The in/visibility of homeless people at Termini railway station in Rome

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Abstract

This thesis addresses a research problem exploring how homeless people seem to move between states of being made to be, and making themselves, visible and invisible in and around Termini railway station in Rome. This is set to the backdrop of exclusionary urbanism in the Italian capital. The thesis makes a number of contributions. It advances the notion of in/visibility, a conjoined term exploring simultaneous modes of being seen and unseen. It also advances the concept of micro-visual encounters, by focusing on fleeting moments of everyday life in a railway station. The data results from a novel suite of mixed-methods: ethnographic fieldnotes from Termini station, the online film archive of TerminiTV and the street newspaper *Shaker*, written by homeless people in Rome and people who work with them. These methods aim to capture the complex and multi-dimensional nature of a place like Termini station whilst foregrounding the lived experiences of homeless people, many of whom are migrants. The relationship between visibility and invisibility in and around Termini is found to be complex. Homeless people are observed to be ignored when in plain sight, yet they are also rendered hypervisible due to their everyday behaviour that is deemed to be 'against' the norms of the city. Despite this, homeless people are able to address their own visibility through the films of TerminiTV and writing in *Shaker*. The thesis finds that as a result of micro-visual encounters, external processes like 'il decoro urbano', as well as their own actions and choice, homeless people in Termini may be subjected to a state of perpetual yet ambivalent in/visibility. While Rome is a unique case, this research addresses important issues experienced by some of the most marginalised people living in European cities and has wide-ranging dissemination and impact possibilities.

Title

Full title of thesis: *The in/visibility of homeless people at Termini railway station in Rome*

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Declaration

I, the author, confirm that the Thesis is my own work. I am aware of the University's Guidance on the Use of Unfair Means (www.sheffield.ac.uk/ssid/unfair-means). This work has not been previously presented for an award at this, or any other, university.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introducing the research problem

For many marginalised groups in urban society, like homeless people and many migrant groups, railway stations are important places. There, these people form shadowy presences and are (to borrow a term from the novelist and urbanist China Miéville) 'unseen' by members of the host society. This project attempts to offer a critical investigation into how homeless people in Rome navigate their lives within an essential urban space: Termini railway station. Aiming to bring these homeless people into the field of view, this project presents an examination into the various logics of visibility that shape their lives. In turn, it also explores how they view or contest their own visibility. The project addresses important social questions that affect everyday life in cities. Rome is the empirical focus of the study and exhibits characteristics that make it a case study of intrinsic interest, for example its existing homelessness problems, rundown urban infrastructure, and the rise of an increasingly nationalistic and anti-immigrant Italian government. Despite this, conditions are comparable to other major European cities and their stations, for instance Paris, Brussels, or Berlin. In many of these cities, public transit places are sites of competing commercial interests and urban development alongside prevalent marginality. In addition, urban governance responding to the Covid-19 pandemic has also had major effects on the use and management of railway infrastructure and public transport sites throughout Europe. Therefore the research is well-situated in a body of research looking at Europe's cities as an interconnected network of displaced bodies, lives and informal politics. Rome is a city with a considerable existing homeless community (in reality, a complex makeup of different groups including white Italians, Roma, and more). This is accompanied by general changes to the land-use and character of public space in cities whereby railway stations like Termini increasingly resemble commercial, shopping mall-like spaces with high police presence and controlled access, as well as an increasing demarcation of who is welcome and who is *not* – perhaps symbolic of societal changes as a whole.

The key contribution of this thesis is an in-depth examination of the visibility experiences of some of Rome's most marginalised communities. Through this I explore how visibility and invisibility intersect and overlap, and also how homeless people can be subjected to visibility and invisibility. Additionally homeless people are found to be able to contest and use visibility and invisibility to their advantage, although this has limits. In order to reach my conclusions, my general methodological approach is qualitative and creative, building on ethnographic research methods. A multi-method suite involving an ethnographic diary, films, creative writing and a number of visual sources has been

chosen to address the research questions and aims but also to explore the complexity of Termini station and the everyday experiences of homeless people there. This thesis is focussed on a specific location in Termini station in Rome yet casts a wide net in its contribution to several key debates in geography and beyond. Firstly, I engage with visibility and visual culture in cities, particularly looking at visual encounters between homeless people and multiple groups in Rome. The thesis also fits within a wider body of research on homelessness and marginality in cities as well as an intersection with spaces of migration throughout Europe. Set in and around Termini station, the research connects to work on railway stations and public transit sites as areas of significance in everyday urban research. Much of this work focuses on a number of themes: urban encounters and sociality, urban development and governance, as well as competing and changing interests in public space in cities. The focus on homelessness in cities intersects with research on both materiality and mobility, whilst a methodological interest in filmmaking and creative writing advances interdisciplinary research practices.

1.2. Research aims and questions

1.2.1. Research aims

My three research aims provide purpose for the study. Research Aim 1 is conceptual, focussing on everyday visibility and invisibility as experienced and communicated by homeless people in Termini, which is the main empirical focus of my research. I came to this central research aim due to my observation that homeless people can appear to occupy paradoxical states of visibility in places associated with marginality like urban railway stations, sites already loaded with powerful visuality. This aim should help to expand debates on urban marginality and invisibility into a more nuanced and ambivalent direction, foregrounding the experiences and choices of homeless people as well as others (including myself) who see them. Aim 2 speaks to the conceptual significance of visual encounters, but also the practical contributions of the thesis. In my thesis I ask, how do locally-specific, fleeting, and everyday urban experiences matter? How do they open up visual encounters in the station and what is the significance of these encounters? I also intend to explore how to best capture and understand these everyday encounters. Leading on from this, Aim 3 speaks to methodological innovation and my desire to design and implement a methodological suite that is effective and robust yet interdisciplinary and at times artistic. This is not about creativity for its own sake. The methods are specifically designed to address the central aim on visibility and invisibility as well as my research questions that deepen inquiry. I aim to capture the stories and experiences that are traditionally ignored or missed-out in academic research on homelessness. They also reflect homeless people's creative practices and a research process that was influenced by challenges related to Covid-19 that necessitated creativity and adaptation.

- Aim 1: To explore the visibility and invisibility of homeless people in urban public space, using the case study of Termini railway station.
- Aim 2: To highlight the significance of everyday visual encounters of and with homeless people, in conceptual and practical terms using the case study of Termini railway station.
- Aim 3: To make a methodological contribution with a combination of creative research methods that foregrounds ethical engagement with homeless people.

1.2.2. Research questions

My four research questions form specific avenues of inquiry that I will focus on throughout the thesis, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly. They all combine to address my research aims and help guide what data I collect, analyse, and present. I have attempted to create a set of questions that capture a variety of different perspectives in Termini: homeless people, those who work with them, various urban actors like police, security and commercial bodies, as well as me - the researcher. My research questions also open up space for nuance and ambivalence in conversations about visibility - there may be advantages and disadvantages but there appears to be 'grey areas' that this research project aims to explore. The research questions do not seek to 'solve' homelessness. Instead they foreground a reconceptualisation of homelessness itself, not as an exception or an aberration, but instead aiming to deepen inquiry into everyday life. The research questions present a tension between homeless people being subjected to external mechanisms and the actions of others and the choices they make themselves.

- RQ1) How do homeless people use and interact with Termini station?
- RQ2) How do other people using the station interact and see homeless people in and around Termini?
- RQ3) What external mechanisms exclude and in/visibilise homeless people in and around Termini?
- RQ4) Do homeless people contest their own in/visibility? If so, how and why?

1.3. What is the contribution of the thesis?

At this stage I identify several main contributions that my thesis will make. The first is advancing the conjoined, simultaneous and paradoxical concept of in/visibility (to be defined and explored in Chapter 3 onwards in more detail). Homeless people will be shown to be simultaneously seen and unseen, both hidden in plain sight and highly visible when carrying out everyday behaviours on the street. Relatedly, I will coin the concept of micro-visual encounters which I put to work throughout

this thesis. This relates to small and mundane acts of seeing and unseeing between different people in cities which add up to something of greater significance, like microaggressions. This thesis provides a relatively unfamiliar yet prescient urban condition to critically explore: 'Il decoro urbano', an Italian urban-legal concept that affects socio-cultural life in cities. Il decoro urbano moves past existing debates on gentrification, by linking the governance of décor (aesthetics) and decorum (behaviour). This is a condition of the fieldsite which provides a valuable case study for the exploration of issues related to how homeless people are subjected to exclusionary modes of urban governance and how they can contest these. Il decoro urbano also intersects with management of Covid-19, which caused significant changes to urban life everywhere.

Another contribution this thesis will make is advancing the question of Michele Lancione (2013): 'How is homelessness?'. This question challenges normative representations of homelessness that frame it as 'against' the norms of social and civil life in cities. Instead, my research situates itself within a body of work on alternative urbanisms that foreground everyday experience of homeless people themselves. Moreover, throughout I will employ an intersectional and nuanced approach to homelessness, not seeking to define it narrowly but rather to reflect the messy and unclear boundaries between different marginalised groups in Rome. This is a reconceptualisation of the relationship between migration, homelessness and urban space.

In order to meet these research objectives of an impactful and contributory study, I make methodological contributions. This project comes out of an interdisciplinary and creative data collection process. This includes sketches of my field sites and everyday iterations of homelessness in Rome (see example field sketch Figure 1.1. of two homeless men nearby to Termini), but also the use of film and creative writing as a valuable data source. This is part of an ethically-led research project that centres the experiences and stories of homeless people living in and around Termini station.

1.4. Outlining the structure of the thesis

After my introduction, 'Chapter 2: Research context' will present the research setting and background to the thesis which is necessary for the reader. I will briefly discuss the city of Rome, the Italian state and Termini railway station and the city and station's relationship with migration, marginality and how these debates have been framed in a national and urban context. This chapter will justify the choice of Rome and Termini station. Following this, 'Chapter 3: Literature Review' is one of the lengthier sections of the thesis. The literature review will establish the key theoretical ideas and concepts that I will utilise throughout the thesis. In addition, the literature review will identify gaps in the literature that connect to the key contributions to social science and the humanities, based around

a number of key thematic discussion points that demonstrate the linkages and overlaps between disparate areas of academic inquiry:

- What is homelessness and how is it defined?
- How might homelessness and other forms of urban marginality be understood through the lens of everyday encounters?
- Why are *visual* encounters important in urban research?
- How are homelessness and other forms of difference visually encountered in cities?
- How are geographies of (im)mobility significant within everyday urban space?
- How do geographies of (im)mobility become central to the narrative of visibility, invisibility and homelessness?

While the three discussion points are separate, they interconnect in significant ways, developing a central conceptual approach to the in/visibility of homeless people in Termini and the wider city.

In 'Chapter 4: Methodology' I will first outline my field location – with maps and visuals of Termini station. I will then expand on three data sources on which I have chosen to focus:

- Ethnographic research diary, including sketches and photography
- The films of TerminiTV
- Street newspaper *Shaker*

After introducing and justifying the methods, I will explore their analysis and how I extract data and use it. I will also describe my translation methods and how these will occur in the thesis and their significance. I will outline the effect of Covid-19 on the methodology and how my plans were changed and how I adapted with a new research plan. This chapter will outline the ethical debate central to my thesis as well as exploring my positionality within the study – particularly as an English speaking, white student doing research with marginalised people, many of whom are migrants.

'Chapter 5: Micro-visual encounters with homelessness' is my first data analysis and discussion chapter and explores the visual encounter. I will focus on the multiple ways that homeless people are 'looked at' in Termini station and the embodied ways of seeing and unseeing and the effects that these have on everyday experience. This includes advancing the innovative concept of the micro-visual encounter, small visual processes that seem ephemeral but may carry wider significance. Moreover observing (micro-)visual encounters from my ethnographic fieldwork and the films of TerminiTV, I establish that in/visibility is a conjoined process that involves simultaneous and overlapping visibilisation and invisibilisation. The second data analysis and discussion chapter 'Chapter 6: Il decoro urbano and in/visibility in the built environment' shifts focus onto the built environment and how homeless migrants are in/visibilised by ongoing urban processes. This includes il decoro urbano, an Italian legal concept and discourse connected to urban décor and behaviour in public space.

Combining my ethnographic diary with selected films from TerminiTV, I will theorise homelessness as going against the norms of decoro, including the representation of homeless people as 'waste' and the racialisation of Termini's urban redevelopment. Also discussed are the relationship between Covid-19 and il decoro urbano and how the pandemic may have accelerated in/visibilising processes. My third and final data analysis and discussion chapter 'Chapter 7: How homeless people represent their own in/visibility' will focus on what homeless migrants do, rather than what is being done to them. It will focus on 'viability' and ways that homeless migrants can self-visibilise (or invisibilise). I will use my ethnographic diary interspersed with extracts from *Shaker* magazine, specifically a poetry cluster and a humorous '*Manual to Homelessness'*. These texts are expressions of everyday life and might provide a different set of representations of homeless experiences coming from homeless people themselves. I will write about affective experiences of homelessness, for instance navigating shame and fear as part of everyday life and the importance of humour and alcohol consumption in conversations about marginality at Termini.

Finally, Chapter 8: Conclusion will form a discussion around the addressing of research aims and questions, limitations of the study and the key contributions to knowledge it makes. I will identify unanswered questions and will present a plan for future research.

Figure 1.1. Sketch of men drinking and washing at a water fountain, Dogali obelisk. 2nd March 2022.

Chapter 2: Research context

> [I'm] down in the bowels of Termini. There are a few homeless people loitering, standing, chatting. The seating around the escalator into the main station has been cordoned off and the toilets are closed. Where do people go except stand around? I look at them but don't want to stare, as the buzz of lunchtime in Rome rushes past them…
>
> Diary extract. 1st March 2022, 13:00. Lower floor, Termini station.

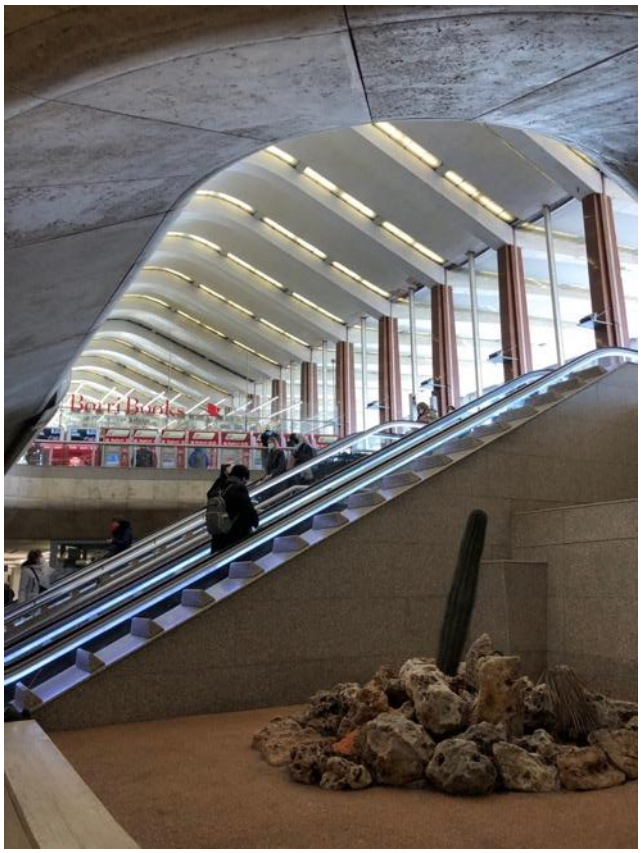

Figure 2.1. Photograph looking up into Termini, from the station's lower level. Author's own. 6th March 2022.

2.1. Introduction

This ethnographic diary entry refers to a moment of visual encounter I experienced while spending time in Termini station. Further detailed in Chapter 4: Methodology, I would spend extended periods in the station, spending time with people, but also sitting/walking round and observing. Figure 2.1. shows a viewpoint from where I stood at the time, facing away from the underground shops, looking up into the brightly lit ticket hall above. Termini's iconic modernist architecture swoops over the photograph, framing the busy layers of the station below. In a nook, next to the escalator steps, a pile of rocks, a cactus and a bed of sand provides a strange scene reminiscent of a desert garden. Termini

is a strange place, sometimes contradictory and full of layers and meaning – as this thesis will explore.

2.1.1. Introducing Termini station

Roma Termini, alternatively Stazione Termini or just Termini station, is vast and has several different spaces for numerous things. The station is not just for trains. Like other modern railway stations, it fulfils a societal and civic purpose as a central node for many different people (Richards & Mackenzie, 1986). This includes commuters, workers, tourists, shoppers, diners, and also many homeless people.

Termini is a natural setting for a research project on visibility and visual processes. It features striking architecture, reflective glass, lights, flashing adverts on billboards, moving clocks, corporate logos, food and drink, fashion, colours abound. There are stark contrasts between bright lights and shadowy corners that shift and change as urban development constantly makes and remakes the station.

2.1.2. Termini is the 'vestibule' of Rome

Historians Weststeijn and Whitling call Termini the 'vestibule' of Rome (2017, p. 12). With around half a million people passing through the station daily, this seems apt. But it is also a reference point for much of Rome – and Italy's – modern and social political history. Termini is also a cultural icon, featuring in scores of Italians TV shows and films, books and songs (Brioni, 2017). Due to its behemoth status on the Roman urban landscape, the film-makers of TerminiTV call it 'Mamma Termini' or the 'Rail Whale' (Termini TV, 2018) – an entity that is all-consuming, but also protective and separate from the city. The station, while appearing to be a public space, is owned by *Rete Ferroviaria Italiana* and operated by *Grandi Stazioni S.p.A.* It is a privately-owned space that has its own rules, somewhat separate from the city surrounding it.

Termini has been central to many of the urban transformations that Rome has experienced. Following the Risorgimento, and the ascension of Rome as the capital of the Italian Republic, the original station 'Termini I' was completed in 1874 facing the Roman Baths creating the Piazza Termini (now Piazza dei Cinquecento). In 1937, the fascist government decided to replace the old station with a new building to reflect Rome's status as a global capital.

According to Parissien, since its grand unveiling as a modernist architectural project in 1950, Termini is more renowned as the location of sex work and thieves than for its pioneering architecture (Parissien, 1997, p. 208). Termini was central to one of Rome's 'most notorious stories': the murder of film-maker Pier Paolo Pasolini (Brioni, 2017, p. 448). In the 1980s, as the number of immigrants in the historic district of Esquilino began to rise, Termini became an important centre within the capital

of Italy. Only in 1990s came plans to renovate Termini for a celebration of 'Jubilee 200', the largest celebration in the history of the Catholic Church (Brioni, 2017).

In the 21st Century Termini is the largest (at 225,000m^2) and the busiest of the Italian stations with about 480,000 visitors per day and over 150 million riders per year. There are 850 trains a day arriving and departing at Termini, in addition to the busy metro line, and bus and taxi services that depart from Piazza dei Cinquecento (Grandi Stazione, 2017). The main station building is normally closed only between 01:00 – 04:00. The first train leaves at 05:35 and the last at 22:30. The Metro runs even later. Termini is vital cog in the flow of Rome, yet simultaneously remains an important place for marginalised people.

2.1.3. Termini as space of marginality

bell hooks's identifies the margins as a 'space of radical openness. a profound edge' (hooks, 1990, p. 149). According to a report by Centro Studi e Ricerche IDOS, Termini has been a reference point for marginality in Rome for decades (IDOS, 2021). Many of these people are homeless and many of them are migrants. Charities that work with homeless people like Caritas Italiana and Binario95 both have offices and day reception centres at the back of the Termini building on Via Marsala, for example (see Chapter 6: Methodology for research maps). Carminucci (2011) writes that these homeless support services in major European railway stations like Termini are a largely neglected area of service provision.

Brioni (2017, p. 446) refers to Termini as a 'heterotopia'. A concept developed from Foucault, this speaks to the idea of Rome (and the station) being a place of multiple representations and realities. Brioni writes that two coexisting (and paradoxical) images of Termini exist in the main: the gentrified 'non-space' where immigrants are marginalised, and the space of socialization for immigrants (2017, p. 451). Stations and the areas around them might often be referred to as 'dodgy' or unsavoury for a number of reasons – perhaps as a zone of contact with difference and alterity. On the other hand, modern urban development (like in Berlin for the 2006 FIFA World Cup, or London for the 2012 Olympics for example) has concentrated large-scale development and regeneration around the anchor of a new railway station or upgraded rail facilities (Deutsche Welle, 2006; TfL, 2013).

Like many urban railway stations Termini is of interest because of the ways that its 'atmosphere' (Löfgren, 2015), its logics and processes seep through and beyond its official boundaries into surrounding spaces like the underpass, the nearby Dogali monument, or the Esquilino neighbourhood.

2.1.4. Termini casts a long shadow over Esquilino

Giovanni Attili states that Termini cannot be separated from Esquilino, the historic neighbourhood in which it is located (Attili, 2008, pp. 139-140). Its name, 'Esquilino comes from the Latin expression ex-colere', indicating the neighbourhood's location at the edge of the city centre (Brioni, 2017, p. 453).

The Esquilino neighbourhood is zone 1E of the first *Municipio*, in terms of Rome's geography and it is often represented as an ethnic enclave (Banini, 2021). Migrants as a percentage of Esquilino's population could be more than 30% (Banini, 2021; Cervelli, 2014). Studies have explored the use of space by immigrant groups in Rome, particularly Chinese and Bangladeshi, as well as Romanian, Albanian and Roma (Cervelli, 2014; Banini, 2021). The area's association with migration has affected the way Esquilino is seen and represented (Garofalo, 2019). A media analysis of Italian newspaper articles about Esquilino between 2005 and 2015 concludes that 48% of the articles are about crime and illegality – mostly relating to non-Italians. About 10% of the articles focus on degradation and dirt. 20% focus on artistic and cultural events, whilst active citizenship initiatives amount to 10% (Banini, 2021, pp. 28-29). The neighbourhood is often called 'Chinatown' (for the presence of Chinese shopkeepers) or 'souk' (to highlight a sense of urban chaos) (Banini, 2021, p. 29). Gypsies and Chinese are often groups associated with disorder (Clough Marinaro & Solimene, 2020). Despite this, the neighbourhood is also characterised by collectivity, 'where social and cultural differences add value' and 'generate support for the most disadvantaged groups' (Banini, 2021, p. 34). The association between othered and marginalised people (like homeless people and migrants), their associated behaviour, and culturally specific notions of waste and dirt will be explored later in this thesis.

Figure 2.2. Sketch of Piazza dei Cinquecento, with Termini station visible beyond the trees. There is a rental scooter and a man walking in the foreground. In this image, I attempted to capture the sense that Termini looms large over the city whilst it is a hub for mobility. 1st March 2022.

2.2. Homelessness in Rome

Rome is a city with a considerable existing homeless community (in reality a complex makeup of different groups including white Italians, Roma, and international migrants, as a result of a number of factors including high land-rent costs, long-term effects of the post-2011 European debt crisis and general housing precarity (Clough Marinaro & Thomassen, 2014). There is no official count of homeless people according to FEANTSA, the European political network focusing on homelessness. Homeless people therefore experience invisibility (FEANTSA, 2017). In 2014, 7,709 homeless people were estimated in Rome by FEANTSA.

According to the Ethos framework (European Typology of Housing Exclusion and Homelessness), the Italian survey identifies 'homeless people' as people living rough, people in emergency accommodation (night shelters), people in accommodation for homeless people, homeless hostels, temporary accommodation, transitional supported accommodation, and people in women's shelter accommodation. All others are excluded from the Italian survey (FEANTSA, 2018). There is a gendered element to homelessness statistics collected in Italy, although this of course raises questions about the typologies and gendered access to care. 86% of homeless people were male and 14% female (Istat, 2015). Meanwhile based on a Caritas report, homeless people visiting Caritas services in Italy are 70% male and 30% female (Caritas Italiana, 2018). FEANTSA have explored reasons for homelessness in Italy, with general observations that affordable housing is impossible for many to access. FEANTSA also observes that the legal situation of irregular migrants worsens this problem (FEANTSA, 2017).

2.2.1. Homelessness in Rome was aggravated by the Covid-19 pandemic

Global research on homelessness and Covid reveals the general effect of the pandemic (Parsell et al., 2023; Tsai & Wilson, 2020). Alberto Barbieri of Medici Per I Diritti Umani (MEDU) issued a statement on the risk of Covid to homeless people throughout Italy (Barbieri, 2020). The advent of Covid-19 resulted in more homeless people sleeping on the streets in Rome, subject to harsh weather (Povoledo, 2021) whereas Catholic NGO Caritas announced that Covid had a disproportionate effect on immigrants and homeless people (ANSA, 2021).

Various articles from Italian journalists and media outlets revealed the extent of the impact of Covid-19. Capacity at overnight shelters dropped from 2020, with challenges like distances between beds and parishes not offering reception to homeless people. Covid also caused the (temporary) closure of bars and restaurants, which impacted the food and drink many people were able to access (Povoledo, 2021). Writing for *Redattore Sociale*, Eleonora Camilli observed that during the pandemic volunteers

were unable to distribute food to people inside Termini. Station authorities wet the entrance, preventing people from sleeping there with the goal of keeping homeless or poor consumers away (Camilli, 2022). Controversial new rules in the station stopped volunteers being allowed to offer food inside the station whilst reports in *Repubblica* claimed that soldiers had surrounded and removed a homeless person who was eating in the station (Il Post, 2022).

2.2.2. Homelessness in Rome can be extremely dangerous

As well as Covid, the weather can be a serious danger to homeless people in Rome. Various news outlets have reported several weather-related deaths, although background issues might be more complex. In January 2021, a 46 year old Nigerian named Edwin, died from exposure to cold in Rome (Giuffrida, 2021), whilst the body of a 48 year old Bengali man in Ostia, was also found having died of hypothermia (Palma, 2021). Similarly, In December 2021, Fode Dahaba, a 27 year old from Guinea Bissau was found dead in Piazza dei Cinquecento near Termini station, having died from cold (Cifelli, 2021). In January 2022, the body of a 52 year old Romanian man was found by the Carabinieri under an overpass. He died of hypothermia. This was the fourth death due to suspected hypothermia of a homeless person in Italy since the start of 2022 (Il Fatto Quotidiano, 2022).

2.3. Rome is an arrival city

Rome is an *arrival city*, to borrow the term from Doug Saunders (2010). For one, it is famously a city of tourists. In 2023, Rome hosted 4.9 million international tourists in tourist accommodation, with the largest inbound tourist group coming from the United States (Statista, 2023). However, Rome is also home to thousands of migrants.

As of 2021, the top five countries' citizenship held by foreign nationals in Rome are Romania (154,326), Philippines (40,259), Bangladesh (36,839), China (36,839 and Ukraine (20,490) (Istat, 2021). These are 'regular' migrants. Beyond this, migrants in Rome represent a complex mixture of irregular and regular migrants from throughout the world, although the boundaries between regular and irregular migration are not clear. However it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of migrants living in Rome who are also homeless. There is considerable resultant intersectionality within the population of homeless people (also with other groups, such as Roma or white European and Italian homeless people).

Identifying the migrants in Termini as one homogenous group is impossible, but intersectionality is a theoretical framework for identifying how an individual or group's social-cultural-political identities may combine and intersect to engender unique patterns of discrimination (Crenshaw 1989). For this

study, focusing on the diverse group of (mostly) migrants who inhabit or live in and around Termini and Rome's railway stations, the definition 'migrant' is too broad a term to properly identify or understand them. Another important distinction is that 'migrant' can refer to internal or international migrants, whereby in many different examples, migratory routes can occur within one single country (or customs area like the EU). Hawkers of goods and shop assistants might be described as 'migrants', as can many of the commuters passing through the station to work in education, government or finance.

2.3.1. Defining irregular migration

Irregular migrants, or 'migranti irregolari' in Italian might be a more appropriate focus, referring to migrants who are non-EU nationals who have entered Europe 'without permission or who have breached their conditions of entry or stay' (Spencer & Delvino, 2019, p. 27). I use 'irregular' as a framing for migration as a conscious choice and in preference to 'undocumented' or even, 'illegal'. Many migrants will have documents, besides 'irregular more clearly embraces a range of differing immigration status' (Spencer & Delvino, 2019, pp. 27-28) whilst complicating the boundaries of citizenship (McNevin, 2011). UNHCR prefers 'irregular' to framings of migrants. 'Illegal' can be legally incorrect, misleading, dehumanising, and discriminatory (among other effects) (UNHCR, 2018). Many of the migrants who live in Termini might be defined by the terminology in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Key migration terminology

Refugee	**Asylum Seeker**	**Irregular migrant**	**Homeless migrant**
'Someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion'. (UNHCR, 1951)	'An asylum-seeker is someone whose request for sanctuary has yet to be processed. Every year, around one million people seek asylum'. (UNHCR, 2019)	No universally accepted definition. International Organization for Migration defines irregular migration as: 'Movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving country'. (IOM, 2011)	A diverse group of migrants (although likely to be – and most often described as - refugees) without a home. Home can be considered here to exist on a number of different scales.

With Italy described as Europe's 'migrant bottleneck' (Einashe, 2015), numbers of 'sea arrivals' since 2014 - migrants crossing the Mediterranean reaching Italy - have been notably high. Italy has been considered a concentrated part of Europe's 'migrant crisis', a term referring a surge in numbers of migrants arriving at the EU's Mediterranean fringe (Kirkwood, 2017). The framing of these events as a 'crisis' in migration/refugee arrivals is contested and has been problematised by a number of

commentators (Maestri & Hughes, 2017; De Genova, 2018; Dobos, 2023; Verleyen & Beckers, 2023). De Haas claims that irregular migration from Africa to Europe is nothing new (de Haas, 2007).

These journeys are extremely dangerous with frequent reports of migrant deaths from those crossing the Mediterranean (Reuters, 2022; Statista, 2023) While some have argued that the dangers of the journey have contributed to the normalisation of migrant deaths (Yohannes, 2023), others have explored how potential risk may be framed as a deterrent (Gordon & Larsen, 2022). The high-risk has been framed as a means of criminalising migration (Marin & Spena, 2016), something with huge Human Rights implications (Commissioner for Human Rights, 2010), rather than prioritising the provision of safe routes for people (MSF, 2023). Migrants who arrive are given some assistance in the first few months after arrival, but then little more after receiving coveted refugee status (Povoledo, 2017). With figures calculated by UNHCR, Table 2.2. shows the scale of sea arrivals in Italy in recent years:

Table 2.2. Number of migrants and refugees arriving at sea in Italy per year (UNHCR, 2023; 2018)

2022	105,131
2021	67,477
2020	34,154
2019	11,083
2018	23,370
2017	119,369
2016	181,436
2015	153,842
2014	170,100

Table 2.3. Top 5 countries of origin of sea arrivals in Italy (UNHCR, 2023; 2022; 2021; 2020; 2019; 2018; 2017)

2022	2021	2020	2019	2018	2017	2016
Egypt	Tunisia	Tunisia	Tunisia	Tunisia	Nigeria	Nigeria
Tunisia	Egypt	Bangladesh	Pakistan	Eritrea	Guinea	Eritrea
Bangladesh	Iran	Côte d'Ivoire	Côte d'Ivoire	Iraq	Côte d'Ivoire	Guinea
Syria	Côte d'Ivoire	Algeria	Algeria	Sudan	Bangladesh	Côte d'Ivoire
Afghanistan	Iraq	Pakistan	Iraq	Pakistan	Mali	The Gambia

It might be assumed that the nationalities of homeless migrants at Termini are similar to the national arrival figures (Table 2.3.). There is no provision for accommodation (even temporary - as originally

intended by EU policy makers) in Rome, where many are pushed back to after attempting to cross into a different EU state due to the Dublin Protocol (Tazzioli, 2020), whilst most have inadequate documentation to access housing, employment or education. Therefore, urban sites like Termini, wide-open, public spaces (Löfgren, 2015) with a cultural role as sites of alterity and marginality (Brioni, 2017) become associated with large groups of homeless migrants (MEDU & UNHCR, 2022).

Rome's status as an 'arrival city' has not been unchallenged. Herzfeld (2014) has observed the extreme localism that generally characterises the Italian nation state. The downturn in migration numbers between 2018-2019 can be broadly attributed to an increasingly hard-line stance on migration attributed to the previous Italian government, a populist-nationalist coalition government formed by the right-wing *Lega* and anti-establishment *5Star Movement*. Under the coalition, the Salvini Decree (after former Interior Minister and right-wing figurehead Matteo Salvini) illegalised asylum seekers and made it easier to deport migrants (Strazzari & Grandi, 2019). Clough Marinaro (2014) notes a longstanding pattern of the Italian government violating various national and international human rights laws.

Studies have also focused on the blossoming of fringe far-right groups in Rome (with neo-fascist organisation CasaPound's headquarters literally in the shadow of Termini station), profiting from nationalist discourse that targets immigration (Bialasiewicz & Stallone, 2019; Mudu, 2014). Based in poorer neighbourhoods with large migrant populations, these right-wing groups have popularised the sentiment that the Italian state should care for white Italians before it takes care of others (Bialasiewicz & Stallone, 2019). This has been compounded in recent years as, whilst small-scale and fleeting settlements of informal migrant groups have appeared and disappeared across Rome, Termini as a central site of importance for migrant groups has remained a constant since 2015. With nowhere to else to go (and the options of leaving Italy either materially impossible or blocked by restrictive EU migration laws (Bialasiewicz & Maessen, 2018; Tazzioli, 2020; Pallister-Wilkins, 2022)), establishing a presence at Termini becomes one of the only options. This thesis aims to illuminate this crucial site, as well as those who inhabit it.

2.3.2. Homelessness and migration overlap significantly at Termini

This thesis is not 'about' migrants but it is important to establish the nuanced relationship with migration and homelessness in the case of Termini. Looking at the Caritas Report (2017), users of Caritas services are Italian (12%) and Foreigners (88%) (Caritas Italiana, 2017). The Osservatorio Cittadino sulle Marginalità Sociali (City Observatory on Social Marginalities) in 2019 counted as many as 21,000 people using services for migrants as well as those for homeless people (Lelo at al., 2020). According to NGO Medici Senza Frontiere (MSF) there are more than 1000 migrants (possibly as many as 3000) in informal settlements in Rome, whilst 45% in Italy are without access to water or

electricity (MSF, 2018, p. 36). At Termini there are an estimated number of between 50 and 100 at a time although the number may be far greater. No women or children are mentioned in the report (MSF, 2018, p. 36). Similarly, in a joint report by Medici Per I Diritti Umani (MEDU) and UNHCR (2022) it is estimated that every day there are between 150 and 200 homeless people in and around the station, including a high proportion of migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers with international protection. In the evening, these people set up their beds of cardboard boxes and blankets along the pavements of Via Marsala, Via Giolitti and Piazza dei Cinquecento, the streets leading to the railway station. Small settlements and makeshift shelters also spring up sporadically around Termini (MEDU & UNHCR, 2022). The study is revealing about the identities of the homeless people living at the station. At the time of study 90% were men and 10% women whereas more than half of the persons assisted were between 30 and 50 years old (55%), 24% were over 50 years old, while 19% were between 18 and 30 years old, 1% were under 18 or did not declare their age.

The population encountered by the MEDU team in 2021 was characterised by diversity in geographical origin but also in legal status and problems encountered. In relation to the geographical areas of origin, almost a third of the population came from Sub-Saharan African countries (West and East), 28% from North Africa, 13% from the Middle East and Asia, 27% from European countries (including Italy) and the remaining 4% from various other countries (MEDU & UNHCR, 2022). With regard to legal status, 39% of the assisted persons did not have any residence permit, 8% were holders of refugee status and 2% held residence permits as asylum seekers. Many of these people were appealing the refusal of international protection while others had various health vulnerabilities including illness, addiction and psychological distress, for a variety of reasons (MEDU & UNHCR, 2022).

2.4. Summary

Here, I have introduced the multi-faceted space Termini station, its historical and contemporary role as a site of marginality and migration, as well as its relationship to Esquilino and the wider city. I have also attempted to unite the complex worlds of homelessness and migration that overlap and coexist in Termini, particularly by outlining irregular migration and exploring the statistical data that explains where many of the migrants have come from. These themes will be revisited critically within the Literature Review, particularly in their relationship with variegated experiences of visibility and invisibility, as I build my conceptual approach.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will build on the empirical context for the study in Chapter 2. The literature review will establish the key theoretical ideas and concepts that I will utilise throughout the thesis. Beyond identifying gaps in the literature that connect to the novelty of my thesis the chapter unites disparate literatures, demonstrating that they can be interlinked, rather than existing as separate fields. The review revolves around a series of discussion points, which develop my conceptual framing:

- What is homelessness and how is it defined?
- How might homelessness and other forms of urban marginality be understood through the lens of everyday encounters?
- Why are *visual* encounters significant in urban research?
- How are homelessness and other forms of difference visually encountered in cities?
- How are geographies of (im)mobility significant within everyday urban space?
- How do geographies of (im)mobility become central to the narrative of visibility, invisibility and homelessness?

3.2. What is homelessness and how is it defined?

I start with *what* and *who* that this thesis is about. I will unpack definitions of homelessness – including definitions that differ across Italy and Europe. Additionally, I will address the prevalence of normative accounts of homelessness within academia and calls to move past these, including moves to ask 'how' homelessness is, rather than relying on normative accounts of homelessness that might uphold damaging stereotypes or assertions that homelessness is an aberration or a consequence of poor choices. I will explore how understandings of 'home' allow us to reassess homelessness by viewing 'homemaking' as a practice of homeless people, often assumed to be without home, whilst also enabling us to interrogate the consequence of homelessness for other groups like migrants, allowing for intersectionality in our understanding. Based on the founding work of Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality refers to the way that social categorisations and identities can interconnect, creating overlapping systems of discrimination and advantage.

3.2.1 Who is homeless?

Chapter 2 introduced the extent of homelessness in Termini. But exactly who is homeless can be difficult to identify and define. Definitions differ from country to country whilst a definitive characterisation of the word remains impossible to locate. Ethical questions prevail about imposing categories of homelessness on others – especially those who might not assume the same terminology to describe their situation (Pleace & Hermans, 2020).

Some prevailing definitions of homelessness do exist. Homelessness is defined by the United Nations as the absence of permanent shelter which requires individuals to carry their possessions with them and take shelter where they are able (United Nations, 2004). ETHOS, a European-wide typology on homelessness and housing exclusion, includes several understandings for homelessness including roofless, houseless, insecure and inadequate. Meanwhile 'roofless' tends to be synonymous with homelessness for the media and the general public but it does not tell the whole story (Edgar, 2009). Against this, 'hidden homelessness' (Ali, 2010, p. 103) is a common way to describe unseen homelessness, although there have been claims that the use of this term as unhelpful (Pleace & Hermans, 2020). In Italy, literal 'homelessness' refers to those living on the street or in an informal shelter, or in accommodation designed for people who are homeless (Pleace & Hermans, 2020).

This thesis aims to work against normative accounts of homelessness focusing on how homelessness is an aberration, how it can be eradicated or solved (Watts & Fitzpatrick, 2018), or even research on empathy that might optimistically position 'encounters with difference' as a kind of social tonic (Bondi, 2003; Yarker, 2021; Askins, 2016; Sennett, 2017). This is in conjunction with popular media which might construct representations of homelessness as a social problem (Hrast, 2008) or through negative stereotypes (Vázquez et al., 2017). Sociological research has framed homelessness normatively (Johnsen et al., 2021), focusing on homeless people's personas or histories instead of more structural issues (Dwyer et al., 2014). Quantitative focused studies that are not focused on encountered experiences might also miss out on the 'everyday' element of homelessness, instead asking why homelessness and the consequences of homelessness may exist (Mabhala, et al., 2021; Fornaro et al., 2020). Structural accounts of homelessness have been criticised for being deterministic and overlooking the individual agency of homeless people, portraying them as pawns in a system where they cannot be autonomous (Cloke et al., 2008; Ali, 2010, p. 82). In contemporary research focusing on homelessness and marginality, social mobility might be presented as a goal, with ladders to social mobility existing alongside long-term security and job benefits, within a multilevel framework of exiting homelessness (Marr, 2012).

Relatedly, there have been a variety of responses regarding 'what' research on homeless people should focus on. Edgar et al. (2007) emphasise that homelessness strategies should focus on

prevention, tackling the causes of homelessness and reducing its levels and ensuring the sustenance of permanent housing for formerly homeless people. For Wacquant (2008), the entrenchment of mass homelessness – evidence of 'advanced marginality' – can be seen as a product of state and welfare absence alongside economic growth in cities that serve as nodes in a global economic system, particularly as cities become increasingly exclusionary and unequal (Wacquant, 2008). Away from these macro- or structural perspectives, others state that research must unpack the consequence of choice – and the idea that the everyday choices of homeless people can be meaningful (Parsell & Parsell, 2012; Parsell & Clarke, 2019; Jolley, 2020).

3.2.2. The importance of asking 'How is homelessness?'

But how can we reconceptualise ideas of homelessness? Lancione (2013, p.238) critiques the negative coding of homelessness in research, for example, terms like 'descent into homeless' and 'drug abuse' are not neutral and categorise what homelessness is in a negative way. Instead, Lancione asks 'how' homelessness is, rather than 'why' or 'what'. Much of this need is based on an ethical engagement with what homeless people themselves think. Indeed, 'without losing sight of the effects of social structures or romanticising marginality' it is important to acknowledge the agency of homeless people (Hughes et al., 2017, p. 106). For example, McCarthy (2013) writes that researchers must ask those experiencing homelessness about their opinions towards the language and discourse used to represent homelessness and homeless people (McCarthy, 2013). Asking 'how' is homeless conjures questions about everyday life and encounters, as well as home and homemaking practices (Lancione, 2019; Lenhard et al., 2022; Hughes et al., 2017; Marquardt, 2016; Dimitrakou & Hilbrandt, 2022). This thesis aims to build on this understanding and praxis, attempting to understanding everyday life and homelessness on its own terms.

Central to the word 'homeless' then, is the concept of *home*, which is an ambiguous word with far-reaching definitions. However, there exists a growing multidisciplinary (but mostly Anglophone) academic field that calls for expanding conceptions of home (Saunders & Williams, 1988; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Lenhard & Samanani, 2019; Blunt, 2005). Unpacking these is central to the wider debate about the juncture between homelessness and migration, contributed to by mobilities research in geography and the social sciences (e.g. Urry 2007). Home is culturally diverse (Lenhard & Samanani, 2019) yet it is important to explore its meanings as it has major ramifications on how we may view homelessness. Prevailing understandings of home in law often relate to housing, with a particular focus on the bricks-and-mortar structure of a shelter, usually a house, apartment or room. These physical structures have an undeniable importance in all of our lives. Madden and Marcuse write that 'housing is a universal necessity of life' and in some ways an 'extension' of our bodies (2016, p. 12). Broadening the idea of the structure somewhat, Saunders and Williams state that the home is the product of the 'fusion' of the 'physical unit of the house' and the 'social unit of the

household' (1988, p. 83). Without a house in the traditional sense, many (but certainly not all) homeless people might be presumed to be lacking or deficient. This assumptive baggage that accompanies mainstream accounts of home classifies homeless people as 'Other' or insufficient (Marquardt, 2016). This Otherness is extended into other realms of social-culture life, like visibility, as will be explored later.

Other research asserts that 'homes' (as opposed to housing) can take several forms. Blunt and Dowling (2006) state that homes can be seen to exist on a variety of scales and can differ depending on the scenario, especially by building on the work of Massey (and others) on the production of space. For Massey, our ideas of place 'are products of the society in which we live' (1995, p. 50). 'Home-places' can exist at all scales, from the neighbourhood to the nation (or homeland), consolidating a sense of self and in-group identity. Easthope (2004) notes that across world history and geography, people have proven their commitments to their own places, even being willing to die for them. These identity-forming processes are invariably connected by tensions and discourses surrounding the 'Other' (Easthope, 2004). For example, far-right groups may be seen to mobilise anti-migrant sentiment by instrumentalising housing crisis to the backdrop of wider issues related to immigration into a nation-state.

3.2.3. Home is a place and a process

The discussion on home might extend to the everyday experiences of migrants – whether they are traditionally homeless or not. With 'homeless' being an emotive, yet ambiguous term, many migrants including refugees might be described *as* homeless (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Homelessness could be alternatively articulated as lacking a private space/place of their own, tangible and small in scale: an apartment or a corner of a bedroom or as something larger and more abstract, such as a district, a city, or even a country, as discourses of nationhood and belonging increasingly refer to feelings of homeliness or being 'at home'. This relates to 'domopolitics' research on the nation as a home-like space (Walters, 2004; Darling, 2013).

With many homeless people in this study being migrants this represents a striking intersection, coalescing key research questions under the conceptual umbrella of 'home'. Other research suggests that home is an emotional or psychological space, rather than something explicitly material (Pleace & Hermans, 2020). Porteous's (1976, p. 383) psychosocial approach to home for example, concentrates on human psychological experience. Home provides humans with their own 'territory', including identity, security and stimulation. Others have observed that home is layered with deep feelings and emotion (Cresswell, 2004; Giuliani, 1991), and can 'feel' homely or unhomely (McCarthy L. , 2018). Home can be a place of cleanliness and order (Rottmann, 2013). Additionally, home has been depicted as a refuge (Peled & Muzicant, 2008), a sanctuary or paradise (Somerville, 1992) and a place

of privacy (Russum, 2019). Other research situates home as a gendered space (Sobh & Belk, 2011; Ning, 2017) and relatedly, an *un*safe place (Weitz, 2023; Coomans, et al., 2022). Such definitions provide a normative framework that excludes many of the most oppressed or marginalised people from the process of having their dwelling place.

Relating to this study's focus on everyday life and encounters, other research defines home as something processual rather than a fixed entity (Blunt & Varley, 2004) as geographers and social scientists have moved away from fixed notions of 'coherent, bounded and settled' spaces (Massey, 1995, p. 54) and focused on more processual phenomena or 'homing'. For Lancione (2019) and a growing tradition in radical geographical research on the city's margins, home is a process, to be made or unmade, in acts of 'homing'. There is a growing body of literature concerned with materiality of homemaking, specifically for homeless individuals and communities, relating to how objects and environments function for homeless people and how they contribute to home(un)making (Lancione, 2013; 2019; Lenhard, 2020; McCarthy, 2019; Hughes et al., 2017; Marquardt, 2016; Dimitrakou & Hilbrandt, 2022; Gonyea & Melekis, 2017).

3.2.4. Viability, affect and everyday life

Work on 'home' and 'homemaking' may offer a rebuttal to normative accounts of homelessness that might be reductive, summarising homelessness as an experience without agency or choice (Parsell & Parsell, 2012; Parsell & Clarke, 2019). These accounts may ignore meaningful social encounters between homeless people or emphasise negative encounters between homeless people and others. Alternatively, they may acknowledge choice, but only 'bad choices' (Wasserman & Clair, 2009, p. 73). Homelessness may also to be cast as a monolithic and invariably injurious life experience (Creţan et al., 2022; Jolley, 2020), devoid of laughter or relations of care for example (Skeggs, 2004; Sandberg & Tutenges, 2019). This reflects from other experiences of the partiality of knowledge relating to marginality, for example Flint's (2011) observation how expert knowledge has produced a tendency to focus on failures and defeats of working class experience. Again, categories might be imposed on homeless people by others – including with terminologies that homeless people themselves might not agree with (Pleace & Hermans, 2020).

Despite these misrepresentions, geographical research has more receently focused on the importance of affect, referring to a spectrum of emotions and 'atmospheres felt through bodies' (Anderson, 2017, p. 20). Emotions and feelings are, after all, related to experiences of space (Bottero, 2019). While research focuses sporadically on the emotions of homeless people (Powell & Maguire, 2018; Schneider, 2014; Nixon, 2016), little research exists on affects of homelessness. However looking to affect can engender 'further understanding of the neglected cartographies of the homeless city' (Cloke et al., 2008, p. 260). Certain affects might be associated with homelessness or be useful conceptual

tools to delve into the lived experience of homelessness. Fear or shame, for example, are affects associated with experiences of homelessness (Lewinson et al., 2014; Ryan-DeDominicis, 2021). This might build on understandings from research on affect in relation to the 'alienation of the urban margins' (Emery et al., 2023, p. 285) or *feeling* class (Skeggs, 2012).

Connected to affective experiences of homelessness and building on understandings of 'how' homelessness is (Lancione, 2019), viability may be another avenue for reassessing marginality and the realities of everyday life. Viability is an ecological concept that refers to the ability to live successfully. A 'viable life' for anthropologist Ghassan Hage (2019) is a life that is worth living. The term viability itself implies alternative ways of doing because in many contexts it suggests a degree of 'independence from a dominant system' (Jeffrey & Dyson, 2022, p. 12). Judith Butler (2006) explores a similar idea in 'liveability', which refers to a capability or desire to live beyond survival, which often depends on an arrangement of ethical outlooks and practices. Instances of humour might be one novel way of assessing viability of homeless people in everyday life. Research has explored the perseverance of humour through difficult times, how humour can foster friendships (Westcott & Vazquez Maggio, 2016) and how useful insights about how people comprehend and carry out their everyday lives can be provided by humorous discourse (Martin et al., 2021). According to sociologist Les Back (2015) it is important to take mundane things seriously and ask what significance daily encounters carry. Jensen calls this a culture of 'individualised dignity' – where stigmatising traits (like homelessness – and associated issues like alcoholism or mental illness) are managed through humour (Jensen, 2018) Perhaps humour points to a life beyond a 'survivable life' (Fash et al., 2022) or indeed, 'viability' (Hage, 2019). Based on these experiences of everyday life then, the next discussion point distils and combines different perspectives on urban encounters with homelessness.

3.3. How might homelessness and other forms of marginality be understood through the lens of everyday encounters?

While I have mentioned encounters sporadically, here I combine a series of approaches to argue that encounters – specifically visual encounters, have significance and may even allow homelessness to be 'seen' in unique and important ways. There are many different types of encounters, some of them staged by research itself. There are affective, emotional encounters that Keefe (2015) describes as the result of interacting with artwork. There are encounters from a distance, through media like film of television (Wilson, 2016) or online (Koch & Miles, 2021). There are visual encounters (to be explored in the next section) where processes of seeing and unseeing others are laden with power relations. These encounters are all affective in ways, and have significance, not only for uncovering everyday realities, but also investigating the invisible forces that connect people, objects and ideas. According

to Anderson (2016), affect is in fact the product of social encounters (along with other conditions and apparatuses). With encounters as a constituent part of city life (Shapiro, 2010), there has been increasing concern for engaging encounters in human geography research (Wilson & Darling, 2016). Encounters are the heart of work which has roots in assessing diversity and vivacity in the city as 'throwntogetherness', a disorganised, diverse, yet functional urban logic (Massey, 2005), whilst encounters also play a role in the production of space (Wilson & Darling, 2016). In a study on Havana, Wilson (2016) states that encounters can also happen at a distance, not necessarily within the same city. I build on this approach using secondary sources and research 'at a distance' throughout this thesis.

For Wilson and Darling (2016, p. 9), encounters are fundamentally about difference. Some studies situate the encounter through the lens of possibility and successful social relations. For example, encounters are framed as an important part of urban vitality for some in the United Arab Emirates, where informal economic connections among Bangladeshi migrants results in friendship which significantly enhances the quality of life. (Elsheshtawy, 2011) Mónica Farías's (2016) study on contact between middle-class activists and marginalised people collaboratively working in Buenos Aires soup kitchens investigates the potential of encounters to overcome prejudice. It is suggested that empathy can arise when different people spend considerable time with each other, with awareness and change coming to challenge and disrupt negative stereotypes (Farías, 2016).

But while encounters are framed positively, we must also consider the 'darker' side of social encounters which may be overlooked by some social scientists (Amin, 2012). This includes visual encounters that will be discussed in their relation to homelessness and the urban margins. My approach to encounters is partly motivated by Sukhdev Sandhu's (2007) *Night Haunts*, the story of a journey through nocturnal London with its descriptions of conflicts, tensions and mundanities. In cities like Sandhu's London, different groups and communities co-construct their identities and make visibility claims and - through encounter - may even end up in conflict (Isin, 2007). Both Nevárez Martínez (2021) and Gerrard and Ferrugia (2015) write on the oppositional nature of encounters with homelessness. The former focusses on street-level encounters with state actors and experiences of structural violence, whilst the latter introduces the profound visual Otherness that homelessness contends to the modern, capitalist city that is being securitised and gentrified.

Through an intersectional lens that expands definitions of homeless to migrant groups, encounters might also lead to increased resentment and possibility for conflict between interethnic groups (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). Encounters have been shown to be coded as moments of risk and insecurity (Schuermans, 2016) as Ahmed (2000; 2006) has written that different bodies are marked as 'strange' or Other through encounters. Indeed, Valentine (2008) disagrees with statements that

encounters might resemble an underpinning for a possibility of living with and amongst difference. The encounter can present a barrier to sociality - especially regarding tolerance. Wendy Brown writes on tolerance, claiming it has become uncritically and globally promoted, mainly due to nascent challenges that multicultural societies can experience (Brown, 2008). Encounters literature might tell us that through encounters, the Other is met and confronted which results in understanding and familiarity through proximity. However, Brown writes that what actually emerges is a discourse that constructs conflict between Western culture and an imagined, intolerant Other.

3.3.1. Intersectional encounters with homelessness

Encounters with difference (gender, race, etc.) may have heightened significance on the street. Whilst this is not a thesis about gender, different genders feature throughout (although most of the people featured in fieldwork and secondary sources are men). Feminist geography informs us that women and men experience urban space significantly differently for several reasons (Moss & Falconer Al-Hindi, 2008). Indeed, women's experiences of homelessness have been observed to differ from men's (Milaney at al. 2020). For example, masculinity is implicitly an important part of life on the street and many men have been found to perform hypermasculinity when homeless (Dej, 2018). It is important to avoid constructing a singular, simplified image of gendered homelessness, such as 'the homeless woman' or women's homelessness (Löfstrand & Quilgars, 2017, p. 66). Still, England (2022, p. 840) notes that homelessness spaces 'replicate structural oppressions'. Homeless people are more likely to suffer violence than the general population. In addition to this, women experiencing homelessness have been found as more likely to suffer violence than men experiencing homelessness (Calvo, et al., 2022). Trans people are also more likely to be homelessness (Mananzala & Spade, 2008). In addition their safety has been found to be jeopardised by the bias of the system towards cis-het straight men (England, 2022). Conflict exists between the need to protect and care for vulnerable cis-het men who are homeless and protect and care for people that they can pose a danger to – women, and others who do not conform to a strict gender category or challenge cis-heteronormative gender expectations (England, 2022).

Relating this work on intersectional homelessness back to visibility (explored in greater depth in the next section), there may be an additional layer of invisibility conferred upon homeless people who aren't men (Mayock & Bretherton, 2017). Geographical research has explored how women may experience space differently, for instance work in geography on women's fear of crime in cities (Valentine, 1989; Pain, 1997; Kern, 2020). Women's homelessness is spatialised differently – hidden away (Mayock & Bretherton, 2017) This is within popular and academic portrayals of homelessness, partly due to research methodologies and 'where' homelessness is assumed to materialise. In some cases, women's housing issues are framed and treated as something 'other than homeless' (Sullivan & Higgins, 2001, p. 77). Using a feminist framework, perhaps these logics can be extended to other

minoritised individuals. Connecting these experiences of encounters with homelessness and supposed Otherness, I now pose a discussion point which concentrates on its visual aspect.

