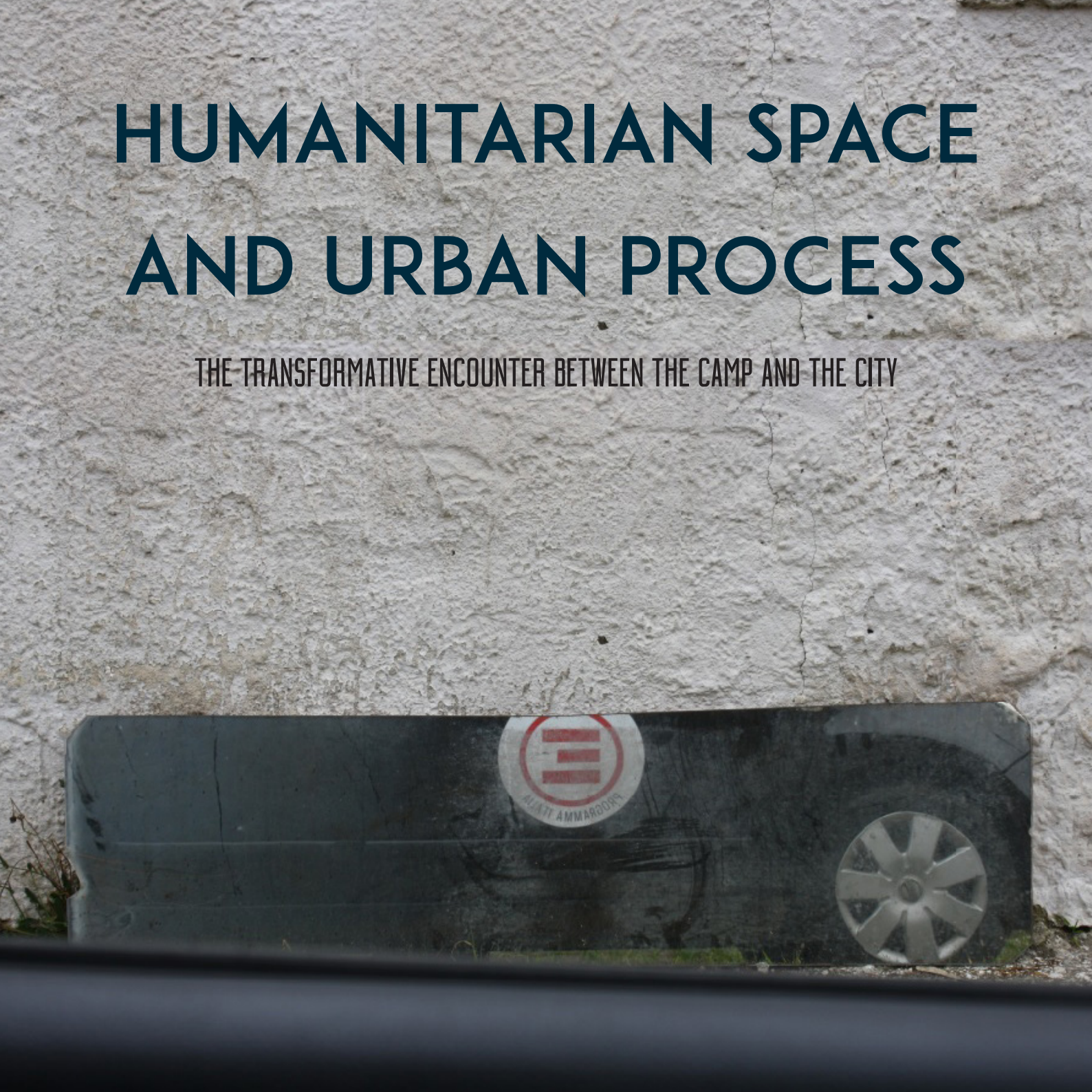
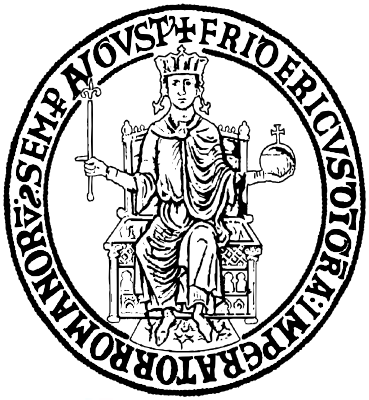
HUMANITARIAN SPACE AND URBAN PROCESS

