on.

Time ends up being the biggest challenge. There are no insurmountable limits for the exploration of spaces, but for the prolongation of chronological time, yes. Chronos, like the Greeks deified chronological time, continues to exercise his absolute and implacable power. The spectre of death and finitude plague the living in the race against inexhaustible time in a society that does not cease to offer possibilities of pleasure, enjoyment and achievements. A society in which time is continuous, as stated by Deleuze (1992) in which nothing ends or ends and the searches and desires are incessant.

In the universe of wanderers something very different happens. There is no concern with time, above all, in this experience of linear time in which life is apprehended in three successive and irreversible dimensions: past, present and future. For them, the past is something distant, faded from which they also deserted along with the spaces they inhabited in their previous sedentarized life. The links with the past, represented by records of previous social and affective experiences, have faded and are not recognized or evoked with guides for the present. The defection to the stretch is a spatial and temporal rupture. There is a cut in time, space and rhythm previously experienced. There are no more mirages ahead, goals to be achieved, projections of life, that is, they are not guided by a future and hopes for better days.

Time for wanderers is the time lived radically at every moment, in everyday life, in the journeys taken in themselves as the meaning of life and not as a means of guaranteeing some future, as the sedentary do, for example, with the investment of part of their salary, during the entire period of work of a lifetime, in the provision of a retirement. That is why old age does not worry them and they do nothing to ensure anything ahead, that is, they do not accumulate time, they do not spend more time than is necessary at each moment to accumulate whatever it is for the days to come. The figure of overtime work is completely unknown to the wanderer. The indispensable water they carry or some food, warm clothing, clothing and other paraphernalia are those necessary for the day or for a few days. Some even get rid of personal documents because they consider them unnecessary and difficult to preserve in the conditions in which they live.

Strictly speaking, it can be said that aging does not exist for wanderers, as an experience of real time, of lived time, or at least it is a very different experience from that predominant in sedentary people. There is no concern for the future, a concern with changes, difficulties and problems that may occur with advancing age. Therefore, even unlike sedentary patients, they do not resort to any prophylactic or preventive measure aimed at reducing any damage that may arise with aging.

In a way, the way in which wanderers live with the specter of aging, without fearing it or even worrying about it, exposes the excess of concern and the consequent extreme measures that people in general use, such as excessive consumption of medications, aesthetic treatments, food control, physical exercise, among others, such as compulsive-obsessive search, to avoid or delay the aging process.

The intersectionality between nomadism or wandering and aging allows us to know another experience of aging and also to deepen the knowledge of those lived in the sedentarization processes currently stressed by the kinetic forces of the contemporary world. It allows us to open another front in the studies of aging and finitude, taking psychosocial mobilities as the focus.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

We would like to thank the São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP) for the financial support granted to carry out this study.

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