3.4. Why are visual encounters significant in urban research?

There is not one way that homelessness is seen or looked at. To explore these multiple ways of seeing, I will situate this thesis within studies of visual culture in cities, and on the significance of the 'visual'. It outlines what is yet to be done and builds from the focus on the diverse understandings of homelessness as well as geographical contributions to literature on encounters. For anthropologist Sarah Pink, images are 'everywhere'. Visuality is therefore entwined within our personal lives, and throughout our various identities, cultures and communities – as well as 'definitions of history, space and truth' (Pink, 2007, p. 22). 'It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world' states art critic John Berger in his celebrated overview of visual culture, *Ways of Seeing* (Berger, 1972, p. 7). Berger asserts that what we see is influenced by what we believe or what we know. Visible aspects of life are then highly subjective in their reception – they will be interpreted differently based on cultural differences or personal knowledges (Chua, et al., 2022; Burgin, 1996). Our visual focus is continually changing and shifting, constituting what is near to us, in the (ordinarily) conscious act of looking. This conjures questions about conscious unseeing, or what cannot be seen. This review will attempt to unpack these points.

3.4.1. Visual encounters: ways of seeing and unseeing

Garland-Thomson (2006) describes the power relations characteristic of the 'visual encounter', though an act of staring - an embodied and meaningful way of seeing or 'looking' that is fraught with complexity. Writing specifically on viewing disability as an 'Otherness', there are power relations within these kinds of visual encounters experienced in the city. Others have also explored power relations and the visual, for example Rose (1993) specifically working with gender. Staring is one example of power relations within the visual encounter and might be seen as an act of superiority and authority (Frances, 2014, p. 202), teetering between curiosity and voyeurism (Garland-Thomson 2006, 174). Regarding disabled people's bodies that present an 'Otherness', Garland-Thomson refers to these as 'stareable sights'. Staring may originate from curiosity, which can be empathetic (Phillips, 2016), whilst disability scholar Tom Shakespeare (2021) also noted in *Who are you Looking at?* that experiences of staring or voyeurism may originate in the cruelty of others.

On the other end of the spectrum, we might also witness 'unseeing', ignoring or looking away as types of visual encounters – themselves little studied. According to literary scholar Rob O'Connor, unseeing might be a 'condition' present in cities, referring to varying separation from our

surroundings, both consciously and unconsciously. It involves avoidance or disengagement (O'Connor, 2016). Schimanski reminds us that often people are unseen – 'nuns, the disabled, the homeless, the naked or the embarrassing', for example (Schimanski, 2016, p. 115). Sociologists have also explored the idea of 'civil inattention', coined by Goffman (1971), a useful phrase that refers to the process whereby strangers in the same space demonstrate awareness of each other, maintaining public order and personal boundaries (Goffman, 1971). This is not necessarily a negative or antisocial thing. It could be seen as a symptom of consideration and politeness, relating to mutually expected self-restraint and invisible social controls on behaviour (Simmel, 1984; Arviv & Eizenberg, 2021). Sociologists have built on the concept of civil inattention to summarise its logical opposites, uncivil attention (Warren, 2011), which is like staring when the line of behavioural expectations is crossed, and *un*civil inattention (Horgan, 2020). Sociologist Mervyn Horgan (2020) investigates how not acknowledging others through social encounters can be characterised by a sense of incivility (Horgan, 2020).

Seeing and unseeing are two examples of visual encounters between people (often strangers) in social urban space. However so much is unknowable in the visual encounters between other people. W do know however that there are embodied ways of seeing or looking that engender power relations whilst some have the power to exclude and Other. But what are the specific differences between these different ways of seeing, and are they purely semantic? Or do they have real significance in the everyday lived experiences of people in the city?

3.4.2. How has visibility been understood in the social sciences?

Visibility, invisibility and their amalgamation 'in/visibility', are central concepts in this thesis. Here I will explore foundations of understanding 'visibility' with a particular focus on how sociologist Andrea Brighenti (2007, p. 324) introduced visibility as a category for research in the social sciences, existing at the juncture of aesthetics (which is related to perception) and politics (which connects to notions of power). For Brighenti (p. 325), visibility is not simply an image. Rather, 'it is a social process'. Brighenti identifies social visibility – the struggle to be recognised and seen, media visibility - when events and people acquire temporary exposure according to media logics, and control visibility - like surveillance. Building on the work of Georg Simmel, visibility is also relational: the state of seeing and being seen are intimately connected. According to Simmel, reciprocal visibility – eye-to-eye – is the most fundamental sort of human interaction (Simmel, 1969 [1908]). Not as simple as visibility being conferred by the one that looks – it can be controlled by the one who is looked at (Brighenti, 2007, p. 331).

Within the conceptual understandings of visibility are layered paradoxes and contradictions. Visibility is not an activity that only makes things visible, but instead produces both visibility and invisibility, whilst the threshold between the two continually changes (Tazzioli & Walters, 2016). According to Brighenti, if you are below a 'threshold' of visibility, you can also be subject to social exclusion. Alternatively, being beyond an upper limit of 'fair visibility' can lead to supra- or 'hyper' visibility. Similar to Garland-Thomson's concept of the visual encounter, visibility relates to power: vision itself confers a sense of power, however visibility is ambivalent in its empowerment (Tucker, et al., 2021). From postcolonial studies, Haschemi Yekani writes that the presence of something must not be confused with its visibility (2022, p. 77). Others doubt whether visibility is a useful concept to describe conditions in the public sphere – when other similar concepts, like exposure or recognition might be more precisely used (Dahlberg, 2018).Notably, in *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault explored how visibility can be used to exercise control over an individual's body and behaviour (Foucault, 1977). On the other hand, migration scholar Baird (2014, p. 4) notes that the visibility of a certain group can become synonymous with the identity of a place. Other acts of visibilisation might be seen as group or collective phenomena: civil inattention might be seen as a collective act of unseeing (Haddington, et al., 2012). In addition to this, visual research has explored how the 'gaze' can be a mechanism of collective control used to suppress Otherness (Karadaş, 2020; Kidwell & Reynolds, 2022).

3.4.3. Invisibility, hypervisibility and normativity

Visibility is closely associated with recognition (Seymour, 2019). For example, in their work on migration governance in the Mediterranean region, Tazzioli and Walters (2016) take Brighenti's work and apply it to power relationships and the 'politics' of visibility.

Visibility might engender a sense of exclusion and inequality, or a push against these settings. For example, whilst this thesis is not focused on gender, it must be noted that visibility and a sense of asymmetry in seeing/being seen is gendered and/or sexualised. Typically women are subjected to the male gaze (Mulvey, 1999). 'Sometimes visibility is evoked as a demand for more inclusive representation and a different kind of media access. At other times, visibility can turn into harmful hypervisibility and surveillance' (Haschemi Yekani, 2022, p. 103). Visibility might then teeter into hypervisibility – understood as a kind of visual spectacle (Gold & Revill, 2003). Hypervisibility is a consequence of being seen through the lens of Otherness – of being out of place or against certain norms (Settles et al., 2019; Simpson & Lewis, 2005). As a concept, hypervisibility has been mobilised by scholars to denote an extreme level of visual demarcation and with materiality, for example those subjected to immigration detention in Australia and marked out by a razor wire fence at the facility (Pugliese, 2009).

By its association with Otherness, visibility is associated with normative philosophical designs on public space – how things *should* be (Dahlberg, 2018). In this way visibility can also relate to behavioural expectations. Furthermore, it relates to the subversion of these expectations. This might be termed as deviance – a relational moral quality that depends on a visible threshold of moral difference (Durkheim, 1982 [1894]) In this way, visibility is a set of practices of knowledges that renders some things 'exposable and apprehensible', but others 'unseen or imperceivable' (Tazzioli & Walters, 2016, p. 447).

The relationship between visibility and multiculturalism may also relate to experiences of migration which organise the city into 'neat' ethnic areas, conjuring images of Chinatown, Koreatown, Little Havana, Little Italy etc (Werbner, 2001). Werbner (p. 671) refers to this kind of cultural plurality and urbanism as evoking a 'colourful mosaic of ethnic cultures'. Within this normative view of what 'plural cities' might look like, and speaking against these more 'positive' associations of urban difference, the plural city can also evoke 'the darker side of the multicultural exoticism of the first trope: the dark, mean, poverty stricken streets of a black or brown underclass, no-go areas of urban violence and decay or hidden sweatshops' (Werbner, 2001, p. 672).

3.4.4. Invisibility is neither 'positive' or 'negative'

After focusing on (hyper)visibility, this section will explore the varying ways that invisibility has been itself considered, particularly as opposed to visibility. Many of these understandings are from migration and race research in the social sciences. Sociologist Tajima Junko writes that, 'The visible is only a small part of the world. The things that become visible are merely the tip of the iceberg' (Tajima, 2005, p. 59). Scholars in disability studies assert that whilst some disabilities are highly visible, there are others that lie on the other end of the spectrum – as invisible, or hidden (Faucett at al., 2017). Invisibility for some denotes exclusion. For example 'invisible' is a term for unresearched or under sampled people, groups or individuals in geographical research (Borderon, et al., 2021). Further than this, invisibility research tends to focus on marginalised populations, assumed to be invisible in many ways. For example, Pugliese (2009) writes that refugees are invisibilised as a result of a combination of political exclusion and geographical removal. Their transient status as marginal subjects invisibilises them against the structures and relations of civilian life (Pugliese, 2009, p. 157)

Research suggests invisibility is something that can be conferred onto something, or someone. Invisibility might also refer to how something is ignored – even wilfully, like uncivil inattention (Warren, 2011). Writing on African diaspora communities, invisibility is understood by Donald Martin Carter as an 'ongoing, often occasional or flexible employment of power, politics, and social positioning', rather than as a 'a once-and-for-all event' (Carter, 2010, p. 6). On the other hand, Keaton

(2010) uses the example of claims that race is 'invisible', a sign of the entrenched stigma of Blackness, whereby society clings to supposed democratic ideals (Keaton, 2010). Invisibility may also be constituted by small acts, or 'slights' and when these 'take no genuine notice of the other person', they can serve to unsettle (Franklin et al., 2006, p. 13). Predated on biased attitudes or beliefs, these slights that confer invisibility might be considered as 'microaggressions' (Pierce, 1995; Nittle, 2019; Sue, 2010; Sisselman-Borgia et al., 2018), which are subtle forms of discrimination, although the connection between microaggressions and visibility is under-explored.

Adopting Foucault's (1977) understanding of visibility and power, invisibility might be assumed to be the absence of power (de Vries, 2016). However, whilst visibility implies a claim to truth (Carter, 2010, p. 15), invisibility might not 'belong' to the powerless as much of the research suggests. For others, invisibility might be something strived for. In the case of Chinese migrants in Tokyo, recognition – or 'visibility' might intensify marginality (Coates, 2015). Resultantly, Coates (p. 125) finds that many wanted to be unseen – complicating the ways we understand desires for recognition and integration. Likewise, in a study of homelessness in London, respondents meaningfully strove to 'invisibilise' themselves to avoid restrictions and surveillance in the city, whereby their homelessness might have previously been highly visible (Radley, 2005). Now multivariate forms of visibility and visual encounters have been connected to experiences of marginality in the city, the next section will focus more specifically on the techniques that render homelessness and other forms of (purported) difference hypervisible or invisible in the city.

3.5. How are homelessness and other forms of difference visually encountered in cities?

Whilst visibility and invisibility may seem diametrically opposed, empirical work suggests that they can overlap and coexist. In addition, much of this concerns experiences of living with difference. Hatuka and Toch (2017, p. 988) ask how we 'activate selective in/visibilities'. Stella's (2012) research on LGBTQ+ Pride events in Russia suggests that the events themselves provide visibility as a method of resistance against heteronormativity (Fraser, 1999). On the other hand, the presence of queer spaces in the urban environment consisted of the discreet inhabitation of certain parts of the city, while also hiding these spaces from public view (Stella, 2012). There might therefore be advantages brought by coexisting forms of visibility and invisibility.

3.5.1. In/visibility as a conjoined, racialised concept

Migration and race research is salient when considering ways that visibility and invisibility can intersect. This shifting between visibility and invisibility may be related to power. Political

geographer Luiza Bialasiewicz (2017) describes how refugees – at the mercy of the nation state - can be similarly visible and invisible, citing the example of political philosopher Hannah Arendt's work on refugees, who might be considered both wrongfully invisible and visible (Arendt, 1951; Bialasiewicz, 2017). Spicer (2008) similarly writes how migrants are rendered invariably and simultaneously hypervisible and invisible in public space, due to state surveillance, police operations, as well as media images of mass migration.

Sara Ahmed (2007) focuses on the racialisation of visibility and how it is contingent. Specifically this emphasis is on invisibility of non-white people, arguing that while people can learn to fade into the background, there are unavoidable moments of 'standing out' or 'apart' in acts of visual encounter (Ahmed, 2007, p. 159). Suddenly they can appear out of place, where they might have been formerly invisible. Indeed, Zitzelsberger's research with migrant women illuminates different ways that subjects are 'seen' by others but also how this visibility delimits their agency (Zitzelsberger, 2005). In geographer Jeff May's research on homelessness and race, homeless men were found to inhabit coinciding positions of visibility and invisibility as the rhythms of their everyday lives also interacted with visibility and invisibility (May, 2015, p. 496). De Vries (2016) also uses the term (in)visibility to indicate that refugees are neither victims nor are they a form of opposition. Instead, something is more complex here, enabling us to look beyond 'the binary of governance versus resistance' (de Vries, 2016, p. 876). We might then use the term *in/visibility* to refer to this overlapping and mutable relationship between visibility and invisibility.

3.5.2. Homelessness and in/visibility

Research from the humanities and specifically literary criticism may offer some insights into the relationship between visibility and invisibility and how seeing and unseeing can overlap and coexist simultaneously in a single space. *The City & the City* is a 2010 novel by China Miéville, a story of disorienting urban labyrinths. In the book two cities coexist together in the same space, where acknowledgement of the other is a crime – unthinkable (Miéville, 2010). Citizens therefore selectively see and unsee each other in acts of visual encounter. This is a powerful example of how something can be at once invisible and visible: seen and unseen.

Social science research generally suggests that visibility is an important variable in the everyday routine of homeless people living in cities. Due to the difficulty of accessing and utilising private spaces (and the association of the 'public' with the 'visible' (Brighenti, 2007)), many homeless people carry-out their lives in public, often visible to the point of being a spectacle. It might also be assumed that many do not want to be visible – away from the eyes of the authorities and the general public, homeless individuals can have a greater degree of autonomy in their lives. Despite this, the practices

of homeless are deeply embedded in tactics (de Certeau, 1988) many of which are hidden and largely invisible and unknowable to outsiders.

This thesis lies at the intersection of studies into homelessness and migration. As Baird (2014) states, the link between social visibility and migration is underexplored. We know that perceived race can be a factor in determining visibility (Settles et al., 2019), whilst others have noted an over-visibilisation of migrants (Göle, 2013). Several case studies explore how migrants are rendered invariably and simultaneously hypervisible and invisible in visual encounters in public space, due to state surveillance, police operations, as well as media images of mass migration (Spicer, 2008). Many of these intersect with homelessness. These include the rendering of invisible migrants of African origin in Turin (Carter, 2010), livelihood strategies of undocumented migrants in Athens (Baird, 2014) and visibility and interactions of African migrants in public space in Brussels (De Backer, 2019).

3.5.3. The spectacle of homelessness

Often deprived of a private space, Wright (1997, p. 1) suggest that homeless and poor bodies 'are open to the public gaze', visible to passers-by and the authorities. Relating back to normative framings of behavioural expectations in public space, (Dahlberg, 2018), homelessness might be seen to go against certain normative behavioural expectations for a number of reasons (Powell & Flint, 2009; Powell, 2010; Reeves, 2022).

Gerrard and Farrugia (2015) describe the spectacle and 'lamentable sight' of homelessness. They contend that visual cultures of marginality in cities are produced by everyday social relations, particularly prevalent in the visual encounter. Homelessness can therefore appear to be a spectacle (Gold & Revill, 2003). Much of this spectacle relates to the high proliferation of imagery in our society. Photographic imagery, for example, is commonly used to represent the lives of society's most marginalised. This can repeat 'trauma narratives' according to ethnographers Dillabough and Kennelly (2010) who explore the politics of representation. Furthermore, we might critically engage with Guy Debord's society of the spectacle which contextualises 'the 'sight' of homelessness within the structures of consumer capitalism' (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015, pp. 2221-2225). With morality and space inextricably linked (Stokoe & Wallwork, 2003), these hypervisible behaviours may contribute to places being associated with immoral or deviant behaviour, generating place-based stigma, or territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant et al., 2014; Wacquant, 2007), associated with places of homelessness. This may intersect considerably with race, with research demonstrating how mobility and freedom of Black people (for example) is disproportionately affected in normative, White public space (Nicholson, 2016; Embrick & Moore, 2020; Anderson, 2015).

Research exists on the relationship between the visibility and materiality of homeless people. This can relate to the way that homeless people look – ascribing to certain stereotypes over an unkempt image for example. In an Athens study, Bourlessas (2018) describes a homeless respondent wearing a highly-visible red jacket as a working uniform for when he sells a magazine (similar to the red tabard of Big Issue sellers in the UK). When the man wears the jacket, he is visible and stigmatised as 'homeless in his place' (Bourlessas, 2018, p. 747). Likewise in another Athens study, Baird (2014, p. 6) describes a homeless Sudanese migrant wearing glasses and collared shirts to 'look more European'. The 'material aspects' of homeless people (dos Santos, 2005, p. 156) have also come to represent 'visible traces of private fixity' that co-construct common imaginations and stereotypes about homeless life. From fashion studies, Ling (2019) explores the use of ubiquitous nylon red-white-blue plaid bags (known in the US as migrant bags or Chinatown totes) carried by many urban dwellers, but notably by homeless people due to their cheapness and durability, which are instantly recognisable symbols of a transient and mobile life. People with these objects can be immediately identified, 'othered', and subjected to logics of discipline and control.

This materiality might also extend to 'seeing' the materials that homeless people use to make their beds – as they often do. For example, a body of research explores the association between homelessness and cardboard as a material, particularly for sleeping on (Golinkoff et al., 2016; Buhler, 2009; Wardhaugh, 1996; Gesuelli, 2020). Aspects of this materiality have been found to be gendered based on a need for in/visibility. Casey et al.'s (2008) study of women's geographies of homelessness indicates the gendered difference in rough sleeping. It is important to add that homeless men might be considered 'the norm'. Women often favour more hidden spaces, such as rubbish collection areas, storage facilities, and other places that are not usually associated with rough sleepers (Casey et al., 2008). In opposition to this study, Radley et al. (2005) focus on how homeless people are visualised and stereotyped as a result of their bed material. In their study, images of homeless people using cardboard on the street have cultivated a sense of identity amongst others who now consider homeless people 'cardboard people' (Radley et al., 2005, pp. 289-90).

There are also other material associations from everyday practices of homeless people, often based in stereotypes that serve to exclude (Beckett & Herbert, 2009; Valverde, 2015). These include homeless people living in 'filthy' (Leggett & Hancox, 2006), waste-filled environments (Speer, 2016). There has been an observed conflation of the spatial practices of marginalised people with 'dirt' and 'disorder' (Clough Marinaro, 2019; Douglas, 1991). In addition, alcohol and drug use might also be a material aspect of life that connects to homelessness (Neale & Stevenson, 2015; Lloyd, 2012), albeit stereotypically (Vázquez et al., 2017).

3.5.4. Homeless people 'out of place'

Egami et al. (2022) suggest that homeless people can represent an aesthetic problem. There are materialities and behaviours that mark people out as homeless as a 'rupture of the order of the city' (Langegger & Koester, 2016, p. 1033), appearing visually jarring, 'out of place', or identified as Other through behaviour deemed to be abnormal or forbidden. Within the structures of consumer capitalism, traces of homelessness and poverty stands in stark contrast to the image of city centres wishing to attract tourism, consumerism and investment. For example, in New York, homeless respondents in a study communicated a feeling that they felt unwanted in a variety of places because gatekeepers of these settings saw them as not welcome (Hughes et al., 2017; Bergamaschi et al., 2014). Homelessness and visibility regimes are intrinsically linked. It has been noted that homeless people must be 'out of sight' (Amster, 2003, p. 196).

Sociology and psychology research attends to the association of stigma with homeless people (Belcher & DeForge, 2012; Addison, 2023). Whilst homeless people have been found to be 'out of place' in a visual sense, due to particular controls over visibility and presence in public space, something that is under-researched is the extent to which homeless people are considered to be 'in place'. Due to visual associations with stigma in cities (Creţan et al., 2022), homeless people might be presumed to belong in certain areas – for example railway stations. This is compounded by the way that stigma is attached to certain activities, alcohol and drug use for example, Seear (2020) and Livingston et al. (2012). Easterbrook-Smith (2022) explored the link between stigma and invisibility, using the example of sex workers in New Zealand, focusing on how certain stigmatised individuals are in a sense 'removed' from public space by rendering them invisible.

3.5.5. Deviant Others

The deviance of homeless people is strongly connected to the visual encounter, through which homeless individuals are identified as Other. Bauman (2007) contends that people who are seen not to consume in the expected way are seen as morally deviant and irresponsible. This representation enables and legitimises restrictive and punitive measures against homeless people, who are displayed as a threat to the order and safety of public life. Indeed, anthropologist Robert Desjarlais (1997, p. 2) notes the 'ghostly' presence of homeless people, which threatens the 'peaceful, artful air of cafes, libraries, and public squares'. Moreover, writing on feelings of disgust in encounters with Otherness, Sara Ahmed (2004, p. 84) writes that people experience a 'push' and a 'pull' effect with people who are different and that their bodies appear 'to be moving towards us'.

As a result of nine months of ethnographic fieldwork with homeless people, Toft (2014, p. 793) recognises that 'the dominant production of homelessness and homeless persons' is through the systematic classification of 'those people, spaces, and activities associated with homelessness as

deviant'. More specifically, Toft states that homeless people are politically marginalised through their 'semantic association with three major categories of social deviance: dirtiness, drugs, and danger' (Toft, 2014, p. 784).

The stereotyped aesthetic representation of homelessness that goes against idealised norms of the city, is produced by visual encounters. Homelessness appears 'as a blemish on, and exposer of, the supposed harmony of the spectacle of capital' (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015, p. 2231). Several studies have been made on increased public surveillance (Vande Walle & Herrewegen, 2012) and the familiar linkages between securitisation (Meyer, 2020; Rokem et al, 2017) and urban revanchist processes like gentrification (Lees et al., 2008; Lees et al., 2015; Merrifield, 2014), all of which affect marginality in a number of ways, particularly subjecting displaced people to regimes of visual discipline and control (Mosselson, 2019; Parsell, 2016). According to Firmino and Duarte (2016), the establishment of 'smart cities' creates restrictions for citizens deemed to be devious. Of course, this raises broader ethical question about who has the authority or capacity to 'control a shared social space' (Firmino & Duarte, 2016, p. 756). This works hand-in-hand with defensive architecture, high policing, and general criminalising of homelessness in public space, and is transforming with new technological modes of governance (Gibbons, 2018; Herring, 2019; Fine Licht, 2017; Rosenberger, 2020; Lemberg-Pedersen et al., 2022; Tazzioli, 2020; Pickering & Weber, 2006; Lundberg, 2021).

Despite the challenges faced by various marginalised communities by new regimes of visibility and surveillance, there are ample opportunities to contest this visibility and use the visual encounter to their advantage. According to Langegger and Koester (2016, p. 1031), anonymity can be 'enjoyed' by those living in public space. Homeless people have been demonstrated to not always want to be identified (Stewart & Sanders, 2023; Robson, Ashbourne & de Leon, 2016) whilst degrees of in/visibility may be advantageous (Coates, 2015; Radley, 2005). Research on homeless women by Casey et al. (2008) demonstrated how homeless people were not restricted to the more official spaces of homelessness. Instead homeless women would often visibly carry out their everyday functions and tasks in public. Public and quasi-public spaces like railway stations serve multiple functions for many members of urban society, including eating, sleeping, washing, resting, cleaning and relaxing (Casey, Goudie, & Reeve, 2008).

There is a whole spectrum of visual processes or ways of seeing that may be linked to power relations in the city. This connects to the idea that homeless people are visibly framed as 'out of place' whilst they might also seem 'in' place due to their continual association with certain stigmatising places and practices. Power relations in the city and relations to place are also connected to movement and mobility (and immobility) as the next section will discuss.

3.6. How are geographies of (im)mobility significant within everyday urban space?

After exploring notions of homelessness and in/visibility that underpin this study, this section of the literature review will establish the spaces and practices of mobility and immobility as understood by geographers, sociologists and other social scientists, which I define as 'geographies of (im)mobility. As part of a dialogue, it combines the literature on mobility (and immobility) spaces and practices with work on encounter, visibility and exclusion. Here I will look to granular ethnographic research that concentrates on railway stations (both generally but also specifically in the case of Termini) as mutable and meaningful places that are significant to study

In order to introduce the railway station, I will explore the significance of mobilities research in geography. This intersects with work on marginalised people in cities that converges understandings of homelessness with migration in significant ways. It also concerns visibility and visual encounters (what mobility *looks* like and related to normative expectations of movement and behaviour), I will also introduce the key ideas and tenets of the 'mobilities turn' in the social sciences that have specific significance for studies of homelessness. Structures of power are inherent in understanding mobile places, processes and practices. These perspectives are useful when understanding experiences of homelessness: for example, I will explore the notion that homeless people might be 'fixed in mobility'. I will introduce the idea that mobility enables us to view homeless people as occasionally disciplined and controlled by those in power but also able to be agentic and express tactical behaviour.

I will examine several different spatial typologies, including public spaces, non-places and their associated denizens: non-people. After this, I will present the next discussion point where I will introduce research on spaces of exclusion, particularly relating to the association of Termini and other railway stations with migration. This work builds on critical research on camp and border spaces, but also spaces of everyday life – including its perceived mundanities.

3.6.1. 'Seeing' the station in geographical research

The visual encounters in my thesis take place in public space in Rome, particularly at Termini station. Junxi Qian (2020, p. 77) defines public space as 'situated and lived'; 'assemblage'; and 'as a liminal zone between inclusion and exclusion'. Much attention has been given to the ways homeless people utilise urban public space, including pavements, street corners, alleyways, and railway stations (Borchard, 2010; Perry, 2012; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015; Di Croce, 2017; Lancione, 2013; 2014;

Lenhard, 2020; May, 2015; Piazzoni, 2020; Snow & Mulcahy, 2001). Dealing with public space involves considering social connections to space in everyday life and the ways that everyday practices 'can transgress a normative order negotiated and defined by the state' (Crossa, 2016, p. 234).

Railway stations are often written about, represented and perceived as public spaces.
Of course, the notion of what public space is in cities is heavily contested in geography (Qian, 2020; Low, 2006; Habermas, 1989; Briggs, 1963; Sennett, 1974; Mitchell, 2003; Goheen, 1998). Public space is therefore difficult to define, but this literature review uses 'public' to characterise public use rather than public ownership. This therefore incorporates private and semi-private spaces that are accessible to the general public such as stations, shopping malls, or some other busy urban areas (Casey et al., 2008). City authorities may increasingly govern urban public space with the objective of facilitating predictable social interactions (Crossa, 2016; Darling & Wilson, 2016). It has also been argued that we can witness a decline of spaces 'deemed to be public' (Hughes et al., 2017, p. 106), potentially restricting the mobility of homeless who utilise public space and further highlighting their visibility. Despite this, the definitions and understandings of public space are extensive (Mac Síthigh, 2012) and with Carr et al. (1992, pp. 79-84) defining their typology as covering 'public parks, squares and plazas, memorials, markets, streets, playgrounds, community open spaces, greenways, atriums, found spaces and waterfronts', railway stations could and should be considered public in a broad sense.

The publicness of stations defines the way they are used, seen, represented and performed. They are 'wide open, inviting and centrally located' (Löfgren, 2008, p. 346). Great railway termini remain a crucial part of the 'realm of grand enclosed public spaces' (Edwards, 1997, p. 5). For social historians Richards and Mackenzie (1986, p. 6), much like other important urban buildings where people gather, the station is one of the nodal points of the community: 'a vital element in its public consciousness'. Architectural historian Edwards agrees (1997, p. 21), describing the station as 'a microcosm of the city' and a place where 'tourists, commuters, salesmen, retailers, train spotters and the homeless converge'.

As ethnologist Löfgren (2015, p. 85) points out, 'the station may seem like a stable bricks-and-mortar monument, but it is really built by all the comings and goings, as well as the diverse tasks, motives and mental luggage dragged into it'. Similarly, the railway station is nowadays observed as an important place for homeless people. It is a space of varying levels of mobility: a space where homelessness can be encountered as fixed or in stasis (summarised by a rough-sleeper in a familiar space), or as a scene of 'throwntogetherness', a disorganised, diverse, yet functional urban logic, where encounters can take place (Massey, 2005). By observing stations as a distinctive geography of

mobility, researchers might develop ideas about how homeless people move and carry out their everyday lives and how these patterns of (im)mobility frame the way they are seen and represented.

3.6.2. Mobilities research and homelessness

> 'The experience of homelessness cannot be considered apart from the experience of movement.'
>
> (May 2000, p. 737).

Mobility and its geographies may be underestimated in debates about spatial marginality and exclusion, which often focus on fixity and control (Wiesel, 2014, Mitchell, 1995; Davis, 2000; Wacquant, 2001; Sassen, 2001). Building on the call to ask 'how' homelessness is, mobilities research may also provide insights into the everyday experience of homeless people (Cresswell, 2006; Adey, 2010; Urry, 2007; Hannam et al., 2006; Dufty-Jones, 2012; Wiesel, 2014). Homeless people have been continually imagined to be on a mobile population, conjuring the idea that rootlessness is opposite 'home' (Somerville, 1992; Bourlessas, 2018). Lancione suggests that 'homelessness should just become synonymous with 'continuous displacement or a form of it' (2016, p. 172).

Mobilities research helpfully unites studies on homeless people and migrants. Indeed, Urry (2007, p. 10) conflates asylum-seeker and refugee travel with homeless travel as one of the main 'mobility forms in the contemporary world', which has been the focus of much mobilities-related research in the social sciences (Marfleet, 2006; Cloke et al., 2003). This study's focus on an intersection between homelessness and migration builds on this understanding. Revisiting the work of Garland-Thomson, this conjures new questions about how Othered and marginalised figures in cities are encountered visually, and the power dynamics that emerge in these encounters.

To this end, anthropologist Malkki's (1992, p. 31) notion of 'sedentarist metaphysics' successfully reconciles the notion of political power rooted in social space with the embodied mobility and immobility of displaced groups. Sedentarist metaphysics originates from research on refugees, recognises a tendency to perceive mobile practices and people in a way that assumes a normative moral and logical superiority of being fixed. This can be applied directly to the experience of homeless people in public space, seen as a threat or as something Other that requires control (Johnsen et al., 2021). Likewise, Cresswell (2006) writes that mobility can seem chaotic. Stationary, 'sedentary' life, on the other hand, is hard to view as chaotic (Cresswell, 2006, p. 6). For Cresswell, these ways of thinking reaffirm and enable the common-sense division of the world into bounded concepts like territories and nations – things so engrained they are essentially imperceptible. Sedentary metaphysics identifies the principle borrowed from physical science that 'things' do not

move if they can help it. Cresswell (2006) writes that this principle of least-effort causes movement in itself to be viewed as dysfunctional.

Scott (1998) observes the preoccupation of modern states with the management of mobile peoples, who Cresswell classifies as 'the drifter, the shiftless, the refugee and asylum seeker' (2006, p. 26), portrayed (through visual encounter) as deviant as well as potentially criminalised. Thus, fixed spatial strategies of the state (de Certeau, 1989) might be observed to focus on enforcing fixity through coercion. Regarding criminality, the control and discipline of deviant behaviour and mobility through spatial design was first introduced by Bentham (1843) memorably built on by Foucault (1975), and is now well-explored in carceral geography research (Conlon, Gill, & Moran, 2016). Similar spatial and territorial strategies are employed in regards to migration, a point made famously in Agamben's (1995) *Homo Sacer*, and explored in studies on Europe's migrant camps (Katz, 2017) or outsourced EU refugee processing centres in the Mediterranean region (Bialasiewicz, 2012). Here, migrants encounter various legal and social systems that restrict and limit both their movement and their right to stay (Urry, 2007).

3.6.3. Practices and places of mobility in the lives of homeless people

Bergamaschi et al. (2014, p. 2) describe a 'whole world belonging to homeless people with its own spaces, rhythms, time, relations and survival strategies'. Even though they are crucial in the everyday lives of homeless people, generally, everyday mobility practices are often unknowable (Šimon et al., 2019).

Šimon et al. (2019), state that measuring homeless mobilities is essential in order to appreciate the importance of everyday routine within homeless coping strategies. In Cresswell's foundational framework of the mobilities turn, the understanding of mobility is proposed as 'the dynamic equivalent of place' – or movement imbued with meaning (2006, p. 3). More generally then, building on de Certeau's (1984) analysis of strategies and tactics, the mobility of marginal groups might seem tactical in nature: as a survival strategy or as a more general way of 'getting by' (Dezeuze, 2013). Writing on social mobility and access to housing in Australia, Wiesel (2014) writes that *motility* (the capacity and freedom to be mobile) should be understood as a social privilege.

Mobility is often considered in terms of absolutes. One is considered either mobile moving across space, or fixed in stasis and consequently mobilities turn has sought to undermine this binary. Jackson (2012, p. 725) argues for moving past a mobile/fixed binary in order to investigate how some individuals become 'fixed in mobility'. Jackson notes that the lives of young homeless people in London are characterised by high levels of mobility, although, under closer examination, movement also appears to be heavily restricted (Jackson, 2012). Moreover, fixity can be considered to not be

mobility's opposite, but often, a constituent aspect of it. The politics of mobility are heavily associated with the 'Other'. Much like the normative accounts of homelessness, for May (2000, p. 740), mobility renders homeless people as the 'Other' to the housed population and therefore in need of regulation and control. Revanchist policies aimed at eliminating homeless from public space, in addition to cycles of eviction stemming from housing policies and practices that favour societal elites, have resulted in 'episodic and hidden homelessness' (Ali, 2010, p. 103).

Moreover, the prevailing discourse that homeless people have made a conscious, voluntary decision, reduces homelessness to a 'lifestyle choice' and legitimises a regime of control (Amaral, 2021; Stacey, 2009; MacDonald, 1995). In Ali's (2010) analysis of health risks attached to mobility of homeless people, with a particular interest in the experience of Toronto homeless and outbreaks of tuberculosis, high mobility is found to increase the risk of disease infection. As homeless have limited control over whom they are in contact with, in addition to the highly changeable nature of their daily encounters, illness becomes commonplace. The resultant public health regulation of people's movement (through isolation, quarantine, and border control, for example), is suggested to generally contribute to a framing of homeless people as the 'Other'. Numerous resultant binaries are connected to the control of the 'Other' as a public health threat, for instance, healthy vs non-healthy, domestic vs foreign, housed vs homeless (Ali, 2010, p. 82). Of course, there is considerable intersectionality between these groups.

This framing of homeless people as Other or as a public health threat is relevant to Covid-times. Mobility and Covid has been explored, both in terms of infection (Tokey, 2021), and management (Kakderi et al., 2021). During the pandemic, research has explored how numerous controls were placed on mobility on a number of different scales during the Covid pandemic (Nouvellet et al., 2021) which effected homeless people and those who rely on public space in particular (Than, 2019). These Covid controls could be considered a wider example of the example of the technologies of control imposed on the mobility of individuals (Lemberg-Pedersen et al., 2022; Tazzioli, 2020; Pickering & Weber, 2006).

As Cloke et al. (2003) identify, the heightened visibility of homeless mobility in the public gaze is not just reduced to materiality. On the street the private aspects of an individual's life are displayed and displaced for all to see. Everyday activities (for example: washing, sleeping, urinating etc.) appear to be inappropriate and deviant – seen as simply not a normal way of using public space. Other bodily practices, like walking – or more specifically, *ways* of walking, also contribute to the Otherness of homeless bodies in urban space. 'Drifting', described as an embodied way of walking, entails walking around, head facing downwards (socially loaded for a number of reasons) whilst the gaze also rests downwards (Bourlessas, 2018, p. 753). This downturned head can indicate thoughtfulness,

embarrassment, disappointment or desperation – perhaps negative traits (Bourlessas, 2018). To summarise this section, mobility can affect homeless people in a number of ways through space and time. This relates to the visual encounter. These spaces, filled with variably in/visibilised people, are dually stigmatised as places to ignore or unsee, yet remain sites of encounters and significance for those who use them.

3.6.4. Stations as non-places or places of encounter for homeless people

> 'Nothing seems to happen ... I want to write that something happens. But nothing happens.' (Watts, 2008, p. 722)

This extract is taken from an ethnography of rail travel across England, as the author Laura Watts describes a moment of observing and waiting in the station. Anthropologist Marc Augé (1992) introduces the neologism 'non-place' to describe places of transience that do not hold the significance to be considered 'places'. In these non-places, human beings remain anonymous, do not meet and cannot empower their own identities. These could include railway stations, bus terminals, airport lounges, or even doctor's surgery waiting rooms. In fact, Augé writes that in the era of supermodernity, 'the traveller's space may thus be the archetype of a non-place' (p. 86). As a good example, architectural historian Binney (1995) writes that railway stations have moved towards holding passengers in airport-style departing lounges. Building on ethnographic research carried out at Schiphol airport in Amsterdam (hanging out, following the signs etc.), Cresswell (2006) writes that mobility is subtly coded into the fabric of the architecture, through signage, creation of pathways, and other subtle methods of control. Whilst Urry (2007) comments that it is striking how other places (railway stations or shopping centres, for example) increasingly resemble airports, urban sociologist Martinotti (1999, p. 170) states that such spaces are 'typical places' of the modern city.

Similar to Watts's ethnography of nothing happening waiting for a train, Löfgren and Ehn recognise that even in places where nothing is 'happening', there may be unobserved moments of meaning in our daily lives (Löfgren & Ehn, 2010). There are empty moments which are full of significance, conjuring the writing of Georges Perec on the unremarkable or *endotic* (Perec, 1974).
Framing a railway station as a 'non-place' may reproduce established and taken-for-granted notions of what public space, rather than an open-ended approach (Qian, 2020). However the station might still be considered a transient or a liminal space, from the Latin word *limen* or 'threshold' (Stavrides 2010; Cancellieri & Ostanel 2015). In its most straightforward sense, the active purpose of the railway station is to provide shelters for passengers and trains (Barman 1950). It exists to provide a point of arrival and departure for the rolling stock and its cargo. It is, in both symbolic and practical terms, a space of travelling between places, of inbetween-ness, of liminality, of exit and entry. Indeed,

deepening analysis into Augé's perception of the station as a transient, 'non-place', it may instead be viewed as a gateway, either in a literal or metaphorical way (Parissien 1997, p. 21).

I situate this study within critical literature on urban encounters that affirms that encounters are not necessarily fleeting or ephemeral but may have a broader theoretical significance (Wilson, 2017). I also seek to focus on the everyday which, according to sociologist Les Back, may allow us to ask what significance daily encounters carry (Back, 2015). This builds on the potential significance of visual encounters.

Brioni describes Termini station as a place of encounters (Brioni, 2017). Public spaces (like many railway stations) are of interest because encounters can happen in close proximity to strangers (Wilson, 2017). Löfgren (2008, p. 333) notes the 'intense and almost overpowering materiality' of trains and railway stations. The spatial logics of a station extend beyond its exact physical boundaries. The word station, meaning stopping point, has a fixed and static implication. However, the railway station acts as an interface between two worlds: the railway network (and connecting towns, cities, regions, countries etc.) and the 'urban backcloth' (Edwards, 1997, p. xi). It is a mixing zone. Other places of transport, like buses, have also been considered sites of encounter (Rink, 2022; Wilson, 2011; Netto, Meirelles, Pinheiro, & Lorea, 2018).

3.7. How do geographies of (im)mobility become central to the narrative of visibility, invisibility, and homelessness?

I will railway stations and other transport sites and public spaces as geographies of (im)mobility – places continually defined by shifting mobility and immobility that overlap and intersect in multiple ways. Urban public space is essential to visibility struggles (Shortell, 2020). Railway stations and other transit sites are often sites of visible homeless, becoming 'shelters and a reference landscape for urban marginalisation' (Carminucci, 2011, p. 64; Bonnet, 2009). Visual processes remain vital to the signifiance of these public sites. Despite the association with urban marginality and railway stations, various scholars have also explored the architectural history of stations and their importance as historic symbolic sites of power –including Termini station (Weststeijn & Whitling 2017). Indeed, for Brioni (2017, p. 445), the remodelling of Termini (initially under the Fascist government) and the surrounding neighbourhood was conceptualised as 'a realisation of utopia, a unified and cohesive example of Italian-ness, conceived as a modern, grandiose and white space – signalled both by the colour of the marble and the celebration of colonial victories in Africa'.

In addition to work that defines railway stations as places where power is embedded, numerous studies have also explored an association between marginality and station environments. Anthropological work done by 'hanging-out' with homeless groups in the US and elsewhere has demonstrated that physical location has a dramatic impact on how people experience their lives (Dordick 1997). Homeless groups have long been documented as associated with the specific space of the railway station. As introduced in 3.4.3., stations have been described as non-places (Augé, 2009). In a study of major European railway stations, Carminucci writes that stations do indeed resemble non-places. For Carminucci (2011, p. 64), they are 'a discontinuous and anomalous entity in respect of the ordinary urban fabric. They acquire a deep meaning, which attracts non-people'.

A melange of interconnecting urban processes like, surveillance (Vande et al., 2012) securitisation (Meyer, 2020; Rokem et al., 2017) and gentrification (Lees et al., 2008; Lees et al., 2015), all affect urban marginality in a number of ways, subjecting displaced people to visual discipline and control (Mosselson, 2019; Parsell, 2016). With an emphasis on security in urban design, there have also been studies on the proliferation of defensive architecture and urban furniture (benches concrete bollards etc.) to control public space and its users (Herring, 2019; Fine Licht, 2017; Rosenberger, 2020 etc.). Others have noted a rising dominance of shopping malls – alongside the 'globalisation of retail culture and standardisation of urban architecture' (Voyce, 2006, p. 270). This is certainly resonant for a study on railway stations which mirror these changes – especially in the case of Termini (Weststeijn & Whitling, 2017). Since 1999 Rome Termini has undergone significant redevelopment works that have transformed it into a kind of 'urban square, rich in services and shopping opportunities' (Carminucci 2011 p. 68). Relatively scarce empirical research exists on everyday experiences of these processes from the perspective of marginalised people in the city – particularly how these changes alter their visibility or their role as 'non-people'. In contrast plentiful research exists on the reasons for these urban redevelopments, often linked in logics of neoliberal and commercially-focused urban development.

3.7.1. Stations as laboratories of gentrification in the city

This project builds on work on gentrification but expands it – looking less to the development practices in Rome themselves but rather to the behaviours and aesthetics of homeless people and how they are seen and responded to, by station authorities, police and others. Gentrification is significant to studies on urban encounter in particular because it affects who is welcome in certain spaces based on a taxonomy of how certain groups are morally framed as legitimate or illegitimate users of public space (an intersectional understanding of Otherness is key here) (Draper, 2022; Weber, 2002). This in turn, produces visual encounters within the station space that are laden with power-dynamics. There is also an affective link between gentrification and urban development on the one hand, and encounters

on the other. In settings of encounter, gentrification has demonstrated to create individual, affective responses to change (Paniagua, 2019) whilst urban encounters might also offer conte station or a new politics that can resist urban transformations (Öz & Eder, 2018). Gentrification (and similar processes like *hipsterfication* (Hubbard, 2016) also have a strong aesthetic element and visual vocabulary, highlighting who is welcome and who is not.

Stations have at times been generically described as places for gentrification. Brioni (2017, p. 451) writes on the paradox of Termini station that whilst it is indeed a gentrified 'non-space' where immigrants are marginalised, it is simultaneously the primary space of socialisation for immigrants. Gentrification then, compounds to the simultaneous invisibility and visibility experienced by marginalised groups (Shortell, 2020). Gentrification is well-studied and has become a one-size-fits-all word for urban development – certainly a word with negative connotations within the social sciences. Some decry gentrification as too broad a term, without meaning (Maloutas, 2012). Broadly, work on gentrification speaks to spatial changes and social exclusion due to capital investments and increasing land-use of high-income households (Davidson & Lees, 2005). There is a broad swathe of work on gentrification, most of which is Anglophone (Ley, 1981; Lees et al., 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2005; Zukin & Kosta, 2004; Gotham, 2013; Quinton et al., 2022). This includes racial perspectives on gentrification (Rucks-Ahidiana, 2022) as well as intersections with gender and class (Bondi, 1999; Lees et al., 2008). Connecting to the visual theme of this thesis, some research has taken place on the aesthetics and representations of gentrification and urban displacement (Lindner & Sandoval, 2021). With urban space long equated with violence, disorder and fear, there has also been a focus on processes of securitisation and their connection to gentrification (Meyer, 2021). This links to the visual encounter and 'seeing' deviant behaviour associated with various societal Others.

Connecting back to debates about (hyper)visibility and work on gentrification that positions the behaviour of Others in social space as 'deviant', my thesis also intersects with work in the social sciences over the visibility of waste, human associations with waste and even 'humans as waste' (Douglas, 1991; Bell, 2019; Saraswati, 2017). This connects work on decorum (social behaviour) with décor (social and spatial aesthetics and cleanliness). In *Purity and Danger*, Douglas (1991) argues that 'dirt is essentially disorder' (p. 2) and 'matter out of place' (p. 35). The presence of marginalised individuals in railway stations is therefore thought to be problematic in relation several factors, including aesthetics, public health and security. Writing on the persistent presence of homeless people in the Paris Metro system, Soutrenon (2001) writes that displaced groups are generally seen as a nuisance, or a 'cleaning' project for the management of the municipal authorities.

3.7.2. Stations as migration spaces

Writing on Termini, Brioni (2017) observed the station as an important site for immigrants in the city, whilst at the same time a place of control and sedation. Termini features as a familiar and important part of an urban landscape for migrants in Igiaba Scego's (2017) novel *Adua*, about Somalis living in Rome in the early 20th Century. As connecting nodes, railway stations have long been documented as key spaces in global migration, as well as spaces for tourists and sojourners. Throughout Europe, displaced and homeless migrants from all over the world can often be found in stations, part of what Rygiel (2011) identifies as a global emerging network of spaces of exclusion and exception. In the same manner as representations of stations as key sites for homeless, news reports have presented stations as liminal 'holding' spaces on the borders of South-eastern Europe, from the mushrooming camp at Idomeni improvised on the railway tracks of the Greek-Macedonian border (Smith, 2016) to the welcoming of refugees at Munich's Hauptbahnhof (Connolly, 2015).

Pointing to the possibilities that city life can offer to newly arrived migrants, Sanders (2011) refers to the modern city as the 'arrival city', crucially made and remade by arrivals of new migrants, refugees and economic migrants alike. Termini might be viewed as *the* entry-point to the Rome, as an arrival city. However more than just an entry point or connecting node, Termini is a site of importance to migrants in itself. For language and literary scholar Cristina Lombardi-Diop (2009), caught at Termini, immigrants are caught in the ambiguity of Italian legislation, housing practice, and discrimination. Informal networks of Senegalese residence (for example) persist in spite of 'degrado urbanistico' (Lombardi-Diop, 2009, p. 411).

As established, notions of *home* and homelessness are closely tied to migration (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Cities are also becoming increasingly vital to the experiences of migration and human mobility (Rokem et al, 2017, p. 256). This has recent resonance that is touched upon in Chapter 2, with a focus on informal settlements of migrants and other groups like Roma in the Italian capital (Picker et al., 2015; Clough Marinaro, 2014; Maestri, 2019; 2017). Whilst this thesis is not a study of camps, it does concern spatial marginalisation of homeless migrants through legal and political mechanisms. In turn, it is important to raise important geographical work on the camp, whilst simultaneously looking to boundless and ephemeral city environments. This includes Rygiel (2011), Sanyal (2014) and Darling (2017; 2014). There is also a large amount of writing in academia and beyond about the importance of camps in contemporary geopolitics and within biopolitical strategies (Minca, 2005). Studies on migration and on refugees have often looked to camp-spaces: bounded, contained, and often formalised spaces where refugees or other marginal groups (considered homeless in a broad sense established in the first section of this literature review) are kept or contained (Davies & Isajkee, 2015; Obradovic-Wochnik, 2018). Some of this work is on urban camps – seen as apart from their contexts (Martin, 2015), 'impinging upon but never truly integrated with the city' (Ramadan, 2013, p. 74)

Marfleet (2007) describes the notion of the urban refugee as a separate notion to an inhabitant of a camp. Work on camps plays a dominant role in a wider corpus questioning how excluded people can access their rights across and in space in a number of ways - often informally (Maestri & Hughes, 2017). Some research exists on everyday life of homeless migrants in cities, like those in Brussels in Maximiliaanpark (Depraetere & Oosterlynck, 2017) which blurs the distinction between experiences of urban homelessness and camps.

3.7.3. Stations as borders

Termini station and other major European railway stations are border zones in some literal senses. They are nodes in a network of international travel. Recent critical work on migration has seen a proliferation of research on borders, bordering and border cities (Hagan, 2023; Casas-Cortes et al., 2013; De Genova, 2015; 2013; Pallister-Wilkins, 2022). It is important to acknowledge this work that critically explores how techniques and tactics of the state traditionally employed on national borders might apply to displaced people in cities.

Borders occur 'not only between states, but also within nation-states' (Fabini, 2019, p. 176). Identifying 'migrant metropolises' as border zones, De Genova (2015, p.3) explores how techniques and tactics of immigration law and enforcement are pushed on migrants in cities. This movement from state to city-focus is congruent with developments in geographical research. Critical geopolitics has posited a reformulation of geopolitics 'from a state-towards a city-centric focus' (Agnew, 2003, p. 10) where smaller, micro-sites and their urban conflicts should be given focus (Dalby, 2010). This is significant because urban space profoundly reconfigures politics of race, class, and citizenship (De Genova, 2015, p. 3). Moreover, spatial practices of migrants in cities enable researchers to explore how border enforcement has outsourced away from the physical boundaries of nation-states to cities themselves (De Genova, 2015).

Bordering work is specifically interesting in the context of this thesis because of its aesthetic nature. De Genova in particular has written on the 'spectacle' of bordering: Techniques related to bordering such as policing and migration legislation construct a 'spectacle that enacts a scene of 'exclusion'. Such spectacles render migrant 'illegality' as highly visible' (De Genova, 2013, p. 1180). As an example, Bayraktar (2019) describes how the Mediterranean has been powerfully represented as associated with the spectacularising of the migration journey, in turn legitimising the framing of migrants either as criminals or as victims as they carry out 'illegal' crossings of the sea. They are portrayed in political, media and humanitarian discourse as a depersonalised 'faceless mass' (Bayraktar, 2019, p. 356). Research might shift focus onto the extension of bordering logics into

cities. However, some research does focus on how the border is 'resisted' (Fabini, 2019) relating to other work on everyday life of marginalised or displaced people in cities.

3.8. Conclusion

This literature review has outlined a multitude of research on the everyday experiences of marginalised people such as homeless and migrant populations in urban environments. The series of discussion points have developed the linkages between encounters with homelessness, visual culture and in/visibility, and geographies of (im)mobility where these resultant visual encounters are emplaced.

Throughout a thesis that concentrates on homelessness, and building on work in urban geography, I take the approach that everyday encounters have significance (Wilson & Darling, 2016), with my focus in this thesis on visual encounters in particular (Garland-Thomson, 2006). I maintain a critical voice – looking reaffirm the ambivalent nature of encounters, whilst also opening up to the darker side of encounters by centring the experiences of homeless people in Termini. My literature review sets up a study where I can affirm that Termini is a place of embedded power but also of agency and – whilst avoiding the lionising of homelessness and urban marginality – one of many spaces where everyday life of homeless people exists and persists. In this literature review, visual processes and experiences of visibility have been established to be a significant part of human and urban experiences (Brighenti, 2007). It is unclear how visual encounters take place at particular sites, including those that are 'home' to homeless people and the specific effect of these encounters. It is also unclear how different visual encounters (encounters which are often positioned or framed 'positively') might lead researchers to a more ambivalent understanding of social relations and how homeless people have agency and choice, however fleeting these may be. I therefore adopt the question: 'How is homelessness?' (Lancione, 2013), which upholds the importance of the choices of homeless people and attempts to understand their everyday lives on their own terms, moving beyond normative framings. Valuing homemaking as an important part of everyday life for homeless people demonstrates choice and agency whilst also connecting to everyday affective experiences and viability.

I will mobilise critical experiences of visibility and invisibility and their interconnectedness throughout the thesis as in/visibility. Rather than 'advantageous' or ''disadvantageous' as previous research work has situated, this research will seek to understand in/visibilising processes as ambivalent. In/visibility therefore connects to everyday material practices of homelessness as well as representations and stereotypes of urban marginality (De Backer, 2019; Baird, 2014, however it is unclear how these practices (and strategies to manage them) are experienced or framed by homeless

people themselves. This research will explore how homeless people are seen and represented visually as 'out of place' (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015) and how they experience the strategies and mechanisms which serve to exclude and in/visibilise them – again connecting to visual encounters. Building on the relationship between visibility and racialised experiences of space is also important here – studies on public space as changing and exclusionary 'gentrified' environments are established but this research will explore the mechanisms through which specific people are in/visibilised and how this affects their everyday lives.

This review has discussed how geographies of (im)mobility, like railway stations, provide a valuable spatial frame to study homelessness and encounters with it. Mobility can be understood as a lens to view visual encounters with homelessness that produce Otherness, by placing moral value on forms of fixity and stasis, for example, which has been adopted into urban governance and processes like gentrification and forms of border governance. Having explored several understandings of public places (non-places, places of encounter etc.), I subsequently adopt a nuanced perspective of homelessness that might widen perspectives on urban marginality beyond specific legal or political definitions. Similarly, the relationship between homelessness and migration has been demonstrated in social science research, but it remains ambiguous. Building on mobilities research, this project aims to unite these many disparate literatures with a study of everyday life in Termini. The rest of the thesis will follow this thread, beginning with the next chapter on methodology.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

The methods of this study aim to capture what Bergamaschi et al. (2014, p. 2) describe as a 'whole world belonging to homeless people with its own spaces, rhythms, time, relations and survival strategies', as well as illustrating the complex nature of the station and the wider archipelago of displacement and marginality in Rome. Two distinct types of qualitative data (primary and secondary data) were collected in this study from an interdisciplinary suite of methods. This methodology also makes use of a methodology that is both visual (Phillips & Johns, 2012) and creative (Kara, 2015). Table 4.1. outlines my methodological suite.

Table 4.1. Methods

PRIMARY DATA	
Data name	*Collection method*
1. Ethnographic field diary - Ethnographic writing - Sketches - Photographs	2 months of ethnographic-inspired fieldwork in Termini station
SECONDARY DATA	
2. TerminiTV - Short films	Watching and film analysis of 108 short films from TerminiTV's Facebook page
3. *Shaker* street newspaper - Creative writing & poetry	Reading and textual analysis of 29 issues of *Shaker* - Also other policy documents, newspaper articles, etc.