THE TRANSFORMATIVE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE CAMP AND THE CITY





DiARC
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Final PhD thesis - July 2021

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Doctoral Programme in Architecture - XXXIII cycle
Università' degli studi di Napoli Federico II
Theme Area 3
PLANNING, URBANISM AND EVALUATION
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ABSTRACT

This research focuses on Humanitarian Space as a "capturing assemblage" of global migratory flows and an emerging City trait. Referring to a specific dispositive that several scholars call "Camp" and a vast literature describe as the space of "Otherness" and humanitarian emergency, I demonstrate how the Humanitarian Space is constantly and increasingly involved in urban processes, producing a specific territory and a related subjectivity.

The Camp has been considered a spatial racializing tool of government, paradigmatic of the current age. It is globally widespread as a western tool of managing excess populations but mainly conceived as a finite subject with a limited spatial manifestation: an *enclave* with specific features. Simultaneously, as recent anthropological literature has demonstrated, humanitarian morality is influencing governmentality and political discourse since the second part of the Twentieth century. Moreover, advanced capitalism increasingly functions producing surplus through the exploitation of *zoé*, the pure, biological animality of life.

In this work, I draw on post-anthropocentric and feminist theoretical references to illustrate how humanitarian spaces are entirely part of the productive urban mechanism as specific dispositive for the production of *human zoé*.

Through a theorization derived from an ethnographic-inspired study of power dynamics in a typical Camp of the Italian Reception System, I outlined a new definition of Humanitarian Space as a machinic assemblage. In particular, I described this spatial dispositive through a *diagram of power* that highlights the constitutive forces and their convergence towards a *survival threshold* dictated by humanitarian standards.

Subsequently, I analysed how the elaborate power diagram took shape in a spread and complex urban contest. I highlighted how the convergence between the Humanitarian Space and Urban process makes humanitarian assemblage a complex heterogeneous infrastructure producing a zoé-related urban territory. At the same time, this convergence allows overcoming the one-way downbeat ending that sees bodies and things

destined for oppression and depoliticization in a state of survival.
For these reasons, the research aims to underline how Humanitarian Space can no longer be defined as an “enclave” or “Anti-City” and demonstrate how it works through performative and transformative combinations of spaces and bodies and objects in circulation in urban processes. In particular, it is my goal to outline alternative strategies for planning and managing the Humanitarian Space - first in the metropolitan region of Naples, then replicable to a broader territorial dimension - which seems to increasingly contaminate practices and logics of urban governance, quickly replacing welfare strategies and policies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My PhD thesis is not simply a piece of work, but the final result of an important journey. In the last four years, I traveled on my boat and had beautiful encounters at every port, I received unselfish help and warm support.

Marilena was (and is) a priceless elder sister, Capucine a soulmate. Gaja Maestri offered me familiarity, scientific advice and material support in a difficult time abroad. Nando Sigona, Adam Ramadan and Camillo Boano have meaningfully influenced my work. To Adam I owe a particular debt of gratitude for his loving care during my ten long months in Birmingham, and for his very accurate and helpful review of my thesis. He showed me how much kind, dedicated and helpful the English academic world can be. I am still indebted to Camillo for the time and energy that he spent for me - it was a truly generous and unexpected gift. He helped me to make my thoughts clear and write them down effectively. His final revision of my thesis was fundamental. I am thankful to Daniela De Leo for her kind comments - she continues to teach me a lot. I also thank those who did not have nice words for me, as their feedback has given me the opportunity to grow and develop.