4.1.1. Chapter structure

Building on Chapter 3: Literature Review, this chapter will outline my methodology, including the processes of collecting and analysing data, as well as any limitations faced. I will connect my methodology to my research questions and aims, providing a justification for the specific pathways I chose. With data collection and fieldwork taking place between the years 2020-2022, I will also reflect on the effect that the Covid-19 pandemic had on my research project, the resulting changes and the enduring limitations that were experienced as a result. I will also outline my piloting methods for the study and 'map' out my field site with photographs and research maps. I will then introduce my data and justify my choices as follows:

1. Ethnographic methods (including sketches and photography)
2. The films of TerminiTV
3. *Shaker* street newspaper

In order to capture the visual element of this thesis, I will be using a number of visual methods, which are deeply rooted in geography. At the end of the chapter I will explore the importance of ethics and positionality, including ethical considerations I made in the methodology to avoid extractive research, ethical implications of visual and creative research. Also discussed is the influence that I, the researcher, have over the methodological process.

4.1.2. Methodological contributions: creativity and ethical engagement

I see the contribution of this methodology lying in two major areas: creativity and ethical engagement. Its creativeness relates to the novel and interdisciplinary combination of methods combined (Phillips & Kara, 2021; Kara, 2015) including sketching, as well as the concentration on visual methodologies (Phillips & Johns, 2012). Reflexively, this creativity also stems from the research design which was adapted as a reaction to reaction to Covid-19. Creativity in research is not usually described in these terms – rather relating to methods themselves - but this adaptation and redesign process was one of creativity (Fetters & Molina-Azorin, 2020). This is also reflexive: responding to the creativity reflected in the lives of homeless people particularly in acts of homemaking and viability (Lenhard, 2020; Lancione, 2013; Bergamaschi et al., 2014; Hage, 2019), as outlined in Chapter 3: Literature Review.

Ethical engagement is a priority throughout the project. My wide-ranging and creative methodological suite is designed to address and centre the experiences and voices of homeless people themselves (Deal, et al., 2023). My thesis is about visibility and representation and therefore the research design needs to reflect this. Ethical engagement was also crucial during Covid-times (Nind et al., 2021). Social research methods needed to be adapted for the pandemic conditions of Covid-19 (Yeoh & Shah, 2021), which related to my study working with vulnerable people in Rome. My project prioritised the lived experiences on homeless people during a time when they were ‘worst off’ (Yeoh & Shah, 2021). I also attempted to concentrate research away from traditional means, looking to alternative secondary sources that might better reflect how homeless people represent themselves and want to represent themselves, including through film and creative writing. These data collection methods also enabled me to ‘keep my distance’ at a time when being close was potentially dangerous to health (Nguyen et al., 2022).

4.2. Creative and interdisciplinary research design

This section will provide an overview of the research design and methodological suite. Figure 4.1. provides a visualisation of the three data sources used in this PhD project, with different aspects of these individual components also shown. These three disparate methods complement each other by specifically targeting the research questions and aims. They also are designed to uphold and promote ethical research practice whilst also being creative and interdisciplinary.

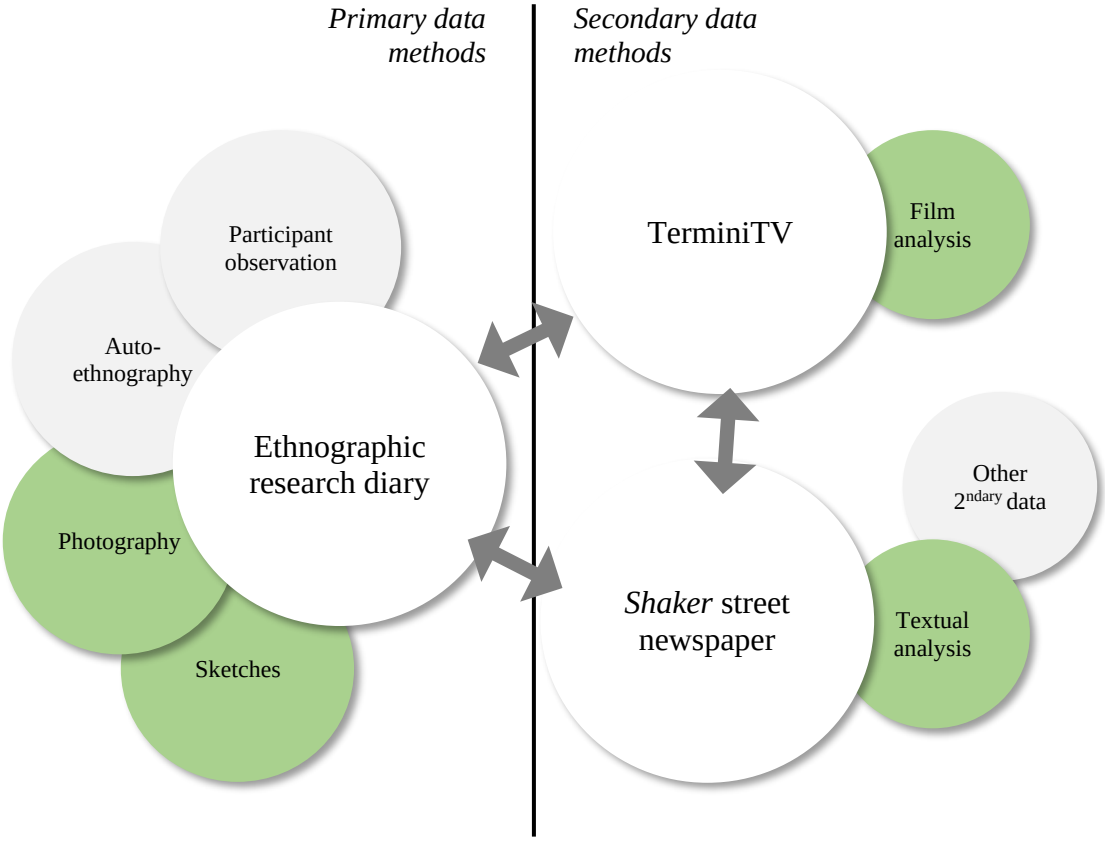

Figure 4.1. A visual and creative methodological suite: circles in green represent 'creative' elements of the methodological suite.

4.3. Connecting research aims and research questions

The entire methodology is designed to fit both the aims of the research (what I aimed to achieve) as well as the research questions outlined in the introduction of this thesis, demonstrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Rationale for methodology based on research aims and questions				
Method	***Ethnographic field diary***		***Secondary data***	
	Ethnographic field diary	Sketches / photographs	TerminiTV	*Shaker*

Aim 1) To explore the visibility and invisibility of homeless people in urban public space, using the case study of Termini railway station.	x	x	x	x
Aim 2) To highlight the significance of everyday visual encounters of and with homeless people, in conceptual and practical terms using the case study of Termini railway station.	x	x	x	x
Aim 3) To make a methodological contribution with a combination of creative research methods that foregrounds ethical engagement with homeless people.		x	x	x
RQ 1) How do homeless people use and interact with Termini station?	x	x	x	
RQ 2) How do other people using the station interact and see homeless people in and around Termini?	x		x	x
RQ 3) What external mechanisms exclude and in/visibilise homeless people in and around Termini?	x	x	x	
RQ 4) Do homeless people contest their own in/visibility? If so, how and why?	x	x	x	x

4.3.1. Research aims

- Aim 1 is to explore how homeless people – many of whom are migrants – experience shifting patterns of visibility and invisibility in urban public space, using the case study of Rome's Termini railway station. Predominantly building on other critical studies on the urban margins (Lancione 2015, Cancellieri & Ostanel 2015, Lenhard 2020, Maestri 2017) – and due to changes to the methodology made during Covid-19 - an umbrella methodology based on three main data sources (field diary, TerminiTV film analysis and *Shaker* street newspaper textual analysis) is an appropriate research strategy.

- Aim 2 speaks to everyday visual encounters in urban public spaces. By working with sources that capture the words and experiences of homeless people in Termini (TerminiTV and *Shaker*), as well as the organisations that seek to assist and represent them, I use a number of sources that pay attention to everyday life in Termini station. Platforming everyday experiences that may be typically unseen or ignored, I contend that that visual encounters carry considerable significance and can help us to understand 'how' homelessness is, on its own terms.

- Aim 3 states that the project attempts to advance a suite of innovative and creative research methods in combination with traditional social scientific research techniques in order to try and foster a better understanding of the complex lives of homeless people and the complex spaces they live in and use. This includes the use of sketching in my field diary, creative techniques, combined with creative secondary sources like TerminiTV and *Shaker* alongside more traditional qualitative methods. These are innovative, because the suite of methods has not been combined in such a way before on a geographical study on homelessness. It is creative, because it involved arts-adjacent methods, captures creativity of homeless people, and is achieved through a process of creative adaptation of the researcher. This is in part a reaction to changes in the field caused by Covid-19 that affected fieldwork capacity.

4.3.2. Research questions

The methodology is designed to address the research questions that form the structure of this study:

- Research Question 1 relates my own observations acquired through participant observation and hanging out, as part of an ethnographic field diary. Existing ethnographies of places like railway stations are useful foundations here, such as Löfgren's (2015) study in Copenhagen, combining deep-hanging out, autoethnography, as well as a literary thick descriptive technique. Sketches and photography provides a visual element for capturing complexity of mobility and materiality in homelessness, for example as it does in Lancione's research with homeless in Bucharest (2017) or Ianchenko's (2011) sketching in Tallinn. Secondary sources will deepen understandings, especially when capturing the words of homeless people.

- Research Question 2 builds on work on visual encounters in public space, particularly the research of Garland-Thomson (2006; 2009). Findings are documented in the research

diary. I use photography and sketching (as RS1), comprehending how individuals and the space are 'seen', in a similar way to poet Lavinia Greenlaw's *Audio Obscura* (2011) project which pairs images which ethnographic-style text.

- Research Question 3 relates directly to il decoro urbano and material changes to the station itself and the immediate neighbourhood. Ethnographic observation and hanging out will be carried out (similar to Löfgren, but also Cresswell (2006) at airports and other mobilities studies) reflecting on movement and (im)mobility around the space. This will be documented through the research diary, as well as through photography, for example building on Pinney's (2015) work with migrants in Calais, who focuses on the traces of the camp – the tents, makeshift structures, belongings, and practices within.

- Research Question 4 relates to the perspective of the people themselves and will be achieved through secondary sources and the testimony of homeless people in Termini in TerminiTV and *Shaker*, in addition to data from my field diary that explores how people contest in/visibility in space building on ethnographic methods on homelessness and migration in public space (Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015; Lenhard, 2020; Gesuelli, 2020; Baird, 2014; Bourlessas, 2018).

4.4. Impact of Covid-19 on research design

The Covid-19 pandemic and strategies related to managing the pandemic had a major effect on the research plan. Although the research was affected, it allowed a new, more relevant study to emerge, focusing on the lives of marginalised people in a critical time period. Through serendipity, it also engendered a creative approach which has developed into a key contribution of the study. That said, Termini remained the important backdrop.

For much of Covid I was in lockdown in Norwich, UK and unable to travel to Termini. In Italy and Rome, the situation was complex and travel and fieldwork was impossible until March 2022 when all restrictions were lifted (and the situation has remained as such). I moved away from the original plan of a 6-month integrated ethnography, involving participant observation and informal interviews – access to which was to be gained by a snow-balling sample technique after volunteering and spending time with different refugee and migration NGOs in the city. This original plan built on traditional ethnographic work with homeless people in Italy by Lancione (2013; 2014; 2016), Cancellieri and Ostanel (2015) and Gesuelli (2020) as well as work on other marginalised groups like Roma in the city (Maestri, 2017; 2019). Covid-19 made this impossible.

Urban research showed the nature of the field changes and therefore I was forced to be creative in my approach and adapt (Fetters & Molina-Azorin, 2020). Urban research showed that the pandemic affected the vulnerable in society the most (Reyes, et al., 2020). Povoledo's (2021) piece in *The New York Times* on the impact of Covid on homeless people in Rome outlined the new challenges that many people faced during the pandemic. A new-found importance of 'staying safe at home' gave me a new motivation to complete the study particularly when many homeless people could not do so.

I adapted much of my study to resources available online, as did other researchers during the pandemic (Roberts et al., 2021). A reduced fieldwork capacity still allowed a cohesive and robust investigation into the relationship between Rome as a city, and the marginalised groups who live there. For the duration of planning, I held a Plan B in case Covid made in-person ethnographic fieldwork lasting over several months impossible. This involved remote working and using accessible online resources – secondary sources – as a replacement. I was already familiar with *Shaker* magazine and TerminiTV before the pandemic and subsequently decided to use them as alternative data sources, in keeping with my research themes of in/visibility, seeing and spatial exclusion..

Throughout the study I chose not to travel to Italy to conduct physical fieldwork close to vulnerable people, until March and June 2022, when restrictions were lessened and I was able to move around to speak to people (Nguyen et al., 2022). I conducted limited physical fieldwork in this time, wearing a mask and adhering strictly to remaining local Covid-protection measures to protect myself and others.

4.5. Mapping out the field

This section will introduce the fieldsite – Termini station – and its wider environment in the neighbourhood Esquilino (officially, Rione XV Esquilino), Rome. As well as providing photographs and maps of Termini, I will map out some places of particular interest that were significant during fieldwork.

4.5.1. Termini as an archipelago

As explored in Chapter 2, rather than one concrete site, Termini station is a complex and multifaceted site and casts a long shadow on the neighbourhood and city around it. But Termini is a centrifugal force attracting life, people, and commerce towards it.

I refer to Termini informally here as an 'archipelago'. The surrounding areas like Esquilino or Castro Pretorio are visibly marked by the station, and stand in stark contrast to much of the rest of the city. Termini reaches out to various places in its proximity like the Piazza dei Indipendenza, Piazza dei

Siculi and other nearby pockets of Rome like islands in the Termini archipelago. Migrant groups wander from the station to these nearby spots to relax and meet, whilst market stalls proliferate in others. To use the metaphor of an archipelago, I am interested in these islands around Termini which are included in my research design. These are places that I define as not *in* the station, but *of* the station. I will now introduce some important sites (with photographs) in the field that will be focused on and referred to frequently throughout this thesis.

4.5.1.1. Termini ticket hall

Termini's ticket hall is under its large famous modernist roof and features a series of high-street retailers (Nike, a bookstore etc.), a café, several restaurants (currently being built) and lines of ticket machines. It is busy with tourists and locals throughout the day and is patrolled by police and security. Several homeless people hang around in the ticket hall or rest in the few remaining seats in the station within the entrance from the concourse (Figure 4.2.)

Figure 4.2. Photograph of the Termini ticket hall. Author's own. 3 March 2022.

4.5.1.2. Termini concourse

Termini concourse is a long, wide passageway (closed late at night 1am - 4am) lined by increasingly luxurious shops as Termini transforms into a shopping-mall style space. It is patrolled by police and private security who routinely ask visitors for identification (for security purposes). It is an extremely busy space running between Via Marsala and Via Giolitti (Figure 4.3.)

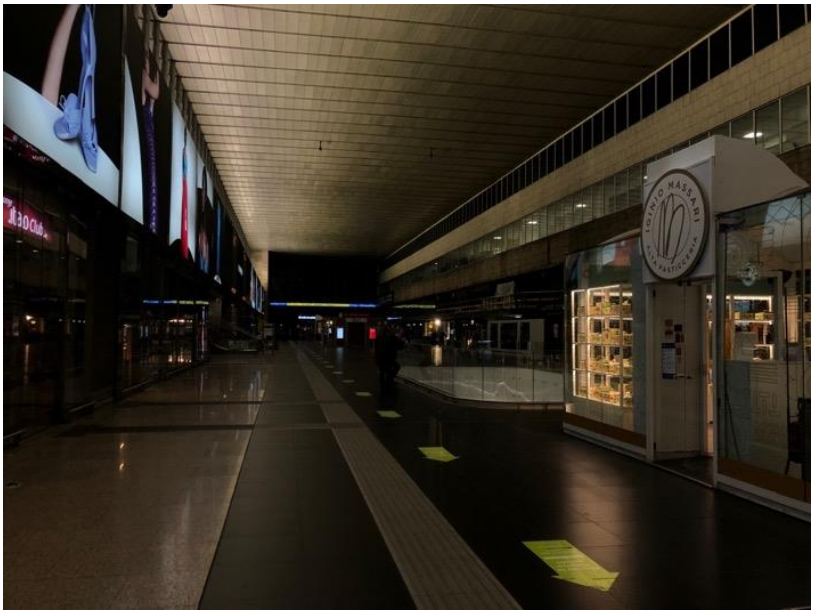

Figure 4.3.. Photograph of the Termini concourse. Here it is empty and late at night. Author's own. 15th March 2022.

4.5.1.3. Termini Metro and -1 Level

Beneath Termini station and accessible by a series of staircases and escalators throughout Termini and around Piazza dei Cinquecento is the lower level. Below Termini there is a shopping-mall style place of low-rent, transitional retail space and fast-food restaurants like McDonalds. The Metro features a number of interlocking corridors leading to the trains on Line A and Line B of Rome's Metro system (Figure 4.4.).

Figure 4.4. Photograph of the lower level of Termini. This is looking through newly renovated roof to the station concourse. Author's own. 15th March 2022.

4.5.1.4. Termini food court

On the top floor of Termini station, accessible from the concourse, and the ticket hall is the food-court, a long open airy space recently renovated and home to several chain cafes and restaurants. It features Termini's only public toilet ad a viewing gallery over the train tracks (Figure 4.5.).

Figure 4.5. Photograph of the upper level of Termini. This corridor leads to food court and shops. Author's own. 15th March 2022.

4.5.1.5. Piazza dei Cinquecento

Piazza dei Cinquecento is the large public space in front of Termini station. It is named after a fallen Italian battalion in Dogali, a colonial battle in modern-day Eritrea (the Dogali monument is nearby). It features the façade of Termini underneath its famous roof, the taxi rank, and the bus stops. There are

Figure 4.6. Photograph of Piazza dei Cinquecento. This angle is looking towards the Baths of Diocletian. Author's own. 17th March 2022.

trees offering shade and several Metro entrances, one of which is closed and a popular sleeping place. ‘Sunday dinners’ take place here whilst the piazza is under constant surveillance (or protection) by police, the Italian Army and private security (Figure 4.6.).

4.5.1.6. Via Giolitti and Via Marsala

Via Giolitti is the long street running along Termini’s right-hand side. Esquilino is on the other side of the road, one of Rome’s most diverse neighbourhoods characterised by high immigrant population, Chinese, Bangladeshi and Middle Eastern restaurants. The entrance to the Mercato Centrale is on Via Giolitti. Homeless people sleep on cardboard boxes up against the glass of the station building. Via Marsala runs alongside the left-hand side of Termini station. Castro Pretorio, an area of Italian restaurants, hotels, and shops runs alongside this side of the station before reaching San Lorenzo further away from the station. Like on Via Giolitti, homeless people sleep up against the walls of Termini along Marsala. Via Giolotti and Via Marsala are connected by the main station concourse, the sottopasso, a second subterranean passageway through the station building (with security at its entrance), and a final-smaller underpass close to San Lorenzo (Figure 4.7.).

Figure 4.7. Photograph of Via Giolitti. This angle is from Esquilino, at night. Author’s own. 20th June 2022.

4.5.1.7. Sottopasso

Connecting Via Giolitti and Via Marsala towards the back of the station building is the sottopasso, an underground tunnel generally avoided by the public and an important place for homeless people. Recent ‘defensive architecture’ changes in 2023 have transformed the sottopasso, in order to discourage homelessness (Figure 4.8.). This will be critically explored in Chapter 6.

Figure 4.8. Photograph of the sottopasso. This angle is from Via Giolitti. Author's own. 16th June 2022.

4.5.2. Research maps

The following maps will detail the geography of the fieldsite – a useful reference material for the thesis but also a method of orientation in the field during ethnographic research. These maps depict important sites and the geographical relationships between people in Termini and their activity.

- Map 1 (Figure 4.9.) is a collection of 8 small rough sketch maps from my field diary as I collected data.
- Map 2 (Figure 4.10.) is a rough sketched map from my pilot studies in my field diary. It shows the sites of importance around Termini station.
- Maps 3 (Figure 4.11.) and 4 (Figure 4.12.) show the location of Esquilino in Rome.
- Maps 5 (Figure 4.13.) and 6 (Figure 4.14.) are edited maps of Termini and Piazza dei Cinquecento, showing where I conducted research and places that feature in the films of TerminiTV.

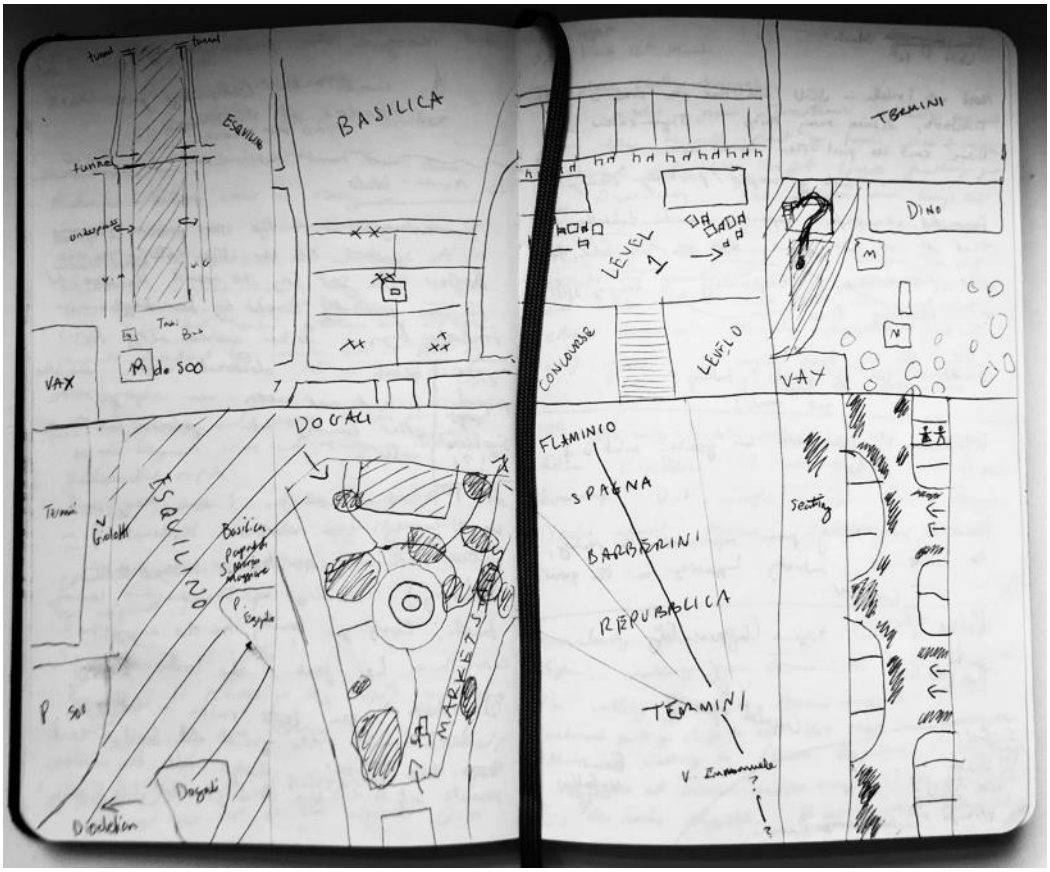

Figure 4.9. 8 sketched maps from my field diary. Clockwise from top left: 1) Map of Termini with side streets and sottopasso 2) Sleeping places of homeless migrants in Piazza dell'Esquilino; 3) Seating in the food court of Termini upper floor; 4) Map of accessible areas of Piazza dei Cinquecento; 5) Layout of cafes and paid toilets in upper floor, Termini; 6) Metro line heading towards (and beyond Termini to Esquilino); 7) Park area around Dogali obelisk; 8) Rough map of Esquilino. 16th March 2022.

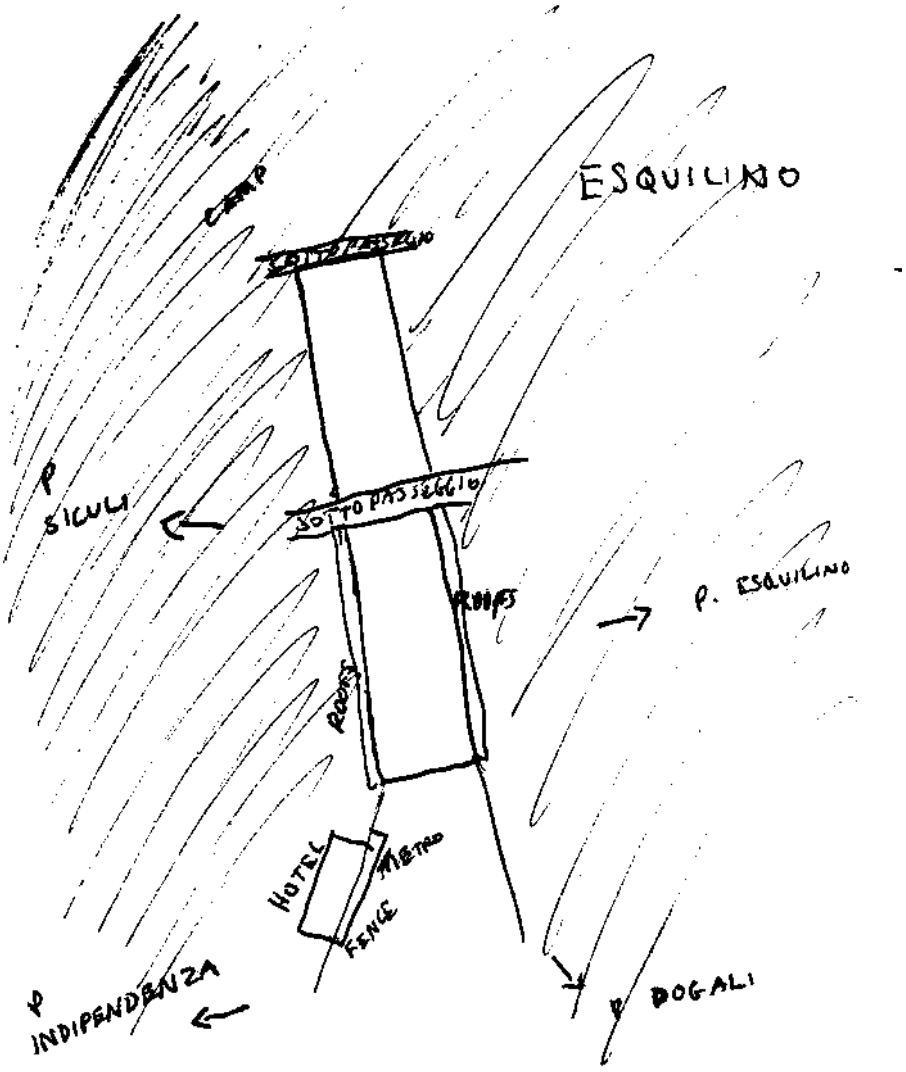

Figure 4.10. Sketched map of Termini fieldsite. This includes nearby piazzas of importance. Note the sottopasso (labelled as sottopassaggio) intersecting the middle section of the station. 29th June 2022.

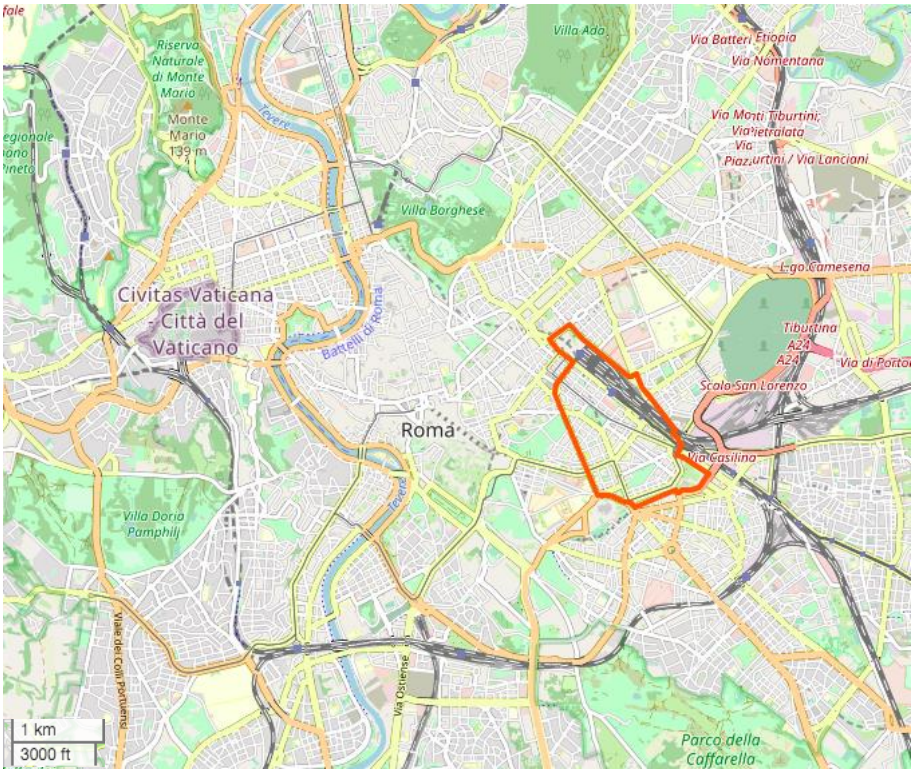

Figure 4.11. Location of Esquilino and Termini Rome 1. Source OpenStreetMap with Author's Edits.

Figure 4.12. Location of Esquilino and Termini 2. Source OpenStreetMap with Author's Edits.

Figure 4.13. Map of Termini and surrounding sites. Source Google Maps with Author's Edits.

Figure 4.14.3D map of Piazza dei Cinquecento and Metro entrances (active in red, defunct in black) around Termini station. Source Google Maps with Author's Edits

4.6. Piloting methods

Piloting methods is an important part of the effort to make research methods robust and ethically-driven (Malmqvist et al., 2019). Piloting methods was disrupted somewhat by Covid and a prolonged inability to travel to Italy to carry out a week of planned-piloting. After this, I chose not to pilot in-person fieldwork with homeless people due to their vulnerable health status and ethical questions that remained when in contact with them. I chose to adapt my piloting to my local environment in Norwich, UK as well as online where possible, building on others' approaches (Alhejaili et al., 2022; Paupini et al., 2002).

Methods were piloted during an extended period between January 2020 – December 2021 while Covid-19 affected travel plans. To pilot each main data source the following steps were undertaken:

- Ethnographic field diary and sketches
    - Using a variety of online sources to map out field sites in Termini such as Google Maps (Wise, 2015), TerminiTV films, and Niccolò Berretta's (2021) photography project *Termini: A Lookbook*.
    - A series of place-writing exercises around the UK, in railway stations (Manchester, Norwich, Sheffield) and on train journeys to depict the encounters between people, visual processes and sites of urban transport. This included keeping an ethnographic diary for sketches and field entries during journeys and on walks around UK.

- TerminiTV film analysis
    - A selection of TerminiTV films and analysing a selection of them through a series of essays. For example focusing on instances of 'Light and Dark' in the visual vocabulary of Termini and using visual/film methods to unpack these.

- *Shaker* newspaper analysis
    - As above, a selection of *Shaker* newspaper issues were focused on and analysed – for example accounts of homelessness at Termini were explored through essay-writing.

4.7. Data source 1: Ethnographic research diary

I will now itemise and explore each of my main data sources. The first in my methodological suite is an ethnographic research diary. The research diary is a result of 8 weeks of fieldwork in Rome, over March and July 2022 and February 2023. The content of the field diary is inspired by ethnographic and auto-ethnographic research writing and is complemented by visual methods – aiming to capture the visual nature of this project: specifically, sketches and photography. Whilst I cannot call it ethnography per se (because of the limited time frame for in-person ethnographic methods as a result of Covid), the research is done in the spirit of ethnography and remains an ethnographic research diary. This is as an ethically-driven method (Ryder, 2021) which is also a powerful tool to help unpack and make sense of life in everchanging, complex urban environments (Pardo & Prato, 2018). As part of this I draw on ethnographic practices such as participant observation, in the guise of similar work in refugee camp spaces throughout Europe, spaces which are themselves difficult to access on a comparable semi-permanent basis (Mould, 2017; Dhes et al., 2017; Obradovic-Wochnik, 2018).

4.7.1. Using ethnographic method to capture ways of seeing and unseeing

Within my ethnographic research, I used a participant observation technique whilst at the station. Participation observation 'has strengths in describing the local processes, practices, norms, values, reasoning, technologies, and so on that constitute social and cultural lifeworlds' (Laurier, 2016, p. 172). As I explore in the thesis, ways of seeing and visual encounters are connected to human emotions and affects. In order to embrace this and building on the work of others (Lancione, 2019; Bondi, 2005; Thieme, 2017), I used this to observe people's visual encounters – studying how they looked, what they looked at – all with the awareness that I cannot know what someone is really thinking.

During the opening times of Termini station (6am – 11pm for the station facilities, 4am – 1am for the walkways) I walked around the building and engaged in 'hanging out' (Geertz, 1998), through its different areas and passageways and the surrounding neighbourhood of Esquilino. I spent long periods of multiple hours, sometimes up to a day at the station. This was inspired by ethnologist Löfgren's thick description of Copenhagen Central (including the use of light and space, and the movement of bodies) combined with reflection of the self (Löfgren, 2008). My periods of 'hanging out' were most fruitful on Sunday evenings, where the Rome-based NGO Mama Termini (itself connected to TerminiTV) hosted dinners on Piazza dei Cinquecento. As Tim Ingold (2007) explains, working and study *with* people in anthropological research is more effective.

On Sundays, I went and volunteered, ate and talked with people at the station. I met people to have informal conversations inspired by the snowballing sample technique employed by Cancellieri and Ostanel at Padua railway station (Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015). This lasted throughout the night as we handed out the rest of the food around the hinterlands of Termini station. This was partially inspired by Thieme's account of writing and *doing* ethnography in Nairobi slums (Thieme, 2017), particularly techniques on finding the field, becoming comfortable in the field site, blending into the surroundings, establishing banter with locals, volunteering, trying to stay out of the way (when appropriate), asking questions and 'breaking bread'.

4.7.2. Writing a field diary

Ethnography can be understood both as text and method. The field diary represents the main textual element of this aspect of the study. I kept a constant field diary (Figure 4.15.), with the aim of documenting events, informal conversations and exchanges, like Darling in his fieldwork in a UK asylum drop in-centre (Darling, 2011). My field diary builds on the work of other similar research, such as field notes collected in 2012 through participant observation with Sudanese men in Athens (Baird, 2014). I was also interested in the hidden significance in routine and everyday life (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010) – documenting non-events and moments of waiting– extremely commonplace in a railway station. I have pseudonymised all the homeless people I met and recorded in the diary.

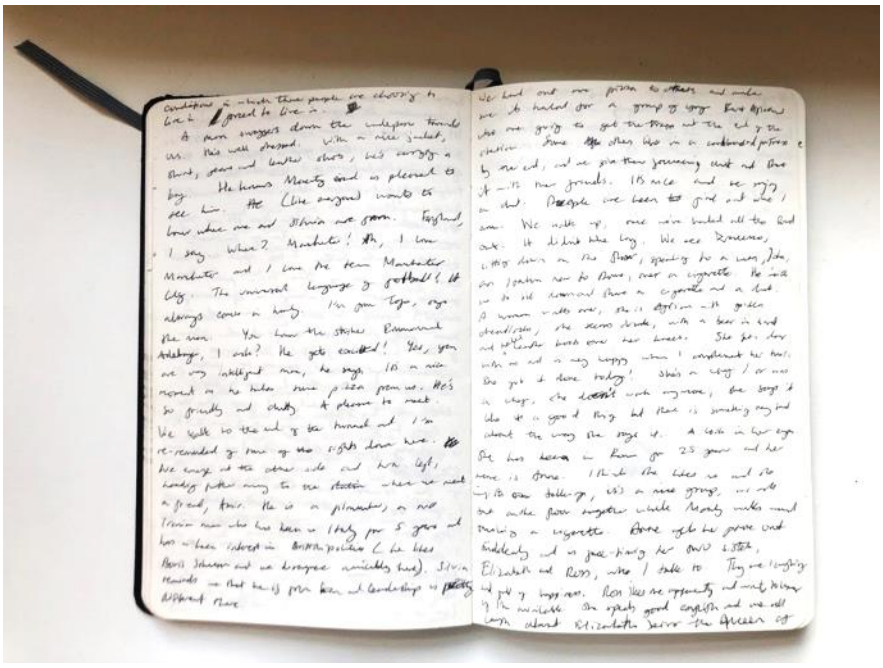

Figure 4.15. Photograph of my field diary. Authors own. 4 March 2023.

As well as writing down my observations and making sketches, I was inspired to engage in 'Perecquian fieldwork' (Phillips et al., 2019) in order to capture the 'everyday' lived experience inherent within the in/visibilisation of homeless people. Writer Georges Perec brought the ordinary – what he called 'endotic' – geographies into view (Perec, 2008 [1997], p. 50)'. Other social scientists inspired by Perec have encouraged us to see more 'flatly' (Lee, 2019). I frequently attempted to see 'more flatly' in the field to focus my own observations and find small fleeting moments of seeing/unseeing. Resultantly my diary contains notes, lists, categorisations, and more free flowing style prose – inspired by the increasing application of creative writing in research (Phillips & Kara, 2021).

4.7.3. Auto-ethnographic technique

I used an auto-ethnographic technique to write on my daily thoughts and observations in my field diary (Wall, 2008). Generally in auto-ethnography, the writer uses self-reflection alongside anecdotal and personal experience, connecting an autobiographic story to the wider world (Maréchal, 2010). Within the written thesis, I present several vignettes from the autoethnography (Pitard, 2016) , adding richness to analysis and a sense of specificity and hyperlocality to the study. However I have to acknowledge that (auto)ethnographic writing is profoundly affected by the researcher's own subjectivities alongside generic criticisms of the non-verifiable and non-replicable nature of qualitative methods (Allan, 1991). However the use of auto-ethnographic technique might illuminate instances of everyday experience that can offer critique to conventional or normative narrative (Hodsdon, 2022; Bamberg & Andrews, 2004).

4.7.4. Sketches

Creative, visual methods have been used before to investigate complex spaces like railway stations and I build on the success of these studies using sketching but also photography, in a similar way to poet Lavinia Greenlaw's *Audio Obscura* (2011) project, combining visuals from London and Manchester stations with written prose focusing on encounters at the station. In Greenlaw's work, the balance between text and visual leaves the reader in the dark: the stories are nether revealed nor concluded, but rather are kept in a thoughtful balance.

As part of my visual and creative methodology, I sketched in my field diary and these became an important part of my study. I have a total of 29 sketches to draw from as a data source, although some may resemble 'scribbles' or 'doodles', even though the boundaries between these different types of drawing are unclear (Allen, 2021). During my fieldwork I sketched as I went, and usually finished off the drawing in a café whilst sitting down. Often this process elicited encounters and conversations with interested passers-by, like the meeting with a man in the upstairs food-court in Termini (Figure 4.16.). In this encounter, we were both sketching and struck up a conversation.

Figure 4.16. Sketch of a meeting with a man in Termini. 7th March 2022.

Doing research is an inherently creative process (Kara, 2015, p. 1) and sketching was used as one of several creative methods to help answer research questions which are not possible to address purely with traditional methods. Sketching is also an ethical way of doing visual research. With the research focusing on 'the visual', visual methods helped explore sensitive topics and working with people in marginality in ethically-sensitive ways, eliciting and expressing cultural ways of knowing (Kara, 2015, p. 13). It was ethically-engaged – it allowed me to capture visual processes without the intrusion of photography, for example.

As another open-ended study, I was also inspired by sketches of urban transport sites in Tallin by artist and researcher Aleksandra Ianchenko. Simple monochromatic sketches allow a sense of atmosphere to develop and be captured in the work (Ianchenko, 2021) and also to display the relationship between sites of public transport and people.

I sketched consistently as part of my ethnographic methods – sketching mostly in the daytime, when Termini is busy. The speed and freedom of drawing in this way permitted a sense of motion and mobility (or indeed lack of mobility – which is significant in the case of some homeless people). Although I am not an artist, I was stylistically inspired by the work of British artist L.S. Lowry, and the use of simple, silhouette figures that convey mobility and engagement with a space.

4.7.5. Photographs

I took hundreds of pictures of the Termini station environment during my fieldwork. Due to ethical considerations in photography (Hall, 2009; O'Hara & Higgins, 2019), I never pointed a camera at a homeless person nor did I photograph 'people'. I took photographs focused on the lived material traces of homelessness with the aim of using these as sources to explore practices of invisibility. Niccolò Berretta's (2021) photography project at Termini: *Stazione Termini Lookbook 2009-2021*, was a primary inspiration on my visual methodology – informing not only that Termini is a complex site of at times overwhelming visuality but also that this can be captured with the use of a camera. I found that taking photos helped 'slow down' the environment, giving me a chance at a second-look.

Figure 4.17. Photograph of abandoned pair of shoes, Piazza dell'Esquilino. Author's own. 6th March 2022.

Photography has long been a method used in geographic research (Rose, 2008). As part of my methodological suite of visually-engaged creative methods I used photography to explore aspects of the station and capture material processes of homelessness, like Figure 4.17., of an abandoned pair of shoes in Piazza dell'Esquilino, a site associated with homelessness and migrants (Banini, 2021). Photography can be paired effectively with 'narrative' (Wood, 1998) and also used to capture lifeworlds of homelessness and open up space of exchange, as well as engender a form of reciprocity between the researcher and researched (Back, 2007, p. 97). Photography is a method to 'see' but also to see fieldwork itself (Trowell, 2019). I have thus reflected on my photography from Termini, re-seeing sights and encounters and constantly recontextualising them – like my maps and sketches - as the research has developed.

4.8. Data source 2: TerminiTV

My second data source is a collection of films depicting life at Termini station produced by Rome-based filmmaking collective TerminiTV. The TerminiTV film archive is a ready-made repository of life stories and experiences from Termini – using it as a data source during Covid presented me with hundreds of stories that otherwise I would not have had access to. I had previously discovered the films of TerminiTV in the early research scoping phase.

Combining and cross-referencing film analysis with the findings of my ethnography presents a novel and creative mixed-methods (and transdisciplinary approach) to my study. In some ways, by exploring the spaces of Termini, the films are an extension of the ethnography-adjacent-methodology. They feature recurring sites, and in many examples, recurring people. According to anthropologist Sarah Pink, video is not simply a data collection tool but also a 'technology that participates in the negotiation of social relationships and a medium through which ethnographic knowledge is produced' (Pink, 2007, p. 169). To avoid confusion I call them 'films', rather than videos, movies or cinema, as it is the most general term with the fewest connotations (Monaco, 2000). With the understanding that we can experience the world through film (Cresswell & Dixon, 2002), I am interested in both the visual (aesthetic) and textual/narrative elements of the films, which I consider to be interdependent. In this way I understand films as 'images' or 'visual sources' building on the work of Sarah Pink (2007) and Gillian Rose (2001) in particular, but also as sites that can be understood through textual and content analysis borrowed from frameworks from film and media studies (Phillips, 2000; Crang, 2010). Moreover these are sites which are open-ended and where meaning is produced (Hall, 1980).

4.8.1. What is TerminiTV?

TerminiTV is both an organisation working within the urban fabric of Rome and a living repository of video material of life at Termini station. Founded in 2015, it has over 12,000 likes on its Facebook page whilst hundreds of its films are available for free online. According to the website, TerminiTV (2021) is the only online channel in the world specialised in narrating life stories from railway stations: 'We explore the edge between travel and migration, travelers [sic] and migrants'. Its films are typically around ten minutes long and consist of short interviews with locals, throughout the day and in different locations around the station. For example, some take place walking around, some are in the café in the station hall, others are in Piazza dei Cinquecento. The short interviews are interspersed with clips of station life: moving crowds, closing doors, waiting bodies, departing trains, people chatting and laughing. They are atmospheric and engaging, yet capture the esoteric and 'infraordinary' aspects of everyday life and encounters at Termini station.

4.8.2. What film data have I collected?

As a data source I have analysed 108 films from TerminiTV (I accessed them on their Facebook page but they are also available on YouTube and Vimeo). The films range in time-limit, from some under a minute to others around 20 minutes long. They span approximately six years in their production, from May 2015 to April 2021. Some are in Italian (with English subtitles written by the producer) and others are in English (with Italian subtitles). I use these translations interchangeably in analysis and explain more about techniques of translation methods in this thesis in a section below.

The method involved watching them several times and making detailed notes. I have collated these findings into a master document (27 pages long with codes and notes – see Appendix). In the document I recorded the date, URL, a meta description of the film, a screenshot, the films' genre and any 'visual tropes' - (familiar symbols and images that carry certain associations) that appear in film analysis (Monaco, 2000). I also recorded whether it was recorded in night or daytime, and explicit or implicit mentions/themes of homelessness, migration, visibility, mobility and invisibility as data codes (Adu, 2019).

4.8.3. Social media and audiencing: my approach

Finding the films on social media (Facebook or Youtube, for example) necessitates an engagement with the idea that social media is itself a 'research environment' (Konijn et al., 2013). Film and media studies tends to focus on the role of traditional viewing media (cinema, television, or museum for example). I do not feature the audience, their role, or the process of 'audiencing' (Fiske, 1992). However, comments, reactions and 'likes' are all part of the engagement with the films in the online space. Whilst social media can be nebulous, it is also potentially filled with illuminating information on how homeless people are represented to the online spectator. I realise that losing this focus could be seen as a limitation to the study that looks at the way homeless people are 'seen'. Nevertheless I wanted to remain focus on the everyday lives of homeless people in and around Termini and the way they see and are seen there. Therefore, I follow the approach of Stuart Hall (1980), who assets that films are 'read' and experienced differently – and therefore look past the focus on a single spectator.

4.8.4. Films as stories and representations of reality

TerminiTV itself presents a rich array of stories and experiences form the people who live their lives at the station. I understand stories here in the geographical sense highlighted by Hester Parr and others, where stories are understood as having potential to 'create social, political and intellectual change', whilst upholding the importance of 'the local, the situated, and the specific' (Parr & Stevenson, 2014, p. 56).

I am interested in the stories of homeless people through the films of TerminiTV and what these stories reveal about their lives. This relates to challenges to normative representations and stereotypes of homelessness and marginality (De Backer, 2019; Baird, 2014; Beckett & Herbert, 2009; Valverde, 2015) whilst using language that homeless people want to use to describe themselves (McCarthy, 2013). Throughout my film-based methodology, I draw upon various understandings from social science of what films are and their limitations, including film as a subjective medium, alike to ethnography in many ways. I do not understand film as objective capturing of reality, despite their complex relationship with 'reality' (Pink, 2007). Indeed, a film is not reality – it is a representation (Monaco, 2000, p. 177). However according to Denzin (2004, p. 239) a film is a site for 'multiple experiences' and therefore might be a tool for 'framing' reality.

Particular representations have power and can forward dominant societal narratives which are constituted by visual sources like films in popular culture (van Gent & Jaffe, 2017), but they can also challenge narratives, for instance the 'migrant crisis' films *Havarie* (2016) and *The Leopard* (2007*)* challenging the framing of crises or a sense of spectacle (Bayraktar, 2019)**.** In the same way, I suggest that TerminiTV's films may challenge dominant or normative representations of homelessness (and other issues) and present these stories in a different light.

4.8.5. How to read a film?

To 'read' the films whilst making notes, I have used geographer Gillian Rose's guide to interpreting visual material. This is a useful tool for researchers in the social sciences working with visual material. It connects the visual elements of the source (in this case the film) to the context of the world, and how a visual source can provide a particular representation. Rose reminds us that we must maintain a critical view on visual culture and methodology, and that images can provide interpretations of the world. With each film, I worked through Rose's questions:

- What is being shown? What are the components of the image? How are they arranged?
- Where is the viewer's eye drawn to in the image, and why?
- What is the vantage point of the image?
- To what extent does the image draw on the characteristics of its genre?
- What do the different components of the image signify?
- Whose knowledges are being excluded from this representation? (Rose, 2001, p. 189)

With each film analysed and coded, I was able to insert them as vignettes into the thesis itself (Pitard, 2016). Each film, whilst not directly quoted or mentioned, has contributed to the study and to the understanding of the life-world of Termini station. It is all useful material.

4.9. Method 3: *Shaker*

My third method and data source are 29 issues of *Shaker*, a street newspaper or 'giornale di strada' from Rome – published by Binario95, a Termini-based NGO aimed at providing assistance and healthcare to homeless people. All historic issues of Shaker are available for free download on the Binario95 website. They date from the first free issue in July 2006 to the latest published (at time of writing) in 2020, costing 5 Euro in print. Like the films of TerminiTV, *Shaker* is an invaluable online resource documenting life for homeless people in Rome that I located during Covid-19 lockdown.

Shaker itself varies from issue to issue, but usually consists of short stories, poems, letters, recipes, photography and artwork written by homeless people. There is also an editorial written by the founder of *Shaker* and a collection of factual news items. Often there are interviews with 'characters' from the station, or notable experts on different fields connected to homelessness (city officials, academics, public health experts). Often the newspaper concludes with a list of useful resources for homeless people: information for where they can sleep, rest, wash and eat safely during the week.

4.9.1. *Shaker* fits into the creative methodological suite

Shaker has never been researched but also complements the ethnography and film elements. It is particularly connected to the ethnography through the use of creative writing and written technique that informs geographical research. Creative research in this way helps explore sensitive topics and working with people in marginality in ethically-sensitive ways, eliciting and expressing cultural ways of knowing (Kara, 2015, p. 13). It is also connected to the use of stories - as understood by geographers as upholding the importance of 'the local, the situated, and the specific' (Parr & Stevenson, 2014, p. 56). These are stories of homelessness and of migration, but also other things – everyday affects and emotions, jokes, memories. They elucidate on the unremarkable, mundane details of everyday life, in the style of Georges Perec and the endotic (the opposite of exotic).

4.9.2. What is *Shaker*

Shaker is written mainly by homeless people and users of Binario95, a homelessness NGO based at Termini station on Via Marsala. Some of these users are and take part in a creative writing class at the NGO where the magazine is produced. There is a small amount of research on street newspapers, including ethnographies of the transactions of newspapers (Wilkis, 2008), or studies asking how street newspapers challenge representations of homeless people (Wiedmer, 2010) or reinforce them (Torck, 2001). In some ways, *Shaker* is similar to other well-known street newspapers, like the UK's *Big Issue* or New York City's *Street News*, which aim to give homeless individuals employment opportunities as well as a voice in these communities. Some street newspapers like *Shaker* go one

further, being at least partially written and produced by the homeless population it seeks to represent. Within the slim scholarship on street newspapers, there is little in the way of analysing the writing of homeless people themselves, and using this to illuminate everyday practices. In this way, *Shaker* provides a space for homeless people (Italians and migrants alike) to speak for themselves. There may be power in the perspective of homeless people, which is routinely ignored or overstepped – and one that my research will aim to give exposure to.

4.9.3. Creative autofiction in geographic research

I analysed and coded every issue of *Shaker* which has informed the overall inductive research process. While *Shaker* features writing of different types, it is notable for its use of creative writing which I will explore in this thesis – specifically a 'poetry cluster' and a 'Manual to Homelessness' from two specific issues. I have chosen these case studies because they speak to the themes of the thesis.

My understanding of *Shaker* as a repository for creative writing relates to other geographically-informed writing – for instance the Nebulous genre of 'autofiction', from Jorge Borgas and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, to Teju Cole and Chris Kraus. Like the films of TerminiTV, approaching the writing as fictitious – or partially fictitious – is useful because enduring questions remain over viewing (auto)ethnographic writing as fiction, rather than as truth (Ellis et al., 2011). I build upon the understanding of Bochner, that the validity of creative writing relies on usefulness rather than on its 'accuracy' or 'realness'. Narrative is about remembering, and revealing to ourselves and others the truths of our experiences (Bochner, 2001) – there might not be 'one' objective truth in the experiences of homeless people.

4.9.4. Geopoetics and poetry

Based on normative understandings of homelessness, I am concerned with how poetry can provide a space to visibilise geographies of marginalised and minoritised groups, while honouring these same groups or communities (Santos Perez, 2019). Working at the intersections between poetics and geography, I build on understandings from the field of geopoetics (Magrane et al., 2019), especially asking how geographers can use creativity to explore space and environment.

Like other forms of creative writing that can complement and enhance social research (Phillips & Kara, 2021, p. 3), poetry can be a useful tool in spatial and social research. Poetry has been used as a research method before – particularly as a way for research participants to express themselves (McCulliss, 2013, p. 99). Of course, the poems here have not been generated by the research itself – they already exist within the pages of a street newspaper. My approach is therefore similar to the collection and analysis of a 'poetry cluster' – an established grouping of poetry, focusing on a

particularly theme. In social science research this is interpreted as a 'powerful way of expressing a range of subtle nuances about a topic' whilst also creating a general sense of connectivity between the poems (Butler-Kisber & Stewart, 2009, p. 4).

4.10. Translation

Italian to English translation is an important consideration in this thesis. With the study located in Italy, translation was used in the field diary and in the films of TerminiTV (many of which are in English or in Italian with pre-existing translated subtitles). My own translation in this thesis is largely connected to the use of *Shaker* which features creative writing and poetry written by homeless people in Italian. While translation is diverse and there is no one way to do it, it might be considered a research method in its own right *and* as a method of textual creation (Lin, 2008).

Translation is itself an act of creative writing (Fang, 2021), contributing to the creative element of my methodology. I have attempted to follow in the footsteps of others more experienced and well-versed in the art of translation. In the thesis, I have presented the full Italian text and base my analysis on the original. However I provide an English translation. This translation is made by myself with the help of DeepL software.

4.10.1. DeepL translation

I researched appropriate translation softwares and chose DeepL based on scientific articles where DeepL has performed accurate technical translations (Takakusagi, et al., 2021; Cambedda, et al., 2021). DeepL has often performed better than other translating softwares into Italian. 'Machine translation' like DeepL has underdone rapid growth and now provides high-quality results (Cambedda et al., 2021). It has been found to be a useful tool and a significant reducer of linguistic barriers for second speakers (Takakusagi, et al., 2021). Despite this, proofreading the English translations is necessary. However with no rhythm or obvious rhyme in the *Shaker* excerpts (an overall concern for literary translation), I was able to be fairly straightforward in my translation work.

4.10.2. Method for translating poetry and creative writing

> '…we feel that one cannot really translate poetry in any exact sense. One may replicate as much as possible the theme, the tone, even the imagery from a poem in one language into a poem in another language.' (Hemmat, 2020, p. 184)

Translating poetry is difficult. Poetry is complex and multi-layered in its meanings, often using a variety of literary techniques as well as subtext to communicate language. These can be culturally-specific and 'lost in translation'. I chose to adopt the 'paraphrase' approach of Latin translator Dryden (and supported by others like Hemmat (2020) – themselves translating Arabic and Persian poetry). The paraphrasing approach is 'translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator so as never to be lost… words are not so strictly followed as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered' (Dryden, [1913] 2001, p. 145). I remained as close as possible to original wording as exemplified in this example from Chapter 7 here, featuring a poem called *Povertà*[1] by Giovanni Pulia:

Povertà (II) **La vita resa ai minimi termini ha un significato: è soprattutto opprimente, senza via d'uscita e senza ottimismo.** Giovanni Pulia	Poverty (II) Life reduced[1] to the bare minimum[2] has significance: above all it is oppressive, with no way out and no optimism[3]. *Translation notes* [1]Reduced or rendered, a more neutral and visual term but the sense of negative change is lost. [2]Idiomatic phrase and pun on 'termini'. Bare minimum is used here, but lowest possible standards may also work. [3]Last sentence is literally 'without exit and without optimism'. Changed to be more idiomatic in English.

4.10.3. Effectiveness of translations

Translators can experience real problems conveying all connotations and associations (Pattison, 2008, p. 88). After translating with DeepL I proofread the text several times looking for alternative meanings and nuances (and obvious mistakes – which did happen). I annotate each translation in the location of the poem. Sometimes these annotations are of use in the general analysis, sometimes they are simple points of interest or illuminate limitations of the translation process.

The translator has agency, making choices that affect (and transform) the text (Perteghella & Loffredo, 2008). Overall I tried to maintain as neutral a translation as possible. This thesis is not *about* translation. The *Shaker* content (a poetry cluster and the Manual for Homelessness) needed to be

[1] Text reproduced with permission from Binario 95. Available online from Binario 95 at https://shaker.roma.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Shaker_16.pdf

translated for the sake of the reader and there are certainly limitations to the systems I have made – but I had neither the time or the funding to hire a professional translator. That said, for the purposes required, my translation technique provides a robust and consistent method.

4.11. Data analysis and presentation

4.11.1. Data analysis and coding

Coding was used in the data analysis of all three main data sources: field diary, TerminiTV, and *Shaker*. This was done separately, with the same codes used with each. After the fieldwork, the data, (textual, visual and otherwise), was collated together, sorted and coded qualitatively manually – rather than with specialist software which I found complicated matters. I did this in order to construct further analytical insights, constructed around themes linked to the research aims and questions (Adu, 2019), for example data that pertains to experiences of railway stations, or data that elucidates relations of immobility.

Codes were assigned to the text to highlight themes related to the project's research questions by consolidating the data into 'main code' and 'sub-code' categories (Saldaña, 2009). For instance, an initial 'main' code of *invisibility* could be used to analyse passages of my field diary. Within this code, a more specific 'sub'-code would be designated. This could be for example, *experiences of shame*. This enabled me to organize and comprehend my data.

4.11.2. Data Presentation

I will briefly describe how I will present the data in my thesis. Figure 4.18. displays in which chapters I will use each data source. These data types address different research aims and questions and therefore will be used strategically within the data analysis and discussion. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will feature excerpts and vignettes from my ethnographic diary, including text, sketches and photographs interspersed and embedded within the analysis. Similarly, Chapters 5 and 6 will feature sources from TerminiTV. Predominantly these will be embedded in the text with the use of screenshots from the films themselves. The list of TerminiTV films and editions of *Shaker* can be found in the Appendix. Lastly, the creative writing and poetry from *Shaker* is featured only in Chapter 7. The writing will be presented in full (with permission from Binario95) alongside an English translation that I have produced myself. More information on how data will be used and presented will be clearly stated at the beginning of each chapter.

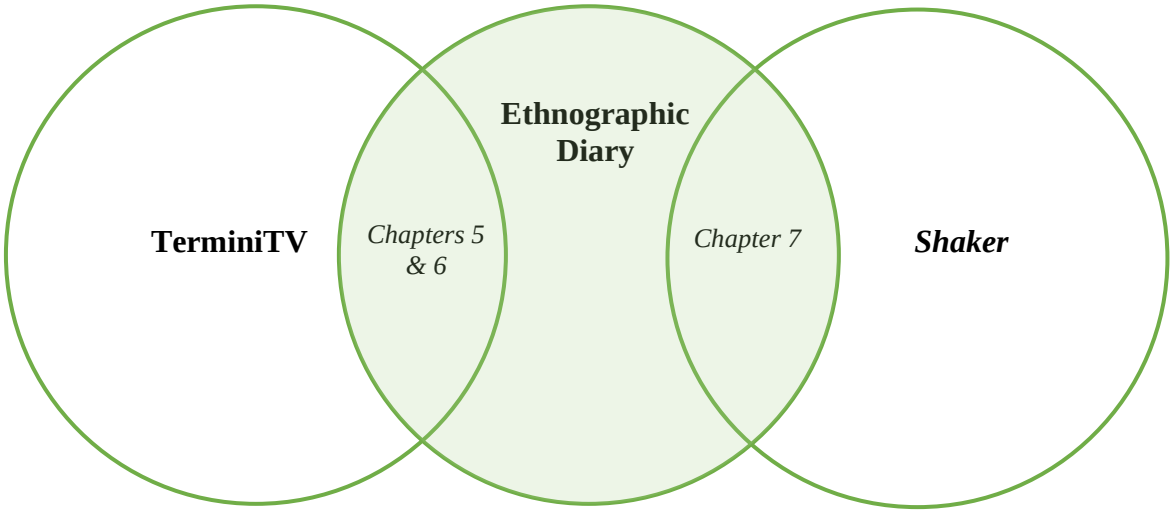

Figure 4.18. Venn diagram showing how data sources are combined and used.

4.12. Ethics & positionality

This section will outline the ethical debates central to my thesis. My research is ethically-driven, aiming to provide a voice and a space for the views and experiences of individuals that are often ignored or misrepresented. At the end of this section, I will also explore aspects of my positionality to the study.

4.12.1. Ethics

The research adheres to the University of Sheffield's Ethics Guidelines and has received ethical approval. The ethical design of the project ensures maximum efforts that no harm will come to respondents whilst their experiences are reflected accurately and respectfully (Picot & Grasham, 2022). Throughout the study I have sought to amplify the voices of homeless people in Rome without speaking 'for' them, looked to deconstruct and challenge normative representations and stereotypes of homelessness within and outside of academia, whilst attempting to uphold the importance of heterogeneity and diversity of the homeless people in Rome throughout the project.

4.12.2. Visual methodologies and ethics

The majority of empirical work on race and ethnicity comfortably addresses 'the *hows, whens,* and *whos',* whilst the more challenging issues of conducting research ('the *should, what ifs* and *why nots*') remain unconsidered or overlooked (Alexander, 2006, p. 398). While spending time in the field writing and sketching, I attempted to address these questions. I was – and still am - asking myself how

am I looking at this situation? Is it right to be looking? What kind of preconceptions am I bringing to these visual encounters? And how can I reflect on these in the research? Feminist geographical research accentuated the need for ongoing dialogue between the researcher and participants within ethnography (England, 1994), but also a dialogue with the self (Coffey, 1999). This resembled constant reflection upon experiences during fieldwork (Carstensen-Egwuom, 2014). I try and maintain this dialogic approach throughout the written thesis.

Ethical questions run through the heart of this thesis with its central focus on visibility and the visual. Visual anthropological research has frequently taken a voyeuristic approach to global inequalities in the field (Bloustien, 2003; Hoskins, 2002). As this thesis explores, practices of the visual encounter (Garland-Thomson 2006), such as civil inattention, staring, and ignoring are fraught with ethical concerns as are processes involving the visual Othering of homeless people. I build on the understandings of ethical practice in visual research, for instance Frosh (2012) who states that the subjugation to the 'eye' can lead to a tolerance or indifference towards indifference (Frosh, 2012). Looking is therefore 'a responsibility; a visceral, ethical and historically conscious practice' (Rose & Tolia-Kelly, 2012, p. 8). I take this responsibility seriously and I attempt to balance the visual elements of the thesis with *Shaker* and TerminiTV, both secondary sources produced with and by people who experience homelessness.

Also from a practical perspective, I chose my visual methods to be ethically engaged. The use of film as a source maintains a level of distance to those who may want to have privacy and personal space from prying eyes, or to negotiate possible 'research fatigue' experience by those who are tired of being researched (Patel, et al., 2020). The importance of physical distance is also particularly salient in Covid-times. Sketching enabled a non-invasive form of visual method that does not compromise the identity of the sketched, whilst I was careful to use photography to engage material aspects of homelessness only, as well as surveying the physical landscape.

4.12.3. Avoiding an extractive approach and research that speaks 'for' others

Throughout my research I have been conscious of social science research perspectives that challenge the notion of 'extractive research' (Pacheco-Vega & Parizeau, 2018; Bradbury-Jones et al., 2020).

Drawing upon postcolonial critiques of ethnography that challenge the subjectivity of knowledge production and authorship, I consider Spivak's (1988) essay *Can the Subaltern Speak?* at the heart of my ethical design. It is noted that through ethnography, researchers aim to speak on behalf of others (Thomas, 1993). I do not wish to 'speak' for anyone. On the other hand, my thesis looks to actively challenge normative representations of homeless people. In TerminiTV and Shaker, the stories and experiences of homeless people as they tell them are directly communicated. However, it must be

stated that these organisations also have a ‘voice’ and motivations that are both unneutral and unknowable. My study often highlights ambivalence in many places, both empirically (for example on notions of the encounter) but also through methods (Schneider et al., 2021; Davies, et al., 2004).

Taking a decolonial perspective, researchers must acknowledge that they have a responsibility towards their fieldwork counterparts (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2020). Decolonial perspectives on knowledge creation also consider that the voices of indigenous communities might be integrated into the design and reporting of research (Igwe et al., 2022). Whilst my study does not include a categorising of indigenous people, many of the researched originate in the Global South and their voices are important (particularly considering my positionality as a white, male researcher from the Global North – see below on positionality). I am not homeless, but instead I seek to allow the voices and experiences of homeless people to be at the forefront. By amplifying the work of *Shaker* and TerminiTV, - respectively projects that aim to provide a voice to marginalised people in Rome by working actively alongside them - I hope with a carefully considered ethical and positional standpoint, the research might be widely communicated and also be mutually beneficial.

Marginalised people frequently find no voice in the research that impacts them or is about them, whilst ‘privileged others co-opt the right to define and describe their lives’ (Kouritzin & Nakagawa, 2018, p. 676). To address this point, it is important to consider that I am focusing on the seeing and unseeing of homeless people, one step away from a study conducting participant observation and interviews with homeless people themselves. I am not focussed on difficult or traumatic events that may have occurred in their lives. This element of ‘distance’ has ethical benefits. I have maintained a respectful distance throughout, focusing on visual processes ‘from afar’.

4.12.4. Ethical alternatives – PAR research

Participatory and action research (PAR) is an alternative pathway to ethical engagement in this project and something I considered. It nullifies the critiques of ‘outsider’ ethnography by involving ‘insiders’ as co-producers in the project (Kindon et al., 2007). However, this approach can mean making certain promises to respondents that I did not feel I could make, particularly due to it being conducted in a limited timeframe. I feel an action research orientated project in this case would certainly be useful (and one to consider in similar future projects). Therefore an outsider ethnography, with a heightened focus on creative writing and other forms of data collection proved to be a better fit, with a distanced focus on the visual encounter (Garland-Thomson, 2006) providing fruitful ethical exploration of its own.

4.12.5. Positionality

Researchers are never 'neutral, scientific observers, untouched by the emotional and political contexts of places where we do our research' (Skelton, 2001, p. 98). Positionality can have an influence not only on the outcomes, but also on one's capacity to forge certain connections and how findings are comprehended and presented (Bourke, 2014). I am a white, young, British, male, cisgender student and shared few (but some) intersectionalities with my respondents. There are inevitable power-dynamics in outsider research with marginalised people such as homeless people and migrants (Merriam, et al., 2001).

Regarding positionality, I adopt the approach of 'double-engaged ethnography' (Pacheco-Vega & Parizeau, 2018). In their appraisal of ethical approaches to ethnographic research, Pachego-Vega and Parizeau (2018) state that reflexivity should be considered as methodological practice rather than as a simple statement about the privileges of the researcher. My position in the field presented challenges as an outsider, some of which were mediated by working alongside the organisation Mama Termini on Sunday night dinners, for example. That being said, building trust and relationships demanded a different skillset to immediately fitting in. However I was able to take encouragement from Khotari's (2008) research in Barcelona with West African migrants. Despite her own outsider positionality with her respondent group, she established successful working relations. I used my social skills and conversation skills to break the ice, often talking about 'things' like football or food to engage with people. Whilst I remained an outsider, sharing food, drinks and cigarettes brought me closer to the homeless people in Termini, establishing trust and friendly conversation. I was conscious not to create relationships of reliance or over-proximity that were related to shifting positionalities (Huisman, 2008), maintaining my position as an outsider throughout (Mullings, 1999). The limited time-frame of ethnographic research and my concentration on virtual methods also aided this sense of distance.

My positionality also carried some advantages: I was not suspected of being something akin to an undercover immigration officer or security personnel, and I asked for guidance and cues from those who know Termini and the surrounding areas well (without being a burden). Building on what Thieme terms the 'vulnerable ethnographer', I followed strict guidelines in order to stay safe (Thieme, 2017). This included making others aware of my whereabouts, not bringing valuable posessions, spending time in 'risky' areas at night with trusted companions etc.

4.13. Summary

In this chapter I have revisited my research questions and aims, providing a justification for the specific pathways that I chose, whilst providing a scaffold for the thesis's argument. I have explored

the construction and implementation of my methodological suite with its three data sources and methods, including piloting and mapping out the site. Finally I have summarised the importance of ethics and positionality within my project, which is dialogical, inductive and realistic within its aims. This provides the framework for the data that is explored, analysed and discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Chapter 5: Micro-visual encounters with homelessness

Ways of seeing	Ways of unseeing
Seeing	Averting a gaze
Seeing through	Looking away
Observing	Ignoring
Watching	Disappearing
Finding	Concealing
Noticing	Obscuring
Recognising	Hiding/ Being hidden
Making something out	Disguising
Checking	Avoiding
Identifying	
Looking	
Looking for	
Looking at	
Looking like	
Looking back	
Looking over	
Looking out	
Looking forward	
Onlooking	
Taking a look	
Glancing	
Peering	
Studying	
Staring	

Figure 5.1. 'Ways of seeing and unseeing homeless people' as recorded in my field diary, June 2022.

5.1. Introduction: understanding ways of seeing and unseeing

As illustrated by the list in Figure 5.1., there are many different ways of seeing and unseeing homeless people. In many cases, they are separated by subtle differences. This list was written from extracts in my field diary, 'collecting' all visual encounters and acts of in/visibilisation that I had observed in the field. During fieldwork, I found lists - a literary technique that is often presumed mundane or everyday - to be extremely useful (Phillips & Kara, 2021). French writer Georges Perec (who advocated lists) was a major methodological influence to me. In his work, he allows the mundane to be interesting. In this instance listing allowed me to 'pile up', sort, categorise and differentiate acts of seeing and unseeing and their subtleties (Phillips & Kara, 2021, p. 60).

This chapter will unpack these subtleties, and explore how homeless people in Termini are visibilised and invisibilised through micro-visual encounters. These micro-visual encounters take place between everyone: me the researcher; passers-by and people loitering or working, including homeless people; and of course, agents of law enforcement and authority. Using a novel combination of ethnographic field notes from Termini station and the online films of TerminiTV, I explore how homeless people are subjected to variegated experiences of in/visibilisation, through looks, stares and avoidances. I will further reflect on these observations with full acknowledgement that I cannot fully know what others are subjected to (nor how they experience in/visibilisation). There is so much about other people that is unknowable.

5.1.1. Chapter structure

Firstly I will introduce different ways of seeing and unseeing and the notion of the visual encounter, demonstrating that there is a significance to how we look. These ways of seeing can lead to in/visibilising practices and micro-visuals that are alike to microaggressions. Subsequently with examples from my fieldnotes I will explore the invisible – those who inhabit hidden or shadowy parts of the station, or 'in-betweens' (Young & Keil, 2010), or are ignored by passers-by who avert their gaze from them, perhaps out of guilt or indifference. I will also introduce how homeless people might be rendered hypervisible – marked out as Other, due to their perceived difference and association with supposedly anti-social behaviours and habits. This Otherness is further complicated by perceptions of racial, linguistic, gender, sexual, moral (and more) differences of homeless people. My dataset from TerminiTV will then be introduced, as these films help social researchers 'to see better' with several examples illuminating on the in/visibility of homeless migrants and the other homeless people who live at the station, including the story of Ismail, a migrant from Tunisia presumed to be invisible in the city. Following these examples, and comparing experiences of in/visibility in a specific place connected to Termini: its Metro station and trains, I will introduce the idea of collective in/visibility –

the notion that seeing and unseeing can take place en masse, not necessarily individually. After briefly exploring the important caveat that homeless people are not in/visible to everyone, I conclude that visibility and invisibility are often coexistent, simultaneous and connected. I also consider it a visual encounter if a homeless person is unseen, not just seen. As a result of visual encounters with other people (including me, the researcher), homeless people in Termini may be subjected to a state of perpetual and complex in/visibility. Table 5.1. outlines the methods used in this chapter.

Table 5.1: Sources used Chapter 5:	Points that I will discuss:
Ethnographic diary extracts (writing & sketches) TerminiTV films	- Outlining different ways of seeing and unseeing - Introducing the micro-visual encounter - Homeless people experience different kinds of visibility and invisibility - Visibility and invisibility are complex, contradictory and overlapping

Social science and humanities research on looking and seeing begins to interrogate the implications on how visual encounters inform our social relationships (Garland-Thomson, 2009; 2006; Back, 2004). Garland-Thomson describes the power relations inherent in the 'visual encounter', particularly though an act of staring - an embodied and meaningful way of looking. Rose (1991) also explores power relations and the visual through the lens of gender. I want to explore how these power relations are continuously reproduced in the busy Termini throughout the day and night where visual encounters with homeless people are constant.

I will attempt to paint a balanced and nuanced perspective avoiding common tropes and taken-for-granted assumptions about homeless people. I will focus on difficulties and the 'darker side' of visual encounters which may be overlooked by some social scientists (Amin, 2011) who are aiming to find a silver lining rather than focus on lived experience. I also aim to write against perspectives that cast homelessness as an aberration, or ask how it can be eradicated or solved (Watts & Fitzpatrick, 2018), or even research on empathy that optimistically positions 'encounters with difference' as a kind of social tonic (Bondi, 2003; Evans, 2012). I do not deny the value of this research. However building on the work of Georges Perec, focusing on everyday urban life (Lenhard, 2020) in a particular place enables us to observe multiple experiences. This includes uncomfortable ones that take us to dark, forgotten corners of cities - whilst avoiding romanticising these settings. These are encounters that live on in their apartness.

Within this chapter I refer to a mixture of homeless, homeless migrants and other homeless or marginalised groups in the station. I explain my critical and nuanced approach to homelessness categorisations and their dynamic relationship to urban struggles in the introduction to this thesis as well as the other definitions that I choose to use.

5.1.2. There is a significance to how we see

This section will explore the significance behind seeing and unseeing that takes place at Termini station, beginning with two ethnographic diary extracts from the station. Building on work on visual encounters this section also introduces a geographical contribution exploring how fleeting moments of visual encounter, what I term micro-visual encounters (similar to microaggressions), can build up to form a more lasting effect.

Whether *glancing*, *staring*, *averting a gaze*, or the many other ways of seeing in the list from my field diary at Figure 5.1., the ways we look at others have significance. *Peering* at something or someone suggests something different to *checking* or *watching*. Likewise *ignoring* someone is different to someone being *hidden from view*. Termini station is a space of encounters – where people meet, rub shoulders and exchange visual encounters every day. It is also a place of visible inequality. The homeless people in Termini are often subjected to visual encounters that might emphasise or reinforce their marginal position. The following is an extract from my field diary:

> As I walk into the main Termini building, I see a homeless woman standing by the entrance – which is all wet. She is holding her bags, sheltering but also hoping for money. Everyone I see walking past is in their own world and seems to ignore her. I look at her and say *buonasera* with a smile and she looks away quickly. I'm not sure how to feel.
>
> Diary extract. 5th March 2022, 18:00. Termini station.

Someone's 'place' might be gleaned from how they behave in visual encounters with others, or how visible or invisible they happen to be in a particular place – with the connection between visibility and marginality well established in social science research (Bialasiewicz, 2017; Brighenti, 2007; May, 2015). I cannot be sure why the woman looked away. She may have felt embarrassed or did not want to be looked at directly, even though she was asking station users for spare change. She appeared to want to be visible in order to ask for money but not so visible to draw excessive attention to herself. There is a lot we don't know about her. In the brief encounter we shared, after being visibly ignored by others, she looked away when seen and acknowledged by me.

5.1.3. Micro-visuals are fleeting moments

I describe these visual encounters I experienced in the field as micro-visuals. Micro-visuals have been previously interpreted in scientific and computing research as something small, either a 'street view' image (Sakurada, 2016), or something observed through a microscope (Liang, et al., 2021). Using Perec as my primary influence, I will observe micro-visuals as small, fleeting, endotic moments (Perec, 1974; O'Brien, 2017). Particularly by observing micro-visuals, exploring ways of seeing homeless people and homeless migrants in Termini may be a novel mode of research that foregrounds

visibility as an important part of their lives. It may expose power relations as fraught and potentially complicate how we might (re-)imagine public spaces as visually democratic places.

5.1.4. *Un'occhiataccia,* or just a glance?

Another ethnographic extract shows another micro-visual encounter I observed, this time between a man drinking at a bar and an African migrant, homeless at Termini:

> I'm walking behind a man with his rucksack filled with his belongings. He's short in stature and walking alone. He's walking in the direction of Piazza Esquilino. A man outside a bar looks at him. Studies him. I see as I walk by. He scrunches up his face. He looks disgusted. It is the usual scene at the Piazza Esquilino.
>
> Diary extract.15th March 2022, 18:30. Via del Viminale.

Again I cannot know what was passing through the mind of either party in this micro-visual encounter. After observing the incident I decided that the body language of the man at the bar suggested feelings of negativity towards the migrant man. The micro-visual encounter seemed to cement the power relationship between the white Italian man in the bar and the Black African homeless migrants I was walking close beside. I cannot know for sure but it seemed like an *un'occhiataccia*, a 'dirty look'. Figure 5.2. is a photograph of the handwritten passage of this particular micro-visual encounter. The cursive handwriting is indicative of the moment rushing by, almost imperceptible.

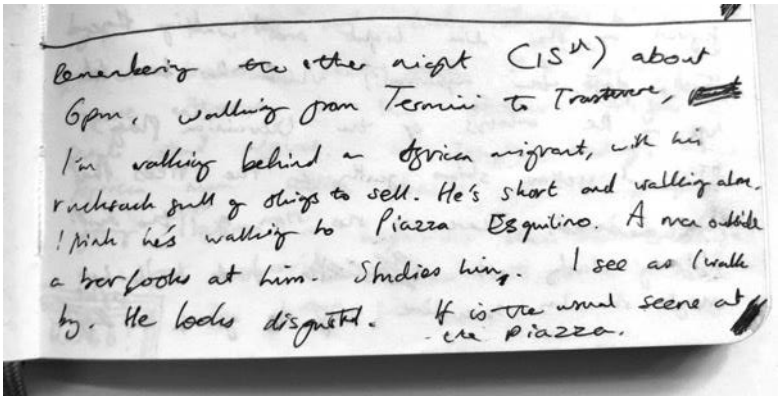

Figure 5.2. Handwritten ethnographic diary extract. Author's own. 17th March 2022.

To refer back to the aims of this chapter, I have introduced two contrasting micro-visual experiences: one involving a homeless person being ignored and the other involving the homeless person being looked at – perhaps stared at. I will try and keep the balance and tension between seeing and unseeing in-play, before conjoining the term in/visibility, which effectively summarises the way the complex

and at times paradoxical relationship between homeless people and visibility plays out at Termini station.

5.1.5. Micro-visuals & microaggressions

The micro-visual moments that I describe in this chapter are small acts of seeing and unseeing that might go under the radar. Here I liken these to microaggressions. Microaggressions are commonplace behavioural slights and biases (sometimes verbal) that communicate hostility or negative attitudes towards individuals or groups that are stigmatised or marginalised (Sue, 2010). They are subtle forms of discrimination (Sisselman-Borgia et al., 2018). Microaggressions are often racialised – often questioning the behaviour and intentions of racialised and minoritised individuals (Nittle, 2019). Colloquially, microaggressions are small and relatively benign in isolation, but as part of a bigger picture of everyday practice they can have a significant role in creating prejudice.

Homeless people are little addressed in microaggressions literature (Torino & Sisselman-Borgia, 2017). However microaggressions might be observed through an intersectional approach to homelessness and race (Crenshaw, 1989). For example, Black people experiencing microaggressions as a part of their marginality in the US – explored in Mobilities work on 'Driving While Black' (Nicholson, 2016).

I think that microaggressions and visual processes may share similar logics. Frequent but small acts of unseeing (like the man in the bar looking at the African migrant) might lead to wider patterns of prejudice. However unlike microaggressions, I contend that micro-visual encounters are by no-means negative and could be considered an aspect of ambivalence in urban encounters (Creţan et al., 2022). I situate this observation within critical literature on urban encounters that affirms that encounters are not necessarily ephemeral but might have a broader theoretical significance (Wilson, 2017). In the aforementioned ethnographic diary extract, greeting the woman by the entrance to Termini was an act of sociality. To be smiled at repeatedly for example, however fleetingly, might bring positive feelings of connectivity with others (Kim & Yoon, 2012).

Different ways of seeing might cause different affective responses. Being seen 'too much' or 'too frequently' might feel like staring (Garland-Thomson, 2009; Renwick et al., 2018). We all know the feeling of being looked at involuntarily by strangers. We know that looks and stares can be loaded with judgments and power-relations that reinforce social and urban hierarchies (Garland-Thomson, 2009; Shakespeare, 2021). Sociologist Bev Skeggs (2009) describes being 'haunted by a spectre of judgement' from a feminist and class perspective.

Being glanced at constantly might conjure feelings of sensitivity or defensiveness as personal boundaries and a human right to privacy are not being respected and you might ask, 'why are they looking at me'? Likewise, feeling ignored en masse might be dehumanising, chipping away at morale and eliciting feelings of shame (Ryan-DeDominicis, 2021, p. 405; Sanders & Brown, 2015). When the small micro-visual encounters that contribute to invisibilisation add up, they might snowball, creating a larger feeling of invisibility (Pugliese, 2009, p. 157) or hypervisibility (Haschemi Yekani, 2022, p. 103).

5.2. Invisibility & unseeing: ignoring and civil inattention

Continuing to use extracts from my diary, this section will explore practices of invisibility and unseeing, where homeless people are visually avoided and ignored. This section will introduce a full spectrum of unseeing practices: from polite civil inattention with an example from a Metro train arriving into Termini during Covid, to stigmatising and ignoring entire parts of the city due to the presence of homelessness and a perceived feeling of fear. It is also a possibility that being unseen or hidden might be desirable, or a resource for many people experiencing street homelessness.

It is my general assumption and also an observation from the field that I have made that homeless people are avoided – people seem to not want to look at them. A homeless person might look away when we look them in the eye, just like the woman asking for change outside Termini station. But it can happen the other way round. We might all recount some experience from our own lives when confronted by a homeless person and feeling helpless, embarrassed or saddened by their situation. It may sometimes feel simpler to try and avoid them. We see them; we unsee them. They are visible and we invisibilise them. Despite this presumed intentionality, Garland-Thomson (2009) writes that staring can be an involuntary act, whilst Sara Ahmed (2004, p. 84) states that visual Otherness results in a 'push' or 'pull' effect. Perhaps we do not get to choose how we react, and therefore might in/visibilise people unintentionally.

Many city-dwellers will say that cities can be unfriendly places where they don't make eye contact. People tend to avoid socialisation they do not want – for example swerving around charity collectors on the pavement to avoid entrapment in an awkward interaction. During my fieldwork in Rome, I spent time riding the metro to Termini station where I observed the way people look at each other:

> Everyone is wearing masks on the metro and it seems to obscure much of the visual encounter. People's faces seem much more elusive and fascinating. I tend to lock eyes with people before I or they embarrassedly averts our gaze.
>
> Diary extract. 18th March 2022, 20:15. Metro Line A.

The observation was made during Covid times. Neuroscience research suggests that wearing a face mask plays an important role in social interactions (Lobmaier & Knoch, 2022). Besides its epidemiological benefits, a mask helps us to be anonymous (Burroughs et al., 2023) and to slip into the crowd and not to be noticed. Masks might also lead to a more fixed eye-contact that might be unsettling in some environments and for some people (Hietanen, 2018). Despite noting the use of masks, in my diary entry I also note the embarrassment of being caught looking at someone (or assumed to be staring or gazing at them inappropriately or invasively).

Being stared at in public might feel like a violation, particularly in a cramped space like a train where there is nowhere else to go. Again, like the woman at the entrance of Termini who looked away from me, we have no real way of knowing what strangers are thinking when being looked at. There are other considerations to be made about how different people might react to visual encounters. Neurodivergent people may have difficulty meeting eye contact, for example people with autism spectrum disorder (ASB) (Hadjikhani et al., 2017). Other neurodivergent people might be more likely to stare (Goenka, et al., 2022). Scarce research exists on neurodiversity and visual encounters on the street.

5.2.1. Avoidance and civil inattention

To explore the gentle avoidance of eye contact on the metro train, I refer to Goffman's (1972) and Simmel's (1984) useful phrase 'civil inattention' referring to the process whereby strangers in the same space demonstrate awareness of each other, maintaining public order and personal boundaries through light touch visual encounters that avoid intrusion or voyeurism. This seems to be a pronounced behaviour on the carriage, but also throughout the public transport network and public space more generally. This is not necessarily a negative or antisocial thing. It could be seen as a symptom of consideration and politeness. It allows neutral interactions among strangers to describe how the riders on the carriage were subtly aware of each other while maintaining anonymity (Arviv & Eizenberg, 2021). Opposingly, sociologist Mervyn Horgan (2020) introduces the opposing uncivil inattention. Horgan investigates how social encounters can be characterised by a sense of incivility. Civil inattention might also imply that people do not seem to particularly notice each other in towns and cities (Macgregor 1990). It may also lead to isolation and loneliness, or a sense that strangers can be uncaring towards each other in urban areas as featured in the Olivia Laing's (2017) *The Lonely City*.

5.2.2. Ignoring people and places – the underpass at Termini

Civil inattention (Simmel, 1984) or uncivil inattention (Horgan, 2020) plays an important role in how people visually interact with each other in the city. This section will explore these further, investigating instances of ignoring and in/visibilisation on the street (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009) and addressing the geographies of these visual encounters. I will focus on the underpass at Termini between two flanking streets: Via Marsala and Giolitti – the sottopasso. I suggest that through acts of ignoring, specific sites around Termini are invisibilised and 'seen' through stigmatisations of homelessness (Rayburn & Guittar, 2013).

There were specific locations in the Termini 'archipelago' (see Chapter 6 Methodology) during my fieldwork that seemed largely ignored and unseen by the wider city. Termini station is comparably risky compared to other parts of Rome, commonly associated with drug dealing and crime, for example (Brioni, 2017). It is easy (and perhaps unavoidable) to bring preconceived notions or stigmatisations of a particular place and its inhabitants *to* that place, particularly if it has a reputation as scary or anxiety-inducing (Tuan, 1979; Koutrolikou, 2015; Creţan et al., 2022). In the field, this affected my own behaviour:

> I go into the tunnel. I see someone walking ahead, silhouette against the light at the end of the tunnel. Are they walking towards me? Who are they? Am I safe? It is dark here and anything that happens wouldn't be seen. Abandoned clothes and bottles line the pavement , strewn between gaps in the concrete. Now another figure in the tunnel – in the road. I can see cars avoiding them. I think it's a man, and he seems to be dancing. Or flailing about. He wonders into the road in the darkness flailing his arms and performing and I wonder if he notices me.
>
> Diary extract. 2nd March 2022, 11:30. Sottopasso.

There is a general sense of anxiety and confusion from me in this extract, being in an unfamiliar place associated with danger, confronted by shadowy figures – from my point of view – moving unpredictably. Having noticed a shadowy figure in the tunnel I was confronted by fear, similar to Ahmed's 'push' and 'pull' affect (2004, p. 84). Fear in the city is often connected to perceptions of Otherness in different social contexts (England & Simon, 2010). I have no idea if the person saw me. They too could have been afraid of my shadow. The sense of fear and intimidation is well-represented in my field sketch of a threatening silhouetted figure moving against the light (Figure 5.3.). In this sense there is a symbolic logic to stigmatised places like the sottopasso and this representation dominates and remains powerful, so there is no need for most people to go see for themselves. The visual encounter is avoided altogether. That logic draws on the usual stereotypes and tropes of homelessness, but also the notion of a leprous 'no-go' area that stands below the city and its imagined civility (Wacquant, 2007). Alike to Tuan's *Landscapes of Fear* (1979) the place remains associated with fear and destitution – seen (but only through the lens of stereotypes) and ignored. Subject to

stigma, homeless people might be continually associated with these spaces (Rayburn & Guittar, 2013).

Figure 5.3. Sketch of a figure in the sottopasso. They move towards me in the darkness of the tunnel as I begin to feel anxious. 2nd March 2022.

5.2.3. Fear and stigmatisation causes us to look away

The sottopasso is one of the sites discussed at length in this thesis because it played a considerable role during my fieldwork. The following is another excerpt from my diary in the heat of the summer speaking with my companion Ciro in the tunnel, as we hand out food. It depicts a situation from the tunnel one night and witnessing a difficult scene of people living in the hidden, subterranean space:

> 'It's really below, you know? It feels below. Not just a bad place – it's like going down into Dante's Inferno'. This sticks with me. I look over and see a guy squatting down to take a shit in between some bollards. Another man is sleeping in between the bollards and we go over and see if he's awake. He is, but barely. How the din hasn't kept him wide awake I don't know. We give him some food, he seems pretty out of it.
>
> Diary extract. 19nd June 2022, 21:45. Sottopasso.

Invoking Dante, Ciro compares the tunnel to a literal hellscape in an unexpected literary reference. The *Inferno*, Part I of the epic Italian poem *The Divine Comedy*, tells the story of Dante's passage through hell. As he travels through the underworld, he journeys deeper into circles of torment and despair, encountering various sinners and monsters along the way (Durling et al., 1996). Megha Agarwal (2017) explores the construction of an 'underworld' in the *Inferno*. This poem is so identified with Italy, that Ciro's comparison could let us observe this place as a distinctly *Italian* underworld.

As we walked through the dark subterranean tunnel, I don't believe that Ciro meant to disparage the people here or blame them for where they've ended up, but he did think it was a scary, unpredictable place. There are material aspects to the sottopasso that make this comparison salient. The sottopasso is full of different types of waste. Focusing on the swamps in Dante's *Inferno* hellscape, Ireland (2020) notes the dirt and other physical matter that invoke a sense of morality as well as sites of decay or death. Social scientists have also explored the visibility of dirt and waste (Douglas, 1991; Bell, 2019), with Saraswati (2017) noting the framing of 'humans as waste'.

5.2.4. Stigmatised people; stigmatised places?

The homeless people at Termini are stigmatised, synonymous with immoral behaviour (Reeve, 2013). Homeless people might therefore be ignored rather than confronted. Alternatively, urban marginality might be met with indifference and a lack of care (Gibbons, 2018). The passer-by does not want to enter their world, which exists on the other side of some invisible threshold (O'Connor, 2016).

Fear is an important affect connected to our experience with others – particularly those who live unfamiliar lives (England & Simon, 2010). Psychology research suggests that stigma through Otherness can instil fear (Arboleda-Flórez, 2003; Corrigan & Wassel, 2008). Homeless people (Phelan, et al., 1997) and migrants in the Italian context (King & Mai, 2009) experience stigma – a social disapproval because of deviance from social norms (Goffman, 1963; Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015).

By extension, the environments homeless people live in might also be feared and stigmatised. This has been called place-based stigma, or territorial stigmatisation (Wacquant et al., 2014; Wacquant, 2007). Tuan (1979) touches on how specific places become associated with feelings of fear and anxiety. Places associated with transgression (Stallybrass & White, 1986) or (im)moral geographies (Hubbard, 2000), or alterity - like Termini station (Brioni, 2017) - are associated with certain behaviours. As an example of this, the sottopasso features as 'Rome's Most Dangerous Place' in a sensationalist YouTube video with more than 1 million views made by controversial vlogger Simone Cicalone in 2022.

Writing on behavioural expectations of neighbours, Stokoe and Wallwork (2003) state that through normative behaviour, morality and space are inextricably linked. Indeed there are 'landscapes that represent a "naturalised" visual and social order, where objects, people and practices are rigidly defined as in place or out of place, natural or unnatural' (Gold & Revill, 2003, p. 37). Human behaviour then leads us to avoid these places, or perhaps retain a morbid curiosity about them reproducing stereotypes like those in Cicalone's YouTube channel (Scrivner, 2021). These themes will be explored in greater depth in Chapter 6.

5.3. Visibility, hypervisibility and staring

Providing a counterpoint to the previous section on unseeing and invisibility, this section will explore instances when homelessness is visible – sometimes to the extreme. When the scrutiny expressed through looking is based on difference – and beyond that, expected deviance (Ryland 2013), we might observe that homeless people are rendered hypervisible (Brighenti, 2007; Simpson & Lewis, 2005).

5.3.1. Visibility can be positive but not always

As opposed to a negative framing of invisibility, being visible might be seen as a positive thing. Visibility can be a byword for giving a voice to marginalised people (Murphy, 2015). Indeed, the issues faced by homeless people might be visibilised and recognised in the name of social justice (Martini, 2021). Marginalised groups might seek visibility in order to gain power in public space (Simpson & Lewis, 2005). Some homelessness is already assumed to be visible, by the use of the term 'hidden homelessness' to describe people living in non-conventional dwellings, hostels, or health institutions, explored by Demaerschalk et al. (2019). Some have labelled the term 'hidden homelessness' as unhelpful (Pleace & Hermans, 2020) although concentrating on hidden homelessness helps acknowledge unseen forms of homelessness (Ali, 2010). 'Hidden homelessness' also seems to imply that the 'norm' of street homeless is not hidden.

5.3.2. Visibilising people out of place

Throughout here was a visible materiality to homelessness at the station that was so 'in place' it was almost ignored. Despite this, there were materialities and behaviours that marked people out as homeless, also marking homelessness out as a 'rupture of the order of the city' (Langegger & Koester, 2016, p. 1033). These are undoubtedly racialised, especially with so many of Termini's homeless people coming from migrant backgrounds whilst acknowledging that perceived race can be a factor in determining visibility (Settles et al., 2019).

The following extract is from my research diary, describing a visibilising micro-visual encounter in Termini:

> I hear a clattering sound. A man pokes through the flap of ticket machines and scrapes the slot with a pen for spare change. He does it with each machine in a sudden and loud way, creating a clatter. A group of Italian women watch him, looking disgusted. I notice that another woman does the same thing (albeit more discretely), carefully popping open the flap and using her hand to scan for loose change.

Diary entry. 18th May 2022, 22:20. Termini ticket hall.

Of course this is an example of two people, assumed to be homeless, using a 'tactic' (de Certeau, 1988) to gain resources in the ticket hall of Termini: using tools at their disposal to find loose change. It is one of many such examples from my fieldwork, particularly of people using their supposed invisibility to their own advantage (to be discussed in Chapter 7). Anonymity can be 'enjoyed' by people living in public space (Langegger & Koester, 2016, p. 1031). The woman checking the machines for money by gently using her hand appeared to bring no attention to herself and passed through the station hall without looks or stares – besides being noticed by me.

In this micro-visual encounter it was the unusual sound of someone checking the machines that felt out of place, rendering the person doing it 'visible'. In the case of the onlookers, you can choose not to see something, but noise can be obtrusive to the senses. An Othering sound can cut through the sonic environment of a particular place and its expectations (Di Croce, 2013). The onlookers might have felt compelled to look. The man represented some kind of spectacle (Gold & Revill, 2003) and his invisibility was suspended, appearing extremely visible – forced up against the eyes of onlookers, who then seemed to stare at him.

From my perspective, the reaction from the Italian women in the excerpt could be summarised by an idiom concerned with severe visual encounters: *se lo sguardo potesse uccidere* / 'if looks could kill'. Mirroring Garland-Thomson's (2009) work on the visual encounter and power, psychotherapist Frances (2014) describes this one-way relationship of looking, as an act of superiority and authority. It deprives the looked-at as lacking any kind of 'meaningful reciprocation or redress' (p. 202), as if the 'looker is doing something to the looked-at'.

Cloke et al. (2003) acknowledge there is the heightened visibility of homeless mobility in the public gaze. Everyday activities (or example washing, sleeping, urinating) appear to be inappropriate, deviant or immoral – seen as simply not a normal way of using public space. While the man was previously ignored – and perhaps invisible – his behaviour opened himself up to staring and being hypervisible (Settles et al., 2019).

Most people are unable to control how they are seen and judged by others. Hypervisibility is therefore the result of an individual being seen as differentiating from the norm. Hypervisibility is a consequence of being seen through the lens of Otherness or being out of place or against certain norms (Settles et al., 2019).

5.3.3. Hypervisible people are subject to uncivil attention

This encounter in Termini – or indeed the man in the bar looking intently at the African man walking by, seem like examples of staring. Staring is an embodied form of visual encounter fraught with complexity. It teeters between curiosity and voyeurism (Garland-Thomson 2006, 174). Staring at people is usually considered rude. It can also be racialised or sexualised, or embedded in other notions of power. It can be absent-minded or harmless: for instance when we *stare* into space. It may suggest an absent mindedness. Curiosity – which can be empathetic - might also be a means through which social change might be explored (Phillips, 2016).

In section 5.2.1., I explored civil inattention. Other authors have noticed the opposite: *un*civil attention (Warren, 2011). This occurs when the line of behavioural expectations is crossed and instead of restricting seeing, too much is seen. Carole Brooks Gardner (1995) asserts that public space remains a masculine space where certain bodies are subjected to unwanted looks and overt aggression. For example, posters against intrusive staring were recently installed in the London Underground in 2022 (Gallagher, 2022). This can be related to embodied ways of looking *at* someone or something, like staring. Disability scholar Tom Shakespeare (2021) writes that experiences of staring or voyeurism may originate in the cruelty of others.

5.4. TerminiTV helps us to see better

This section will now shift the focus onto the films of TerminiTV, one of the data sources in my suite of mixed-methods. The films of TerminiTV allow us to build on what we have established so far in this chapter. I have shown that homeless people are visible – often hypervisible, against the backdrop of Termini station – stared at, and subjected to micro-visual encounters.

5.4.1. TerminiTV illuminates the everyday inhabitation of homelessness

With its distinctive 20th century architecture and historical reputation for notoriety and crime, Termini is a visual icon in Italian and Roman culture. TerminiTV is one of countless collections of visual material on Rome's largest railway station, with some recent examples including Bartolomeo Pampaloni's 2014 feature length film *Roma Termini* and Niccolò Berretta's 2021 photography book *Termini: Lookbook 2009 – 2021.* These artistic representations both shown in Figure 5.4. illuminate the people that use Termini not as a place of passing, but somewhere to eat, socialise, sleep, and live. Focusing on every day, mundane and endotic (Perec, 1979) moments, TerminiTV both captures and creates micro-visual encounters with people around the station from everyday life.

Figure 5.4. Termini is a visual icon and a well-known place of alterity. Examples of other visual material on Termini station (Berretta, 2021; Pampaloni, 2014)

Firstly, although it is important to stress that homeless people and homeless migrants are not the only people featured in TerminiTV, the films go a long way in providing visibility to the people depicted in them (many of whom are homeless or are migrants) assumed invisible, living in the shadows with scant opportunity to represent themselves, speak or reveal stories from their lives. Moreover it provides a platform and digital space for representation and alternative narratives on homeless experience (Lopez-Leon & Casanova, 2023). The films allow the viewer, to *see* those people and create micro-visual encounters that we can witness, who they might not always be able to see. In the Appendix there is a complete list of TerminiTV films watched and analysed in this thesis.

5.4.2. TerminiTV provides visibility

As established in the literature review and methodology chapters, as a type of visual data, films are useful for exploring lived realities and representations of other people's experiences. They also go beyond visual impressions of course, and the films provide sound (Rogers, 2015) and dialogue (Kozloff, 2000) for example.

In many ways the films of TerminiTV act as an agent of visibilisation for homeless people – by their very existence they give visibility to homeless migrants by literally showing them. There is visibility given to the issues facing homeless people, for example finding a job, or a reliable place to sleep, or encountering racism. The films centre their perspective and allow homeless people to talk about these issues themselves. In many ways the films might be considered collaborative between the film-makers

and homeless people. Much invisibilisation of homelessness occurs because beyond their status as 'homeless' – often marginalised subjects are only recognised for their marginalising characteristic (Speer, 2019). Within the films of TerminiTV there is an effort to avoid concentrating on the 'homeless' element of their lives or other aspects of their marginality (e.g. migration) and instead talk about something else: their hobbies, their relationships, their skills (Settles et al., 2019).

5.4.3. 'We do not cover our eyes, but we try to tell the story in another way'

Figure 5.5. Still from TerminiTV: 'Romani per caso'. TerminiTV: Facebook. 19th February 2016.

The TerminiTV film *Romani per caso* (Figure 5.5.) from February 2016 is a useful starting point for exploring in/visibility experienced by homeless people – and migrants specifically – in Rome. The text description of the *Romani per Caso* on the TerminiTV Facebook page reads: *'Povertà, prostituzione, furti, droghe. Questa è la narrativa dominante a Termini. Noi non ci pariamo gli occhi, ma cerchiamo di raccontare in un altro modo*'. This translates to 'poverty, prostitution, theft and drugs. This is the dominant narrative of Termini. We do not cover our eyes, but we try to tell [the story] in another way'. Rather than accepting the typical desire to unsee those who live at the station, the films aim to show them as an 'alternative' representation – not dressing them up or finding silver linings, there is a sense of wanting to reveal uncomfortable truths. The description of the video also infers that people habitually cover their eyes when dealing with homeless migrants, invisibilising them. It also hints at uncovering the darker side of urban encounters, moving away from assumptions about the city and who lives there.

Akin to a documentary style genre, *Romani per caso* is like a promotional video for TerminiTV, featuring highlights from a series of talking-head style interviews with different migrants connected to Termini and living around its vicinity, pausing in familiar places like shop-fronts on Via Giolitti, the sottopasso and in cafes in neighbouring Esquilino. The film attempts to confront the viewer with

experiences of Others that they may normally ignore or not normally be exposed to. By displaying these people on their film, they are no longer unseen. On the other side of the coin, their otherness is not accentuated or exaggerated, they are given visibility, but not hypervisibility as a 'rupture of the order of the city' (Langegger & Koester, 2016, p. 1033).

The title *Romani per caso*, means 'Romans by chance'. In the film, there are several interviews with migrants who themselves describe how homeless people can be relegated to the shadows of the station and surrounding areas. Not all of them are homeless or sleeping on the street – TerminiTV tends to feature a diverse set of station 'users'. The interviewees include some Ivorian migrants sleeping at the station, a Moroccan ex-butcher sleeping on Via Giolotti who says he has had 'enough with Italy', a French Erasmus student who stayed in Italy, and a Bosnian woman in a café – reflecting the varying origin locations of migration to Rome (Istat, 2023).

One interview takes place away from the pavement, in the sottopasso. Under the orange electric lighting sit two men wrapped in woolly hats, coats and underneath blankets and newspapers for warmth. The first to speak is a man who arrived in Italy from the Ivory Coast when he was a child, fleeing from war. He sits, huddled for warmth with his companion who speaks to the camera. The camera is settled on them both, not looking away as a passer-by on the street might. One man tells the camera that he trained as a plumber, but as a non-resident and with expired papers he has been unable to work. His companion has worked several small jobs, but eventually became involved in dealing drugs. After his arrest and jail-time he was released but still struggled with drug abuse, having had no access to rehab facilities. We do not know how they came together here, friends united by difficult life experiences and a life on the street. The underpass where they sit together is a popular place for homeless people to sleep, despite its lack of sanitation, cramped situation and cacophony of noise from the cars in the tunnel and the railway tracks above.

5.4.4. TerminiTV introduces us to metaphorical invisibility

The film intersects issues of homelessness and migration and introduces a sort of metaphorical or institutional invisibility related in many ways to migration (Meloni et al., 2017), marginalised migrants are often invisibilised before bureaucratic, legal, and official systems (Polzer, 2008). Not only does this metaphorical form of invisibility make life difficult in a number of ways, it might also compound their Otherness in the Italian capital. It might encourage them to negotiate the city through informality, rather than through 'official' means (Clough Marinaro & Solimene, 2020; Maestri, 2019; Abbasi & Lauri, 2022). Relating to this, a sense of solidarity and community among these (heterogeneous) groups of people will be discussed more in Chapter 7.

The connection between visibility and political inclusion is complicated (Bialasiewicz, 2017). With expired or unofficial documents they are unable to work: the Moroccan man wishes he could return home. He decries his experiences since arriving in Rome: his passport has expired and also his work permit, ID card and bank card. Without these essential items he has vanished from officialdom and is condemned to a life of informality living on the street. It is not clear whether he is able to return or not. He is being ignored on the street and he was ignored when asking for help from the authorities. Agamben (1991) wrote on the state of exception, referring explicitly to refugees, and how certain outsiders can be rendered invisible before the state. This idea will be revisited in Chapter 7 but this undocumented status in front of the law feels like a powerful metaphorical form of invisibility, engendered by bureaucratic illegibility to citizenship and technologies of bordering (Pallister-Wilkins 2021).

5.5. TerminiTV example: Invisible Ismail

Now I have introduced TerminiTV, I will explore a short film: *L'invisibile Ismail a Roma Termini* ('The invisible Ismail in Roma Termini'). This is a piece of filmmaking and a visual document on one homeless migrant in Rome that that indicates how in/visibility may affect homeless people (and migrants in this case) at Termini. The film (Figure 5.6.) documents the experiences of Ismail, a migrant from Tunisia, who came to Italy to change his life. After an accident falling off a bridge at a railway station, he was injured, eventually contributing towards him becoming homeless. In the film he reveals he regrets coming to Rome and Italy in the first place. It's one isolated story of a migrant who has come to Rome, with employment history and experience and dreams of finding a better life, and finds themselves homeless. The film describes him as a 'ghost' – ignored in the city, at the station and in public opinion, whilst the title literally declares he is invisible. Far from a label imposed by the film-makers, Ismail describes himself that way too. These metaphors relate to how homelessness is explored in the social sciences as invisible. Desjarlais (1997, p. 2) observes the 'ghostly' presence of homeless people, which threatens the 'peaceful, artful air of cafes, libraries, and public squares', while geographer Josie Jolley (2020, p. 635) describes experiences of homelessness as 'spectral'.

Figure 5.6. Still from TerminiTV: 'L'invisibile Ismail a Roma Termini'. A Tunisian man, Ismail tells his story from the road next to Termini. TerminiTV: Facebook. 22 January 2018.

5.5.1. Ismail is visibilised by the film – which hints at his invisibility

The film's image is mostly one camera angle focused on Ismail. The camera is zoomed up to his face and shoulders, as he stands up against the closed shutters of a shop-front. Ismail is in focus. This visual information tells the viewer that Ismail is the protagonist here, brought out of the shadows, telling the viewer his story. While the viewer is drawn to Ismail, he also stands in the shadows. He has brown eyes and appears to look almost down the lens of the camera, inviting the viewer to look back. Because Ismail is in the dark it feels natural to look away towards the well-lit street and station and city beyond. The vantage point of the image is at head-height, just a few feet away from Ismail. It feels like he is talking directly to us as equals. The viewer is not looking down at him, like they might pass by a beggar in the station or see someone who is homelessness sitting or lying down.

Despite being a 'ghost', the film both explores themes of visibility from Ismail's perspective and gives visibility to Ismail. Visibility and invisibility therefore might exist together in a complex relationship for the homeless people at Termini like Ismail. There is of course anonymity offered by public space (May 2015, p. 496) which the film suspends.

The film visualises Ismail's place in the city. The 'genre' of the film is typical of TerminiTV, in a talking-heads style interview that remains personal, but perhaps also 'gritty' urban filmography showing everyday scenes and hustle that connects the viewer to the city. Despite the omnipresence of the city, Ismail is the main focal point. But it is about his place in the city of Rome, and at the station of Termini, which provides its own scene behind and beyond him – signifying the city has a life of its own beyond Ismail's experience. Out of focus is the street (Via Giolitti) and people passing on a bustling, lamp-lit, evening in Rome. Termini station, and it's enormous archways are clearly visible in the background, brightly lit in orange-yellow light. In spite of his presence, perhaps the city has left

him behind through his homelessness, his accident and his ongoing struggles that he describes, whilst standing invisible in the shadow, drawing a clear visual link between Termini station and the people who dwell there.

There are many perspectives and representations we do not know watching this image. Other people are like extras moving anonymously through a filmset. What do they see? How do they interpret this space? Their own perspective on a fleeting moment's capture by Termini is invisible here. This representation feels like it is from the eyes of the director, looking at Ismail, and listening to him. Ismail, normally invisible and in the shadows is telling us a partial version. Despite this, we do not know much about him, despite knowing roughly why he has ended up homeless in Rome. It feels like by interrogating the film as a visual source, we finish with more questions than what we started with.

5.6. In/visibility in the Termini Metro

I have thus far introduced variegated patterns of visibility and invisibility – both physical and metaphorical, experienced by homeless people (many of them migrants) in particular places at Termini station. TerminiTV's films (like the example of *L'invisibile Ismail*) can represent everyday stories of homeless people and migrants around the station – giving them visibility while capturing these stories and telling them.

In this section I suggest that experiences from the Metro in Termini featuring in my ethnographic diary and the films of Termini station suggest that seeing and unseeing are linked and simultaneous processes, as homeless people are rendered simultaneously in/visible, through an unpredictable and ever shifting flow of micro-visual encounters in everyday life.

Contrasting experiences of visibility in the metro – to ignore, or to stare?

The Metro station and its trains is one space in (and through and beyond) Termini where people avoid looking at each other. Here I will explore two separate examples from the metro station that demonstrate the complex relationship between seeing and unseeing and how specific geography can connect to visibility. I will be using two different sources: my diary and a TerminiTV film. In almost exactly the same location (but almost seven years apart) the two sources offer contrasting accounts of in/visibility. The diary extract reflects on a moment where someone is ignored and invisibilised by a passing crowd – whether due to civil or uncivil inattention (Horgan, 2020), the stress of rush hour, or a number of factors. The film shows an unconscious person in the metro platform, watched by a crowd despite an initial sense of indifference. It is worth noting that neither diary extract nor film presents a person that is explicitly homeless, but both show people who bear the markings of someone who might be homeless. These are visible and material signs that conform to a representation of a

stereotype of homelessness which presents a conversation of its own about how we see and recognise different people (Bourlessas, 2018; Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015). The diary passage begins:

> I travel to Termini on the Metro and walking into the main station I notice a beggar (which is unusual) by the exit. I see him from several metres away as the moving crowd breaks around him like a rock breaking the tide. He is on his knees, both hands on the floor, looking at us with an empty gaze. The people seem undeterred, ignoring him and walking straight past into the station as if he were invisible or not there at all.
>
> Diary extract. 29th March 2023, 16:45. Termini Metro station.