I owe an enormous acknowledgement to Emergency and the Red Cross. Without the kindness and human warmth of the Castel Volturno clinic staff, and especially of Sergio, Florence, Dino and Corina, no empirical investigation would have been possible. I have a decade-long love story with the Red Cross. To me, it is synonym with “Humanitarian”, and everything I know about it I learned mainly from this association.

I am full of joy because my doctorate research has given me the opportunity to meet my supervisor Laura Lieto. She “threw” entire libraries and brilliant insights at me. She constantly helped me refocus my work, amused me a lot and surrounded me with affection. In short, she put me in the perfect environment and conditions to make my journey with maturity and autonomy, and to go where I genuinely wanted to go. She secured my boat and was always beside its wheel. I wish everyone to meet a ‘Maestra’

able to tickle Eros for Knowledge in this way.

I always try to avoid soap opera closures, but clearly with poor results: I thank my father, Valentina, Mariele, Francesca, Rosi Braidotti, Christina of Sweden, my dearest friends, and my mother because the more I look at her, the more I feel lust for life.

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INTRODUCTION

In the twentieth century, and even more noticeably since the beginning of the new millennium, the humanitarian realm and its related socio-materiality have become central in understanding the mechanisms of the age we dwell. Their role has increasingly become of political importance. Synchronously to a pervasive and contaminating diffusion of the humanitarian morality in the political discourse (Fassin 2012), bodies, objects, norms and spaces linked to humanitarian reason have become of fundamental importance in the territory production processes. At the same time, many migratory flows around the world and their economic, socio-material and political relations are significantly changing the range of categories used so far, starting with the meaning of citizenship, inclusion and border (Mezzadra and Nielson 2013, Sigona 2015) and proposing a substantial overcoming of paradigms of duality in favour of a multiple conception of reality. By saying "Humanitarian Space", I refer to that dispositive of *care and control* (Malkki 1995) that produces *bare life* (Agamben 1995) that a kind of literature has so far called "Camp" (Agamben 1995, Agier 2002, 2011, Boano 2013, 2017, Gilroy 2004, Kaminzki 1997, Katz 2015, 2018, Kotek and Rigoulot 2001, Maestri 2019, Minca 2015a, 2015b, Petti 2007, 2013, Rahola 2003, Ramadan 2009, 2013a, 2013b, Sigona 2015).[1]

To be more precise, during my research, I realized that the difference is mainly in the vocabulary, not in the substance, whereas scholars with a more political and philosophical approach refer as "Camp" what scholars and activists more sensitive with humanitarians issues call "Humanitarian Space", emphasizing the pursuit of "political" - or at least operational – neutrality (Barnett 2011, Donini 2011, Hilhorst and Jansen 2010, HPG 2012, Yamashita 2004). Although the humanitarian actor has certainly not been a constant nor intrinsic presence in the Camp, it can definitely be said that in recent decades the vast majority of camps have been characterized by the presence of NGOs or other entities with an openly humanitarian function. The figure

1 Agamben in 1995 indicated "the Camp" as the place of production of bare life, referring to a kind of life considered comparable to that of animals, emptied of its political value. At the beginning of his research, the Italian philosopher said that "the Camp is the paradigm of modernity", attributing to this crucial concept with multiple spatial manifestations an essential role for the interpretation of the world we live in. His work has given life to a precise line of studies that has led numerous scholars to question the role and forms that this disciplinary dispositive has being assuming in relation to the management of the territory.