The beggar was plainly in sight, kneeling on the ramp walkway into the underground shopping centre of the station. Hundreds of people were passing him every minute, as he was hunched over, seemingly looking towards the floor. He wasn't looking at people passing by. In return, not one person stopped or even seemed to turn to look at him. Did people not notice him? Even if people were seeing him, they certainly weren't really looking – alike to civil inattention (Goffman 1963) or even uncivil inattention (Horgan, 2020). We cannot know the 'civility' of the act. No one turned their head or seemed to focus. Instead passers-by formed streams that passed him by, affording him a wide berth of a metre or so. He appeared still, like part of the metro station's architecture or its backdrop, unmoved while the station bustled around him unbothered.

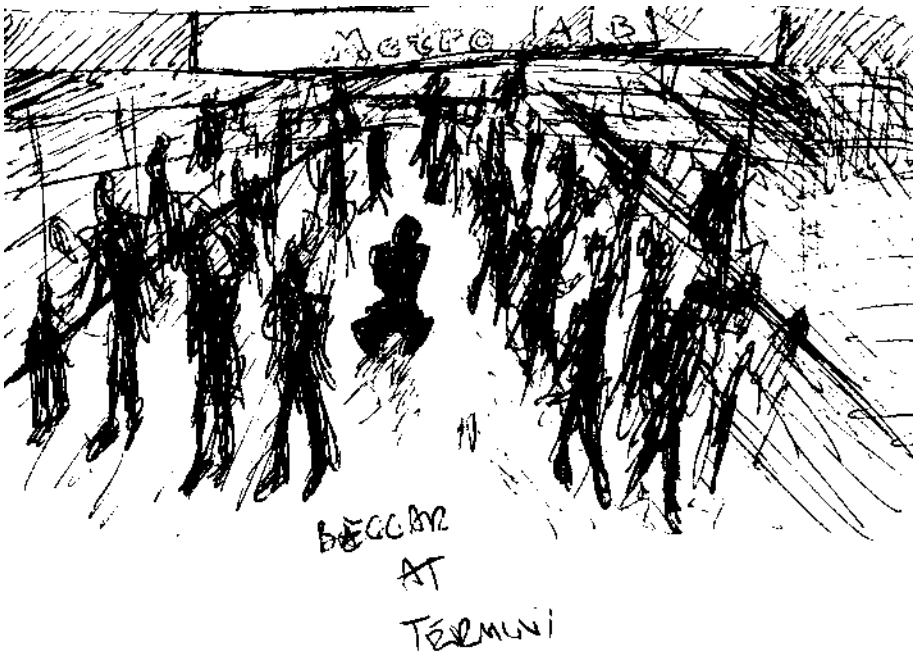

Figure 5.7. Sketch of a beggar bypassed by a crowd in Termini Metro. 23rd March 2022.

The sketch I made in the field (Figure 5.7.) that corresponds to the diary entry is a useful resource to refer to when reflecting on the beggar and the visual processes occurring around him. I drew the sketch quickly, wanting to capture what I saw as effectively as possible. The movement, the bodies, the lights, the shadows and the alienating atmosphere were easily transposed to paper. I did not draw with the intention of being an 'artist', rather this less intrusive sketching method was deployed given the discounting of photography (see Chapter 6: Methodology). Some familiar visual tropes can be read in the image. Groups of people in motion, rushing by a solitary figure, the beggar. The figures are like matchstick men (not unlike the paintings of industrial northwest England by L.S. Lowry, for example), showing them to be uniform in appearance, anonymous and in the case of fieldwork practicality: easy to draw. The beggar stood apart from this sense of unification in anonymity. From my point of view, he was hypervisible in the environment – othered against the sea of passengers who did not look like him. His position was subservient, kneeling on the hard floor, beneath the walking passers-by who looked over the top of him. As well as begging he bore other visual traces that marked him out as potentially homeless (Bourlessas, 2018). His clothes were dirty and ragged. He had a long beard and scruffy hair. The materiality of life on the street was extremely visible. Frances (2014) refers to visual confrontation with difficult imagery whereby people will often react to an unusual or unpleasant sight by attempting to ignore. It is easier to ignore a problem than to confront it.

5.6.1. Caught between visibility and invisibility

The beggar may represent an example of how someone extremely visible might be immediately invisibilised, based on the interactions they have with people around them. Of course, I am not suggesting that everyone was callously ignoring him, neither was everyone completely unmoved by his presence. Maybe others noticed and made a donation online to a homelessness charity upon returning home – we will never know. However, the trend seemed to be unawareness, or perhaps worse - indifference. Many people may have been too busy talking, distracted by a podcast or a song through their headphones, or simply preoccupied with their thoughts and evening plans. I cannot know what was going through their heads: some things are unknowable – even with interviews to guide us. Modern city life can be relentless and over-stimulating (Simmel, 1908; Hernandez Barbosa, 2019). Maybe they were 'used' to seeing the man – in a similar sense to civil inattention. Most of them likely wanted to avoid an uncomfortable confrontation with poverty and suffering when all they want to do is get home. The writer Susan Sontag (2004, p. 100) wrote on a sense of complacency in people confronted with difficult images, that 'Wherever people feel safe... they will be indifferent'.

The experience with the beggar occupying simultaneous positions of visibility and invisibility contrasts well with the TerminiTV film *No ambulatory in Termini*, an unusual English title that refers to the lack of immediate ambulance facilities in the station – the largest and busiest in Italy (ItaliaRail,

2023). Considering the useful contrast, the film is suggestive of a different set of seeing practices than those with the beggar. The beggar was avoided. In the film *No ambulatory*, people are stood around looking *at* the subject – or perhaps staring.

Figure 5.8. Still from TerminiTV: 'No ambulatory in Termini'. The feet of an unknown person on the floor in Termini Metro. TerminiTV: Facebook. 24th May 2015.

Many TerminiTV films depict specific events in the station, micro-visual encounters that if you blink you might miss. These fleeting glimpses of life in the station allow the viewer to see places they might not normally be able to see, or see people they might never encounter. *No ambulatory in Termini* is a short film clip around a minute-long showing a moment from May 2015 where a man lies on the floor in the Metro section of Termini, under the low ceiling and luminescent lighting. The film can be read in a number of ways (Rose, 2001; Monaco, 2000). Despite the artificial effect of the harsh lighting, the picture still remains gloomy and shadowy. The man on the ground is extremely still. The viewer doesn't know if he is unconscious or dead. Rather than telling a story, or depicting an interview with somebody, the film captures a short moment in the station that might otherwise easily be forgotten. It is shot like a news clip, with a detached narrator describing what has happened, and the familiar sight of emergency vehicles and crowds that accompany an incident you might watch on the television. The man is an unknown, unnamed person who has fallen victim to some accident in a dark and busy place. The camera focuses on the man's feet (see Figure 5.8.) as he lies on the cold hard marble floor by the wall and the viewer is able to quickly glance at his face, which looks lifeless. The camera does not focus long enough on his face to reveal his identity.

The health emergency and the arrival of law enforcement and the ambulance has turned the life of the man lying on the floor into a spectacle for people to watch (Gold & Revill, 2003) – out of concern, boredom, entertainment, curiosity. The image of the body still on the floor surrounded by onlookers is juxtaposed by the film-makers with time-lapse still footage of the station concourse, countless

shoppers and commuters rushing by each other at speed. Throughout the video we hear sounds of the station murmuring in the background, carrying on despite the incident.

The station and its associated archipelago of places – the Metro, the piazza, the food court, the shopping centre – is a site with its own embedded power relations and geographies associated with stigma (Butler-Warke, 2020). The space of Termini, a home to many homeless people including migrants, might be understood in the spirit of bell hooks' 'spaces of marginality'. These are specific places that are produced by alternative ways of being (hooks, 1999). Stations like Termini may be mundane places of daily commutes and everyday travel but also places of drunkenness, assaults, vandalism, but also health emergencies, terrorist attacks and fatal collisions. Many people are on high-alert in the station (Löfgren, 2015), perhaps watching on with a heightened sense of suspicion – even staring. Reflecting earlier descriptions of stigmatisations of place (Wacquant, 2007; Creţan et al., 2022), Metros and railway stations might be places where we expect to see 'bad things'.

5.6.2. Vulnerable and subjected to in/visibility in TerminiTV

No ambulatory in Termini, like many TerminiTV films, captures vulnerability and the visibility that can accompany it (Wallengren et al,, 2020). Similar to the man clattering in the ticket machines for change, the unresponsive man represents a kind of spectacle in his Otherness (Gold & Revill, 2003).

In Czech novelist Karel Čapek's (1934) novel *An Ordinary Life*, there is a scene that conjures a similar phenomenon to the TerminiTV film, embodying the amplified feeling of anxiety and claustrophobia that can accompany the extreme visibility of stations. The protagonist falls ill amidst the rush of the crowd in Prague's main station (Čapek, 1934 [2012]). He is fussed over by curious onlookers, and rushed off by concerned members of staff. Watching the video brings a similar sentiment – does this man know he is being filmed? Can he agree to this? This is the one-way relationship of looking – of *staring* - an act of superiority and authority, depriving the looked-at as lacking any kind of 'meaningful reciprocation or redress' (Frances, 2014, p. 202).

5.7. Collective in/visibility

Seeing, like the list of words at the beginning of this chapter, is assumed to be an individual practice. I would often sit or stand at a particular part of the station and look at people – it felt like an individual act. Many of the micro-visual encounters I have mentioned are individual but they can also take place collectively, as depicted in the sketch of the parting crowd in Figure 5.7.

Other aspects of city life can be collective. Mobility in cities is often described as an individual process, but also might be observed *en masse*, for example like Čapek's observation of the moving

bicycles of Amsterdam as a 'shoal' or a complex unified organism (Čapek, 1933). The crowd in the Metro moved almost as one. Perhaps it was a coincidence. Or perhaps people were copying each other in a way that mirrors expectations of behaviour in a public space, or moving in a kind of coordinated choreography like urbanist's Jane Jacobs's (1961) *sidewalk ballet.*

5.7.1. Seeing/unseeing can be collective as well as individual

Do we sometimes see and unsee things together? The scenes from the Metro allude to the idea that seeing and unseeing can be collective practices. Intentionally or not, both featured crowds of people united in a sense of co-presence: ignoring or focusing on somebody who stood out. The unresponsive man and the beggar both appeared particularly in or out of focus to a group of people in a particular place. This was exemplified by the movement of people. People stopped and stood around the unresponsive man, whereas the crowd collectively bypassed the beggar, parting around him, having seen and ignored (or just not seen).

As people move together through the space, so do they carry around hidden and unofficial social codes that govern our public spaces – much like civil inattention. Civil inattention is about mutually expected self-restraint and invisible social controls on behaviour (Simmel, 1984; Arviv & Eizenberg, 2021). If one person started behaving intrusively or shouting rudely, it would have been disruptive: an attack from one on many. No one tells us to behave that way, but together we do it anyway – for the most part. It feels like part of being in public and part of being human. Psychological research suggests that there are social-visual cues that we follow in order to get along with each other, particularly in crowds (Sweeny & Whitney, 2014). There are several perspectives on collective seeing: for example how the 'gaze' can be a mechanism of collective control used to suppress Otherness (Karadaş, 2020; Kidwell & Reynolds, 2022). Others explore collective unseeing, for example Knudsen et al. (2023) exploration of organised ignorance.

It is also worth mentioning different kinds of collective visibility that occur. There is a tremendous (and often detrimental) power of representation in the media. The films of TerminiTV (and other visual representations of life in Termini and other 'spaces of marginality' result in a different kind of collective visibility, one that comes from publishing their material on the internet for people to see.

5.7.2. Sedentary metaphysics and collective in/visibility

> 'The experience of homelessness cannot be considered apart from the experience of movement.'
>
> (May 2000, p. 737).

Homeless people are often living 'on the move' but with the examples we have discussed and explored may also appear visibly sedentary and still – caught in an existence described by Jackson as 'fixed in mobility' (2012, p. 725). Perhaps the collective seeing/unseeing that I recognised in Termini is therefore a part of the Othering process that occurs in public places where homeless people dwell. These people are already marked out as different, often by a combination of: their appearance, their belongings, their language, their habits, etc. (Bourlessas, 2018; May, 2015). Visual encounters around mobility compound these differences.

Anthropologist Malkki's (1992, p. 31) notion of 'sedentarist metaphysics' combines power rooted in social space with the embodied (im)mobility displaced groups, where there is a tendency to perceive practices and people in a way that assumes a moral logic to fixity in space and place. There was a visual contrast between the crowd and the beggar or the crowd and the unresponsive person on the floor. The collectivity of the event accentuated the disparity and the fact that the (possibly) homeless person is Other. Sedentary in a moving place; they are using the space deviantly, being a nuisance, or an eyesore. Cresswell (2006) also notes mobility and displacement are treated as pathological (p. 27). This explains the principal way of thinking about mobile bodies in the modern West as a threat or as something Other that requires control and applies widely to notions of homelessness, but also the movement of migrants and border control (Urry, 2007). It also fits into discussions in Chapter 6 about the aesthetics of urban space and the related behavioural expectations imposed on homeless people within Termini.

5.7.3. 'Difficult' sights are easily in/visibilised

There were numerous examples of simultaneous visibility and invisibility at Termini during my fieldwork where a homeless person was so blatantly visible: so 'in contrast' to the evolving cityscape around them, either because of material factors marking them out as Other or sedentary metaphysics (Malkki 1992). Yet all the visible cues suggested that they were being completely ignored, collectively (Knudsen et al., 2023).

> I walk around into the corner of Cinquecento and Giolitti behind the hoarding where a man with no shoes sits, in the middle of an open $10m^2$ or so of pavement with no one around him, eating some food out of food containers he has spread around his blanket that he is sitting on. He is taking up so much room in such a public space but he doesn't care. It is so public yet no one is here apart from him. For everyone else it is like a dead zone.
>
> Diary extract. 29th March 2023, 14:20. Via Giolitti.

In another example, a woman regularly pitched her pop-up tent – stained and weather-beaten from months on the street – in the middle of Piazza dei Cinquecento in front of Termini. A stone's throw

from the station building, actively patrolled by a combination of police, carabinieri, private security and Italian Army, her tent stood there in the day until the midday ritual when she took it down and moved on to her next spot. Passers-by walked around the tent. The security forces completely turned a blind eye. The same applied to another woman whose sprawling belongings were semi-permanently piled together on the pavement underneath a clear plastic tarpaulin. She hardly ever moved. Sat in a space peripheral and inessential to the running of the station (and crucially outside of its walls), both of these people were seemingly allowed to stay. Chapter 6 will detail the strategies (and possible motivations) for visually removing homeless people from public space. To reflect back on the list at the beginning of this chapter (Figure 5.1.), all around Termini, the inconsistent nature of looking, ignoring, noticing and being noticed was always in flux.

5.8. Homeless people aren't in/visible to everyone

I want to state that not everyone treats homeless people like they are invisible. I do not wish to tar everyone with the same brush. Many people 'see' homelessness and most certainly do not wish to forcibly in/visibilise anyone or push them away to hidden parts of cities. Whilst I contend that people may see collectively as well as individually, there might be exceptions to this rule. While often there was an overwhelming sense of collectivity to people's actions, someone would occasionally stop and offer a conversation or a cold drink to a homeless person. In my observations, these seemed to be exceptions that proved the rule.

Much of my fieldwork relies on spending time with particular people in Rome – some who are or have been homeless themselves – who seem to 'see' homeless people for more than their personal problems and do not expose them to voyeurism (or endeavour not to) and other kinds of problematic visibility. I include myself in this categorisation of people. Despite this I am certainly not immune to stereotypes and subjectivity creeping into my thought process and I reflect further on my positionality and reflexivity in the field in Chapter 4: Methodology. Lastly, the materials from my other data sources TerminiTV films and Shaker magazines (in Chapter 7) are produced by organisations that wish to empower homeless people, provide them with a voice and a platform with which to share their views/thoughts/skills etc.

Figure 5.9. Photograph of empty food container at Termini. Sharing food at the station is one way of connecting with homeless people at the station. Author's own. 19th March 2022.

5.8.1. Acts of kindness as 'seeing'

I witnessed (and heard stories of) police officers who have acted kindly and with respect to homeless people on the street, despite an undertone of homeless people having an adversarial relationship with agents of security and law enforcement. Often I witnessed random groups or individuals approach others at the station, handing out cans of cold drinks to people hanging around, or bringing them food. Others helped more reluctantly, helping with a small request once they had been approached. For example, two men gave a man sugar sachets in the station café once he asked. Other people actively involved themselves in meaningful charity work – cooking meals and going out every Sunday night to distribute food and drinks to the homeless people at the station (see Figure 5.9.), which often had particular significance in the summer and winter, as weather conditions made life on the street particularly difficult. Besides distributing food, conversation was extremely important, as was looking into the eyes of someone in a desperate situation, listening to their voice and making them feel seen and noticed (Myllyneva & Hietanen, 2016). Many of the films of TerminiTV demonstrate the value of giving a platform to homeless people to speak and be heard. These films don't just provide an opportunity to analyse visual encounters, but they create and document visual encounters and treat people like people – not just concentrating on hypervisibility that stems from their marginality: their homelessness or their migration background (Settles et al., 2019).

5.8.2. How should we be looking?

After interrogating various micro-visual encounters around Termini, I want to raise the question: is there an appropriate way to 'see' or 'look at' homelessness? There is a risk in upholding a binary

whereby ignoring a homeless person upholds their invisibility, while looking at them is voyeuristic, potentially exposing them to hypervisibility beyond their control. Must it be a lose-lose situation? It is important to remember that sometimes people do not want to be seen. But sometimes they do. It is not always clear when this threshold is crossed. In the field I had experiences where some people avoided eye-contact or asked to be left alone, whereas others wanted to have a conversation or even requested their photographs being taken. The desire to be invisible to some but also visible to others may coexist.

I explore this problem in the conclusion, but it can be assumed that some behaviours reinforce perceptions of Otherness in public space, while others can foster genuine goodwill and friendly relations between strangers in cities. Various charities and organisations around the world offer guides on how to 'engage' with homeless people, that are available online. For example, American organisation Invisible People feature their own guide entitled *Making Eye Contact with Homeless People Is Important* (Robbins, 2019). Ultimately it is up to us how we behave when looking at someone or something 'unusual' in our field of view.

5.9. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a discussion of visibility and invisibility, through synthesising a dataset compiled from field notes and from a Rome-based filmography. Chiefly I provide a contribution of how micro-visual encounters can affect homeless people in their everyday lives at Termini station across different geographies. I also explore how these micro-visual encounters occur collectively, not just individually – although TerminiTV in particular demonstrates the impacts of in/visibilisation on individuals' lives.

5.9.1. Foregrounding micro-visual encounters at Termini

Much of the in/visibility experienced by homeless people appears to be through the accruing of micro-visual encounters. Building on the work of Georges Perec looking to everyday, unremarkable moments, this conceptualisation of micro-visual encounters helps integrate urban space and visual/digital encounters in moving understanding beyond bodily encounters with homelessness. It is also complementary to the work of radical work on housing and the everyday habitation of homelessness (Lancione 2011; 2013; 2017; Lenhard, 2020), whereby new ways of seeing and the role of the visual might contribute to re-imagining a less problematic co-presence with homelessness. I situate this observation within critical literature on urban encounters that affirms that encounters are not just passing but may have a broader theoretical significance (Wilson, 2017). Chapter 7 will connect to this, introducing everyday moments of humour and viability in Termini which might contrast with expectations or stereotypes of these kinds of spaces.

5.9.2. Moralising and Othering homeless people in public space

I have suggested that through (un)civil inattention, ignoring people in a low-key way is a part of urban life. Beneath this, homeless people can also appear invisible – ignored and not seen physically, exemplified by the experiences of Ismail in the film by TerminiTV. This invisibilisation can also happen on a metaphorical level, with homeless migrants excluded from bureaucracy and statehood. People in cities even ignore homeless people when they are highly visible. By their associations with homeless people, some places, like the sottopasso are also avoided/invisibilised as stigmatised places.

Despite this invisibilisation, homeless people are often very visible in their practices – appearing as uncivil in their behaviour in the city centre. This can be also accentuated by their status as migrants, with their racialised identity in the city contributing to the in/visibility experienced. The importance of race cannot be understated here. Sara Ahmed (2007, p. 159) also writes that 'non-white bodies are made invisible when we see spaces as being white at the same time they become hypervisible when they do not pass, which means they 'stand out' and 'stand apart'.

5.9.3. In/visibility is a product of visibilisation and invisibilisation

In/visibility provides a useful conceptual middle ground for understanding everyday lives. It is a more nuanced and mutable notion that conceptualises visibility as something transitory and processual. The words 'visibility' and 'invisibility' suggest absolute states of being. According to their definitions, you are seen or you are not. This does not reflect the reality of homeless experience, despite frequent assertions from all quarters that marginalised people are indeed invisible. Visibility is situational and variable. I suggest from my examples from my fieldwork and TerminiTV that people 'see' homeless people when they are hidden/invisible, but ignore them when they are plainly in view. When it comes to visual encounters with homeless people in Termini station, visibility and invisibility cannot be separated.

Simultaneous visibilities and invisibilities might be conjoined as in/visibilities. This might have broad application: e.g. the refugee for example is 'simultaneously both wrongfully invisible and wrongfully visible' (Bialasiewicz, 2017, p. 382). Rather than two fixed poles, in/visibility seems to operate on a moveable spectrum, shifting continually, as my graphic Figure 5.10. below suggests. Someone who is in/visibilised might continuously shift their position along this circle in the case of Termini, across different spaces across the station landscape but also across times of the day as well as the seasons. One can pass from a state of invisibility to hypervisibility (or more likely somewhere inbetween) in the blink of an eye or be both at the same time.

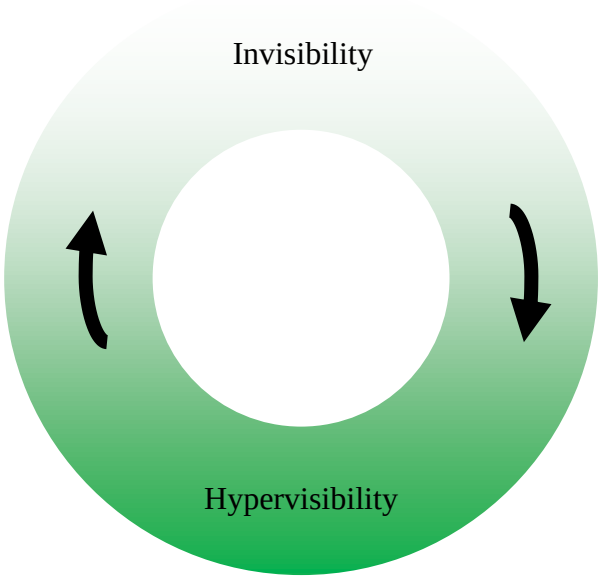

Figure 5.10. Figure that illustrates how in/visibility can be processual and on a spectrum. I designed this figure myself from observations that people move between (sometimes multiple) states of invisibility and hypervisibility.

Homeless people might appear visible in some senses and invisibilised in others, Ismail's film on TerminiTV is a good example: visually he is marginalised as he recounts his story, but yet he remains, recounting his story to online viewers worldwide. There are also hypervisibilities owing to race and various markers that distinguish homeless people from 'dominant group members' (Settles et al., 2019, p. 2). Whilst at the same time, their marginalised status may render them invisible in terms of their personal identities, interests, skills, histories etc. The films of TerminiTV – by speaking, listening and broadcasting these allow us to see better and to begin to visibilise certain aspects of people's lives.

5.9.4. There is a lot we don't yet know

Our relationships with others (and their hopes, fears etc.) are often unknowable. Second guessing visual encounters is something I find myself doing in my original diary entries, but also as I reflect on moments like looking at the woman by the entrance. It is also something we humans do all the time, in many ways its shapes our experience of the world. Rather than a weakness or an obstacle, I approach this as a fact of urban/social life and a contribution of this thesis. Our perspectives are all very different. And this discounts visual impairment and the fact that many people cannot see well or at all.

Various experiences from my fieldwork but also taken from the films of TerminiTV demonstrate that homeless people are never totally invisible, nor can everyone see them. Despite this, additional questions exist: who is in/visible to whom and when/where does this change? How does the built environment affect how homeless people are seen and unseen? What are the kind of behaviours that are othered, stigmatised and in/visibilised in Termini? This will be discussed later in Chapter 6.

I have thus far concentrated on seeing homeless people with fear for example, but visibility is a reflexive process (Brighenti, 2007). Homeless people may be the object of fear, but they also experience it (Johnsen et al., 2005, p. 790) – this will be greater explored in Chapter 7. Homeless people may well affect their own in/visibility with their own behaviour. Sometimes they might even turn the in/visibility that is conferred onto them by others to their own advantage. What homeless people do, and by extension, how see themselves and each other will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6: Il decoro urbano and in/visibility in the built environment

6.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the built environment of Termini, and how recent changes to the station as part of 'il decoro urbano' contribute to the in/visibilisation of homeless people. This builds on Chapter 7, exploring how and why homeless migrants are routinely in/visibilised by others in Termini station, introducing the concept of the micro-visual encounter.

I will begin by defining il decoro urbano, an Italian term translating roughly to 'urban decorum'. Il decoro urbano has become a powerful galvanising tool to redesign, reorder and rebrand Termini station, based on a preconceived notion of what Rome's main station *should* look like and what sort of people it *should* cater for. This has progressed throughout the course of my PhD research as well as through the Covid-19 pandemic. This chapter will explore three departure points related to il decoro urbano that are significant in the lives of homeless migrants' visibility based on data collected in my fieldwork and TerminiTV films. The first is the different ways that homeless people in Termini have been excluded and in/visibilised in the Roman built environment in the name of il decoro urbano. With hygiene, cleanliness, and urban civility/behaviour as key features of decoro, I will explore how homeless migrants are discursively treated like waste themselves, excluded, ignored and pushed out of sight by a series of mechanisms, including hostile architecture, the station authorities and police.

Building on the subject of waste, I will then focus specifically on toilets and the lack of access to toilet facilities that pushes homeless people into in/visibility. I will explore how a lack of toilet access pushes homeless migrants in particular into peripheral parts of the station such as the sottopasso, a stigmatised and unhygienic space. Alongside this, I will critically explore how use of public toilet spaces are transforming and how the station is transforming into 'white' sanitised space: invoking the notion of a normative and imagined white, European public space.

The last subsection will explore how Covid-19 and associated protection measures accelerated il decoro urbano in the station via spatial controls over movement and behaviour. It is a heightening concern for hygiene issues, stressing a need to transform the station into a sanitised space hostile to homeless people.

Table 6.1. Sources used Chapter 6:	Points that I will discuss:
1. Ethnographic diary extracts (writing, sketches & photos) 2. TerminiTV films	- Defining il decoro urbano - Homeless people are excluded and in/visibilised in the name of il decoro urbano - Toilet (in)access contributes to in/visibility - Covid-related restrictions and changes accelerated in/visibilising aspects of il decoro urbano

6.1.1. The Roman Dream

#LiveTheRomanDream
UN NOVO CAPITOLO DI AUTENTICO LUSSO STA PER ESSERE SCRITTO
A NEW CHAPTER OF AUTHENTIC ROMAN LUXURY IS ABOUT TO BEGIN

The character of Termini and its surroundings is one of visual contrasts. The above text is from an advert, stuck onto a glass door in Piazza della Repubblica. I found it walking to Termini (just 500m away). The advert is for a new designer hotel in the centre of Rome. Written in Italian and English, it promotes a dreamlike image of Rome as a luxurious city. This is a touristic stereotype (Schaad, 2008) of the marketed image of the 'Eternal City' (Clough Marinaro & Thomassen, 2014). It signals the direction of development in the city – an aesthetic project for a clean city filled with successful, wealthy people.

Figure 6.1. Sketch of the Dogali obelisk. The obelisk opposite Termini is a place where homeless migrants around the station hang out. 1st March 2022.

It stands in contrast to the lived realities in the area. Just over the street is the colonial-era Dogali obelisk (Figure 6.1.), an important sleeping and resting place for homeless migrants in the Termini area, where there is a tap for washing/drinking and trees to shelter under. This monument, dedicated to past glories of Italian colonialism is now relegated to a quiet corner and is now surrounded by cigarette butts and bottle-caps that have been permanently imprinted into the grassy soil. In the sketch, three men huddle close together drinking beer. Beyond this is the expanse of Piazza dei Cinquecento encircling the entrance to Termini, where homeless migrants sleep up against the glass.

6.2. What is il decoro urbano?

Il decoro urbano refers to the way the city looks (décor), but also to behaviour (decorum). Legal scholar Nitrato Izzo explains the wide-meaning definition of il decoro urbano:

> The application of decorum [decoro] to cities refers to a certain order, which evokes a feeling for cleanliness, an orderly and accomplished aspect of social flows in the city, a fight against

> ‘indecency’ embodied by subjects and practices that are not easily assimilated to those, equally indeterminate, of the ‘good citizen’ (Nitrato Izzo, 2022, p. 532).

Based on an image of what Rome is supposed to look like, according to marketing and planning professionals (based on understandings I have gained in the field), il decoro urbano combines the disciplining and removal of indecent or uncivil behaviour (introduced in Chapter 5) with an image overhaul of Termini. This includes the proliferation of luxury hotels next to Termini, the development of uber-gentrified Mercato Centrale at the back of the station, the airport-style food court and luxury boutiques.

It is unclear exactly how il decoro urbano (‘decoro’ for short) guides or controls commercial development or if il decoro urbano has been adopted as official policy. However it appears that that various actors (independent developers, commercial companies, public services, police, etc. are informally acting together or collaboratively to control and regulate both décor and decorum. This chapter will begin to address this important topic.

6.2.1. Working examples of il decoro urbano in Rome and elsewhere

Il decoro urbano diverges from gentrification in its debates on decorum and expectations of behaviour in public space (Lancione, 2014; 2016). Here I will briefly examine a selection of government and legal documents to try and distil some examples of decoro in an official sense. Even though Rome does not, some Italian cities have their own official compendiums on il decoro urbano. The Commune of Brescia, a city in Northern Italy, has its own from 2016 which presents useful guidance on what decoro is and means legally in the context of urban governance (Comune di Brescia, 2016). As well as regulations on commercial activity, construction, and waste, it outlines what is considered comportamenti vietati or ‘prohibited behaviour’ by the police. Furthering this, many of these concerns the way we (or those in power) see (or unsee) things and decide whether or not they belong or are at odds with the intended/expected behaviours. This connects to extensive literature on defensive/hostile architecture and spatial regulation of homeless people (Gibbons, 2018; Herring, 2019; Fine Licht, 2017; Rosenberger, 2020). In the case of Brescia, many of these behaviours are directly or indirectly targeted at homelessness and rough sleeping, including:

- sitting and lying on the ground
- ‘bivouacking’ (bivaccare) on the streets and on pavements
- tampering with public installations, washing (or performing acts of public hygiene) in public areas
- ‘satisfying bodily needs outside of places intended for that purpose’
- drinking in public spaces, being drunk in public

- begging (Comune di Brescia, 2016, p. 36)

6.2.2. Seeing il decoro urbano in Rome

In the popular media il decoro urbano has been connected to homeless issues, for instance reports from Italian newspaper *Avvenire* detailing homeless people being removed by the police from Trastevere in February 2021 before their blankets and mattresses were taken away by municipal waste collectors (Liverani, 2021). An article from August 2021 in *Domani* wrote that electoral campaigns were being fought over il decoro, with the most debated topics being the cleaning of neighbourhoods and the nuisance caused by homeless people (De Luca, 2021). Issues of decorum that concern the presence of homeless people (particularly those of foreign origin) were complicated by the influence of a housing crisis and pandemic (Mauloni, 2022).

Figure 6.2. Sketch of the police in Termini. I was careful not to be 'seen' by the police who seemed watchful of unusual behaviour in Termini. The police have powers to enforce laws related to the behavioural norms and expectations of il decoro urbano. 17th March 2022.

Il decoro urbano is firmly rooted in Rome although not through an official memorandum. Despite this, the capital's government, Roma Capitale does have its own department for Pulizia e Decoro

Urbano (cleanliness and urban decorum). Specific laws do exist to govern elements of urban order, such as prohibiting occupations of public space, rubbish dumping and public decency. For example Article 23, from Chapter IV of the Urban Police Regulation stipulates that it is not allowed to indulge in acts otherwise offensive to decency and morality: 'abbandonarsi al turpiloquio, ad atti comunque offensivi della decenza e della morale' (Roma Capitale, 2022, p. 7). These laws are then enacted by the police who patrol Termini station (see Figure 6.2.) alongside other authorities with jurisdiction extended to private security in the case of Termini which is technically a privately owned place. I frequently had encounters with police during my research, including the sketched image where I was careful to avoid them, drawing them from behind. The police have specific powers in 'public' places like Termini. There, they frequently asked for identity cards of those passing through the station for example. This might feel intimidating to some. It is unclear how they 'profile' station users but based on my observations, tourists and those who appeared 'out of place' (see Chapter 5) may have been disproportionately checked. Research has focused on the rise of private securitisation of public space and its effect on homeless and marginalised people (Kammersgaard, 2021).

6.2.3. Il decoro urbano goes further than gentrification

Here I will distinguish il decoro urbano from gentrification. Gentrification is extensively written on, particularly in relation to urban transformations. Both the gentrification of railway stations (Hickman, 2019; Deka, 2017) and the gentrification of the city of Rome (Annunziata & Lees, 2016; Herzfeld, 2009) as well as related 'touristification' in Italy (Salerno, 2022) have been well-researched in geography, urban studies and beyond. In a number of contexts gentrification has been demonstrated to displace homeless people and other marginalised groups like migrants from city space (Vitale, 2010; Hasenberger & Nogueira, 2022). Whereas gentrification does have an aesthetic element including sleek branding, trendy coffee shops – a certain visual vocabulary alike to *hipsterfication* (Hubbard, 2016), it has also been demonstrated to be a predominately economic process. This includes the supplanting of lower-income people by higher-income people from certain strategic areas for city development (López-Morales, 2015).

Urban development in Termini seems to go further than this, concerned with social behaviour in public space. On the one hand gentrification in Rome means transforming Termini into a luxurious site of consumption for locals (who can afford it) and tourists (Weststeijn & Whitling, 2017; Brioni, 2017). On the other hand it involves removing selective traces of what is deemed undesirable by planning and marketing executives (Clough Marinaro, 2019; Piazzoni, 2020). This intersects with the view of homeless people as a 'problem' related to special aesthetics (Egami et al., 2022). So whilst il decoro urbano ('decoro' for short) concerns aesthetics and the upscaling of the city foregrounding décor and the way the city looks (Nitrato Izzo, 2022, p. 532), in this chapter I will suggest that it differs by governing behaviour and assuming a normative role of public space. This includes

governing homelessness, migrants and patterns of behaviour that go against the principles of il decoro urbano. This presents a tension between an imagined Italian/European (and *white* city) and more ethnically diverse parts of the city with Esquilino having long-established Chinese and Bangladeshi communities (Caputo, 2015), and the large amount of predominantly African migrants who live in and around Termini (MSF, 2018).

6.2.4. Il decoro urbano in TerminiTV

The films of TerminiTV shine light on practices of il decoro urbano. Increasingly, according to TerminiTV, poorer people do not feel welcome in the station. The TerminiTV film *Licenziati per restyling* was filmed in November 2020, during the Covid pandemic (a theme which the final section of this chapter will explore). Like many of its films, it's not about homelessness, but rather concentrates on station life in general.

Figure 6.3. Still from TerminiTV: 'Licenziati per restyling'A protestor in the concourse describes the 'restyling' of the station and how jobs are being lost and the station is changing through gentrification. TerminiTV: Facebook. 23rd November 2020.

Taking the form of a series of short interviews, the film is about the 'restyling' of the station away from its 'shabby' image and the impacts this has on station users' lives. The film serves as evidence of the gentrified redevelopment of the station and the pursuit of a certain image that is having an impact on the accessibility of Termini. A man speaks to the camera (Figure 6.2.) wearing a face mask as he explains how shops and bars are closing to make way for higher rent businesses in the station. In the video description, TerminiTV writes that gentrification and the restyling of Termini erodes the rights and spaces of the weakest with small, independent traders replaced by designer fashion shops, fast food and luxury dining. The two cannot coexist in the new vision of the station.

The film opens up some challenging points about the 'restyling' of the station. Not all the changes are inevitably negative on the lives of homeless people. TerminiTV describes how gentrified spaces like Mercato Centrale actually bring resources closer to homeless people, with more 'bright and quiet people' willing to give them change. It is important to highlight these experiences which may challenge a dominant narrative in urban research that uncritically positions gentrification as a conspiracy (Merrifield, 2014). Despite this, throughout the film Covid is seen to be exacerbating social differences and accelerating the changes.

6.2.5. Il decoro urbano in the Mercato Centrale

There are several examples of how Termini station being 'restyled' is causing exclusion and worsening marginality. On the other side of the coin, projects like Mercato Centrale seem to present a real-life version of the imagined space that il decoro urbano tries to establish.

> I pop in to notice how different the atmosphere is in there. So stark. Wine glasses chinking and echoed laughter. The sound of monied people having a good time, barely noticing the lo-fi techno beats that pulse away in the background.
>
> Diary extract. 18th March 2022, 20:30, Mercato Centrale.

This passage of my diary recounts me walking into the Mercato Centrale, perhaps the finest example of il decoro urbano changing the 'nature' of Termini station and encouraging a certain type of person to use the space. The Mercato Centrale is an upmarket food-court style venue with bars and food stalls at the back of the Termini building, with an entrance off Via Giolotti facing the ethnically diverse and transient Esquilino district (Caputo, 2015). It is a space filled with shining black marble interiors, high vaulted ceilings and stalls selling everything from Roman cuisine to sushi and ramen. Designer places like Mercato Centrale created a new 'norm' for the station, emboldening efforts to invoke il decoro urbano and push out homelessness.

6.3. Homeless people stand 'against' the beautiful imagined city

A central implication of il decoro urbano is who and what is and is not welcome within certain spaces. Chapter 5 introduced a visual vocabulary of seeing and unseeing – describing how homeless people and other marginalised people are in/visibilised in a number of ways by the (micro-)visual encounter – partly as a result of homelessness being seen normatively as a 'rupture of the order of the city' (Langegger & Koester, 2016, p. 1033).

This section will focus on how people associated with Termini station are swept away by a number of mechanisms (Laws and regulations related to Covid-19, documentation, laws, gentrification,

defensive architecture etc.) in the name of il decoro urbano. Using a combination of methods (my ethnographic field diary and the films of TerminiTV), I will explore how homeless peoples' behaviour is deemed unsightly and removable (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015). Then I will explore specific mechanisms that serve to spatially exclude homeless people, such as water spraying, loud music and the removal of resting places. The provision of toilets will be discussed in the following section. Using a long-established understanding of 'waste' from Mary Douglas (1966) and reworked by others (Beall, 2006; Bell, 2019; Saraswati, 2017), I will contend that il decoro urbano situates homeless people and migrants at Termini as waste whilst they are pushed to the peripheries of Termini and the city.

6.3.1. Everyday behaviour is hypervisible

As explored in Chapter 5, homeless people are often forced to carry out their everyday activities – cleaning, toileting (more on this later), eating, in public (Mitchell, 1998). There is no alternative but to live their lives in public (Bergamaschi et al., 2014, p. 2; Lundberg, 2021). Several instances in my fieldwork demonstrated this. It was not my intention to be a voyeur and I reiterate that these activities were not necessarily illegal, but they were noticeable due to the normative discourse on how public space should be used espoused by il decoro urbano (Nitrato Izzo, 2022):

> 1)
> A homeless African woman in Villa Borghese opposite the Galleria Nazionale. She cleans her foot with a pumice stone. Hangs her clothes on the fountain to dry (perhaps she washed them in the fountain water?).
>
> Diary extract. 9th March 2022, 21:00. Villa Borghese.

> 2)
> I see that a man – an African man, is praying, as he kneels down and places his hands on the stone. I try not to stare or disturb him, but it is such a public place – so visible, so seeable. But he doesn't appear to care as he fulfils his religious duties, With the sun shining down on him as he kneels in bare feet and tattered trousers, he closes his eyes and faces the blue sky.
>
> Diary extract. 14th March 2022, 12.30. Villa Borghese.

> 3)
> A man comes and lays down his cardboard and his blue sleeping bag in the line of shade of the tree in front of me. He is wearing jeans and carrying a black leather jacket (the heat!?). He lies down in the shade and relaxes a while. He pulls his smartphone out of his jacket pocket and lies there, looking thru something (photos or social media I think). He appears to be South Asian. After about 10 minutes on his phone he puts it carefully back in his jacket pocket, stretches out his legs and falls asleep.
>
> Diary extract. 19th June 2022, 11.30. Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, Esquilino.

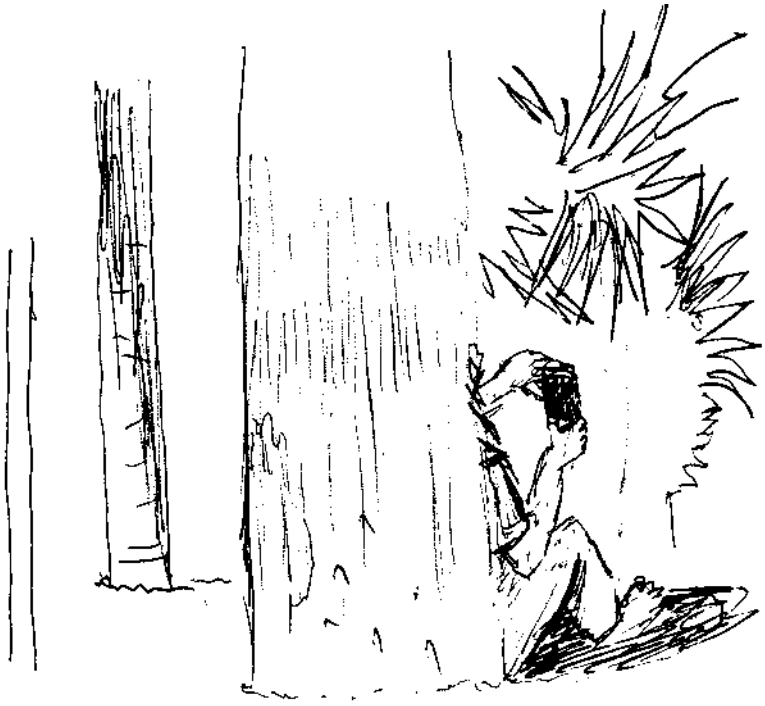

Figure 6.4. *Sketch of a person resting up against a tree in Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II. The park was a popular place to rest and sleep for homeless people living close to Termini during the day. 19th June 2022.*

In one sense these accounts describe elements of homemaking, offering a rebuttal to claims that 'homeless' people are without homes (Lancione, 2019; Lenhard, 2020). Lancione (2019) explains that homing is a process, not necessarily a place. On the other hand, they might be seen as examples of hypervisibility. Itself a consequence of being seen through the lens of Otherness. These three activities: bathing, praying, and resting under the shade of trees (Figure 6.4.) are normal – and essential – activities in many peoples' everyday lives. But they are out of place or against certain norms in public space (Settles et al., 2019). Writing in the US, Mitchell (1998) notes that behaviours that homeless people find necessary to their survival can be criminalised. They seem to be selectively criminalised in Rome.

They are selectively criminalised because there are observable 'shades of grey' in the governance of certain informal practices in Rome (Clough Marinaro, 2019). This is reflected in the ambiguous definitions of il decoro urbano, as detailed in section 6.2.4. This mirrors research into selective enforcement of policing of homelessness in the US (Goldfischer, 2020) and a racialised element to this selective enforcement (Smith, 2018). Selectively disciplined, homelessness (and related migration) is characterised as (and framed by) a sense of unpredictability in everyday life (Alhourani, 2021). This is in itself a vicious cycle: the sense of unpredictability compounds the uncontrolled and

deviant mobility of Others in public space (Malkki, 1992). Through their practices, homeless people are already marked out as different, due to stereotypical representations of the Other that in turn reflect social practices of exclusion (Beckett & Herbert, 2009; Valverde, 2015). As introduced in Chapter One, this can be accompanied by institutional invisibility (Meloni, Rousseau, Ricard-Guay, & Hanley, 2017), where refugees and other migrants (for example) are especially invisible before bureaucratic, legal, and official systems (Polzer, 2008).

6.3.2. No handing out food in Termini

Homeless people are seen as 'violating the idealised aesthetics of the city', which can result in criminalisation (Lundberg, 2021, p. 108). As a result of selective enforcement (Goldfischer, 2020), many 'ordinary' behaviours are against the law. By February 2022, it was no longer allowed to give food to homeless people inside Termini (ANSA, 2022; Il Post, 2022). This connects to criminalisation of humanitarianism literature on migration (Cusumano & Villa, 2021) and may connect to a broader neoliberal discourse of welfare contributing to further marginality (Postan-Aizik & Strier, 2021). In the eyes of the authorities, hand-outs meant that marginality is reinforced.

> I am sat in the café in the main atrium of Termini station. I'm on a designer sofa in a booth for casual-business meetings. The staff are young, friendly and multilingual. As I sit down with my espresso, beginning to write in my diary, a woman comes over to me and asks if I can buy her a *panino*. I feel the whole café turning round to look at us. I go to the counter and get her the sandwich that she wanted. The server behind the counter looks disapprovingly at me whilst the woman stands next to me, waiting for her food. She is grateful and afterwards goes about her day.
>
> Diary extract. 10th June 2022, 11:30. Café, Termini

Perhaps more pertinently, hand-outs seem to heighten the spectacle of homelessness (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015). Handing out food created highly-visible encounters between individuals that grabbed attention. As with the above example, people turned to look, seemingly out of curiosity (Phillips, 2016). However as explored in Chapter 5, the difference between curiosity and unwelcome staring is sometimes unclear (Garland-Thomson, 2009). In many cases it started conversations, provided provocations and elicited genuine human connection between people who may otherwise not have met. Food handouts might also mean litter strewn on the floor, messing up the desired aesthetic of a clean and orderly station:

6.3.3. Handing out food outside Termini is still important

Forbidden to receive food as handouts inside the station, many homeless migrants are reliant on food distribution from charitable organisations from churches or other local services such as Mama Termini (who I worked alongside) or Albano Laziale, depicted in the film *Ogni lunedì notte a Termini*

(Figure 6.5.). Filmed in May 2018, it depicts an average Monday night when, every week, food is handed out to homeless people. The workers share their views on how the food distribution impacts them: for the organiser it makes them feel rich inside, whereas a young man describes an initial sense of fear at Termini but now he knows people living there and knows 'how to move' – reflecting a level of street knowledge (Berardi, 2021). The volunteers give away food and clothes that have been donated. Many of these food distribution networks were disrupted or ceased to exist during the pandemic.

Figure 6.5. Still from TerminiTV: 'Ogni lunedi notte a Termini'. Shadowy homeless figures collect food and clothing on a Monday night on Via Giolotti. TerminiTV: Facebook. 28th May 2018.

The film depicts homeless people, many of whom are migrants, gathered like shadows under the orange street lamps, waiting for the for the arrival of the volunteers. There are a mixed group waiting, some for the bus, but some, young and old, men and women, for the food, which they gratefully receive. A woman takes a long sleeve t-shirt, and we see familiar faces from TerminiTV mixing and smiling. Cars come and go outside the station, reminding the viewer of the constancy of Termini, always moving in the background. Towards the end of the video people stand chatting arm in arm, while others are left silently sleeping by the walls, wrapped in blankets. It appears to be an example of conviviality and 'positive' social encounters.

Like the events in *Ogni lunedì notte a Termini*, food and other items can still be given to homeless people outside the station. After and during the relative peak of the Covid pandemic, there was a greater need to provide other means of assistance to homeless people in Rome after other sources (handouts from tourists, for example) became scarcer. Every Sunday, the volunteers from Mama Termini would meet in Piazza dei Cinquecento under the bright lights to give food and spend time with the people at the station:

> I can hear loud conversation, laughing and talking. A man walks past me, holding a cardboard bowl full of hot pasta. There's a pile of pasta strewn across the pavement some of it squished into the stones. There is excitement in the air. A group of men walk past laughing, while one of them suddenly starts running and kicks a plastic fork across the ground towards me, as he shrieks. Pasta and broken plastic cutlery fly into the air. As I approach closer, I can see two groups, one on either side of the low metal fence that demarcates the pedestrian areas of Piazza dei Cinquecento. On one side are those serving and giving food, taken from pots and big reusable supermarket bags. On the other side are those gathered here to eat: homeless people, displaced migrants, and people who cannot afford an evening meal.
>
> Diary extract. 7th March 2023, 20:15. Piazza dei Cinquecento.

'Sunday dinners' saw an enormous cross-section of Roman society joining for food. People of different ages, nationalities, genders would join. It being fine to give food away from the station, tourists arriving in Rome with large suitcases would swerve around the large congregation of people in the piazza. On the other side of the square, the police sat in their cars 'eating donuts' (quoted from a fieldwork companion) and looking over at us every now and again. Referring back to micro-visual encounters in Chapter 5, there is a feeling of being watched or surveilled. There is also another hint of danger in the air, characterised by the Othering sound (Di Croce, 2017) of a man shrieking and kicking the litter across the ground which draws attention.

6.3.4. Culturalisation of citizenship and il decoro urbano

The notion of the 'culturalisation of citizenship' constructs a culturally homogenous community and membership of this community as conditional (Duyvendak et al., 2010). In a similar way, il decoro urbano seems to cleave a separation between activity that is prescribed in the mainstream as desirable and undesirable in public space, which has in turn influenced development and law enforcement (Johnstone, 2017; Schuilenburg & Peeters, 2018; Alvarado & Butler, 2023). On the one side this means transforming the space into a luxurious site of consumption for passengers, commuters, shoppers and tourists. On the other it involves removing traces of homelessness and transgressive patterns of behaviour that go against the principles of 'civility' and il decoro urbano (Cresswell, 1996; Powell & Flint, 2009; Powell, 2010; Reeves, 2022).

A candid conversation with an Iranian man at Termini about politics is revealing about how outsiders view themselves within society and the state:

> Amir has been in Italy for 5 years and has a keen interest in British politics. He likes Boris Johnson [British Prime Minister] and Silvia reminds me that he is from Iran and his expectations for political leadership could be different to mine. Amir likes Sadiq Khan [Mayor of London] as he is a Muslim mayor, that would never happen here in Italy he says. Outsiders cannot access society or politics in Italy unless you are Italian, Amir says.

Diary extract. 9th March 2022, 21:30. Via Giolitti.

Spruyt & Elchardus (2012) prefer to view the marginalisation of Others as 'prejudice', which stipulates that if a community does not meet certain norms they are excluded. This is significant because morals and normative expectations of behaviour are an important part of the informal governance of space at not just Termini, but perhaps also the city of Rome and Italy as a whole. Assumptions about the 'good' citizen' revolve around urban redevelopment (Yardımcı, 2022), while authorities cultivate certain behavioural norms to control conduct (Reeves, 2022). Architecture and urban planning has long been a tool used by elites for social engineering while studies have focused on attempts to shape working class and marginalised people's behaviour through 'what is thought to be good, appropriate and responsible conduct' (Yardımcı, 2022, p. 3; Stapper & Duyvendak, 2020; Ward, 2003).

This is particularly salient to migrants and displaced people, who are over-visibilised (Göle 2013). They can also be othered due to their sense of (im)mobility (Malkki, 1992): Following the logic that *mobile* must equal *dysfunctional*, moving and displaced bodies might present an existential threat to the ordered and static structures of the modern state. This connects again to the kind of institutional and metaphorical in/visibility experienced by migrants that was introduced in Chapter 5. This chapter will now further explore ways that homeless people – particularly migrants – have been physically removed and in/visibilised from urban space.

6.4. Strategies to remove homeless people from Termini

Although I have mentioned the banning of handing-out food in the station, I have not yet discussed the different ways that homeless people are increasingly excluded and invisibilised at Termini via mechanisms of the state and of the station authorities that appear to invoke il decoro urbano. There is a considerable body of literature on these physical strategies through hostile anti-homeless architecture (Gibbons, 2018; Herring, 2019; Fine Licht, 2017; Rosenberger, 2020; McLaren & Agyeman, 2017; Bergamaschi et al., 2014; Bader, 2020; Petty, 2016). Sleeping on the streets or benches, begging, drinking, bathing in fountains or other forms of 'disturbing' behaviour are seen to make public space 'unpleasant, hostile and dangerous' (Bergamaschi et al., 2004, pp. 8-9). This has led to the proliferation of defensive architecture and anti-homeless design in cities, for one example the installation of floor spikes, to prevent homeless people sleeping (McLaren & Agyeman, 2017). In Rome I observed several strategies for removal addressed here: removal of benches, erecting barriers, playing loud music, and spreading water to stop street sleeping.

6.4.1. Removing seats: nowhere to linger

In my field I saw several strategies used that seemed to target homeless people and discourage them from resting or lingering for long. Urban furniture is often used as a tool to control public space (Bergamaschi et al., 2014). There were very few seats or benches in Termini:

> Down in the metro it is wide open and cold. Artificial light shines off the ugly metal edging that covers everything. None of the machines work and there is graffiti on most surfaces. It's cold – but artificially cold. With the aircon fans blowing hard – as if to make it less hospitable. Meanwhile there are NO benches and the toilet is inaccessible.
>
> Diary extract. 1st March 2022, 13:00. Termini Metro station.

The 'ugly metal edging' is one aspect of this passage which contrasts with the decoro aesthetic – although in hindsight this is my subjective view. Still, the cold, easy-to-wipe surfaces that were ubiquitous in the Metro station of Termini station contributed to a sanitary, uncomfortable feeling that seemed to discourage dwelling and that I will expand upon in section 6.5. This extended to the lack of seating, which was true for the entire station – including the station hall, departures area, Metro station, and the shopping mall underneath the main station. The removal of benches has been observed to be one practice aimed at discouraging homelessness (Németh, 2009). The only 'public' seating in Termini was upstairs in the newly renovated food court area. These chairs in Termini were around tables inside cafés and restaurants. It has been suggested in urban studies that belonging in contemporary public space is marked by consumption (Davis, 1990; Graham, 2010). Sitting on these seats necessitated buying something:

> … I feel movement is encouraged here. Only upstairs can anyone rest, but every effort is made to make it 'unrestful' all the seating is attached to a particular café or restaurant where a waitress comes over to ask your order – you have to buy in order to stay!
>
> Diary extract. 11th March 2022, 12:00. Termini food court.

The lack of places to rest not only results in physical discomfort. I too was tired from walking around the station for hours. Writing on visibility in public places, Frers (2006, p. 260) writes that the lack of seating results in a 'display of people' that can make them vulnerable to harassment, particularly if they belong to marginalised groups.

6.4.2. Erecting barriers

Hostile architecture can discourage the use of public space for those who use it most (Chellew, 2019). Outside the station under the large station roof is the most common site for rough sleepers, particularly in the nooks provided by the building's glass front:

> I see metal fencing has been erected against the glass windows, to stop someone putting a bed down, a man skulks towards the building dragging two large strange bags.
>
> Diary extract. 1st March 2022, 13:00. Piazza dei Cinquecento.

Metal railing had been erected at the glass façade of the station on Piazza dei Cinquecento. This metal debris is presumably preferred to the visual disturbance of people sleeping (Figure 6.6.). Instead of sleeping here at the highly visible and architecturally iconic entrance to Termini station, rough sleepers would have to move on and find somewhere else. The metal railing did not seem to fit the aesthetic quality of a sleek, modern station. It contributed to the station looking under development and unfinished.

Figure 6.6. Photograph of metal fencing on Termini's front entrance. Author's own. 10th March 2022.

6.4.3. Using music to create discomfort

Sound is an important part of urban life (Peterson, 2010). Research has focused on soundscapes in busy urban spaces like railway stations (Tardieu et al., 2008). Termini generally is a loud place; it has a lack of non-reflective surfaces and sound echoes through its large places. I observed frequent loud noises, for instance this particular case on Sunday night in Piazza dei Cinquecento:

> The others seem to pause politely stopping their clambering for a moment. Some are very dramatic too – one man starts yelling CAZZO CAZZO CAZZO CAZZO CAZZO CAZZO over and over again.
>
> Diary extract. 20th March 2023, 21:00. Piazza dei Cinquecento.

Unwanted sounds from certain othered individuals are excluded from urban space (Sharma, 2021). Drunken cursing and yelling associated with excessive alcohol consumption (the role of substance use to be discussed further in Chapter 7) are expressions of Otherness provided by, and associated with, homeless people (Di Croce, 2013). These go against moralised codes of behaviour in public space. Ethnographer Tripta Chandola (2012) explores the moralisation of

certain urban sounds as ‘noise’ in Delhi and how these in turn relate to urban planning policies and practices.

Music was also a part of life at the station – it could even be a sign of solidarity, conviviality and fun (Doughty & Lagerqvist, 2016). Numerous TerminiTV films depict musical performances by African musicians and Indian dancers around the station for example. Contrasting to this, music and sound might be used as a tool to counter against anti-decoro behaviour, with this example used as a form of engineering to discourage lingering:

> ‘Forever Young; plays on the speakers to nobody, echoing through the halls, although other mechanical noises break thru too, like trains, elevators, change being pushed into machines.
>
> Diary extract. 16th March 2023, 23:00. Termini Metro station.

While sound and music are regulated in urban space (Chandola, 2012; Sharma, 2021), in Termini I observed sound and music as a means to regulate urban space. Research on canned music, colloquiality known as ‘Musak’, explores the engineering of public soundscapes – particularly in semi-public, commercial spaces (Jordan, 2014). In an ethnographic study on Copenhagen Station, ethnologist Orvar Löfgren (2015) observed how Mozart was piped through the speakers loudly in an effort to discourage homeless people, drunks and drug users away from the station. I cannot be sure that the music was played to keep people away but it was noticeably loud and in an otherwise empty and inhospitable environment in the halls of Termini’s Metro late at night. Ordinary activities of sleeping and sitting down to rest were not acceptable in the station at night, but were seen commonly on the streets around the station.

6.4.4. Washing away homelessness

Water spraying around the edges of the outside of Termini is a particularly visceral example of homeless people being ‘washed off’ the surface. I frequently saw the cleaning van slowly skirt around the station building spreading swashes of soapy water around the immediate vicinity where people routinely sleep. The wetness remained until morning, making some residual cardboard mattresses soggy and unusable whilst stopping people laying down or resting. On one evening, one person was already sleeping against the wall in their sleeping bag, clearly in the path of the cleaning vehicle (Figure 6.7.):

> I can hear a little noise outside and see a small cleaning car driving down the front of the building, leaving a trail of water behind it, in one thick evenly spread band. Is it cleaning? It seems to spread a very specific 1m zone around the building and nowhere else? Looking closer I see that there is a body sleeping in a blue sleeping bag already there. They have beaten the car to it! The car continues to spread its water, going around the lying figure like a river bending around a piece of hard terrain.

Diary extract. 17th March 2022, 21:00. Piazza dei Cinquecento.

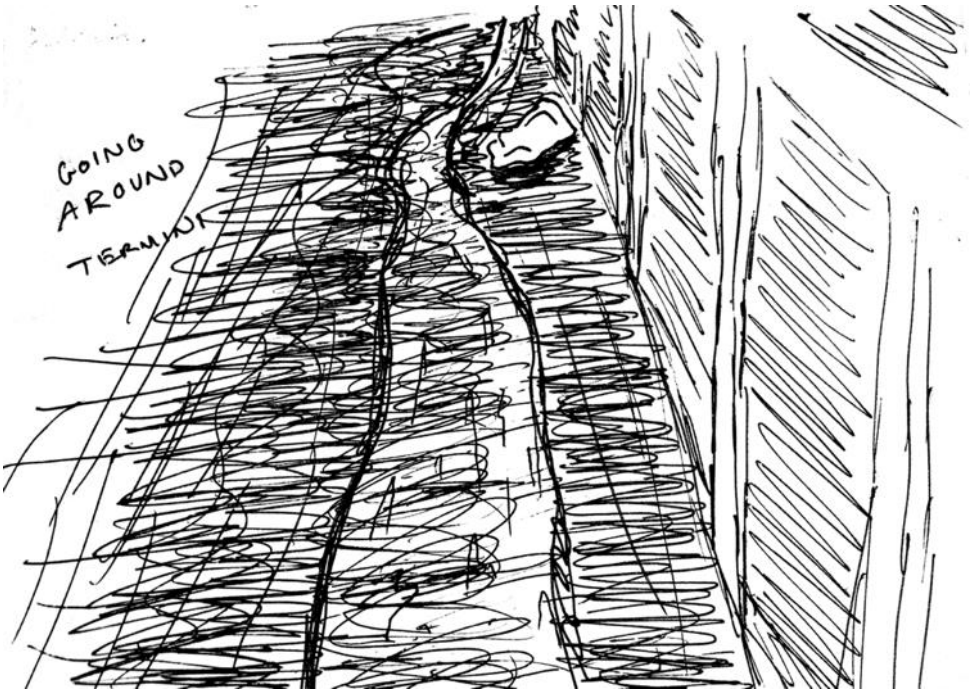

Figure 6.7. Sketch showing a water truck and a person sleeping on Piazza dei Cinquecento. 15th March 2022.

The sketch crystallises a moment in time that might have been unnoticed. There have been widespread protests to the spreading of water around the station, deemed inhumane by several organisations including TerminiTV. The event had parallels with reports from elsewhere in Europe. In February 2019, British media focused on a specific but probably not isolated incident where a homeless man sleeping outside a railway station in the UK had a bucket of water thrown at him by a member of railway staff (Drewett, 2019). In *Restless Cities*, Beaumont and Dart (2010) collate a collection of essays on the endless activity and encounters in urban space. Using examples from Termini, we could subvert this phrase 'restless cities': Cities are places where some are simply not able or permitted to rest.

6.4.5. Homeless migrants are evicted by police

Il decoro urbano can mean clearing places up and, when not physically removing them, then visually removing people – rendering them in/visible (May, 2015). There are several strategies for these at Termini station. In Italy, and as a whole Europe, the legal exclusion of undesirable people from public spaces is not purely focused on homeless people, but other marginalised groups such as Roma, Gypsies and Travellers, and migrants (van Baar, 2017; Bergamaschi et al., 2014). These have crystallised particularly strongly in Rome around evictions of homeless asylum seekers and refugees

in the city, for example mass evictions of the refugee camp 'Baobab' detailed in the TerminiTV film, *Da Baobab oggi* from 13 November 2018 (Figure 6.8.). Close to the Tiburtina railway station (the city's second largest after Termini), a large lot and disused building became home to a refugee camp which is depicted by TerminiTV as a ramshackle of tents and improvised structures washing lines and hanging clothes and sheets.

There is a body of geographical literature that focuses on the spatialities of the camp (Davies & Isajkee, 2015; Ramadan, 2013; Obradovic-Wochnik, 2018; Minca, 2005), also as a site of internal border processes (Minca, et al., 2022; Hagan, 2023). In the film the viewer can see various volunteers around the camp including Andrea Costa, founder of Baobab. They all argue against the Dublin Protocol (a European Union migration rule demanding asylum seekers claim asylum in the first EU country of arrival) as a reason for many being stuck in Rome (Tazzioli, 2020). Police vehicles patrol the site as vehicles and cranes remove and clear the site, indiscriminately picking up tents in their metal jaws and dumping them in a skip. Raucous punk music sound tracking the film plays adding a frantic chaotic feel to the site and the removal. Many of the evicted will undoubtedly have ended up at Termini (MSF, 2018).

Figure 6.8. Still from TerminiTV: 'Da Baobab oggi'. Refugee camp Baobab is being torn down and its inhabitants evicted. Volunteers are present at the scene. TerminiTV: Facebook. 13th November 2018.

There have also been several large and controversial evictions of East African asylum seekers from a squatted building on Piazza dell'Indipendenza, close by to Termini (Povoledo, 2017). Protests in 2017 led to asylum seekers being blasted with water cannons, assaulted by police and arrested.

TerminiTV's 2015 *Polizia a Piazza dell'Indipendenza* depicts a series of interviews and scenes from Rome in the aftermath of evictions (Figure 6.9.). There are East African asylum seekers waiting around the square, whilst Police make a checkpoint, checking people's identities to pass through.

There are scores of migrants standing around, contrasting with four large blue police vans and a series of police officers all armed with protective helmets. The migrants have been squatting in a large building on the square, a quarter of a mile from Termini station. The film demonstrates that the relationship between the police and homeless people in Rome – and how homeless people are treated - is heavily racialised (Provine & Sanchez, 2011). Mobilities research has demonstrated how the mobility and freedom of Black people is disproportionately affected in normative, white public space (Nicholson, 2016; Embrick & Moore, 2020; Anderson, 2015). The migrant squatters are having their ID checked by the officers, a reminder of the sense of institutional or metaphorical in/visibility discussed in Chapter 5 (Polzer, 2008; Meloni et al., 2017). The filming focuses on the hands of migrants not on faces, presumably obscuring the identities of migrants who want to stay anonymous – providing them with invisibility when their discretion and sense of civil inattention has been upended. It does however, reveal the police officers' faces, reversing the usual pattern of who onlookers might ordinarily focus on in these encounters with the authorities. This contrasts with my sketch Figure 6.3. where I avoided revealing the patrolling police officers.

Figure 6.9. Still from TerminiTV: 'Polizia a Piazza dell'Indipendenza'. TerminiTV: Facebook. 1 December 2015.

6.5. Homeless people and migrants are treated like waste

This section approaches waste in two ways. Firstly it examines the way homeless migrants are seen to be treated like waste and in/visibilised as part of the ongoing changes to Termini station and its surroundings. This builds on the observations from Chapter 5 about how homeless migrants are marked out as Other by micro-visual encounters. After exploring the metaphor of homeless migrants as waste, I will explore the material culture of homelessness at Termini as a result of this in/visibilisation and how waste can actually be used as a resource in their everyday lives. I build on an understanding of waste from anthropologist Mary Douglas (1987; 1991), who explored the connections between dirt, waste and social rules.

6.5.1. Life among waste in the sottopasso

In *Purity and Danger*, Douglas (1991) argues that 'dirt is essentially disorder' (p. 2) and 'matter out of place' (p. 35). Research in Rome on other marginalised groups, for instance Roma traders, has also observed the same conflation of spatial practices of these people as 'dirt' or 'disorder' (Clough Marinaro, 2019). There is also a discourse of 'filth', a more visceral aesthetic abjection (Leggett & Hancox, 2006). This following diary extract describes the setting of the sottopasso, the underpass behind Termini, as a place of homeless inhabitation but also a multitude of waste materials and rubbish that appears disorderly:

> Water drips from the ceiling. Pigeon shit on the pavement too. Bottles, rubbish everywhere. It's full of noise. It smells like piss. The gaps between the abutments become more and more cluttered as you walk through. A stolen e-scooter (the very emblem of gentrification!) and a tyre are just two of the objects that are being used as barricades to create some sort of safe place for those sleeping in cardboard fortifications. Smashed glass. Cigarette packets. Someone sleeping in a leopard print blanket – how can anyone rest here? It's so noisy. Broken cup, spare tyre. How to find peace down here. Echo of the din overhead is almost overpowering.
>
> Diary extract. 11th March 2023, 12:45. Sottopasso.

Waste is linked to marginality in the city and places like the sottopasso. The description in the extract mirrors the sketch (Figure 6.10.) that attempts to capture the multisensory overload of sights, smells and sounds in the sottopasso. The sketch is a simple and quick capture of a place where most people would not want to spend much time. The sketch and the diary extract present a hostile environment – dingy, dark, and damp, where homeless people live in an environment full of waste. Beall (2006, p.83) writes that, 'as well as being a public health concern, it [waste] is also linked to aesthetics, which in turn feeds into issues of class'. While it may seem unpleasant, there are also pull factors into environments where homeless people live, for example relative safety, shelter, and a sense of co-presence. Indeed, hidden behind the bollards and the rubbish in the sketch is the outline of a tent in the darkness. The presence of homeless people in 'dangerous' and stigmatised areas will be further explored on discussions of navigating fear and shame in Chapter 7.

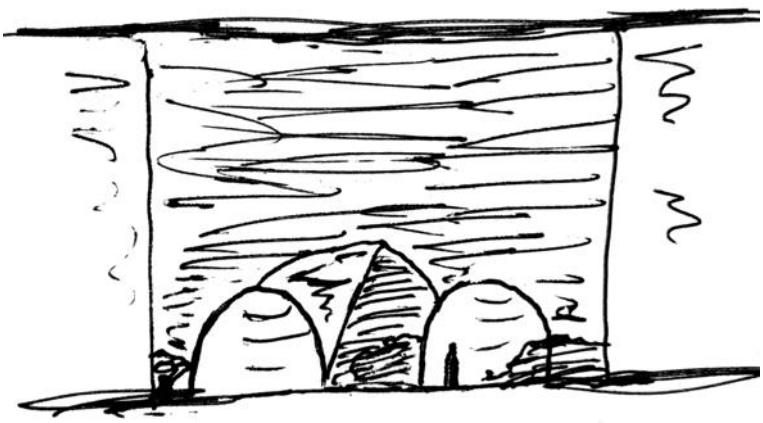

Figure 6.10. Sketch of sottopasso, between bollards. Rubbish, sleeping bags and tents can be seen between the bollards. 2nd March 2022.

Homeless people living in 'filthy' (Leggett & Hancox, 2006), waste-filled environments is a familiar association (Speer, 2016). Endeavouring to present a straightforward account of life at the station, TerminiTV films frequently depict homeless people dwelling in an environment filled with waste. The film *C'è stato incendio 2 giorni fa davanti a Caritas a Termini,* from 17 April 2018 depicts the results of an accidental fire where homeless people were living, at the back of Termini on Via Marsala. It presents a scene of migrants pushed away to the periphery of the station, where there are big piles of burnt ash and rubbish everywhere. A homeless migrant speaks to the camera from a makeshift house detailing the fire and what it has left them with. I recognise from my fieldwork in Rome that such sights, despite being next to Rome's busiest station, are not unusual. The film is in a messy, out-of-focus style, unlike other TerminiTV films. It appears to reflect the ramshackle nature of the space it is depicting, purposefully or not. As detailed in Chapter 5, passers-by turn a blind eye to homelessness. Despite this, il decoro urbano seems to maintain that the eyesore of homelessness and the waste that is associated with it must be removed from the station building altogether. Homelessness – which itself necessitates the use of resources gathered from the street – is seen as an aberration, and not befitting of a clean place (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015; Rose, 2017). Therefore it must be hidden away to the seldom visited, back of the station.

Figure 6.11. Still from TerminiTV: 'C'è stato incendio 2 giorni fa davanti a Caritas a Termini'. The image is grainy and out-of-focus. TerminiTV: Facebook. 17th April 2018.

Bell (2019) introduces the notion of 'living waste', asserting that moral judgments on waste are deeply rooted in a specific cultural context, which assumes a normative relationship with waste. This might fuel statements that homeless people are a 'problem' related to special aesthetics (Egami et al., 2022). Homeless people are associated with living in waste. Anything outside of the normative vision of decoro in Termini is othered and in/visibilised. In some societies, some people may be seen as abject, and in the form of 'the politics of disposability' are considered as 'human-as-waste' (Saraswati, 2017, p. 596). Metaphors for homeless people as waste are not new. Writing in the UK's *Guardian* newspaper, United Nations rapporteur Leilani Farha (2015) wrote that homeless people are erased from our sight and from our minds and left to 'languish like garbage in a landfill on the periphery of society'. While this description largely discounts the agency many homeless people have and the sheer variety in experiences of homelessness, in Rome homeless people are routinely 'swept away' by the authorities.

6.5.2. Waste as a street resource

Il decoro urbano casts homelessness as a form of urban waste but what constitutes waste for one person may mean something valuable for another. The belongings of homeless people are considered junk for example (Lundberg, 2021). Living in environment's surrounded by waste, the repurposing of waste objects by homeless people was a phenomenon I observed in the field. This relates in some ways to the content in Chapter 7, expressions of what homeless people do, rather than what is being done to them. It also elucidates on examples of homemaking, that contests claims that 'homeless' people are without homes and attempt a greater understanding on alternative practices of inhabitation (Wasserman & Clair, 2009; Lancione, 2019; Lenhard, 2020; Gesuelli, 2020).

Figure 6.12. Photograph of belongings of homeless people on electricity box. Metro entrance on Piazza dei Cinquecento. Author's own. 24th March 2022.

Relating to what Dos Santos (2005, p. 156) refers to as the 'material aspects' of homeless people, homeless migrants can be surrounded by physical waste. There are often piles of beer bottles and food trays next to where they sleep. Without romanticising aspects of homeless peoples' lives and the 'co-opting' of waste, I noted that they do make use of it. They take plastic bottles and bags out of bins to drink and carry belongings. I made numerous ethnographic observations about the use of waste on the streets:

> As I continue walking, I see the usual people by the modernist museum and a woman (with a trolley full of belongings) standing in the sunshine leaning back, laughing loudly as she enjoys the warmth on her face. She looks happy. Elsewhere the tents rustle in the wind sheltered between the grand old bridges that cross the Tiber.
>
> Diary extract. 16th March 2023, 10:30. River Tiber.

In my fieldwork at the Dogali obelisk opposite Termini station I saw a woman using salvaged plastic bottles to wash herself in the summer heat, and a man improvising clothes out of black bin bags, wrapped around his body to keep off the sunshine. Dos Santos (2005) writes that life on the street is permanently uncertain. Homeless people have to constantly adapt, improvising with what materials they have at any time in a variety of different contexts. Refuse, thought of as something worn down or previously used, may have a different value on the street and is frequently re-used. Cardboard, wood, bottles, even rental bikes and trolleys were being used by homeless people in Termini in a variety of ways that suited them. This mirrors observations from other places, like Los Angeles where homeless people with trolleys from supermarkets have been an iconic feature of the US city (dos Santos, 2005; Gibbons, 2018).

6.5.3. Cardboard is repurposed from waste

Figure 6.13. Photograph of cardboard at Piazza dell'Esquilino. Author's own. 3rd March 2022.

The most visible material trace of homelessness in Rome is the amount of cardboard strewn over the streets of the city. A body of research explores the association between homelessness and cardboard as a material (Golinkoff et al., 2016; Buhler, 2009; Wardhaugh, 1996). Gesuelli (2020) mentions the daily habits surrounding the use of cardboard by homeless people in the Vatican area of Rome. As depicted in Figures 6.12. and 6.13., all around Termini in particular, piles of cardboard lie flat on the pavement, up against walls and squeezed into corners, having been used as a mattress. Much of this cardboard is either carried on their person throughout the day (rolled up like a sleeping mat), stashed away in a particular place (for example on top of the electric boxes next to the Metro building) or left in their sleeping spot where they might be cleared away as rubbish or taken by someone else (Gesuelli, 2020).

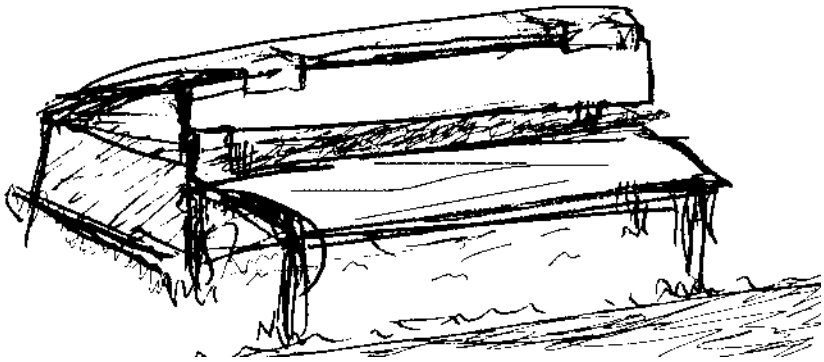

Figure 6.14. Sketch of a public bench and cardboard construction. It is covered with a makeshift cardboard construction which offers privacy and shelter to a sleeping person. I could hear the sounds of sleeping and a radio from within. 21st June 2023.

In Termini, I handed out pizza over the walls of a protective cardboard fortress to a group of Eastern European migrants sleeping by the tram station on Via Giolotti. This is interesting given my primary focus on African migrants and my exploration of the racialisation of homeless exclusion. On the other side of the station in a small shanty-like settlement by the roadside, a public bench was back-ended by an improvised cardboard shell to make a sleeping-capsule protected from sunlight and from prying eyes (Figure 6.14.). It was a customisation of street furniture that I sketched quickly and from memory. One thing I learned from a companion during fieldwork is that 'at night, you don't sleep'. Being able to sleep in the day is essential for living on the street. I could hear snoring sounds and a radio from inside the structure while I walked past, another example of everyday acts hyper-noticeable through multiple senses on the street.

6.6. Toilets in Termini

Continuing the conversation on waste, the scarcity of public toilets around Termini, and the relative protections around those that do exist, have meant that homeless people are forced to use the street as their toilet. One of their most basic and private needs has been exposed in full to the public – arguably precipitated by invocation of il decoro urbano. As a result their private needs to use the toilet have pushed them into the sottopasso, a marginalised and seemingly disconnected space that is associated with crime and unhygienic practices. I will map out the poor hygiene and sanitation services available to homeless people in Rome. This is particularly salient at the time of Covid when public health measures were generally stricter in order to protect people's health.

Cities after all are full of places where people go to the toilet. In Rome, plumbed toilets are everywhere yet homeless people do not have equal access to these spaces (Maroko, et al., 2021; Molotch & Norén, 2010). Going to the toilet means going where they're not supposed to and marks out homeless people as disobeying social norms about public urination or defecation (Gayet-Viaud, 2017) which are explicit transgressions of il decoro urbano. This interconnects with various intersectionalities, for instance race, which I will focus on here, but also gender. There are different implications for using the toilet in public for different genders, both practically but also through managing personal vulnerability (Jewitt, 2011) and other considerations, for example menstrual hygiene (Maroko, et al., 2021). Using the toilet in public marks homeless people out as hypervisible, being anti-social and unhygienic. The situation is summarised by one of my conversations in the field: 'They can't even take a shit'.

6.6.1. Maintaining privacy in observations of toilet habits

To paraphrase Mitchell (2003) writing on public space, access to toilets might only appear as an issue to those who have to fight to use them. However, sanitation is an important part of how the modern city is contested (Lancione & McFarlane, 2016). For geographer Sarah Jewitt (2011), taboos surrounding human waste have prompted inattention towards spatial inequalities accessing sanitation. Whilst toilets are not a particularly glamorous aspect of urban life to write about, going to the toilet is one of an individual's most important needs. Srinivas makes the point that 'defecation and self-cleaning, like procreation and food consumption, are an inextricable part of the human condition', yet toilet habits have 'received far too little attention… and observations of social practices are few' (Srinivas, 2002, p. 369). Despite this, sociologist Norbert Elias (2000) focused in detail on bodily functions and the history of manners in *The Civilising Process* and explores how habits and behaviours towards habits have developed over time.

Here I will reflect on my ethnographic diary and the placement of toilets and the resultant toilet habits of homeless people. Of course, going to the toilet is a symbolically private act – no matter how publicly visible it might seem – so I will not go into detail on isolated events involving individuals, nor did I seek these out in the field.

6.6.2. A world of clean, shiny surfaces

In the field my attention turned to toilet access early on. Spending long days walking around Termini, I soon noticed that options were extremely limited. The only public toilet in the station itself was the paid toilet in the airport terminal-esque food court – part of Termini's development into a shopping mall (Weststeijn & Whitling, 2017).

I spent time in the newly developed upstairs section of Termini, observing how people paid to enter - or didn't. There were no other options – the shopping mall toilet no longer existed; the Metro toilet was closed; the McDonalds toilet was no longer there:

> I go to the toilet and pay my 1 euro for the privilege. I feel a presence behind me as I pay to enter the toilet, maybe trying to take something or ask me for some money. The toilet attendant stands guard, part cleaner part security guard. I go into a messy cubicle and come back out and find the same man is still standing outside the electronic barriers to the toilet. I go back into the upstairs seating section to find others sitting around in an uneasy atmosphere.
>
> Diary extract. 17th March 2023, 16:15. Termini food court.

The toilets do not provide a relaxed, private atmosphere. Flusty writes of an increase of controlled spaces in cities, 'prickly spaces' that can't be occupied comfortably (Flusty, 1994, p. 18; Moss & Moss, 2019; Harding & Blokland, 2014). Like the station around them (and the Covid-related arrows stuck on the floor) there is an imperative to keep moving and not to dwell or do anything unusual. It is a sanitised space (Westwood, 2006), perhaps aimed at the enormous number of tourists that pass through the station. There is a carefully curated airport-lounge type feeling up in the food court beside the toilet. There is a history of segregating and organising different social classes in railway stations and in railway travel: more recently there has been a rise in station managers establishing segregated spaces like airports (Löfgren 2015, p. 74). Likewise, part of Termini is a world of clean, white, shiny surfaces.

6.6.3. Whiteness, *white*ness and architecture in Termini

Figure 6.15., the photograph of the upstairs area of Termini, shows an expansive clean white space, demonstrating the relationship between gentrification and sanitisation (Bergamaschi et al, 2014). Indeed, hygienic concerns are one important influence on the development of modern urban planning and architecture (Bech-Danielsen, 2014, p. 358).

Figure 6.15. Photograph of upper level of Termini. The upstairs area at Termini feels distinctly like an airport with its bright, sanitised look, chain restaurants, electric departure boards, announcements and general sense of separation. The directional signs on the floor are Covid related public health signage (see later this Chapter). Author's own. 15th March 2022.

I have established how il decoro urbano and in/visibilising practices at Termini station are racialised and how through il decoro urbano, behaviours and people deemed to be outside of normative expectations are forcibly excluded from the station. This has roots in the historical geography of the station. In one sense, Termini is a long-established place of belonging for migrants in Rome. However, Termini in its current guise was originally a Fascist architectural project, which celebrated through architecture an idea of the Italian nation as uniformly European and white (Brioni, 2017).

Historical analysis of public spaces and their whiteness is useful here to explore how current practices of il decoro urbano may exclude people in a number of ways, including racially. 'Whiteness, cleanliness, physical and moral purity, have operated to reinforce racial hierarchies and power systems in a range of contexts' (Berthold, 2010, p. 116). Historian Victoria Bates (2023) writes on British hospitals and their use of white colour to 'sanitise' the space. 'Whiteness' here is principally understood in material terms, rather than race. However, according to Bates (2023, p. 34), the two are related. Building on understandings of dirt and waste as 'matter out of place' (Douglas, 1973) whiteness has been used to manage disorder or disorderly people (Bates, 2023). Whiteness was thereby a mechanism by which the hospital engendered forms of 'order' (Bates, 2023, p. 35). This has reverberations throughout the mechanisms of il decoro urbano.

Kathleen Connellan (2013, p. 1529) notes that ‘white has been used architecturally and architectonically to influence or, more specifically, control people especially through white spaces and white places’. Others have researched the productive of normative, white public space and the experience of Black people in these spaces (Nicholson, 2016; Embrick & Moore, 2020; Anderson, 2015). There are considerable intersections between race, migration and homelessness (Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015; Di Croce, 2017; Maestri, 2019; May, 2015). As a space where migrants (the majority of homeless people in Rome) are routinely in/visibilised, understanding the maintenance of racial hierarchies through spatial design in Termini may be significant.

6.6.4. The only ‘public’ toilets in the city

I found that public toilets are technically available throughout the city, but they are in new tourist information booths and behind a paywall. Managed by the Municipality of Rome, these little glass boxes are spread throughout the city and are labelled ‘P. Stops’. There are 11 of these in central Rome (the nearest to Termini at Piazza Esquilino). The sleek design of the buildings (Figure 6.16.) echoes other spaces in Termini: the upstairs food court and the Mercato Centrale, for example, meeting the criteria for the ‘aesthetics of gentrification’ (Lindner & Sandoval, 2021). This is observed as the ‘globalisation of retail culture and standardisation of urban architecture’ (Voyce, 2006, p. 270).

As well as a toilet they are equipped with a manned information desk, Wi-Fi, smartphone charging facilities and vending machines. Adverts for events marketed to tourists are clearly emblazoned on its windowed façade. There is an emphasis on public facilities balanced with the ‘right’ kind of consumption and use of public space. As part of local interest to uphold decoro, P. Stops are described on their devoted website as ‘I bagni degni di una capitale europea’, or ‘toilets worthy of a European capital’ (P. Stop SRL, 2022). The toilets are available for use via purchases through an app where a QR code is distributed. By design, homeless people are more or less excluded from these toilets. Incidentally Piazza Esquilino, the location of the pictured P. Stop, was notably used by African migrants who slept in the shade of the central monument in the day.

Figure 6.16. Photograph of P. Stop in Castro Pretorio, near Termini. Author's own. 22nd June 2023.

6.6.5. In/visibilised toilet habits

But what about toilets for those who can't rely on having money to pay for them? During my fieldwork I pondered where homeless people actually went to the toilet. It was symptomatic of the in/visibility of homelessness, how you don't/can't often see it. Unlike seeing, which to some extent you can 'turn on and off' (established with exploring selective seeing and unseeing in Chapter 7) – smells are harder to hide (Almagor, 1990). Unsurprisingly, the corners of streets and small secluded cutaways around Termini often smelt like urine.

6.6.6. The only free toilet in Termini

With paid toilets inaccessible to some, and going to the toilet illegal outside due to decoro regulations and laws, the only (plumbed) toilet which is free in the whole of the Termini building is at the back of the Mercato Centrale, mentioned earlier, and presumably the site in the station that most typifies the 'hipsterfied' aesthetic (Hubbard, 2016) related to il decoro urbano.

> It's the only free and accessible (and legal) toilet I can think of…. I suppose some would feel so out of place or unwelcome here amidst the craft beers and the ramen stalls that they would never dare enter…
>
> Diary extract. 1st March 2022, 15:30. Mercato Centrale.

With its sleek modern architecture, expensive food and exclusive crowd, Mercato Centrale is a place that typifies il decoro urbano. The toilets are hard to find, nestled at the back of the large room, past

all the food stalls and the eyes of the service staff. They are for paying customers and I have been prompted to order something after using this toilet facility. One evening, I saw a man, an African migrant I had met on a previous night, walk into the Mercato Centrale. He looked scruffy in well-worn clothes and carried several light-blue plastic carrier bags. He appeared to walk sheepishly past the long wooden tables towards the toilet. Thinking back to the micro-visual encounters in Chapter 5, he stood out against the 'usual' crowd yet no one seemed to notice him or people turned a blind eye. This recalls the sense of being in/visibilised in a positive sense. Even in the most seemingly hostile or unwelcoming environments, there seemed to be certain knowledges of available resources amongst marginalised people at the station (Thieme, 2021).

6.6.7. The sottopasso is an important place for homeless people

Figure 6.17. Still from TerminiTV: 'Termini a due velocità' . The right side of the tunnel seems disconnected from the city. TerminiTV: Facebook. 1st February 2016.

From the films of TerminiTV, we see spaces, like the sottopasso, that contrasts strongly with the clean, shiny surfaces inside the station. *Termini a due velocità* from 2016 features a still camera focused on the sottopasso from a vantage point on Via Giolitti in Esquilino at the back of the station (Figure 6.17.). It appears to be evening (from low light) and both sides of the tunnel (which is over 200 metres) are shown in the shot. The left side is busy with traffic, whilst the right side is blocked off by traffic control barriers. The empty side moves at a completely different speed, as if completely disconnected. A few figures move slowly (are they homeless) while debris and an old (seemingly broken-down) car fill the otherwise empty tunnel. The length of the tunnel is shown, revealing an enormous site.

Other films from TerminiTV take the viewer inside the sottopasso and show the conditions in there. *6 anni di TerminiTV* celebrates the sixth birthday of the channel in April 2021. One man speaks to the camera: 'They have no power, they have no salary, but they're human, and we should all try to be so…'. The images show the gaps between the graffitied archways in the tunnel where homeless people sleep. A passer-by walks quickly past, seeming to glance over at the camera through the gap. These gaps are also used as waste-heaps where rubbish and blankets flow out into the street. The film suggests that the tunnel and its denizens keep to themselves, partially invisible in the darkness, away from prying eyes and law enforcement. Figure 6.18. shows their belongings spilling out into the road, disturbing the traffic, and any pedestrians who might come down here.

Figure 6.18. Still from TerminiTV: '6 anni di TerminiTV'. Rubbish and blankets where homeless people have been sleeping spills out into the road in the sottopasso. TerminiTV: Facebook. 26th April 2021.

6.6.8. The sottopasso is used as a toilet, in the absence of elsewhere

Chapter 5 introduced the sottopasso and how, as a stigmatised place associated with homelessness and stereotypical homeless 'behaviours', it is in/visibilised – ignored and forgotten. My own ethnographic field notes build on the films of TerminiTV but also make observations that, as well as being an important place for homeless people (who are predominantly African migrants in this place), it is full of rubbish. It is also used as a toilet, particularly in the gaps between arches (Figure 6.19.). The sketch observes a dingy place, contrastingly shadowy and illuminated by harsh lighting. I observed:

> It's really the worst down here. It stinks of piss and worse. Each gap is filled with a trio of (or two) defensive bollards. Solid concrete. But despite them being there, people will still sleep here, in between them. The water drips onto the floor. There are piles of cardboard (some damp or sodden), blankets, plastic bottles. We speak to every archway, checking if there is a person there to offer them some pizza and a drink. Sometimes a person, migrants from different countries in Africa, wake up or make themselves known. They seem pretty out of it, to be honest. Some of them have nothing in it. Just scraps of cardboard and piss stained concrete or scraps of clothes. All

too often I see a pile of shit. Some of the blankets even have shit on them. The archways used as toilets have been abandoned, but there are only so many of them.

Diary extract. 19th March 2023, 22:00. Sottopasso.

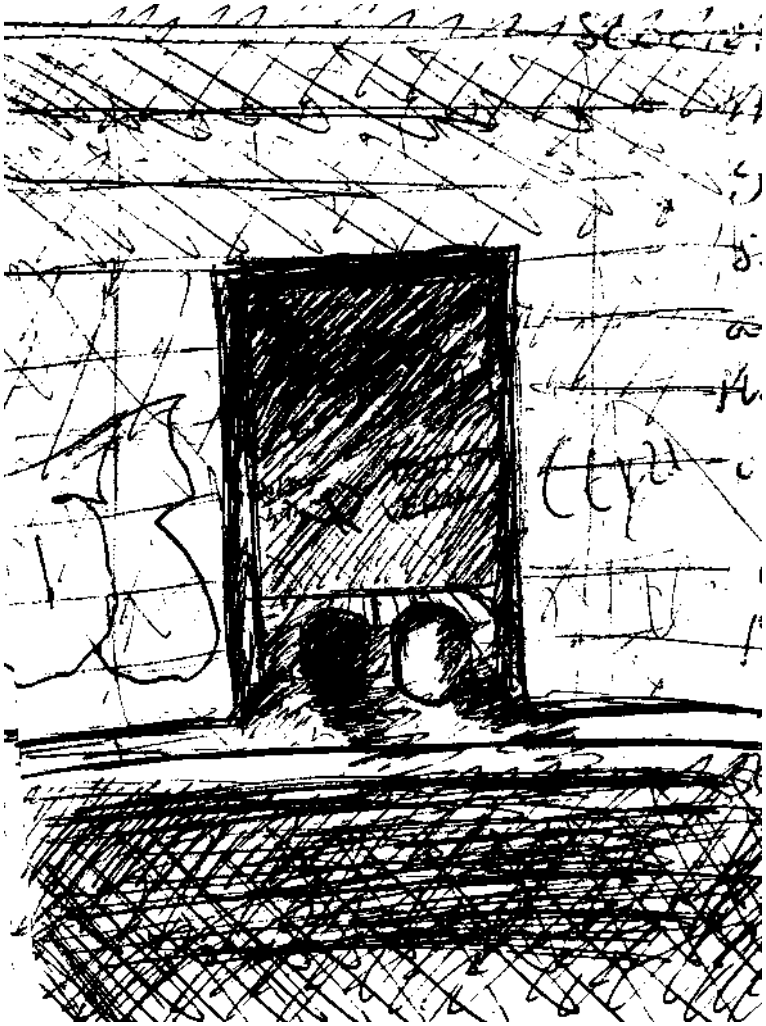

Figure 6.19. Sketch of anti-homeless architecture in sottopasso. The giant bollards discourage sleeping but people still find a way of squeezing in between. Many of these archways are also full of rubbish or used as toilets. 29th March 2022.

Perhaps because of the societal taboo and deeply entrenched societal norms that Jewitt (2011) mentions surrounding human waste, particularly excrement, it was shocking to encounter the scenes of urban degradation and the kind of environments that the homeless migrants in the sottopasso were seemingly subjected to. Gay Hawkins observes that the 'inability to establish distance from their own waste denies slum dwellers the most basic sense of dignity and status. Shit confirms their victimization and poverty' (Hawkins, 2006, p. 66).

6.6.9. Changes in Autumn 2022 to the sottopasso

In Autumn 2022 the railway station authorities have made major changes to the tunnel to clean up its image. A previous article in the *Corriere della Sera* had labelled the sottopasso as 'il tunnel della vergogna' or the 'tunnel of shame' (Rinaldi, 2019). Chapter 7 will explore the relationship between homeless people and shame (particularly how shame is an in/visibilising affect). Now these small archways, filled with people and their waste and constantly passed by a rush of indifferent traffic, have been concreted up. An article in Italian daily newspaper *Corriere della Sera* describes the 190,000 Euro redevelopment of the Turbigo sottopasso. In the article, the president of the local municipality Roma I Centro, Lorenza Bonaccorsi states, 'Finalmente riportiamo il tunnel Turbigo a condizioni di sicurezza e decoro', 'Finally we bring the Turbigo tunnel back to conditions of safety and decorum' (Pelati, 2022). This quote is revealing about official responses to the urban politics of behaviour and what is desired in public space.

6.7. The Covid-19 pandemic accelerated processes of il decoro urbano in Termini

This thesis suggest that il decoro urbano has been a powerful reorganising urban logic in Termini that removes and excludes homeless people (and significantly migrants in a racialised way) from public view. Covid-19 had a significant effect on the lives of homeless people – a population of extreme health vulnerability - in Rome and throughout Italy, certainly from a medical perspective (Barbieri, 2020). In this section I will also explore how responses to Covid affected the in/visibility of homeless people in Termini.

Covid-19 rendered more homelessness as visible. Observations have been made over the relationship between Covid and systemic social inequality (Wright & Merritt, 2020). There is also research that suggests that the Covid-19 pandemic has compounded processes like gentrification (Broitman, 2023), racialised marginality (Gregory, 2022), and mobility challenges (Rojas, et al., 2022), while evidence also exists to suggest that the pandemic may have caused a reversal of some of these phenomena, increasing solidarity, community, and equality in urban areas (Mould et al., 2022; Bringel & Pleyers, 2022).

The large-scale renovation of the station into the sleek and imagined ultra-commercial space of Grandi Stazioni coincided with the outbreak of Covid and the imposition of various controls. This section will suggest that the advent of Covid-19 and the various measures put in place to manage the virus in many ways acted to accelerate processes of in/visibilisation in Termini and Rome in general,

brought upon by il decoro urbano. I am not claiming that Covid precautions were driven by il decoro urbano. Nor am I denying the necessity of anti-Covid measures. However it is important to investigate how they have affected the most in/visible members of society.

6.7.1. Seeing Covid in the field

Covid-19 prompted debate about how we see the cities we live in (Marvin, et al., 2023). I noticed Covid-19 and its ever-presence while sitting in the Termini café. As part of my ethnographic writing I was making a list of everything I saw that was the colour red (I also used lists in Chapter 5, see Phillips & Kara, 2021). It was a writing exercise inspired by Georges Perec in order to 'see more flatly' (Perec, 1974). I noticed that Covid had a visual vocabulary. The first things I listed were the red signs for the vaccination centre. Alongside other everyday objects I saw public health signage, red face masks, and a half-empty ticket hall filled with red ticket machines, where people were spaced apart and obeying the directional arrows on the floor of the station. The red on the Italian flag flashed on the arms of police officers, checking the Covid 'green-passes' of people walking through the station. The vaccination centre loomed large in the background, with red writing on its sign. Someone next to me in the café was on a Zoom call (surely the tech/communication symbol of the pandemic), the red 'end call' logo in the centre of their screen. Cleaners routinely sanitising the station passed by with red buckets for soapy water and spillages.

With my fieldwork taking place between 2021-2023, the effects of the Covid pandemic were hard to avoid. Restrictions were placed on movement and physical barriers were established throughout Rome, Italy and beyond. Many of these are extremely well-documented. Trains stopped and shops were shut. Termini railway station, a site of constant mobility and flux, even closed for a time. Of course this had wholesale implications for the homeless people at Termini station. Suddenly there were no tourists to give them money or food hand-outs in the station. Food shops they relied on, like the Coop on Via Giolitti or the McDonalds inside the station were closed. Toilets were shut. Churches closed. Even the Catholic charities who would routinely hand out food around Termini and Esquilino could no longer operate, for health reasons. There were also places in the station they could no longer access, access points shut, doors which no longer led to their previous destination.

6.7.2. TerminiTV shows us what Covid changed for homeless people in Rome

De Lauro et al's (2020) paper on the soundscape of the Trevi fountain amidst the familiar Covid-19 silence is an example of the human activity visible (or audible) on the streets of Rome, usually bustling with tourists and locals. In sharp contrast to the hustle and bustle of station soundscapes (Tardieu et al., 2008; Di Croce, 2017), the films of TerminiTV during the pandemic reveal a very different sonic setting.

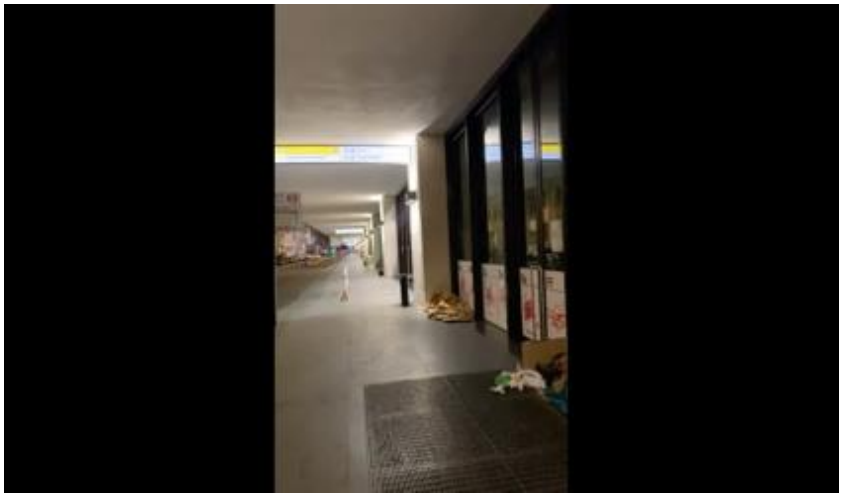

Figure 6.20. Still from TerminiTV: 'Ultima notte a Termini prima di zona gialla'. Homeless people are sleeping in the daytime besides the Termini building during the Covid lockdown. TerminiTV: Facebook. 25th April 2021.

TerminiTV posted throughout the pandemic to highlight that there was no formal support from the government and rough sleeping persisted throughout the city, potentially even increasing as economic hardship worsened throughout the pandemic. *Ultima notte a Termini prima di zona gialla* (Figure 6.20.) was filmed 25 April 2021, in the relative quiet of a Covid lockdown – Rome being in a designated gialla (yellow) zone. The camera moves up Via Giolitti towards Termini.

The viewer is quickly reminded of the homelessness that lingers in Termini, even in unfamiliar Covid-times. Approaching the station building, a sleeping body comes in to view, up against the wall. The film-maker lingers the camera on the body before moving it along. Soon, just 5 metres further, there is another solitary sleeping person. Then another, up against the windows of the Mercato Centrale, And then 4 more. The station is brightly lit inside, shining brightness onto the pavement where people sleep. The bins look empty. There are no pedestrians and the streets are quiet, just a few cars visible.

Likewise, earlier in the pandemic in September 2020, *La banda di Termini* presents homeless people who are on the streets while the film-maker and others deliver food and clothing. Meanwhile the Covid situation is 'critical'. At the end of the video after seeing different homeless people engaging with TerminiTV people we see a figure sleeping in the Pope statue on Piazza dei Cinquecento (Figure 6.21.). Their body sticks out from the shroud protected by the papal robe while their shoes are placed neatly outside, like home etiquette. Not only does this striking image conjure associations with homemaking (Lancione, 2019), but this small act (caught in a micro-visual lens of TerminiTV) seems to challenge the normative notion that homeless behaviour is uncivil and against the moral coding of public space (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015; Bergamaschi et al., 2014). It also might presents a more

symbolic image of seeking protection from the Pope or faith in the absence of provisions from the Italian authorities.

Figure 6.21. Still from TerminiTV: 'La banda di Termini'. A homeless person sleeps in the cloak of the Pope John Paul statue on Piazza dei Cinquecento. TerminiTV: Facebook. 5th September 2020.

6.7.3. Regulating mobility and excluding homeless people

The connection between mobility and Covid has been explored, both in terms of infection (Tokey, 2021), and management (Kakderi et al., 2021). While collecting notes and sketches for my ethnographic diary it was on long walks around the station building when I really started to notice the effects of Covid on the immediate environment.

Figure 6.22. Video stills of passengers moving in direction of Covid-safety arrows. Author's own. 24th March 2022.

Numerous controls were placed on mobility on a number of different scales during the Covid pandemic (Nouvellet et al., 2021). A large amount of Piazza dei Cinquecento was used as a dedicated Covid testing and vaccination site, with enormous white tents taking up much of the space. Signs and public health messaging was also prevalent during the pandemic (McClaughlin, et al., 2023). In Termini, arrows cover the floor, pointing directions to walk in to encourage social distancing (Figure 6.22.). Mostly they were obeyed I thought (by passengers, not by people hanging around):

> I spend some time observing the floor of people moving from one side of the building to the other, in different directions and speeds, but all with some sense of unifying logic… No one does anything to break the calm, the rhythm of this busy thoroughfare.
>
> Diary extract. 14th March 2023, 12:30. Termini arrivals hall.

Writing on airports, Cresswell (2006) writes that mobility is subtly coded into the fabric of the architecture in the space, through signage, creation of pathways, and other subtle methods of control. This is all part of a wider pattern of being told how to behave in the public space and a moralisation of mobility to some extent, alike to Malkki's (1992) notion of 'sedentarist metaphysics' or a regulation of unruly mobility (Cisani et al., 2022; Qian, 2015). These controls on mobility may relate to Termini's increasing resemblance to a sanitised airport or shopping-mall like space of demarcation and zones (Weststeijn & Whitling, 2017), rather than a freely accessible wide open and public space traditionally associated with urban railway stations (Löfgren, 2015). These controls also affected everyone – but may have impacted homeless people and those who rely on the space in particular, excluding people who do not belong (Than, 2019).

This control of movement was certainly true for the Metro level of Termini where entire entrances were blocked off. The old Metro entrance by the Termini building had become completely closed-off. It was now an important space for homeless migrants to rest and sleep away from the heat of the sun in the day, but also to huddle together for warmth in the evenings:

> I walk out into Piazza dei Cinquecento, past the homeless people at the 'abandoned' metro entrance (closed because of Covid!). It's boarded off and a large group of men lie under blankets listening to a radio. All around the piazza you can see bags and tarpaulins and those chequered migrant bags.
>
> Diary extract. 1st March 2022, 19:40. Piazza dei Cinquecento.

Complementing my observations in the field, *Ho superato il lockdown* (Figure 6.23.) from TerminiTV provides a valuable view of the conditions in Termini station during the lockdown in October 2020 and the layers of control in temporary Covid protection measures. At the time of filming, most Romans were in their homes. For homeless people (in the absence of any institutional support) the

station remained home during that period. The film-maker, is down in the Metro station where it seems relatively quiet due to a 6pm curfew. Down in the metro station a few things are immediately visible as different to usual. Signs dictate which way you can go in and out of the station. Some doors are blocked off with metal fencing. After exploring the station, the film-maker heads out of the station into Piazza dei Cinquecento where he gives a coffee to his friend outside, sitting in the square where the luxury NH Hotel stands imposingly.

Figure 6.23. Still from TerminiTV: 'Ho superato il lockdown'. A deserted Metro station is shown with metal barriers placed over several of the doors during the Covid lockdown in 2020. TerminiTV: Facebook. 26th October 2020.

During Covid, Termini was transformed into a space where people's movements and behaviour was regulated in the name of Covid protection and public health. At the same time it remained a place of home-making for homeless people in the city, who had little access to other means of support. These homeless people, 'fixed in mobility' (Jackson, 2012), remained hidden at the station and in its hinterlands.

6.7.4. Covid documentation as an example of the technologies of control and surveillance of homeless people

Physical limits to mobility also included the Green Pass: the documentation needed to provide proof of vaccination. Officially to enter the railway station this wasn't necessary although I did see them being checked by police officers and soldiers. The Green Pass was necessary for restaurants, bars, shops and the trains themselves:

> Even in McDonalds something in the architecture stops you from entering (even though you need a green-pass!) and where else will people go?
>
> Diary extract. 1st March 2022, 16:30. McDonalds, Termini.

The Green Pass is an example of the technologies of control imposed on the mobility of individuals (Lemberg-Pedersen et al., 2022; Tazzioli, 2020; Pickering & Weber, 2006). It was an official document not available to many homeless people and migrants for a number of reasons – accentuating their sense of in/visibility before the state (Polzer, 2008; Meloni et al., 2017). Many did not have mobile phones whilst others were not Italian citizens or official residents of Rome so had no way of accessing the vaccination programme. My Green Pass was frequently but not always checked.

As established in Chapter 5, homeless people occupy variable states of in/visibility in different places at different times. These are highly unpredictable and are subject to selective or racialised policing (Goldfischer, 2020; Smith, 2018) related to il decoro urbano (Nitrato Izzo, 2022). I never saw the police, or any staff member in any shop ask a homeless person for their Green Pass. Possibly because they didn't want to interact with them, didn't 'see them', or did not want to bother people who already have many barriers within their everyday lives. In the case of the homeless people who are migrants – in fact, most of them - the controls on mobility in Termini might reflect a 'broader landscape of structurally controlled movement. Forced and non-autonomous mobility appears as a principal effect of containment within the migrants' lives, enforcing them to inhabit erratic geographies and keep them on the move' (Tazzioli, 2018, p. 2772).

6.8. Conclusion

Chapter 6 has connected disparate urban phenomena such as decorum, hostile urban design and visibility regimes using data from TerminiTV films and a collection of notes, sketches and photography from my ethnographic field diary. Based on a normative assumption that homelessness is visibly out of place in the city (Gerrard & Farrugia 2014), homeless people (and migrants) are pushed out of Termini or into peripheral, hidden zones of the station by a variety of exclusionary mechanisms and technologies. Whilst the predominant focus is in/visibility, this chapter has explored how sensory Otherness goes beyond visuality, to smells and sounds too.

This chapter has made a number of contributions, firstly by critically examining the role of il decoro urbano in contributing to the in/visibilising of homeless people. I go further than critiques of gentrification because il decoro urbano conflates aesthetics and cleanliness with moral expectations of behaviour. Il decoro urbano promotes hostile architectural and design practices that exclude those who do not fit (Nitrato Izzo, 2022). My analysis builds on the understanding of the micro-visual encounter introduced in Chapter 5 by observing that everyday behaviours (eating, drinking, bathing, toilet habits etc.) are essential but are also seen through the moralising lens of il decoro urbano. This cleaves a gap between encouraged and discouraged behaviour. Officially sanctioned by municipalities

throughout Italy and becoming more forceful in Rome (and the redevelopment of Termini), these serve to in/visibilise homeless people from the space in a variety of ways that I have outlined. I have also observed that these regulations and laws seem to be selectively and inconsistently enforced by police and a patchwork of other security forces (a combination of private security, carabinieri and the army), reinforcing a sense of unpredictability.

Ethnographic and film data has presented a range of empirical examples of exclusion and in/visibilisation, but also of everyday life and micro-visual encounters. I have critically examined the relationship between homeless people and 'waste', namely their framing as out of place or against certain norms (Settles et al., 2019). On the other hand, I have also observed how cardboard 'waste' is repurposed and used by homeless people and the consequences of this. Secondly (and following the thread of 'waste') I investigate the provision of public toilets in Termini and the effects of scarce toilet options and a wider picture of the station as a 'white' and sanitised space. I have purposefully included an intersectional approach to homelessness, race, and migration, with links to the racialised 'white', clean city existing alongside prevalent evictions and removals of migrants throughout Rome.

With scarce toilet options, everyday toilet habits of homeless people are relatively public but are simultaneously stigmatised and criminalised by il decoro urbano. This presents a difficult situation, whereby individuals and their personal habits are exiled into geographical peripheries of the station, like the sottopasso. Thirdly, I build on these lived experiences in the station, grounding them in the advent of a major event – Covid-19 – that worsened conditions for marginalised people around the world, including homeless people at Termini. Covid in particular accentuated the use of technologies to exclude homeless people from spaces like Termini, whilst arguably accelerating the invocation of il decoro urbano.

Despite the potency of il decoro urbano, the lived-reality is that Termini and its archipelago are indelibly marked by the presence of homeless people. It is long-established as a site of marginality and alterity (Brioni, 2017). As a result, life carries on. Continuing this theme in Chapter 7, I will add nuance to the discussion of homelessness at Termini, asking what homeless people do, rather than what they have done to them.

Chapter 7: How homeless people represent their own in/visibility

7.1. Introduction

This chapter describes what homeless people in Rome do, rather than what is being done to them, based on an analysis of the writing of homeless people in *Shaker* magazine interwoven with my own research diary. This builds on Chapters 7 and 8, both of which explored the idea that encounters with homelessness engender the notion that they may be visually out of step in the city (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015; Wright, 1997) and variably in/visible (May, 2015). Meanwhile anthropologist Robert Desjarlais (1997, p. 2) proposes homeless people have an almost 'ghostly' presence in public space. While it is useful to foreground research that focuses on the subjection of homeless people to in/visibility (Zitzelsberger, 2005), many of these accounts might also be reductive, minimising the agency or choice of homeless people for example. It may also apply terminology that homeless people themselves do not agree with (Pleace & Hermans, 2020). But what of the narratives that homeless people provide of themselves? Do they illuminate how people see themselves and their place in the city and il decoro urbano? How they view and visibilise their own issues? How do they portray in/visibility on their own terms? I seek to answer these questions in this chapter, connecting to contemporary debates on homemaking and what homeless people actively do in their everyday lives on the city's margins (Lancione, 2019; Lenhard et al., 2022; Hughes et al., 2017; Marquardt, 2016).

7.1.1. Chapter structure

This chapter will introduce creative writing from the Rome street-newspaper *Shaker*, aiming to capture a different aspect of homeless experience from Termini station. The chapter is divided in two distinct sections featured in Table 7.1. These two separate sections are necessary because they develop two separate parts of the same argument: that homeless people heterogeneously recognise and talk about their in/visibility whilst at the same time, homeless people might also represent, contest and 'cultivate' in/visibility (Stewart & Sanders, 2023).

I conclude the chapter (and the empirical section of this thesis) on a tentatively optimistic note by stating that homeless people have power and choice in the process of in/visibilisation – and demonstrate valuable acts of viability - but these have limits.

Table 7.1: Sources used Chapter 7:	Points that I will discuss:
<u>Section A</u> 3. *Shaker* - Poetry cluster from Issue 16 (2011)	- Writing provides in/visibility - Writing illuminates experiences of in/visibility
<u>Section B</u> 1) Diary extracts (writing and sketches) 2) *Shaker* - *Manual to Homelessness* from Issue 8 (2008)	- Different factors that interconnect with in/visibility o Fear and shame o Alcohol o Viability and humour in everyday life

7.1.2. *Shaker* magazine helps us to see better

This chapter introduces creative writing from *Shaker* magazine. The textual pieces in *Shaker* magazine are the words of homeless people, homeless migrants and others who live/work closely alongside them.

In many ways they are similar to the films of TerminiTV. They are both part of the grassroots landscape in Rome that exists to try and help the condition of marginalised people at the station. This includes providing a platform to speak, and also broadcasting their words out into the world, including online. Whilst they are valuable perspectives, they should not be taken too literally as representations of reality. Ultimately, we can never know what is going on inside someone's head or what they 'really think'.

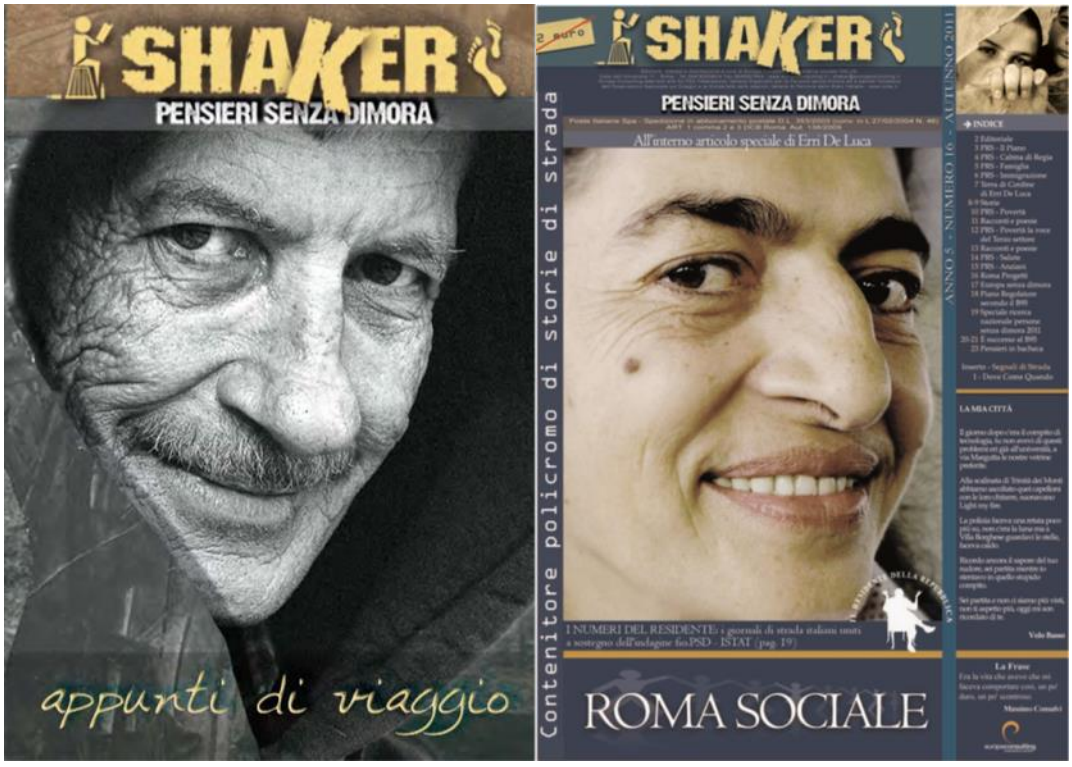

Figure 7.1. Cover of Shaker Issue 8 (left) and Issue 16 (right). The tagline 'pensieri senza dimora' translates to 'homeless thoughts', or 'thoughts without a home'. Source: Binario 95

7.2. Section A: Poetry cluster and self in/visibilisation

This section connects with themes established in Chapter 5, particularly the processual nature of in/visibility and the way that homeless people might be subjected to certain visual encounters (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015; Garland-Thomson, 2006; 2009). It also contests the narrative that urban encounters are necessarily positive, instead foregrounding the darker side of urban encounters (Sandhu, 2007; Valentine, 2008; Ahmed, 2000; 2006).

The poems featured in *Shaker* explore themes of in/visibility and practices of (un)seeing through storytelling. Firstly, they indicate how in/visibility is 'seen' and represented. This is done explicitly but also implicitly, by invoking themes of metaphorical in/visibility with ID cards, for example. Secondly, the poems in *Shaker* provide in/visibility, with representations the writers choose for themselves. Labelled by *Shaker* as 'pensieri senza dimora' or 'homeless thoughts / thoughts without a home', the thoughts of homeless people might be considered as excluded from discourse *on* homelessness along with the rest of their experience (as explored in Chapter 6). The poems allow homeless people to speak about difficult topics on their own terms. They can avoid talking about 'homelessness' altogether should they wish and choose to speak about other things: their life experiences, hobbies, relationships etc.

7.2.1. Poetry in geographic research

My approach is based on a collection and analysis of a 'poetry cluster' – an established grouping of poetry, focusing on a particular theme (Barry, 2014). I will present the poetry cluster alongside full English translation with (my) translator's notes. Creative writing and social research 'can complement and enhance each other' (Phillips & Kara, 2021, p. 3). Poems themselves can be intrinsically geographic - they can evoke the feelings and atmospheres of a space, for example. The space of Termini, a home to many homeless people including migrants, might be understood in the spirit of bell hooks's 'spaces of marginality': spaces that are co-constructed by the expression and presence of alternative ways of being (hooks, 1999). We might learn something about these spaces of marginality by trying to understand the everyday processes that occur there written down by those who live there (Lancione, 2017).

7.2.2. Why is poetry useful?

Chapter 4: Methodology outlines the employment of poetry as a method in this thesis, with the intention of visibilising geographies of marginalised and minoritised groups (Santos Perez, 2019) and exploring how geographers can use creativity to explore space and environment (Magrane et al., 2019).

For some, poetry can be fulfilling to read and write. It can be therapeutic, providing catharsis or escapism. In the context of *Shaker*, writing can provide personal expression, agency, exposure, and visibility. Street newspapers – which often containing poetry – generally aim to help homeless people regain independence and self-respect (Torck, 2001, p. 371) whilst writing and artistic exercises can create connection and mutual support (Cole, 2022). Hidden meanings can be embedded in verse, whilst writing gives a space for the supposedly 'in/visible' to realise their thoughts and observations onto the page, in an act of visibilisation.

The *Shaker* writers are unlikely to be professional or highly trained writers. The impact of *Shaker* poems and creative writing does not lie in formal literary skill. American poet Jack Spicer (2021) wrote in *Goodnight* that 'anyone can write a poem'. Almost all the poems in *Shaker* are short, but they are evocative, full of information and stark observations of life on the street. They are geographic and historical, with links to places and events in their lives – imagined and real. The poems are also about people and relationships – alluding to family, romance, friendship, estrangement, indifference, or loneliness. The poems provide a space all of their own – inviting the reader to explore, look and form understandings.

7.2.3. Poetry cluster: '*Povertà'* selected from *Shaker* #16, Autumn 2011[2]

Italian original	English translation
1 La burocrazia La burocrazia in città è molto particolare e lo posso dire a spese mie, perché per poter rifare la carta d'identità ho dovuto cercare due testimoni che potessero firmare per me. È molto difficile trovare delle persone che siano disposte a firmare. Un'altra cosa è avere la residenza: quando una persona è senza fissa dimora possono passare degli anni prima di averla Josè Gonzales	Bureaucracy The bureaucracy in the city is very peculiar and I can say this from my own experience, because in order to redo my ID card[a] I had to find two witnesses who could sign for me. It's very difficult to find people who are willing to sign. Another thing is having residency: when a person is homeless it can take years before getting it *Translation notes* [a] Identity card more commonly, ID.
2 Infanzia Nel periodo della mia infanzia vedevo dei bambini più fortunati di me, che avevano tantissimi giocattoli. Ricordo che per risparmiare le mie scarpe andavo scalzo. In famiglia, durante il giorno, non mancavano mai i pasti perché i miei genitori erano diligenti e premurosi. La domenica andavo a fare il lustra scarpe, per procurarmi un po' di spiccioli per le mie cose personali. José Gonzales	Childhood In my childhood[a] I used to see children more fortunate than me, who had lots of toys. I remember going barefoot in order to save[b] my shoes. In my family, during the day, there was never a lack of meals because my parents were hardworking[c] and caring. On Sundays I would go shoe shining, to get some change for my personal things. *Translation notes* [a] Original is word-for-word 'In the period of my childhood' which isn't used in English. [b] Save/preserve. [c] Diligenti translates to diligent, dutiful and hardworking (more likely in this case).
3 Povertà	Poverty

[2] Text reproduced with permission from Binario 95. Available online from Binario 95 at https://shaker.roma.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Shaker_16.pdf

La vedo in tv, negli occhi di quei bambini dalla pancia rigonfia, la sento negli odori dei vestiti, quando in fila ordinatamente vanno a mensa, la riconosci subito nella stazione dei treni di notte. Le mani gonfie e il colore delle unghie. È scritta, scolpita negli occhi di quegli uomini e quelle donne che non hai il coraggio di guardare Volo Basso	I see it on TV, in the eyes of those children with swollen bellies, I smell it in the odour[a] of their clothes when they line up neatly for the cafeteria[b], I recognise it immediately in the train station at night. The swollen hands and the colour of the nails. It is written, carved in the eyes of those men and women that you don't have the courage to look[c] at. *Translation notes* [a] Odori could be smells or odours but the latter is less repetitive [b] Canteen/cafeteria etc. [c] Guardare can be watch/look/observe. Look seems to describe the impersonal act of directing a gaze at someone/thing.
4 <u>Me</u> Da quando sono rimasta senza lavoro, sono rimasta anche senza parole. Non posso nemmeno ridere, perché non ho idee. Non posso guardare fuori perché non posso sentire gli odori. Adesso sono anche dimenticata da tutti, gli amici mi hanno abbandonata. Silvica Bitu	<u>Me</u> Since I've been out of work, I've also been out of words[a]. I can't even laugh, because I have no ideas. I can't look outside because I can't feel the smell[b]. Now I'm also forgotten by everyone, friends have abandoned me. *Translation notes* [a] Senza parole, literally 'without words' or speechless. 'Out of words' matches the half-rhyme of idiomatic 'out of work' / senza lavoro. [b] Sentire can be a number of things: most likely 'sense' or 'feel' based on sentence, hence sense + odours = smell.
5 <u>Binari</u> Ho attraversato lunghe giornate, lunghi mesi, lunghi anni, larghe onde del mare,	<u>Tracks</u>[a] I've been through[b] long days, long months, long years, broad[c] sea waves[d], red, black

rosse, nere celesti come il cielo, ma la povertà mi ha accompagnato fino al Binario 95. E il tempo che passava, la storia è dimenticata come quelle sotto il mare, ma la povertà è viva? Ahmed Ibatrok	celestial[e] as the sky, but poverty accompanied me all the way to Binario 95. And the time that passed, history is forgotten like those under the sea, but is poverty alive?[f] *Translation notes* [a] Title Binari is triple entendre. 1) Literally 'tracks' as in train tracks. 2) A binary, a relationship between two things and 3) a reference to Binario 95, location of the writing. [b] 'Been through' idiomatically sound in English but alternatively 'traversed'/'crossed'. [c] Broad/wide. [d] Literally 'waves of the sea'. [e] Celesti is 'celestial' or 'heavenly' in terms of sky: sky-blue and bright [f] Italian verb placement means it can either be 'is poverty alive?' or more rhetorical 'poverty is alive'?
5 Povertà (II) La vita resa ai minimi termini ha un significato: è soprattutto opprimente, senza via d'uscita e senza ottimismo. Giovanni Pulia	Poverty (II) Life reduced[a] to the bare minimum[b] has significance: above all it is oppressive, with no way out and no optimism[c]. *Translation notes* [a] Reduced or rendered, a more neutral and visual term but the sense of negative change is lost. [b] Idiomatic phrase and pun on 'termini'. Bare minimum is used here, but lowest possible standards may also work. [c] Last sentence is literally 'without exit and without optimism'. Changed to be more idiomatic in English.

7.3. The poems address physical and metaphorical in/visibility

I will now explore the content of the poems, specifically how they address in/visibility (building on our interpretations established in Chapters 5 and 6). The five poems reveal in/visibility as both something to be subjected to (Brighenti, 2007), and something that might be used to their advantage (Coates, 2015; Radley, 2005). In/visibility reveals itself as a physical and tangible process of seeing/unseeing (Coates, 2015; Garland-Thomson, 2009) but also one that operates on a more metaphorical level, including official identification, requirements for residence and citizenship and a general sense belonging in the city (Meloni et al., 2017; Baird, 2014).

7.3.1. The poems observe that poverty is both seen and unseen in different ways

Povertà (Poem 3) is a poem about sensing poverty in everyday life, particularly by seeing: firstly, with a sense of distance on television and secondly, more closely in a railway station (perhaps Termini). There are layers to poverty, the poem suggests, some of it extremely visible and some of it well-hidden or deliberately not seen. This speaks to visual culture (Rogoff, 1998). The poet imagines poverty 'in the eyes of those children on TV with swollen bellies', potentially referring to charity appeals – a clichéd image of poverty often displaced in a far-away continent (Said, 2003; Taylor, 2000). This is a stereotype – an obvious visual reference for poverty. The example of the children segues towards everyday marginalisation that exists under our noses, on street corners and in stations, that is routinely (and purposely, as the last line suggests) ignored (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015). Decisions to 'ignore' or 'avert eyes' away from homeless people are 'enmeshed with individual understandings and experiences of social inequality' (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015, p. 2224).

7.3.2. Homelessness is represented by the poems as hypervisible and unsightly

Not just visible, *Povertà* depicts poverty – specifically homelessness – as hypervisible (Settles et al., 2019; Pugliese, 2009). *Povertà* is about the intoxicating and unignorable nature of poverty on the senses, including at the station in the night-time – likely referring to Termini. Writing on visually encountering the Other, Sara Ahmed (2004, p. 84) writes that disgust is produced by a 'push' and a 'pull', and bodies deemed as disgusting appear 'to be moving towards us'. The jarring appearance of poverty - and homelessness specifically - is accentuated with grotesque language: pancia rigonfia and mani gonfie, translated as 'swollen bellies' and 'swollen hands'. This insinuation of body horror alludes to the visual and material Othering of homeless people at the station: they stand out as hypervisible, looking unhealthy, unclean or abnormal (Langegger & Koester, 2016). Not only connecting with Agamben's work on bare life, this also conflates understandings of people and the visibility of dirt and waste (Douglas, 1991; Bell, 2019), with Saraswati (2017) noting the framing of 'humans as waste'. The poet Basso furthers this by alluding to dirty or stained fingernails and smelly

clothes – a visual coding of how homelessness looks (Bourlessas, 2018, p. 747). These are signs of homelessness that carry stigma (Creţan et al., 2022), someone who belongs outside of mainstream society with its norms of hygiene and cleanliness. These may also be markers of shame (articulations of shame to be discussed in Section B) whereby homeless people may be aware they appear this way.

7.3.3. The poems can represent totalising invisibility

The poem *Me* (Poem 4) by Silvica Bitu conjures the 'ghostly' presence that Desjarlais attributes many homeless people as having (1997, p. 2). The poem is unflinching - it does not shy away from being negative and refers to a sense of isolation as they have been 'abandoned' by friends. Moreover, Bitu writes that 'I'm also forgotten by everyone'. They have not just lost contact with those closest to them, they are ignored by society and by the state. According to Hatuka and Toch (2017, p.988), visibility is never symmetrical and is embedded in power relations and hierarchies. In the poem, the subject has lost their ability to sense (they cannot see and they cannot be seen) and also they are alone. In contrast to the other poems, *Me* implies a state of total invisibility and total powerlessness suffered by someone in particularly bad circumstances.

Totalising invisibility is also alluded to in the sixth poem *Povertà II*, written by Giovanni Pulia. It is short - only one complete sentence in length. Reflecting the length of the poem, Pulia describes homelessness as 'life reduced to the bare minimum'. From Italian, minimi termini has been translated as 'the bare minimum' which loses the double entendre and reference to the railway station. Because of their liminal nature, railway stations have been described in sociological terms as non-places (Auge 2009), and in turn, they may attract *non-people*, those who are not visible (Carminucci 2011, p. 64).

7.3.4. Visibility and invisibility coexist and are mutually constitutive

As I established in Chapter 5 there are visual codes for homelessness that are culturally embedded through visual representations and their reinforcements. Chapter 6 built on this, focusing on how practices related to il decoro urbano might respond to these visual codes. These are referred to in the poems. *Povertà* is located in two places, firstly in front of an imagined television and secondly at the railway station. Certain places for example railway stations at night or far-away famine-stricken countries mentioned are 'seen' in their context of their association with marginality (Bonnet 2009). This might conjure a series of images associated with the imagined geography of a disorientating and stigmatised place (Hincks & Powell, 2022; Halliday, 2021). Far from shocking, this perceived Otherness is located exactly where it is expected to be (Carrier & Mathews, 2020).

The poverty the poet observes can be found at the railway station at night, making a distinction between the station at different times, and the kinds of sights and smells found there. The nocturnal

station is dark and full of shadowy presences: home to the in/visible – people we choose not to see. In this way, May (2015) confirms that the rhythms of the day interact with visibility and invisibility. Despite the fact that poverty is obvious and visually jarring in the form of swollen bellies and homeless people queuing for food, at night-time it can be ignored: hidden away in an alternative time-space (Ahmed & Miller, 2007) or 'out of sight and out of mind' (Vissing, 1996).

With the novel *The City and the City* by China Miéville as a guide, literary scholar O'Connor (2016, p. 17) writes that this kind of seeing and unseeing is a prominent condition in urban landscapes. It is something 'we do every day: the avoidance of the homeless on the street… There is an array of zones and spaces within our urban landscapes that we distance ourselves from'. As if two parallel cities exist simultaneously together, this might reinforce the idea from Chapter 5 that visibility and invisibility coexist and are mutually constitutive (May, 2015).

7.3.5. An ID card is an important visibilising tool

Some of the poems conjure a sense of metaphorical in/visibility (Meloni et al., 2017), where refugees and other migrants particularly are often invisible before bureaucratic, legal, and official systems (Polzer, 2008). In *La burocrazia* by José Gonzales the protagonist simply does not have the right identification documents. For many people throughout Europe, the ID card is the only photograph commonly carried. It provides a very literal form of visibility with a photograph attached to personal details. With no ID card, it is almost impossible to find a reliable job, collect benefit payments or open a bank account, among other things. This lack of official recognition could fuel a cycle of displacement whereby they may have to rely on informal networks to get by (Makiwane et al., 2010). In Baird's (2014) study on undocumented migrants in Athens, social visibility is shown to be linked to livelihood strategies of marginalised people. It can be a push towards crime and further into the dark corners of the city.

More than this, despite providing visibility, the ID card also confers a degree of relative anonymity because almost everyone has one – it is the norm. The poem alludes to difficulty that arises from the Otherness of not having one. As citizenship goes, having identification is part of the informal social contract between state and subject. Without one, a homeless migrant is abnormal and hypervisible (Polzer, 2008)

7.3.6. Sometimes homeless people will not want to be seen

With no ID and photograph, the homeless person in *La burocrazia* cannot prove who they are, if asked to verify their identity. In official terms, they are faceless and placed in a position of distrust and anonymity. This sounds innately negative but homeless people have been demonstrated to not

always want to be identified (Stewart & Sanders, 2023; Robson et al., 2016). Despite extreme difficulty, some degrees of in/visibility may be advantageous (Coates, 2015; Radley, 2005). Photographic identification as a means of officialdom might not always be so welcome. Some have noted the development of passports as a means of security and surveillance. Certain photographic documents create a tether to the state (Lin+Lam, 2007, p. 454) that might be undesirable or risky for undocumented migrants avoiding migration authorities, or those engaged in unlawful activity.

There are also ways of accessing certain documents in Rome as a homeless person that *Binari* does not mention. For example, a fictional address 'Via Modesta Valenti' - named after a homeless woman who died on the street in Rome – can be used for 'domicilio' registration. This will enable access to certain rights and legal processes – but it does not grant visual ID. It is unknown whether this residency was insufficient for the needs of the poet in *La burocrazia* but the poem focuses singularly on the sense of exclusion and - to a degree – a lack of agency, relying on others to assist them.

7.4. Writing in *Shaker* may confer in/visibility to the writer

The poems in *Shaker* demonstrate that, homeless people are able to express themes of in/visibility explicitly and implicitly. The selection of poems also engages with visibilisation in another key way: the writing and the reading of the poems might confer in/visibility to the writers. Poetry may be a means of seeing what previously was unseeable: American Poet Wallace Stevens wrote that 'The poet is the priest of the invisible' (Stevens, 1957). Much in the same way as the stories being told and retold by TerminiTV give exposure to homeless migrants at the station, the poems visibilise the writers, giving them 'exposure' and a platform to represent themselves in a way they choose (Seethaler, 2016). At the same time homeless people can minimise the Otherness of their homelessness – it gives them space to talk about other things and invisibilise their marginalised status.

7.4.1. Poems allow us to see the experiences of migrants and homeless people

Those without identity documentation, like forced migrants, are caught between visibility and invisibility (Lin+Lam, 2007). There are many studies on the invisibility of migrants (Baird, 2014; Carter, 2010; De Backer, 2019; Lenhard, 2020) but the use of poetry in accessing homeless people's experiences and counternarratives is underexplored. I have outlined in Chapter 4: Methodology that the use of creative writing may be a means of eliciting and expressing cultural ways of knowing (Kara, 2015, p. 13). In the poem *Binari* (Poem 5) the poet Ibatrok writes of a difficult journey, travelled through time and through space, describing long days, months and years, signalling the day-to-day struggles of homelessness and poverty, and the longer life struggle that can accompany experiences of international migration.

It is possible that the poem refers to the migration route across the Mediterranean from North Africa to Italy, that is attempted by thousands of migrants each year (Fiore & Ialongo, 2018). These are perilous routes and, for many migrants in Rome, preface their time on the street (MSF, 2018). The poem visibilises the tragedy of these journeys – which are undertaken for the chance of a better life - and also exposes the invisibility that is conferred upon these people who are ignored or forgotten. This hails to the 'forgotten' (like Silvia Bitu in the poem *Me* ('forgotten by everyone'), the in/visible, those who are erased from history itself. These poems can potentially re-historicise, whereas dominant de-historicised narratives might homogenise and stigmatise. The poet brings up these people, their memories and stories and makes us look at them.

Sabelli (2005) has commented on the significance of migrants writing poetry in Italian as a means of visibilising themselves, although *Shaker* also features writing in English and Arabic. Poems by migrants that are written in Italian represent a 'form of critical consciousness that resists settled, hegemonic patterns of thought and behaviour' (Sabelli, 2005, p. 439). Writing in Italian therefore becomes the only way to 'to represent oneself rather than be represented' (Sabelli, 2005, p. 440). The poem is in Italian and uses a number of sophisticated linguistic techniques. For example, the title '*Binari'* could have several meanings. The plural noun binari might translate as 'train tracks', signifying a journey or a defined route, heading towards a particular destination. Binari is also linked to the homelessness organisation, Binario 95, so named because it refers to its location within Termini station (literally - platform 95). Binari also means 'binaries', the idea that something is made up of two parts, often opposing. This undefined meaning creates a lack of clarity: a sense of the confusion that life might bring.

7.4.2. Writing in *Shaker* might bring visibility towards other aspects of their lives, away from homelessness

The poem *Infanzia* is a good example of the careful balance between invisibility and visibility (May, 2015; Brighenti, 2007). In many of the poems, the author specifically mentions their homelessness – for instance in *Binari*: the poverty that accompanied them 'all the way to' ('ho accompagnato fino al') Binario 95. In contrast to this, some of the poems do not describe their experiences of homelessness at all. In *Infanzia* Gonzales steps away from the knowable space of Termini, and into the past to a place unknown to the reader – the nostalgia of their childhood. Still, the poet conjures evocative scenes by remembering. The poem shares characteristics with the others: it is about a sense of poverty and self-perception of Otherness. Over its four sentences, the poet muses over possessions, the act of taking care of precious things, the generosity of family, and self-reliance.

There are hypervisibilities experienced by marginalised people in cities, due to their perceived race and 'other markers that distinguish them from dominant group members' (Settles et al., 2019, p. 2; Dickens et al., 2019). Whilst at the same time, their marginalised status may render their entire persona invisible to others: their personal identities, interests, skills, histories etc. Speer (2019, p. 330) writes that 'too often, disenfranchised groups are referred to as part of an anonymous and uniform collective rather than as a diversity of thinkers, each with rich and complex lives'.

In *Shaker*, the poets talk about subjects other than homelessness – which is perhaps assumed by some to be a monolithic and invariably injurious life experience (Creţan et al., 2022; Jolley, 2020), devoid of laughter or relations of care (Skeggs, 2004; Sandberg & Tutenges, 2019). The poems add richness to the way that we can see people who experience homelessness. By providing homeless people opportunities to cast their own representation about life on the street they 'invisibilise' themselves (or aspects of themselves) by choice (Dvořák, 2022) – challenging the normative representations that spectacularise their existence (Allmer, 2004). By ignoring homelessness itself, it may provide a sense of privacy: something not associated with a life on the street where homeless people are assumed to occupy a position of total publicness (Wright, 1997; Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015).

7.5. Section A summary

The poems are heavily subject to interpretation. They are full of possible meanings and metaphors and it is impossible to know what the writer was thinking. A poem is a thing in itself, not just an expression of thought. Still we can read into them as palimpsests - layered writing with multiple possible meanings to be explored (Dillon, 2007). For writers whose first language may not be Italian, writing the poems may have been a challenging experience and we do not know if they have been assisted.

The poems refer to how homeless people are seen (or they perceive themselves to be seen) and how they see others. Some explore these themes literally while others seem to express themselves through linguistic techniques, like similes or metaphors. The poems also elucidate a number of spatial practices of homeless people in Rome and the reality of their everyday lives, offering researchers a novel perspective on their social encounters and their spatiality. Migration and homelessness are suggested to be linked as connected experiences of life 'on the move' (Urry 2007), with many of the authors being migrants themselves. *Shaker*'s poetry cluster suggests that their everyday experience is made meaningful by encounters with others and the places where these encounters happen, although these are not necessarily positive. I will now continue to unpack in/visibility processes using another *Shaker* text in Section B: *A Manual to Homelessness*

7.6. Section B: A *Manual* to Homelessness and lived aspects of in/visibility

To explore the choices that homeless people identify and make (Parsell & Parsell, 2012), I introduce a second extract from *Shaker*: *A Manual for Homelessness*. With its original title, *'Se Bastasse Soltanto un Cartone... Manuale semiserio per notti senza dimora'* featured in *Shaker*'s 8th Issue (Autumn 2008), is written by Mauro Pettorruso. Reading the *Manual* (how I will henceforth refer to it) suggests that the choices of homeless people influence their own in/visibility. Moving between visibility and invisibility is something that homeless people can – to an extent – choose.

As in Section A, I will present the text alongside a full English translation with (my) translator's notes. After this I will conduct an analysis of the *Manual* alongside extracts and sketches from my own field diary: focusing on three important constituent parts of everyday life involving choice.

1) Shame and fear – The first section explores how the negotiation of the affects shame and fear guides the choices and spatial practices of homeless people and how they experience in/visibility.

2) Alcohol – The second is related to fear and shame, examining how alcohol and substance use by homeless people concerns personal choice and moralising questions of behavioural expectations in public space and il decoro urbano.

3) Viability and humour in everyday life - The third section introduces the idea 'viability' in the lives of homeless people. The manual is written in a semi-humorous style and I will explore the uses of humour in everyday life that counter the various normative representations that subject homelessness to in/visibility.

7.6.1. The *Manual* is one voice on how homelessness is experienced

Despite so-called survival guides and manuals being unremarkable items in modern life (in subjects like travel, employment or education), few examples exist of informative 'guides to homelessness' like the *Manual* in *Shaker*. Various charities and local councils offer help and assistance to people in precarious living situations. For example, In Italy, the Community of Sant'Egidio offers 'una guida per i senza tetto' ('a guide for the homeless') called *Dove*. It has specific guides for different cities published in different years, for example Rome (2023), Naples (2022) and Genoa (2022) (Sant'Egidio, 2023). There are also numerous accounts of homelessness in many different media, for instance Hideo Azuma's *Disappearance Diary* (2005) and David Lavelle's (2022) novel *Down and Out.* Like the

poems, the *Manual* is 'raw' but as the name suggests, it is also at times light-hearted, ironical and even funny.

7.6.2. *A Manual for Homelessness*: From *Shaker* #8, Autumn 2008[3]

Italian original	**English translation**
SE BASTASSE SOLTANTO UN CARTONE... Manuale semiserio per notti senza dimora **La scelta del posteggio (tra vergogna e paura)** Il posto deve essere sicuro. Per sicuro s'intende: sconosciuto a tutti e isolato a tal punto che le probabilità che qualcuno lo scopra siano bassissime conosciuto da tutti, un posto più pubblico del pubblico. Nessuno si azzarderebbe a far del male agli altri davanti a troppi testimoni. Insomma, gli sguardi languidi dei passanti posso- no generare pruriti insaziabili, ma la paura di essere aggrediti non ha eguali... **Bagagli** Posto che è indispensabile avere con sé un bagaglio di qualsiasi tipo e posta l'impossibilità di averne uno di senso compiuto (che abbia un tetto, un lavandino, un bagno, delle pareti, un letto). Dato per assunto tutto questo non vi resta che con-centrare i vostri sforzi per trovare buste o borsoni. Buste e borsoni nei quali riporre giornali trovati, qualche avanzo, l'oggettistica più svariata (a costo che il peso vi travolga, ma per quello ci sono i carrelli). Quando manca il necessario, qualsiasi cosa diventa indispensabile...	IF ONLY A CARDBOARD BOX WERE ENOUGH... A semi-serious manual for homeless nights **Choosing a parking space (between shame and fear)** The place must be safe. By safe we mean: unknown to everyone and isolated to such an extent that the chances of anyone discovering it are very low known by everyone, a place more public than public. No one would dare harm others in front of too many witnesses. In short, the languid glances[a] of passers-by may create an insatiable itch[b], but the fear of being attacked is unparalleled[c]... *Translation notes* [a] sguardi languidi literally 'languid glances', but also weak, energetic. Implies looking without wanting to exert effort. [b] plural pruriti, made into singular 'itch'. [c] literally 'does not have an equal'. **Baggage** Given that it's essential to carry baggage of some kind, it's impossible to have the right kind of baggage (something with a roof, a sink, a toilet, walls, a bed).[a] Given all this, all you have to do is concentrate your efforts on finding envelopes or holdalls. You can store found newspapers in envelopes and holdalls, a few leftovers, an array of objects (at the risk of being overwhelmed by the weight, but there are trolleys for that). When the necessities are missing, anything becomes essential[b]...

[3] Text reproduced with permission from Binario 95. Available online from Binario 95 at https://shaker.roma.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Shaker_8.pdf

Translation notes

[a] Baggage/luggage. Translated to 'right kind of baggage', implying that a physical house is what is really needed.

[b] Indispensibile becomes more common English 'essential'

Dettaglio diVino

Conoscete anche voi le innumerevoli leggende sulle magnifiche doti "riscaldifere" del vino. Tanto magnifiche da essere invidiate addirittura dalle migliori famiglie dei Parioli, che pare stiano pensando di sostituire i costosi riscaldamenti. La qualità del vino varia su una scala da zero a sbronzo, senza vie di mezzo. È fondamentale non sbagliare: deve essere assolutamente nel cartone (pena: esclusione dal giro). Qualcuno ci muore (perché ricordate: il vino fa disperdere il vostro calore rapidamente!) ma chi ha provato a non berlo, chi ha provato a tenersi addosso la vergogna, il fallimento, le umiliazioni... è morto prima di sicuro.

DeVine detail[a]

You too know the countless legends about the magnificent 'warming' properties of wine. So magnificent as to be envied even by the best families of the Parioli[b], who are apparently thinking of replacing their expensive heating systems. The quality of wine varies on a scale from zero to boozy, with no middle ground. It is essential not to get it wrong: it must from a box[c] (penalty: exclusion from the tour[b]). Some people die from it (because remember: wine dissipates your heat quickly!) but those who have tried not to drink it, those who have tried to hold on to shame, failure, humiliation... have died sooner for sure.

Translation notes

[a] Pun: Dettaglio diVino. 'DeVine or *divine* details' implies sacred importance of wine.

[b] Parioli is a wealthy area of Rome.

[c] cartone is a cardboard box, also used for boxed wine – lighter and more inconspicuous

[d] giro is hyperbole, comparing being homeless at night to a 'tour' or a round-trip

La classe non è acqua

Se solo immaginate che la notte somigli alla sera (magari più buia, magari più lunga) siete assolutamente fuori strada. La notte è un intreccio di cose certe e di cose possibili, densa di nemici che vanno conosciuti, guardati negli occhi e affrontati:

1. il freddo. Cresce rapidamente dopo le 23-24. Accelera e finchè resta solo - cioè asciutto - la vostra montagna di coperte potrebbe anche bastare.
2. l'anonimato. La notte è anonima. Un gruppo di ubriachi che vuole piantare grane o che vuole il tuo posto, può farlo...

You can't buy class[a]

If you only imagine that the night resembles the evening (maybe[b] darker, maybe longer) you are absolutely off the mark. The night is a web of certain things and possible things, full of enemies that must be known, looked into the eyes and confronted:

1. the cold. It grows rapidly after 11pm. It accelerates and as long as it remains alone - that is, dry - your mountain of blankets might even be enough.
2. anonymity. The night is anonymous. A group of drunks who want to cause trouble[c] or who want your spot can do so... because at night no one really has a name.

perchè di notte nessuno ha veramente un nome.
3. le intemperie. Se pioggia e vento possono rovinare le vostre scampagnate domenicali, figuratevi cosa possono fare alla vostra vita se vengono a trovarvi di notte, per strada.
4. l'umidità. Prima che giunga l'alba, il freddo trova la via per penetrare nelle vostre ossa. Dalla terra sale una fitta pioggia, violenta. Un cartone è raro che basti. Servirebbe qualcosa di impermeabile sotto... qualcosa che somigli a un pavimento, a un materasso, a un pizzico di dignità.

Il rifugio: elementi di ingegneria incivile.

Se il posto è isolato ci si può sbizzarrire arredandolo. I cartoni possono essere usati non solo per isolarsi dal terreno, ma per creare un nido che dia l'illusione di essere riparati. Qui non solo la tecnica, ma anche la creatività sarà utile. Il posto scelto avrà una grande influenza sulla tecnica di costruzione da adoperare. "Incivile" ovviamente non è il rifugio, ma la tolleranza generalizzata che l'accompagna. Adesso qualche consiglio, dal basso verso l'alto:

1. cartone: il più economico degli isolanti...
2. chiudete ogni spiraglio
3. vestitevi come fagotti
4. cercatevi delle coperte. Quelle militari sono le migliori... non a caso trovarle è una guerra!
5. sappiate che tutto questo non basterà...

3. bad weather. If rain and wind can ruin your Sunday outings, imagine what they can do to your life if they visit you in the street at night.
4. the humidity. Before dawn comes, the cold finds its way into your bones. A thick, violent rain rises from the earth. A cardboard box is rarely enough. You need something waterproof underneath... something that resembles a floor, a mattress, a pinch of dignity.

Translation notes

[a] Difficult to translate. Proverb: Literally that 'class' is rare and uncommon, unlike water. Related to English 'you can't buy class', or even, 'class will out'.

[b] maybe or perhaps

[c] piantare grane, colloquial for cause trouble or nuisance

The shelter: elements of uncivil engineering[a].

If the place is isolated, you can indulge yourself by furnishing it. Cardboard can be used not only to isolate oneself from the ground, but to create a nest that gives the illusion of shelter. Here, creativity as well as technique will be helpful. The place chosen will have a great influence on the construction technique that's used. 'Uncivilised'[b] doesn't refer to the shelter itself, but the general tolerance that accompanies it. Now for some advice, from the bottom up:

1. cardboard: the cheapest of insulators...
2. close every gap[c]
3. dress in layers[d]
4. look for blankets. Military ones are the best... no wonder it's war finding them!
5. know that all this will not be enough...

Translation notes

[a] Pun from ingegneria civile or 'civil engineering'. Incivile means uncivil, or more likely uncivilised – a moralising term related to behaviour.

[b] Ironic comment on 'tolerance' or rather, a lack of tolerance in this case.

[c] gap, crack, opening etc. in materials.

	[d] May translate to 'bundles' like a specific pasta dish, like little packets. Layers makes better sense.
Ho conosciuto tutti estranei Per fugare ogni dubbio residuo: non aspettatevi amici o peggio, istituzioni. In alcuni momenti vi sembrerà di avere la consistenza dell'aria. Le istituzioni sono altrove e a fare altro. Altrove e altro, ricordate. Alla fine sarete attraversati solo da un mucchio di estranei. Nessuno è perfetto. Vero. Se io sono per strada è anche perchè non sono perfetto. Ma voi che lasciate a questa imperfezione e al caso e alla sfortuna, il lasciapassare per azzerare la dignità di una persona... vi sentite davvero migliori? Buona notte a tutti. Mauro Pettoruso	**I have met all strangers** To dispel any remaining doubts: do not expect friends or worse, institutions. At times you will feel like you have the consistency of air.[a] Institutions are elsewhere and doing something else. Elsewhere and something else, remember.[b] In the end, you will only be crossed by a bunch of strangers. Nobody is perfect. True. If I'm on the street it's also because I'm not perfect. But do you, who allow this imperfection and chance and bad luck, have the license to erase a person's dignity?[c] do you really feel better? Good night to you all. *Translation notes* [a] Texture or consistency of air = nothing. [b] Repetition for emphasis [c] Author asks reader for a lasciapassare / 'license' or 'pass'

7.7. The *Manual* situates homelessness between 'shame and fear'

From the outset the *Manual*, in the section entitled *La scelta del posteggio (tra vergogna e paura)*, describes a central premise: that homeless people must make their everyday life decisions based on their safety. The author (tongue-in-cheek) limits these to two everyday affects: vergogna (shame) and paura (fear). Geographical research has focused on the importance of affect, referring to a spectrum of emotions and 'atmospheres felt through bodies' (Anderson, 2017, p. 20). I suggest that in/visibility is closely connected to these affects. There are many reasons that fear and shame are associated with homelessness – but the true extent of these affects varies from person-to-person and is unknowable. I will explore different aspects of shame and fear:

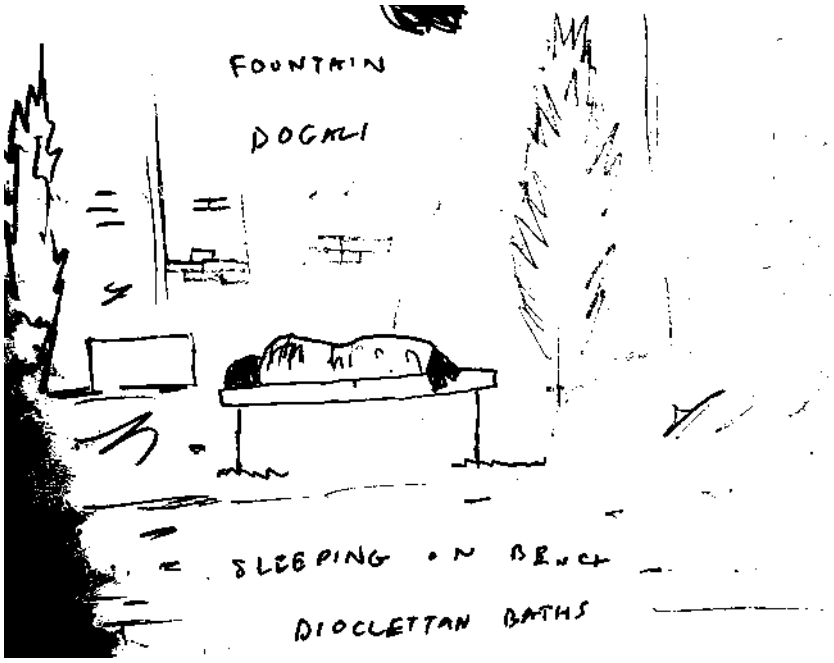

Figure 7.2. Sketch of a person sleeping on bench outside the Diocletian Baths. In my fieldwork I would see people choosing to sleep in extremely public places, like this person in front of the popular tourist site. The Roman architecture of the baths can be seen in the background. 2nd March 2022.

This extract discusses choosing a posteggio or 'a parking space': a euphemism for a sleeping place and a humorous choice of wording. In spite of the humour, finding a sleeping place is an important decision for someone sleeping on the street. The *Manual* implies that places to sleep must be safe from the threat of 'harm', inconspicuous yet totally public. It may be an impossibility to meet these criteria and therefore impossible to escape a sense of judgment in danger in everyday life. Because of their visual alterity homeless people can become subject to feelings of disgust that are both a 'push' and a 'pull' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 84). Figure 7.2. is a sketch of a person sleeping inconspicuously on a vacant public bench opposite Termini station. While I sketched, tourists wandered past the bench admiring the ancient ruins. Meanwhile the sleeper was undisturbed, their bare feet poking out from under a blanket. The sleeper appeared at odds with the surroundings yet in their stillness, blended in and appeared almost unnoticeable.

Criminologist Kasja Lundberg (2021) writes that homeless people violate idealised aesthetics of urban environments. In the city, eating, drinking, urinating, defecating (Cloke et al., 2003) - behaviours integral to homeless people at Termini - are hypervisible to the public and therefore presumed subjects of shame (Sanders & Brown, 2015). In Chapter 6, the sottopasso was referred to in an Italian newspaper as 'il tunnel della vergogna' ('tunnel of shame' (Rinaldi, 2019). As an alternative, carrying

out everyday activities in a quiet, unknown or dark place (for instance the underpass) carries fear related to the risk of violence from others.

7.7.1. Shame / La Vergogna

Shame is often understood in moral terms (Westerlund, 2022). Shame has been described as a 'sickness of the soul' (Tomkins, 1995, p. 133) and the 'most depoliticising, isolating and disgraceful affect' (Dimitrov, 2015, p. 61). In addition to everyday encounters, organisations and individuals aiming to help them can also compound feelings of shame for homeless people (Ryan-DeDominicis, 2021, p. 405).

Shame gains its core meaning in relation to wider social groups and norms (Stearns, 2017). With many homeless people at Termini being migrants from North Africa and West Africa, shame might also be contextualised within the relationship between Islamic culture and shame (Ilardi, 2021; Georgis, 2013; Buggenhagen, 2012), rather than 'Western' relationships with shame (Collardeau et al., 2023). Much of this scholarship relates to gender, family and sexuality specifically (Accad, 1978; Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009). Indeed, there are different cultural constructions of shame, relating to varying parts of life, including health (Kang, 2015), sex (Ussher, et al., 2017), dirt and waste (Douglas, 1991; Jewitt, 2011), and social expectations (Secules et al., 2021). Shame can be racialised (Van Niekerk, 2019), gendered (Abeyasekera & Marecek, 2019) or classed (Morris & Munt, 2019) and viewed through intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989).

In Chapter 5 I noted the significance of even small 'micro-visuals' which built up, like microaggressions (Pierce, 1995). The *Manual* describes the shame generated by encounters on the street, described as alike to pruriti insaziabili – or 'insatiable itches'. These 'itches' are suffered as people experiencing homelessness are looked at in a variety of embodied ways, as explored in Chapter 5 (Garland-Thomson, 2009). Even under indifferent glances from others, for example civil inattention (Goffman, 1971) as mentioned in Chapter 5, the shame felt by the homeless person is assumed to be present.

7.7.2. Fear / La Paura

Fear is well defined in geographical research, particularly in Yi-Fu Tuan's *Landscapes of Fear* (Tuan, 1979) and also on work on women's fear of crime (Valentine, 1989; Pain, 1997; Kern, 2020). Fear in the city is often influenced by iterations of Otherness in different social settings (England & Simon, 2010). Homeless lives are often fragile and unpredictable and even spaces of care can resemble spaces of fear for homeless people (Johnsen et al., 2005, p. 790). Fear is therefore an affect associated with experiences of homelessness (Lewinson et al., 2014). Homeless people might experience an

unknowable amount of different fears, for example fear of crime, the fear of being recognised as a foreigner and being attacked (Greenburg, 2010; Kwan, 2008), or fear of attention from law enforcement or immigration authorities (Holgersson, 2011; Lang, 2002; Franck, 2016).

7.7.3. Shame and fear are motivating factors

The *Manual* suggests that shame and fear are opposed, but I also suggest that they are deeply connected as motivating factors. Anglophone sociology literature in particular expands on how shame and the fear of failure (in social status or from peers can work to gradually mould standards of behaviour (Elias, 2000; Wouters, 2007). As the *Manual* suggests, they are part of life for everyone and experiences of them do not need to be spectacularised or essentialised as only 'negative'. Probyn (2005) contends that shame as an emotion can be a motivating factor for behaviour, not just as a reaction to behaviour.

Like shame, fear is a motivating factor in life. Perhaps *fear* of shame is a key driver of behaviour in many social settings (Mete & Subaşi, 2020). The *Manual* states that while shameful, being 'public' is presumed to offer a respite from the 'unparalleled' fear of danger associated with isolation and the dark, hidden stigmatised places (Halliday, Brennan, Bambra, & Popay, 2021) often linked with homelessness and spaces of marginality (hooks, 1999). Reflexively, there might be shame from fear. Studies reveal that acknowledgements of fear are avoided whilst emotional vulnerability is framed amongst some men as antithetical to ideals of masculinity, for example (Purnell 2019).

7.7.4. Changeable geographies of fear and shame

The *Manual* implies there are specific geographies to the affects of fear and shame, as certain places and practices have particular associations. In Chapter 6 I explore the toilet facilities and habits of homeless people in Termini as a chief example of exclusionary urbanism in practice: bodily functions (like toilet habits for example) have become sanctioned as taboo as social standards have gradually changed. In this sense, the human waste of homeless people perhaps has such a highly emotional impact as it is such a transgression of behaviours internalised from a very early age (Jewitt, 2011) and this can result in stigma (Belcher & DeForge, 2012).

7.7.5. Shame can be in/visibilising

Westerlund (2022) suggests that shame is 'constituted by our ability to sense how we appear to others' (p. 517). There were instances during fieldwork when I saw people who seemed to be accepting (or in total indifference to) the publicness and the visibility of their homelessness. For instance someone who routinely pitched a tent in the middle of Piazza dei Cinquecento amongst moving buses, taxis and tourists crossing the road to visit the Diocletian ruins. The *Manual* indicates

that there is safety in this visibility, although links between safety and visibility are complex (Jones, 2020). Other research suggests that privacy might be more associated with a sense of safety for some homeless people (Hsu et al., 2016).

Sleeping alone in 'more public-than-public' areas, like those advocated by the *Manual* is commonplace. One evening walking around Piazza dei Cinquecento, I turned a corner from the bustling station and found a sleeping homeless man in an enormous opening of space under the bright night lights on the station's walls (Figure 7.3.). It felt like a dead zone, an invisible corner of the city:

> Around the corner it is bizarrely quiet as if some invisible threshold exists separating two worlds. Hidden by a construction site fence, and lying beneath the giant exterior of the station lies a figure completely shrouded in a blanket sleeping. In this quiet place, they appear vulnerable and just a wall away from a thronging of activity and urban life.
>
> Diary extract. 8th March 2022, 20:30. Via Giolitti.

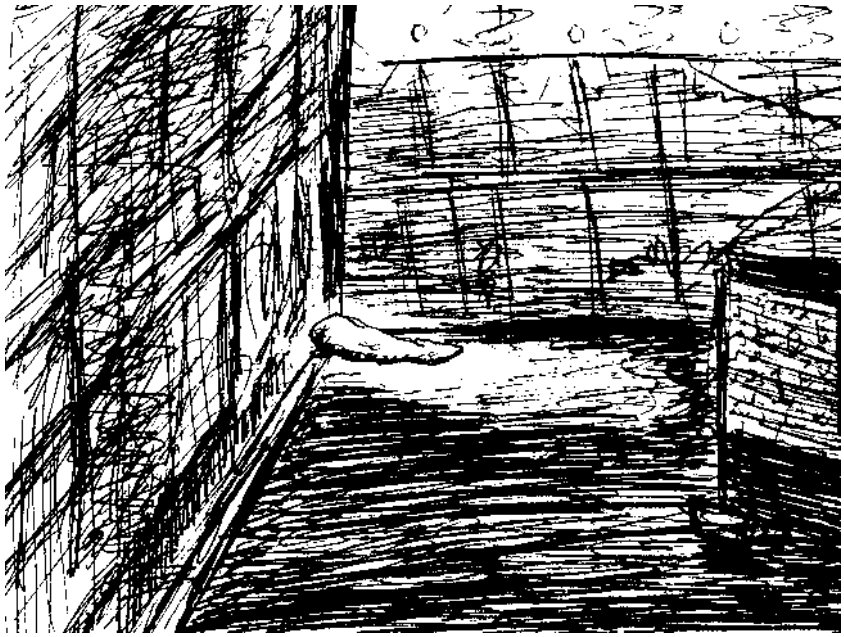

Figure 7.3. Sketch of a *sleeping person in an empty place. This moment was a reminder of the isolation and sense of vulnerability discussed in the Manual. I only stayed long enough to glance and drew the sketch from memory. 8th March 2022.*

7.7.6. The *Manual* does not mention companions.

The only other people mentioned are passers-by. Reflecting from my field sketch of the lonely sleeper in the vast open space in Figure 7.3., the *Manual* describes the choice of finding a posteggio (a 'parking' space) as a lonely one – safety is found under the indifferent gaze of others. The sketch depicts a solitary sleeping body in a vast open space with little to no shelter or protection. Despite

this, many people do find safety in numbers in public places, gathered together on cardboard up against the windows of Termini, or in a small gathering settlement outside the Metro on Piazza dei Cinquecento. A report from Medici Senza Frontiere reveals the numbers of multiple homeless migrants who 'camp' together in and around Termini station, for example (MSF, 2018). Others sleep (in groups) in more isolated and less 'public' areas, like makeshift settlements on grassy verges behind the station – see Figure 7.4. of two homeless men resting together. Various geographical studies have focused on camaraderie and solidarity found alongside company of others on the street (Grazioli et al., 2015; Boucher, et al., 2022; England, 2022).

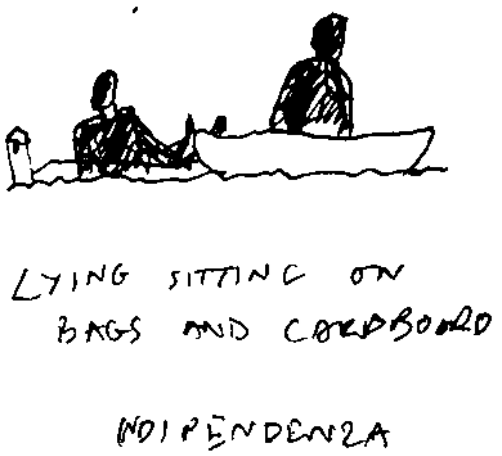

Figure 7.4. Sketch of two men sitting together, resting on bags and cardboard. They were chatting and sharing drinks in co-presence, something not mentioned in the Manual. 2nd March 2022

7.7.7. Avoiding violence through fear

This thesis has hinted at the darker side of urban encounters (Amin, 2011). Going against the *Manual*, my field experiences suggest that being public does not mean being immune to danger. Figure 7.5. shows a sketch of a weapon used to attack a man by another homeless person one evening in Piazza dei Cinquecento. It was a busy evening, surrounded by people. The knife itself seemed relatively harmless as an ordinary kitchen utensil. Despite this, the noisy and disturbed scene followed gave the item a sense of significance as it lay still on the ground. There was a power to an object purposed to be used to eat and prepare food in a space of care that had been repurposed for aggression or violence.

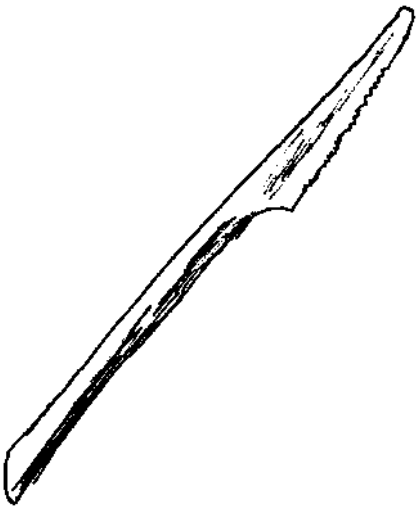

Figure 7.5. Sketch of a kitchen knife used to attack a man at Termini station This was just one material object that evidenced traces of violence at Termini. 7th March 2022.

The *Manual* does communicate that the threat of violence is part of life on the street and that homeless people are resultantly under constant duress. Although written in a humorous style, the *Manual* manoeuvres around a central tension between safety and danger in the lives of homeless people. Homeless people have been found to be at a higher risk of violence in North America (North, et al., 1994; Levin, 2015) and in Europe (Faragó et al., 2022). This includes structural violence (Taylor, 2013) and I discuss the evictions by the Roman police in Chapter 6.

7.8. Alcohol has a complex yet important role

In this section I focus on instances of alcohol use: specifically how the *Manual* represents alcohol use for homeless people in Rome. I then connect this to wider experiences of in/visibility in my field diary. Alcohol and experiences of drinking frequently appear in the different issues of *Shaker*. For example with frequent humour in the *Manual* in the extract, *Dettaglio diVino*. Drugs are not mentioned in the *Manual* but I will discuss alcohol and other substance use together.

Alcohol and/or drug use have been demonstrated in research to be a part of many homeless people's lives (Neale & Stevenson, 2015; Lloyd, 2012). Stereotypical representations of homelessness are associated with alcoholism among other substance abuse (Vázquez et al., 2017) and particular types

of cheap alcohol (McGill et al., 2016). In a study from Marseille on homeless people, being a migrant increased the risk factor of addiction (Ly et al., 2020). Drinking and drug taking for homeless people has been variously viewed as a coping mechanism (Johnstone et al., 2022), a protective factor against suicide (Testoni et al., 2020) or 'functional' in use (Flick & Rohnsch, 2006, p. 261). A study from Italy revealed a higher likelihood of abuse of alcohol from homeless people (Levorato et al., 2017). Alcohol and drug abuse are also linked to violence (Thomson et al., 2022), lack of housing access (Testoni et al 2020) and hypothermia (Caroselli et al., 2009) – the cause of death of several migrants on the streets of Rome in recent years. Whilst these are useful perspectives with valuable health insights, there is an implicit normativity to them. I take a different approach, framing alcohol use as part of everyday life and ambivalent as mirrored in the *Manual*.

7.8.1. The *Manual* says alcohol is important for survival

According to the *Manual*, whilst alcohol can be dangerous, it might be crucial for surviving on the street. Avoiding it altogether and exposing oneself to the aforementioned sober realities of homelessness ('shame, failure, humiliation') might be a worse fate. In this extract, alongside a group of volunteers at Termini I have a conversation with a friendly man in search of beer:

> A man from South Asia screams down the road again and again. We ask him if he's OK and he momentarily calms down. Do you have any beer? We don't but we give him some food. He shows us his ankle bandaged up after some kind of accident. It doesn't look good and I wonder how he keeps it clean. I love you! He shouts at us. I love you! We love you too, one of my companions says back.
>
> Diary extract. 19th June 2022, 22:15. Via Marsala.

At Termini I often witnessed scenes of drunkenness like the above extract or the sketch depicted in Figure 7.6. In Rome, many homeless individuals suffer from advanced alcoholism, observed as a coping strategy (Iacoella et al., 2022). In the *Manual* the author focuses on wine specifically as the 'cheap' alcohol for homeless people which might read unusually for some outside of Italy - wine is perhaps considered a more 'middle class' alcohol choice in the UK for example (Jayne et al., 2008). Alcohol consumption in Termini is not ubiquitous. Many do not drink for a number of reasons - for example some Muslims (many homeless migrants originate in Muslim-majority countries). Whilst I don't make a religious-based analysis, alcohol and other substance abuse has been found to be additionally complicated in Muslim communities, where those who use or are addicted can face additional stigma (Hassan et al., 2021).

Figure 7.6. Sketch of a homeless person sitting against the Metro building. Their behaviour was loud and at-odds with expectations of public space. They shout and laugh at passers-by who appear to ignore them in Piazza dei Cinquecento. 8th March 2022.

7.8.2. Substance use is common at Termini station

The *Manual* does not mention drugs, only alcohol. Much of the literature conflates alcohol together with drug abuse as substance abuse, but some studies differentiate the two (Amendola, 2022). I want to make a careful distinction between alcohol and drugs. In most cases alcohol is legal whereas drugs (with exceptions) are not. Termini and the area around it has a reputation as a notorious drug trading location (ANSA, 2023). I was offered drugs in my fieldwork around Termini (a variety of types: cannabis, cocaine and stimulants). Even though drug use was more 'invisible' in my fieldwork than the ubiquitous alcohol drinking, I did encounter migrants who had experiences of drugs. Without prompting, a homeless man at Termini told me of his trouble with drugs over dinner one Sunday, miming injecting with a syringe.

7.8.3. Alcohol use is part of a moralising discourse of il decoro urbano

On the topic of il decoro urbano as discussed in Chapter 6, there is currently considerable socio-cultural and legal governance of citizenship practices and expectations, particularly alongside expanding inequalities (Wacquant, 2008). A study from 2002 espoused that nearly half of Italians believed that the government holds the responsibility to reduce the amount people drink (Hemström, 2002, p. 6080). I observed drinking as a normal (and visible) part of life at Termini station, particularly among migrants at the station who were often drunk. Sometimes my own experiences with alcohol in Termini were threatening and scary:

> Rounding the corner into the darkness I make out the figure of a man in the distance walking towards me as I walk towards him. I see him hurl an object as he shouts out – I think it's a bottle. I decide not to walk towards him and turn the other way. Another drunk man with a bottle of beer staggers into me. I can hear shouting in the distance, towards the Piazza…
>
> Diary extract. 18th March 2022, 19.45. Sottopasso.

7.8.4. Alcohol consumption can be 'right' or 'wrong'

This thesis focuses on the way certain behaviours are moralised in public space. The idea that homeless people's drinking habits in public are unusual, or even shameful, is compounded and contrasted with Termini station being full of visual references to the 'right' kind of alcohol consumption. The advertising boards in the metro are filled with photos of luxury spirits superimposed in front of images of the Colosseum – a tourist cliché of a sophisticated city. There are liqueur shops in the concourse and the clinking of glasses soundtracks the Mercato Centrale towards the back of the station building. This appears to underline the paradoxical nature of in/visibility as a conjoined term (May, 2015). Cancielleri and Ostanel (2015, p. 499) refer to this as the threshold of 'correct visibility'. In Termini, it is assumed that if you are spending money and behaving 'socially', alcohol consumption is not only tolerated and ignored, but encouraged – 'seen' and recognised as a good thing.

7.8.5. Alcoholism and shame: cause, cure, or both?

Substance use is also a practice of in/visibilisation. This is linked to affects of shame and fear, particularly regarding the stigma around alcohol and drug use (Seear, 2020). In the *Manual*, the author describes 'holding on to shame', implying some internalised behavioural expectations attached to drinking. The *Manual* furthers this discussion on behavioural expectations, mentioning that the quality of wine ranges between two extremes, offering advice on the 'right' kind of alcohol to buy.

On the other hand, in the *Manual* drinking wine is described as a potentially life-saving escape from feelings of shame, experiences of which have been described as 'a painful visibility' (Mitchell, 2019, p. 250). Drinking may dilute shame and embarrassment. With shame occurring in the instance of 'important violations of social norms' (Luoma et al., 2018) drinking can be used as an escape forming a cyclical relationship between shame and alcohol abuse. This is a double-edged sword, as social harms arise from stigma experienced by people who use substances (Addison, 2023).

7.8.6. The Manual communicates and visibilises the choice that homeless people are presumed not to have

Some research exists on the potential of homeless people's decision-making or choices (Parsell & Parsell, 2012) that speaks back to the *Manual*. This includes strategies of homeless people amidst high risk and stress environments (Kang & Glassman, 2009) and the connection between the criminalisation of homelessness and a lack of choice (Kim, 2020). Parsell and Parsell (2012) state that homeless people are either presumed to be making poor or deviant choices, or they have no ability or capacity to choose (Parsell & Parsell, 2012; Allison, 2007). When homeless people (as if they are a homogenous group) make choices, perhaps these are assumed by a majority of people to be the 'bad choices' (Wasserman & Clair, 2009, p. 73). UK homelessness charity Crisis (2018, p. 62) asserts that 'people' blame problems on homeless people who might make poor choices, leading to a personal condition, rather than social problem. There is a common sentiment to avoid giving homeless people money so they will not spend it on drugs or alcohol. I experienced this in the field in Italy just as I experience it in the UK in my everyday life. Tamsen Courteney, author of *Four Feet Under (Unbound)* – a collection of stories about homelessness, wrote in *The Guardian* (2018) that for people living on the street, alcohol can help lessen the shame and embarrassment that results from begging. Alcohol and drug use do present severe health risks. Nevertheless the *Manual* emphasises choice – including agency of homeless people and giving someone the ability to make their own decisions, even if some might not have a personal capacity to make healthy decisions (for a variety of reasons including age and illness).

7.8.7. The *Manual* undercuts the stigma of alcohol

Shame is linked to recognition (Connolly, 2014). By discussing alcohol use with casual humour and directness - for example describing with hyperbole and knowing irony the 'le innumerevoli leggende sulle magnifiche doti "riscaldifere" del vino' or the 'innumerable legends about the magnificent 'warming' properties of wine' - the *Manual* may contribute to undoing stigma for substance use (Livingston et al., 2012).

7.9. The *Manual* provides visibilisation through humour and 'viability'

Stemming from the 'semi-humorous' way that the *Manual* is written, this section focuses on instances of humour and viability. These are two-fold: humour that appears in the *Manual*, but also the same humour that is reflected in field diary. These build on research has focused on humour as strategies of people living on the street (McGovern, 2012) as well as the use of humour in conversations with homeless people (Ritchie, 2011).

This is not to diminish the previously stated importance of the darker side of urban encounters, but rather to explore how through the use of humour of different varieties, homeless people are able to

demonstrate getting on with their lives, finding community, friendship and 'viability': a life worth living. The following account of 'silly humour' is from one evening at the station distributing food with volunteers from Mama Termini. It is representative of everyday encounters had at the station:

> As we depart and say goodbye to the last group of volunteers and diners, one man shouts at us 'BUONA NOTTE!' Buona notte we say back. 'E BUON NATALE'. We all laugh. 'BUONA PASQUA' says Fran. It was an eventful evening but the station feels so full of life tonight.
>
> Diary extract. 18th March 2022, 22:00. Piazza dei Cinquecento.

7.9.1. The *Manual* is self-consciously 'semi-serious'

The *Shaker* extract is self-titled as 'A semi-serious manual for homeless nights'. Various studies from psychology and communication studies have identified 'types of humour' (Taecharungroj et al., 2015; Tsukawaki et al., 2019). In its various sections the author uses a distinctive style of humour to communicate a particular representation of homelessness, which in turn points to the way homeless people might in/visibilise themselves. These are most notably: puns (e.g. Dettaglio diVino or 'Di*vine* Details'), irony ('le vostre scampagnate domenicali' or 'your Sunday outings') and hyperbole (un pavimento, a un materasso, a un pizzico di dignità or 'a floor, a mattress, a pinch of dignity'). Humour is difficult to identify, because it is subjective, and challenging to translate (Bosinelli Bollettieri, et al., 2012).

7.9.2. Humour helps us to see everyday life

When is humour just humour? Perhaps most of the time. But humour within depictions of homelessness is significant because they may transform the way homelessness is seen (Jensen, 2018). The use of subtle humour throughout experiences of homelessness from the *Manual* is also in the spirit of focusing on the everyday (Back 2015). Focusing on the everyday and 'how' homelessness is (Lancione, 2019) opens up new ways of understanding and representing lives that are misunderstood - particularly those of the marginalised.

The *Manual's* use of humour may challenge prevailing normative and stereotyping representations of homeless. Focused on class-based research in housing, Flint (2011) has noted the partiality of expert knowledge and the tendency to focus on failures and defeats of working class experience. The same statement might be accorded to homeless people. I try and engage with the 'everyday', with an ordinary 'scene' of African migrants hanging out at a familiar place in Esquilino overlooking the station depicted in Figure 7.7. Focusing on the 'everyday' - even if the item in focus appears small and uneventful like a joke - allows us to take mundane things seriously and ask what significance daily encounters carry (Back, 2015). This mirrors my earlier assessment of micro-visual encounters in Chapter 5, smaller things that may add up to something more significant (Pierce, 1995).

Figure 7.7. Sketch of everyday life in Esquilino. African men standing on the 'wall' a section of raised street opposite Termini station on Via Giolitti outside electrical shops and kebab houses daubed in graffiti. I was interested in these men who would routinely meet and talk in the same spot, an example of small routine encounters that might push against the 'darkness' (Back, 2015). 9th March 2022.

7.9.3. Humour can push against the 'darkness'

Humour also has another (often unintended) purpose: certain behaviours like humour might push against the 'darkness' of a divisive and dividing society (Back, 2015). In research in Sierra Leone for example, humour has been demonstrated to be a way of opening up conversations about violence (Martin et al., 2021). Jensen (2018, p. 20) calls this a culture of 'individualised dignity' – where stigmatising traits (like homelessness – and associated issues like alcoholism or mental illness) are managed through humour. The *Manual* certainly appears to use humour to this effect. Jokes (even when negative or potentially offensive to some) can normalise behaviour with considerable

consequences (Hodson & MacInnis, 2016). Humorous language about the harsh realities of homelessness might also contextualise these experiences, normalising them and providing homeless people and their stories plain visibility without stereotype. In the *Manual* section on finding a posteggio, jokes about 'indulging' and 'furnishing' a sleeping place on the streets are tongue-in-cheek but reaffirm humour in dark times, as well as the agency and choice of homeless people to shape their own environments.

7.9.4. Despite difficult conditions, humour is reflected throughout my Diary

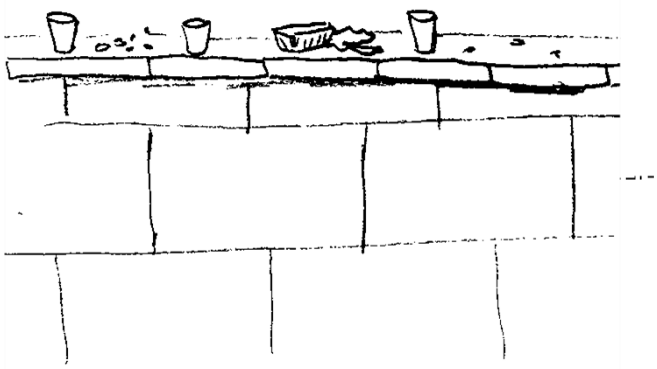

Figure 7.8. Sketch of the remains of Mama Termini's Sunday night dinner at Piazza dei Cinquecento. It was an evening of coming together, of eating, enjoyment and laughter. I chose to sketch the material objects of eating and drinking instead of people. 19th June 2022.

An extract from my Diary depicts an evening of good humour at Piazza dei Cinquecento:

> The square is full of smiles, not just if I hand out a plate of hot pasta or a cold drink but just a good feeling when you meet someone's eye and you both smile at each other, for nothing in return. We share jokes (amongst the volunteers and the homeless people - everyone) over drinks, passing cigarettes and a lighter. People pose for photos in a silly way. I hear Fran joking about with another man in the background – their voices are loud. We laugh about England (or Italy, or X city or country) being crap at football. We reminisce over great players we know in common: like Papa Bouba Diop smashing France in [FIFA World Cup] Korea/Japan 2002. Wasn't he called 'the Wardrobe'? Maybe I'm not sure… What a player though. Talking about other things, life, football, our countries, languages. Smiling, laughing, sharing food, trying to understand each other.
>
> Diary extract. 19th June 2022, 20:00. Piazza dei Cinquecento.

It was moments of light-hearted conversation and laughter that provided real moments of getting to know people. All around people were talking about 'everyday life': football, showing each other music videos, chatting, sharing food (Figure 7.8.). Martin (2022) has noted the perseverance of

humour through difficult times and how humour produces social relations. It can foster friendships (Westcott & Vazquez Maggio, 2016). Useful insights about how people comprehend and negotiate their social surroundings and circumstances can be provided by humorous discourse (Martin, Bradbury-Jones, Koroma, & Forcer, 2021). Another example from my Diary demonstrates how humour can be used to break down barriers in the field:

> A woman walks over with short golden dreadlocks. She staggers over with a beer in hand and heeled leather boots that go over her knees. She sits down with us and is happy when I complement her hair. She has been in Rome for 25 years and her name is Anne. She's from Kenya. I think she likes me and she insists on talking. We celebrate the first day of spring. Winter was terrible but it's over now. Anne gets her phone out and Facetimes her two sisters, Victoria and Ros, who I talk to. They are smiley behind the grain of the bad connection. They are laughing and Anne is full of happiness talking to them. Ros likes me apparently and wants to know if I'm available. Victoria wants to set me up with her. Victoria speaks good English and we all laugh as someone calls Victoria the Queen of England, and 'my' queen…
>
> Diary extract. 18th March 2022, 23:00. Via Giolitti.

Humour in all societies and communities is particular and culture-centric, drawing upon particular events, experiences and in-jokes (Jiang et al., 2019). The joking with Victoria seemed to be a kind of silly flirting based alongside commonalities we shared. This humour was not ironic or self-deprecating like that in *Shaker* but it resembled something like humour that might pull 'people out of everyday life into a more playful non-serious atmosphere' (Kuipers, 2009, p. 306). While I talked to people or observed people engaging with each other, I frequently saw 'silly' playful behaviour. In the image below, Figure 7.9., my companion was asked to take a photo of two people (both of them were homeless) and they posed dramatically for the photo. The man on the right in the sketch, who was from Tunisia, pulled up his hood and crossed his arms, looking tough in a theatrical manner. It was a small, fleeting moment but I captured it in a drawing, hoping to demonstrate the 'lighter' side of life.

Figure 7.9.- Sketch of two people posing for a photograph - in Piazza dei Cinquecento. This was one moment of light-hearted humour I witnessed. 18th March 2022

Another ethnographic extract shows a humorous (and flirtatious) exchange between people at Termini station. They appeared drunk and alcohol consumption appears again as something highly noticeable. It might go against the normative representation of homelessness people as 'down-and-out', or caught between fear and shame as the *Manual* insists. My diary states:

> A small group of men in scruffy clothes walk slowly in front of me drinking beer. They greet with fist bumps and punches on the arm. A woman approaches them, walking through the crowd. She seems to know the men and smiles and laughs as she talks to them, seeming to flirt with one of them in particular, speaking to him expressively for a while, touching him. The man turns around and watches her walk away while saying something to his friend, giggling and laughing.
>
> Diary extract. 29th March 2022, 17:00. Via Marsala.

The men joking amongst each other appearing to share a sense of community and camaraderie. The woman was smiling and joking but we also cannot know how she felt about the encounter either.

7.9.5. Humour and viability: The *Manual* suggests a life beyond survival

The consistent use of humour in the *Manual* presents a representation of homelessness that indicates dignity, agency and self in/visibilisation (in/visibility of the physical self, of issues, of other representations – all of which were introduced in this chapter's Section A). It indicates that humour is

an important part of everyday life, and indeed may point to a life beyond a 'survivable life' (Fash et al., 2022) or 'viability', described by anthropologist Ghassan Hage (2019).

But how does viability relate to homeless people in Termini? Viability is an ecological concept that refers to the ability to live successfully. A 'viable life' for Hage is a life that is worth living (Hage, 2019). The term viability itself is suggestive of alterity (doing things differently) because in certain contexts it suggests individuality within 'a dominant system' (Jeffrey & Dyson, 2022, p. 12). Viability may link to other collective behaviours and experiences. The *Manual* seems to describe homelessness as a lonely experience, with company found in the shaming gaze of others. The poems too particularly emphasise this alienating aspect of life on the street. Despite this, there are observations from my research diary that emphasise a sense of sociability and collective belonging. These collective behaviours and experiences may be linked to other elements of collective action – for instance the collective unseeing and seeing discussed in empirical Chapter 5.

7.9.6. Acknowledging viability works against normative representations of homelessness

In terms of 'viability', marginalised people may be presumed to lie somewhere between these two poles - that of viable life and that of non-viable life. I have sat and eaten and talked to these people – a community of people so diverse that categorising them as one entity feels wrong. To even consider their lives as 'unviable' feels like an insult.

The *Manual* is highly suggestive of viability: presenting everyday choices throughout that homeless people must make. These include where to sleep and what to drink, but also more complex existential choices – what to avoid, for example, complementing research on how homeless people engage in relational reasoning (Parsell & Clarke, 2019). Additionally, by using subtle humour and avoiding patronising behaviour (de Winter & Noom, 2003; Pérez-Almendros et al., 2020), the *Manual* provides a mirror to the light-hearted encounters I witnessed and partook in on the street. The *Manual* may perfectly exemplify how humour indicates viability. This might be unintentional - there might always be humour for humour's own sake.

7.10. Conclusion

In Section A I established that by writing poems, homeless people in and around Termini are able to comment on, critique, and contest their own in/visibility. In Section B I focused on *A Manual For Homelessness* which – often in a tongue-in-cheek manner - advises options to homeless people, guided by a need for personal safety and feelings of dignity.

This chapter makes a number of contributions. It employs a novel combination of poetry and creative writing from homeless people and those who have experienced homelessness with my own observations in the field. This enables me to move past subjectification (Zitzelsberger, 2005) and the experiences and urban processes that are seemingly imposed onto homeless people. This chapter also attempts to achieve a holistic and nuanced understanding of homelessness. The range of topics spoken about in *Shaker* are an attempt to depict the heterogeneity of homeless people, their stories and experience and speak more generally to calls to focus on something other than just 'homelessness' (Jolley, 2020; Hastings, 2021).

I claim that homeless people (including migrants) have the capacity to in/visibilise themselves and withdraw from visibility by expressing themselves and sharing their experiences and representations, often alongside other organisations like *Shaker* magazine or TerminiTV, but these have limits. In Chapters 5 and 6 I have discussed how the everyday behaviours of homeless people are carried out in public, often marginalised, and even criminalised by invocations of il decoro urbano. Meanwhile homeless people are often described by terminology they may not agree with (Pleace & Hermans, 2020). The ability to retain privacy over certain acts, thoughts, or memories seems significant. With the examples from *Shaker* (both the poetry cluster and the *Manual*), we can observe that homeless people employ their own depiction of life on the street. Often it is harsh and visceral, like the poem *Povertà*, other times it is laced with knowing humour and irony, such as the *Manual.* It occasionally overlaps with visual stereotypes of poverty and marginality but also provides new perspectives.

Throughout, *Shaker* reminds us that homeless people's experiences in the city are affected by how others see them – particularly through the twinned affects of fear and shame, long associated with homelessness. Experiences of community and connection with other homeless people are seldom mentioned in Shaker yet they are observed in my field observations which vary in their encounters from acts of violence, jokes, conviviality and long periods of sitting or lying together in co-presence.

I conclude this chapter on a tentatively positive note relating to the everyday choices that homeless people make (Parsell & Clarke, 2019; Parsell & Parsell, 2012). This thesis aims to be part of a wider body of research that 'liberates homeless people's capacities and resources' (Lancione, 2013, p. 358). Connecting to Chapter 6, we can observe reactions and behaviours taking place against and in spite of the logics of il decoro urbano, such as drinking on the street and the 'uncivil' engineering required to build an appropriate shelter. Consistently in all these aspects of homeless people's experience is the embedded importance of and constant negotiation of choice. Thieme (2018) makes a similar observation (2018) stating that the search for survival and viability in urban areas in Kenya can be a constant 'hustle'. There are moments of positivity, humour, and conviviality that appear to represent viability: a sense that life is worth living. I also take away a firm belief that everyday life in Termini is

rich and layered in its meaning. At the same time I do not wish to lionise accounts of marginality. In Chapter 8, I will draw conclusions and reflect on the key contributions of the research project and possibilities for future academic inquiry.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

Everyday visual encounters with homelessness are familiar to those who live in cities. These visual encounters remain little-understood in research and my thesis has aimed to address this.

Here I will discuss why the research matters, by outlining its contribution and the interdisciplinary debate it engages. Following this, the limitations within the study will be acknowledged alongside consider potential societal/policy implications. Lastly, I discuss directions for further inquiry.

8.1.1. Identifying emergent themes and revisiting aims/questions

Several key themes emerge through the thesis by addressing my research aims and questions:

> Aim 1: To explore the visibility and invisibility of homeless people in urban public space, using the case study of Termini railway station.
> Aim 2: To highlight the significance of everyday visual encounters of and with homeless people, in conceptual and practical terms using the case study of Termini railway station.
> Aim 3: To make a methodological contribution with a combination of creative research methods that foregrounds ethical engagement with homeless people.
>
> RQ 1) How do homeless people use and interact with Termini station?
> RQ 2) How do other people using the station interact with and see homeless people in and around Termini?
> RQ 3) What external mechanisms exclude and in/visibilise homeless people in and around Termini?
> RQ 4) Do homeless people contest their own in/visibility? If so, how and why?

Firstly, multivariate experiences of in/visibility concern both homeless people and the places they inhabit, shifting and changing through space and time dependent on several factors. These in/visibilities are neither positive nor negative, but ambivalent. Relatedly, a second theme concerns the way space is visibly contested between normative spatial functions and the presence of marginality through visual encounters. By appearing as out of place or as existing against the desired aesthetic norms of the city (and its future), homeless people are subjected to discipline and control.

On the other end of the spectrum, there is consistent evidence of conscious choice and agency that permeates urban life - even if this has limits. Lastly, the thesis is bound by a methodology which centres homeless people and their experiences and stories, capturing visual encounters and in some cases, staging them. These methods combine to produce new, interdisciplinary, and ethically-driven was of doing research.

8.2. Contributions of this thesis

Expanding on emergent themes, this section ensures that my findings and distinctive contributions to knowledge from the thesis are fully recognised and accounted.

8.2.1. Contribution 1: In/visibility is a workable, conjoined and ambivalent concept

My thesis highlights conjoined and simultaneous experiences of in/visibility which are sometimes sought out, and sometimes conferred onto homeless people by authorities, sometimes individually but also collectively. I have approached my discussion from different perspectives: passers-by and station-users (Chapter 5), station authorities, planning authorities and law enforcement (Chapter 6), those of homeless people (Chapter 7) and my own (throughout).

In/visibility is unpredictable, mirroring the 'shades of grey' in the governance of certain informal practices in Rome (Clough Marinaro, 2019) and is dependent on time and place. As an example, in Chapter 5, the beggar in the Metro corridor was seemingly ignored or unseen by a crowd whereas those checking ticket machines appeared to 'stand out'. Also I suggest that in/visibility can be a collective and relational process, rather than something necessarily just conferred on an individual for example, there are homeless migrants in Chapter 6, hidden away in the underpass but may have been able to find safety in co-presence. This also connects to my wider discussion on the ambivalence of encounters. In/visibility is ambivalent too: neither positive nor negative, despite associations and visibility's close relationship with political recognition (Seymour, 2019). In Chapter 7, metaphorical forms of in/visibility related to migration experiences are suggested to affect people's lives in ambivalent ways. With no ID card, a homeless person is rendered officially in/visible in front of the state yet might 'use' in/visibility to enable everyday tactics like going to the toilet in the Mercato Centrale without providing a Covid Green Pass or hunting for loose change.In/visibility can also be understood as an expression of choice and self. For example, through writing in *Shaker* and speaking on TerminiTV, in/visibility can be represented and engendered by homeless people themselves. Homeless people are able to visibilise the elements of their lives that they want to whilst choosing to avoid others, choosing to speak about other things: their life experiences, hobbies, relationships etc.

8.2.2. Contribution 2: Micro-visual encounters are significant in the lives of homeless people

Throughout the thesis I suggest that micro-visual encounters are significant in the lives of homeless people and more broadly are a useful category in visual research connecting to marginality and public space. Micro-visual encounters refer to the minute ways that people visually encounter each other in everyday urban life. They originate from the synthesis of four separate concepts and areas of literature: urban encounters with difference, visual encounters, microaggressions, and Perecquian fieldwork focusing on everyday endotic moments.

Micro-visual encounters fit within wider scholarship that asserts that encounters are not ephemeral and have social significance e.g. Wilson (2017). As an example in Chapter 5, I explored the 'dirty looks' in and around the station and their effects. In contrast, I explored how small acts of acknowledgement might enforce more empathetic forms of curiosity. Throughout the day, numerous people stop to chat, hand out food and drink and engage with charitable work around the station. Chapter 7 centred micro-visual encounters from the perspective of homeless people. The poem *Povertà* for example explores the meaningful way that passers-by dare not look in the eyes of homeless people or relate these images to stereotypes of homelessness they have seen on the television.

In some ways, micro-visual encounters are like microaggressions (Sue, 2010; Nittle, 2019), which relate to homelessness although this link remains under-researched (Torino & Sisselman-Borgia, 2017). However, while microaggressions are negative – relating to discrimination or behavioural slights, micro-visual encounters differ through their ambivalence. There are ample opportunities to deploy this concept in social science research – particularly with the potential to focus on these encounters from a distance, and not actually in-the-field, as I do with TerminiTV catching a glimpse down the underpass at the homeless people dwelling under the streetlamps, or at the remnants of a fire at the back of the station for example.

8.2.3. Contribution 3: Il decoro urbano presents a novel urban condition that conflates aesthetics with behaviour

Il decoro urbano, or decoro, is a distinctly Italian phenomenon in urban development (Nitrato Izzo, 2022) that invites further study. It moves beyond well-explored areas of research like gentrification and defensive architecture by centring the moralisation of behaviours in urban public space. One example from my research is the detailed exploration of alcohol consumption in Chapter 6. With luxury liquor shops and the wine bars in the Mercato Centrale, there seemed to be acceptable ways of drinking and unaccepted ways of drinking in the station, the latter associated with the problematic alcoholism of homeless people and migrants. Certain behaviours are therefore assumed to be 'out of place', connecting behavioural expectations with the changing urban environment.

Chapter 5 outlined behaviours that, through micro-visual encounter, are represented as spectacles or as 'lamentable sights' in the station (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015). Chapter 6 built on this with examples of excluded behaviours like the banning of food handouts in the station, or the removal of toilet facilities, or spreading water to discourage sleeping. Chapter 7 partially explored the exclusion of homeless people from their own perspective. *Shaker*'s *Manual* described the 'uncivil engineering' of a homeless person's improvised shelter on the street. The use of ironic humour subtly points out the contradictions over who behaves uncivilly in public space.

There is also a racialised element here that runs through the invocation of il decoro urbano which connects to racial profiling in cities and the criminalisation of migration. It also relates to the physical environment: I critically explored how Termini station might be developing into a 'white' space in Chapter 6 building on other work (e.g. Bates, 2023). These may be influenced by modes of policing and security as well as the proliferation of CCTV - a form of seeing not discussed in this thesis (see Koskela, 2000; Socha & Kogut, 2020). Lastly, il decoro urbano retains a complex position in everyday life even as it appears to subject homeless people to in/visibility. In Chapter 6 I revealed how some homeless people see the Mercato Centrale as a useful resource for asking for change or food, for example. Still, management strategies related to Covid-19 seemed to worsen many of the effects related to il decoro urbano, such as precipitating closures, erection of barriers that regulate movement, the imposition of necessary documents to access public and private facilities etc.

8.2.4. Contribution 4: Forwarding the question, 'How is homelessness?' enriches understandings of the urban margins

Connecting to the everyday experiences of homelessness central to my second research aim, Lancione's (2013) question, 'How is homelessness?' is not my own although I take inspiration from it and seek to advance it. I endeavour to understand and represent a snapshot of homelessness on its own terms, viewing homelessness as part of Roman civic life, not necessarily as an aberration or exception to the urban order, especially alongside observations of micro-visual encounters in sketches, diary entries and through analyses of secondary sources. This also enables a much closer view on the everyday practices of homeless people and the way certain choices and decisions are made. The *Manual to Homelessness* in Chapter 7 was particularly enlightening here.

Uses of the station differ during the day and night (daytime is mostly used for sleeping, for example) and through the seasons. Homeless people also interact with users of the station in innumerable ways: tourists are asked for spare change and food for example, whilst homeless people appear to have a complex relationship with police and station authorities who selectively employ mechanisms that can exclude them. Some of these exclusionary processes are temporary, others more permanent.

For example I outline the importance of the sottopasso for homeless migrants where archways are now filled with concrete at the time of writing in Summer 2023. Despite these events, homeless people continue to eat, sleep, and wash at the station, meet with friends and – in many cases - drink alcohol, an ambivalent act that connects to sociality and community, but also to unsociable behaviour and drunkenness.

Relatedly, the publicness of their everyday lives may compound negative stereotypes and influence their exclusion. However, through creative processes and expression, homeless people can in/visibilise themselves and their issues. Their stories and testimonies on TerminiTV (Chapters 5 and 6) and in *Shaker* (Chapter 7) challenge dominant narratives of homelessness and reinforce the viability of their everyday lives. This 'creativity' might not be self-consciously political but rather just a way of 'being'. By speaking or writing selectively, homeless people are able to choose what they want to focus on. They might not be seen only in the light of being' homeless', but by something else, for example, their skills, hobbies, relationships or life experience etc. Also while experiences of marginality might often be represented as monolithic, devoid of laughter or care, by focusing on viability and humour in Chapter 7, I observed through a range of affective experiences on the street that moments of lightness and humour are widespread.

8.2.5. Contribution 5: Everyday mobilities research allows a nuanced understanding of the relationship between homelessness and migration

In Rome, the boundaries between homelessness and migration are messy, unclear and at times inseparable. I adopt a nuanced understanding of homelessness that is tailored to the lived reality of displacement and marginality at Termini station in Rome. Other studies are less clear on defining this as a social category or adding nuance to conceptualisations of homelessness (Baird, 2014; Cancellieri & Ostanel, 2015; De Backer, 2019; Lenhard, 2020). I posit that within geographies of mobility like Termini, diverse expressions of Otherness are controlled and disciplined, providing a conceptual bridge that connects spatial experiences of urban marginality to migration mobility. Also through this intersectional lens, we can see that (micro-)visual encounters are racialised in significant ways.

I draw from literature on 'home' that understands that home can exist on a number of scales and in a number of physical guises (if home is indeed a *thing* at all). I also speak back to mobilities scholars who recognise homeless people and irregular migrants as unpredictably mobile populations, oftentimes standing against normative practices of mobility and subject to various disciplines and controls (Malkki, 1992). For example there are several times that experiences of 'homelessness' in its typical definition and 'migration' were enmeshed in the poetry cluster. This includes the sense of metaphorical or institutional in/visibility that accompanied having the correct documentation or a suggested adversarial relationship with authorities and passersby. This may be put to further work in

research by appreciating the nuances within marginalised communities (their intersectionality), challenging simplistic categorisations, and by using terminology and understandings that are adopted by the researched people themselves.

8.2.6. Contribution 6: Designing and implementing a creative and ethical methodology captures and stages visual encounters

By combining traditional ethnographic writing, sketching, film and creative writing analysis in new ways, creative methods gave unique opportunities to explore complex lived situations of misunderstood and misrepresented people, particularly from a visual point of view. In turn, the methods also reflect the creativity existing in the lives of homeless people, particularly through acts of homemaking and viability. TerminiTV also features numerous films of homeless people in the station being artistic and resourceful, performing poetry, music and dance, for example.

Sketching is a prominent aspect of my methodology aimed at capturing visual processes and I employ my sketches throughout this thesis, not only to illustrate other ethnographic information but as sources to explore, analyse and 'notice'. Sketching was ethically-motivated, enabling me to conduct reasonably covert yet respectful and non-invasive visual research that was simultaneously 'Covid-proof'. Creating this suite of methods also provides vantage points to observe, capture and stage micro-visual encounters in the field, e.g. the sketch of water spread around a sleeping homeless person in Chapter 6, or the crowd bypassing the beggar in Chapter 5.

As a study on homelessness that aims to work against normative understandings of marginality, I attempt to better reflect how homeless people represent themselves, including through film and creative writing. Far from neutral and not immune from political contexts or 'ways of seeing', these multi-media perspectives reveal a wide range of perspectives on everyday encounters - sometimes dark, and oftentimes ambivalent – that can help us to see the city – and encounter it - differently. Reading poems in *Shaker* is itself a kind of encounter with homelessness. I also use interdisciplinary methods borrowed from arts and humanities research to analyse (and translate) these sources, for instance using Rose's (2001) framework for seeing an image, and a closed-reading technique for poetry.

8.3. Limitations of the research

I will outline and justify limitations here, which is important for situating the research in its context and interpreting its validity (Ioannidis, 2007).

Limits of methodology

The study is limited to a narrow geographical scope. That said, my goal was not to address a larger picture but rather deeply explore a small aspect of everyday urban life. The ethnographic methods of this study were conducted only a short timeframe of two months although due to Covid-19 where lengthy periods of ethnographic research were impossible. Despite this the ethnographic research that *did* take place was intensive, carried out over long periods of the day and shifted to focus on micro-visual encounters, a research method that sought meaning in fleeting moments. Secondary sources became a major source of data although only a selective amount of TerminiTV and *Shaker* materials was included in the main thesis, despite analysing a large dataset. However, as part of an inductive research process, some of this material may have influenced my own perspective.

Understanding and accommodating assumptions

There are several culturally constructed internal biases and assumptions that I may carry into the field (Funder, 2005). These might relate to my positionality as a white, male student from the UK, and not homeless myself. These inevitably affect the things I notice and the ways that I see and interact. Foregrounding ambivalence in research as an 'outsider'. I try and resist urges to lean on positive encounters (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2023; Mayblin et al., 2015) yet I look to iterations of humour and sociality to redeem life on the street as something 'viable'. Likewise I try and embrace 'dark side of encounters' throughout the research whilst wanting to avoid recasting homelessness as an unviable or unbearable experience (Hage, 2019). My takeaway here is that no one can be sure what others are experiencing.

Knowledges and perspectives that are omitted or missing from the research

In my project I attempt to categorise ways of seeing whilst they are also linguistically and culturally specific. I am an English-speaker and situate myself within hegemonic Anglophone academic culture (Lee, 2015) and therefore I predominantly focus on English-speaking or even 'Western' cultural constructions of seeing (Brighenti, 2007) as well as mainly on English and Italian language literature. This anchoring of English language or European language literature and research might privilege the position and perspectives of the Global North - perhaps a generic issue within academic research (Molosi-France & Makoni, 2020). An understanding of other languages like French, Arabic, Wolof or Urdu might have opened up new or wider perspectives on everyday life. Also the project touches on intersectionality as a concept but connects this only to race, ethnicity and homelessness. Anecdotally I became aware of how homelessness intersected with gender but also sexuality – with associations persisting of Termini as a space for male sex work for example, or the presence of transgender homeless people at the station. There is potential for fruitful engagement about gender, sexuality and homelessness.

8.4. Societal recommendations and policy implications

I wish for my research to make a difference to people. I am realistic about the fact that to date this has mainly involved theoretical and ethical engagement, rather than data that pertains directly to institutions or governance. Here I provide a series of specific societal and policy recommendations that my thesis works towards. For each statement about potential benefits, I will pull through key details from the research to demonstrate how recommendations are specifically linked to what has been done.

Suggestions on affecting micro-visual encounters with homelessness: a public communication response

Small glances, comments and 'micro-aggressions' go a long way in producing in/visibilising processes. I have already referenced how civil inattention is gently policed by societal norms but also by posters in public transport in various cities (telling us not to stare etc.). Other organisations, such as Mama Termini or Binario95, provide positive alternatives encourages sociality and mixing over food, for example. Therefore, one response to this study is to encourage station users in Termini or elsewhere to interact with homeless people differently. Public education, like posters or station art, or an email newsletter from an NGO encouraging people to engage with homeless people might generate positive change. These texts might also extend to communicate how visual encounters towards homeless people are consequential – with dissemination amongst station users or the general public. This could be a guide, informing us 'how' to look and talk to homeless people, written with and by homeless people. Installed in stations, or inside Metro trains, or sent as emails, it would describe the importance of personal choices when it comes to donating, or the dehumanising effect of staring or ignoring, for example.

Understanding in/visibility by sharing, listening and challenging

I have observed that visibility and invisibility are conjoined, contradictory and often complex. Challenging conceptual categories like 'in/visibility' is difficult because sometimes people want to be visible and other times not. However recognising an individual's right to choose is important. Texts like the *Manual to Homelessness* and the films of Termini TV demonstrate wilful acts of in/visibilisation, in response to control and discipline, highlighting personal choice. These publications – and others that share and platform the voice of marginalised citizens - should be encouraged and widely shared (via social media like Facebook and YouTube for example) to in/visibilise homeless people according to their own testimonies. Writing on the power of complaint, Sara Ahmed (2021) states that structural and institutional change is made possible by opening the doors of complaint, keeping them open, and keeping them alive. Sharing and listening to these stories

may encourage public pressure to challenge decisions by local government and developers that carry out strategies to hide or remove homeless forcefully, i.e. the concreting of the underpass in 2024.

Continuing to ask, how is homelessness?

Existing structures have failed to offer lasting solutions to homelessness, and the challenging situation in Termini attests to this. In terms of suggestions, again, this point relates to public engagement and education. Public communication might raise awareness on the definitions of homelessness going beyond rough sleeping, for example. Academics and interested parties should begin to ask challenging questions about homelessness, and home, its antonym. Who is homeless? What does a home signify, or look like? And looking beyond these identifying characteristics and stereotypes to recognise that others have skills, interests, and diverse life experiences. The poems of *Shaker* are a fine example of this and should be widely disseminated and shared to budge the narrative that homelessness is a monolithic existence – with permission and collaboration with the authors.

In Rome as in many other cities, experiences of migration and homelessness are intwined. Attention might be paid to enable accessible pathways to institutional recognition for homeless people and/or migrants and documentation that might be used to access resources. Mama Termini offers an open-armed and sociable Sunday dinner which brings all station users together but other charity responses remain committed to either targeting homelessness or migration – other local NGOs and charities might consider widening their scope. This may go some distance to fostering an atmosphere where people are recognised for their skills or their interests or experiences, rather than simplistic or totalising labels like ‘homeless’, ‘migrant’, or ‘refugee’.

Policy change related to Il decoro urbano

Although it is premature to claim current policy impact, the thesis findings may be developed over several years with continued engagement with my research partners to generate resources that are useful for, a) illuminating experiences of homelessness, and b) communicating helpful information *by* homeless people for others. Therefore this thesis also critiques current policies and selective modes of policing and security in public places that can have a negative impact on everyday lives of people in cities.

A specific area of institutional or structural change relative to this research concerns urban development in Termini. Conversations with local authorities and police must question whether il decoro urbano could be altered to include more ‘civility’ towards marginalised groups. Questions must be asked that relate to the findings of this research, for example: can more free toilets be accessible, or washing facilities provided in or close to the station, for example? In addition can a communication channel exist between NGOs that work with homeless people (i..e Mama Termini or Binario95) and station authorities, enabling homeless people to address concerns about public and personal safety and hygiene in the station? Related to this, to address the major impact of Covid-19,

contingency planning for future health epidemics which pressurise public spaces and endanger the lives of mobile and marginalised populations must also be a priority for local policy makers. It must be said that many of these issues go well beyond homelessness, presumably relating to average station users or tourists and their needs. It might seem difficult to communicate my findings with the police and official authorities but it is possible and has been achieved in geographical research. Policing is shown to be at times harmful to and structurally positioned against homeless people, rather than built on community-understandings or trust, but this can change if the police and the station authorities open themselves up to hearing the everyday concerns of homeless people. Academics must therefore continue to ask pressing questions about the direction of urban change, who are cities being redeveloped for? Who is welcome, and who is not? Important questions like this must be asked at every level of society, within education to feedback and challenges to policy makers and developers.

8.5. Future research

There is scope to replicate the study to other geographical settings. This might allow for other cultural iterations of seeing or a comparative approach. This research could take place in other railway stations in Rome, Italy, Europe and elsewhere. My study is fixated on Termini and its wider archipelago of spaces associated with homelessness and alterity but a number of stations (or other public spaces) could be introduced, such as Tiburtina or Ostiense. This re-scaling could include mapping out important sites of homelessness or displacement and the connectivities between these places. These might include migration reception facilities and other alternative housing formats. We might also ask, how are behavioural expectations understood in different environments and what are emergent patterns of urban governance that are designed to manage these?

Homelessness research could intersect with gender or sexuality which have not featured in this thesis. Intersectionality is potentially under-utilised in my thesis. Partly based on anecdotal evidence and portions of my ethnographic research, there are opportunities to widen the scope of the research onto the little-understood gender and sexuality dynamics of life at Termini. There is little understanding of how life as a woman or transgender person living at Termini may shape experiences of seeing or unseeing, for example. Alternatively, as a hub of both male and female sex-work in Rome alongside a historic and cultural association of Termini as a site of difference and transgression, work could investigate in/visibility of identities and behaviours that are gendered or sexualised in a particular way.

Alternative methodologies would open the door for valuable new perspectives on everyday experiences of homelessness in Rome or elsewhere. I have suggested that autophotography or

participatory filmmaking, for example, would make interesting inroads to understanding various aspects of homemaking in Termini station via capturing micro-visual encounters, for example. More intimate visual methods would require a different ethical approach that involves significance co-production but might permit access to places that passers-by do not normally see. The original photography or film generated by the project would also be a significant dissemination tool, possibly forming the material for a film screening or an exhibition. Visual encounters with resultant artwork could generate additional responses from homeless people and a variety of organisations.

Co-presence and community are important in the lives of homeless people. This thesis has largely focused on individuals. Although collective visibility and relationality has been touched upon, future inquiry might consider the role of inter-group dynamics in forming representations of homeless people and resisting or being subjected to in/visibilising factors. This raises intriguing questions. How are certain groups perceived? Do certain ethnic groups (for example) oppose or show solidarity with others? How does the visual encounter concern group dynamics and representations? There might be significant ways that seeing and unseeing are processes that permeate group interactions and group decision making for example. This involves organisation and the informal politics of the street.

Exploring an arts-based focus on creativity and viability is an important departure point. There is creativity demonstrated frequently by homeless people, including cooking, performing music and dancing, captured in the films of TerminiTV. Likewise, the poems in *Shaker* exemplify the creativity that pervades places like Termini, even when living conditions are sometimes hostile. In order to stage meaningful encounters, research might focus on these acts and how they takes place and what the act of producing art can elicit in terms of human encounters and viability. Fieldwork might involve more time at Sunday dinners at the station, for example, with more focus on cooking and eating. For example, asking how food is enjoyed and created by and for homeless people. Alternatively poetry and creative writing for *Shaker* occur in a structured setting. First of all, we might ask how were these sessions. What took place? How did they engage and collaborate in expressing in/visibility and contesting in/visibility? Secondly what about acts of creativity outside of these formalised settings? How does creativity happen in the hidden and in/visible interstices of the city?

8.5.1. A final comment

These represent several directions that future research could take. Homeless people continue to be misunderstood, ignored and unseen in research, in popular media and culture, and in the real-life setting of Termini station. In the face of continuing exclusion and urban inequality, concentrating on and platforming the perspective of homeless people and the environments where they live in order to explore processes that influence and affect their everyday lives feels like a necessity.

Figure 8.1. Sparrows hopping and flying on the Termini rooftop in the evening. A sketch I drew while waiting for something to happen. 9th March 2022.

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Appendix

Appendix A: TerminiTV film list

1. *Indians in Termini.* 22 May 2015. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1432409347066769
2. *Cos'è TerminiTV?* 22 May 2015. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1432477560393281/
3. *No ambulatory.* 24 May 2015. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1433391130301924/
4. *Phone video by Prince Hoc.* 30 May 2015. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1435322003442170/
5. *'The station like home'*. 2 September 2015. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1462867390687631/
6. *Donna Investita a Termini.* 15 September 2015. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1468575023450201/
7. *No ticket no Termini*. 26 September 2015. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1471527216488315/
8. *Polizia a Piazza dell'Indipendenza.* 1 December 2015. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1485572285083808
9. *The lost children of Lampedusa.* 23 December 2015. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1490867464554290/
10. *Gabriel l'italo-venezuelano.* 23 January 2016. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1498755513765485/
11. *Genocidio 2.0?* 30 January 2016. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1500649260242777
12. *Termini a due velocità.* 1 February 2016. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1501108120196891/
13. *Romani per caso*. 19 February 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1506023769705326
14. *Nuda come un angelo*. 4 March 2016. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1509737999333903/
15. *Deported from the UK by mistake?* 10 March 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1511394312501605
16. *Dawood, l'Afghanistan e l'Italia*. 13 March 2016. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1512073625767007/
17. *Sanjay e la musica Indiana*. 1 April 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1518785001762536
18. *Filipino in Rome*. 16 April 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1526832920957744
19. *Un poeta a Termini.* 12 September 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1569579803349722
20. *The Arab connection*. 2 October 2016. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1576018792705823/
21. *Attivisti curdi a Termini.* 21 October 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1583145461993156
22. *Mercato Centrale a Termini*. 17 November 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1593394380968264
23. *Storia di una caduta*. 22 November 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1595207240786978
24. *Anurekha Ghosh.* 23 November 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1595582310749471
25. *Un treno per Torpigna*. 25 November 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1596466093994426
26. *Pakistano in Roma.* 1 December 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1598686420439060
27. *Staniero a casa mia – la storia di Juru.* 22 December 2016. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1607083699599332
28. *Primo Maggio al Baobab, Tiburtina.* 1 May 2017. https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=1662891654018536&ref=watch_permalink
29. *2 anni di Baobab experience.* 15 June 2017. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1679267855714249
30. *Ius soli: pro o contro.* 4 July 2017. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1686713521636349
31. *Dalla Romania a Roma*. 23 June 2017. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1682268555414179/
32. *In Somalia avevo un buon salario*. 21 August 2017. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/1703563836617984
33. *Aftermath of Refugees being kicked out of building*. 24 August 2017. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/1704364526537915
34. *Train stations matter*. 19 October 2017. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/1722326101408424

35. *A Termini mi sento a casa.* 6 November 2017. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1728111370829897/
36. *Con Maaty.* 14 November 2017. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/1730897837217917
37. *Alex kickboxer della Moldavia*. 17 November 2017. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/1731902923784075
38. *L'iracheno di Roma*. 13 December 2017. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1740751209565913/
39. *L'invisibile Ismail.* 22 January 2018. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1755057681468599/
40. *Termini by night.* 16 February 2018. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/1764554833852217
41. *Esquilino, il centro di Roma*. 19 February 2018. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1765927590381608/
42. *Facevo lo sminatore per l'Onu in Bosnia*. 21 February 2018. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/1766498366991197
43. *C'è stato incendio 2 giorni fa davanti a Caritas a Termini.* 17 April 2018. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/1787988674842166
44. *Distribuendo cibo a Termini*. 14 May 2018. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/1798101667164200
45. *Ogni lunedì notte a Termini.* 28 May 2018. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1803071866667180
46. *Bonetti e il passante gambiano*. 29 July 2018. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1850234548617578
47. *Una brasiliana a Roma*. 28 October 2018. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/318689442249849/
48. *Un'ora di Termini*. 29 October 2018. https://www.facebook.com/1416738318633872/videos/327791001346720
49. *Da Baobab oggi*. 13 November 2018. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/331001300786437/
50. *A message from Italy for my fellow Africans.* 26 November 2018. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/383610379042689/
51. *Mamma Termini*. 6 December 2018. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/283398045854159/
52. *Emergenza freddo.* 29 January 2019. https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=290120905020193&ref=watch_permalink
53. *Con un giovane prostitute a Termini.* 14 March 2019. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=309202796464751
54. *'I haven't eaten anything since this morning, please don't come to Italy, there is no work'.* 8 April 2019. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2221831724564284
55. *With a Sri Lankan homeless.* 14 August 2019. https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=1140717859453822&ref=watch_permalink
56. *Do la prigione è un limbo.* 13 September 2019. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=540017823437500
57. *Bracciante indiano a Roma.* 23 September 2019. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=455668795292664
58. *Dunia in Termini – Multiculture is here.* 21 October 2019. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=704485610049688
59. *Africa Termini.* 15 November 2019. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=484836222109893
60. *Ciao ragazzi de Roma Termini*. 3 January 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/779403795911684/
61. *Corona virus dei morti de fame.* 19 May 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/249786116262197/
62. *TEATRO TERMINI*. 5 October 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/335456260853098/
63. *The problems people who live in Rome encounter*. 21 November 2019. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2531743520482189
64. *Ho smesso di spacciare, ora vivo la mia vita reale.* 20 January 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/174031183825053/
65. *Happiness and love in China.* 11 February 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=667697803970884
66. *Giovanni B. Algieri, il suo libro, la Calabria e Termini.* 19 February 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=201188624327860
67. *TEATRO TERMINI.* 20 February 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=734120376994695

68. *Live from Milan talking about Corona Virus lockdown.* 26 February 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/866142100525839/
69. *Il rap deve essere onesto.* 2 March 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=775384689618340
70. *Poesia prima della quarantena.* 11 March 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=642579189873404
71. *Stay at home, cazzo!* 19 March 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=141717423886590
72. *Strange times*. 28 March 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=261576458175488
73. *Covid Rap*. 4 April 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2570344176402930
74. *E' la tua nazione.* 10 April 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=169768540822773
75. *TerminiTV è su TikTok con I rapapocalittici.* 19 April 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=537025653856222
76. '*Un sacco bello' il 25 aprile a Termini*. 25 April 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=927579447702186
77. *2 months of CoronavirusItaly in 1 minute.* 27 April 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=890423274753604
78. *Autofiction.* 28 May 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2981957038537190
79. *A termini con un musicista finlandese*. 20 June 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/271271527418894/
80. *Termini quasi deserta.* 4 July 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/311231943591649/
81. *Love in Termini.* 4 July 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=271321794178421
82. *Boom!* 15 July 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1190064721342867/
83. *Fontana di Trevi a Termini.* 17 August 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=703051803884353
84. *La banda di Termini.* 5 September 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=800692067344494
85. *Nostro amico da Piramide.* 18 September 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/688562038738944/
86. *Parliamo di femminismo.* 19 September 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1706288776204115/
87. *Musica in stazione.* 30 September 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/2869788309789171/
88. *Nostro amico aspetta Andrei a Palazzo Chigi.* 13 October 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=824843404982120
89. *Ho superato il lockdown.* 26 October 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/1067567367027556/
90. *1 minuto di Teatro Termini.* 27 October 2020. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2240095622803483
91. *Matti a Termini.* 29 October 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/418059252918843/
92. *Piazza Indipendenza, protesta a Roma.* 31 October 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/657134401668117/
93. *Trump terminal: is it the end?* 4 November 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/816091479151495/
94. *Da Roma Trastevere.* 9 November 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/725996781605302/
95. *Before Termini.* 14 November 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/369970030944504/
96. *Licenziati per restyling.* 23 November 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/3621062067941544/
97. *Titanic Termini.* 11 December 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/415117666303387/
98. *Lunedì a Termini.* 14 December 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/438265527559702/
99. *Titanic Termini.* 18 December 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/187178536440568/
100. *Titanic Termini.* 19 December 2020. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/723130478609545/
101. *Gina Montana – rapper afroitaliana. 2 January 2021*. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/406645237079854/
102. *Afghano truffato da italiani.* 18 January 2021. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/670726333605342/
103. *Nostro amico parla de crisi de governo*. 28 January 2021. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/257308849383495/
104. *Cerchiamo di fare qualcosa di concreto.* 25 February 2021. https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=285825109635791
105. *Pasqua a Termini*. 4 April 2021. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/263474245440571/
106. *Il nostro faraone di strada si è vaccinato a Termini.* 22 April 2021. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/778431389469216/

107. *Ultima notte a Termini prima di zona gialla.* 25 April 2021. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/306038490905872/
108. *6 anni di TerminiTV.* 26 April 2021. https://www.facebook.com/terminitv/videos/299896434844931/

Appendix B: *Shaker* issues list

1. *Shaker* #0. July 2006.
2. *Shaker* #1. December 2006.
3. *Shaker* #2. April 2007.
4. *Shaker* #3. July 2007.
5. *Shaker* #4. December 2007.
6. *Shaker* #5. April 2008.
7. *Shaker* #6. July 2008.
8. *Shaker* #7. October 2008.
9. *Shaker* #8. December 2008.
10. *Shaker* #9. March 2009.
11. *Shaker* #10. June 2009.
12. *Shaker* #11. October 2009
13. *Shaker* #13. Spring 2010
14. *Shaker* #14. Autumn 2010
15. *Shaker* #15. June 2011.
16. *Shaker* #16. Autumn 2011.
17. *Shaker* #17. Spring 2012.
18. *Shaker* #18. Summer 2012.
19. *Shaker* #19. Autumn 2012.
20. *Shaker* #20. Spring 2013.
21. *Shaker* #21. Summer 2013.
22. *Shaker* #22. Autumn 2013.
23. *Shaker* #24. Spring 2015.
24. *Shaker* #25. Summer 2015.
25. *Shaker* #26. Autumn 2016.
26. *Shaker* #27. Autumn 2017.
27. *Shaker* #28. Winter 2019.
28. *Shaker* #29. Winter 2020.