of the Camp and that of the Humanitarian Space are by now inextricably linked to situations characterized by an excess of population to manage, in the case of Camps whether it is intentionally established or not. Clarified the lexicon, this study is about the increasingly solid relationship between Humanitarian Space and Urban processes. What has been defined as the "paradigm of the modern era" (Agamben 1995) and a space of juxtaposition to what constitutes the City has become decisive part of it and is weaving conceptually and materially into everyday urban processes, for example through specific form of limited inclusion of human and non-human elements. Scholars such as Didier Fassin (2012) have even argued about a collectivity "founded on moral sentiments" inspired by the humanitarian reason which has become an endemic and essential feature of governance and governability. Thinking to the path that human life has taken since the beginning of the switching process from the sovereign's right to kill to the abolition of the death penalty (Foucault 1995, 2017), or to biopolitics in general, the humanitarian and moral sentiment of protection of human life seems to reach its peak precisely when political value is found in the very existence of bare life. As will be evident later, in the current territorial complexity, human life is capitalized as animal life through the existence and the production of a Humanitarian Space. The latter enables the observer to grasp the positions of what is defined as "human being" – precisely, of a specific kind of human in need to be protected but still entitled of its biological life - because entire concatenations and assemblages are entangled around the explicit aim of protecting what remains of human life in a state of vulnerability. The condition of liminality experimented in the Humanitarian Space and the imaginary threshold that divides what is human from what is "less than human" reveal the role of humanity in a context where it can no longer being imagined as the centre of the living world. The spatial, logistical and material manifestations of these forces are crucial to understand their concrete dynamics and imagine a fairer functioning.

Theoretically opposed to the Camp, the City is the place where things, population, relationships and processes gather. Historically, cities have been the place of the economic and political life, at least until their limits began to blur, disappear and dissolve into processes, blowing up their finite borders to the point that scholars argue about *planetary urbanization* (Brenner 2016). When urbanization itself became inseparable from the capitalist process and economic processes became drivers of the

space productions, the City began to produce space around them. Going further, in the drift of advanced capitalism, the densification of processes and their tendency to extract value from forms of life (Mezzadra and Neilson 2017) allowed the transition to what the feminist philosopher Rosi Braidotti (2011) calls *zoepolitics* took place. She argues that advanced (or cognitive) capitalism is progressively focusing its functioning on the *zoé*, precisely meaning the exploitation of "bare life" with no considerations for its political dimension - to explain the term above-mentioned. This Greek term that describes biological life is counterposed by the term that describes political life and which, for the reasons just mentioned, has been traditionally connected to the idea of the City understood as a place of the *polis*: the *bios*. Braidotti observed how in recent decades economic surplus has become increasingly dependent on biological life, including the human being's mere animal life. For this reason, it is also subject to *commodification*. Since the production of space is synchronic with economic processes that are increasingly entangled and dependent on the animality of human life, dispositives - understood in the Foucaltian sense - for the protection and production of bare life makes their entry into the complex theatre of the City. In particular, as Anna Tsing (2004) argued, to turn raw material into a commodity, there is a need for a concatenation of logistic, refining and service operations that transform the raw material into something that can be used to produce an effective surplus. Chains and material transformations just mentioned are the constitutive part of urban processes and territorial production. In this sense, this research aims to highlight how humanitarian assemblages contribute - albeit moved by opposite intentions - to the commodification of the *human zoé*. Furthermore, the growing attention to the *zoé* rather than to the *bìos* - namely the political dimension of life - is also inextricably intertwined with a shift of position for human beings: from the top of a metaphorical pyramid to a limited but strategic part of a living ecosystem. It is worth noting that in the contemporary cultural debate, Human Being centrality in the entire creation has become increasingly questioned (Braidotti 2014a, Deleuze and Guattari 2017, Haraway 2017, Latour 2009 et al.). It has been questioned the purpose and role of human life, the mechanisms that identify it and the forces that conceive the preservation of Humanity. On the one hand, we are facing a general crisis of Humanism, and the multiplication of philosophical and literary currents that are generally defined as "post-human" and that investigate the role of the human in the

Anthropocene, analysing reality, phenomena, and powers that shape and direct it:

The posthuman discourse is an ongoing process of different standpoints and movements, which has flourished as a result of the contemporary attempt to redefine the human condition. Posthumanism, transhumanism, new materialisms, antihumanism, metahumanism, metahumanity and posthumanities offer significant ways to rethink possible existential outcomes. [...] Posthumanism (here understood as critical, cultural, and philosophical posthumanism, as well as new materialisms) seems appropriate to investigate the geological time of the anthropocene. As the anthropocene marks the extent of the impact of human activities on a planetary level, the posthuman focuses on de-centering the human from the primary focus of the discourse. (Ferrando 2013)

On the other hand, the uniqueness of the current historical period makes the spaces involved in the migratory process the primary political battlefield, a key place for a new possible definition of "Humanity" and its position in the machinic production of the socio-material realm. Even NGOs and humanitarian actors have to face for the first time great contradictions within their Humanitarian Values in the post-human era: they defend and protect principles of humanity, equality and equity, even at the cost of renouncing to their political neutrality .[2] Bodies, spaces, things and rules captured by Humanitarian Space can, therefore, tell us a lot about these contradictions, and studying their productive mechanism can bring a significant contribution to the current academic debate. Moreover, the importance of the Humanitarian Space is strictly connected to the fact that, in our time, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are the people who most embody the animality of bare life (Mbembe 2017, Rivera 2010). For racial, economic, and political reasons, the lives of migrant people come closest to being worth as much as animal lives and being commodified for the same reason. In recent years, the management of migratory flows in the Western world has been widely discussed and problematized. Significant geopolitical changes (the changing world order, globalization, the tendency of cities to become metropolises while strengthening their infrastructural connections and their

2 On several occasions, a leading figure of the largest Humanitarian Movement in the world, the President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent, Francesco Rocca, stressed that defending human life has now become a political act: https://www.francescorocca.eu/da-quando-salvare-vite-e-diventato-un-atto-politico/?fbclid=IwAR1Brj34i7nJDsAwhhd7ByHI5l2QlHAKL8Rb5I4x3j7b8TZRnKF2dursvls

networks (Khanna 2016), etc.) affect and influence movements in an age of advanced capitalism in which we witness an overturning of the global economic hegemony to the detriment of the United States of America and above all Europe, in a decisive cultural decline (Braidotti 2015). In the European context, particularly in the Italian one, important legislative measures are changing the conception and organization of flows, bodies and spaces captured by the Humanitarian Space related to migration phenomena.[3] Although an enormous impact is expected and foreseen in the form, nature and functioning of the City,[4] scarce visibility is given to the changing materiality of cities under the pressure of global migrations, to the new spatial arrangements of local and migrant populations, to the networks of actors involved and to the apparatus that makes the mechanism work, even beyond both political intentions and regulations of governments and formal organizations. However, some scholars have studied new forms of citizenship and subjectivity related to economic productivity. Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson (2012) argued that the citizenship-labour nexus can no longer be based on the subject as "citizen-worker" and the division of labour (mainly gender-based) that supports its reproduction. In this sense, the production of a human-zoé subjectivity and a related territory can represent a (too) comfortable way to undertake. The migrant profile, especially if "irregular", also calls into question the dualism of inclusion-exclusion: it is variably included in certain areas - for example, in productive activities - but excluded in others - for example, in terms of legal recognition. This "legal production of illegality" (Mezzadra and Neilson 2012, p. 67) is often accompanied by humanitarian services, infrastructures, and performances that, evidently aimed at protecting human life, end up constituting fundamental blocks of economic and urban processes. For this reason, this work wants to highlight how the Humanitarian Space spatial model needs to be positioned and studied in a larger framework, if we want to understand what part of the urban mechanism makes it work.

3 Among the projects that try to grasp and describe this transformation, see for example Kunzig R., 'How the Latest Great Migration is Reshaping Europe', National Geographic, available at: https://www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/graphics/europe-immigration-muslim-refugees-portraits

4 World Economic Forum, (2017) Migration and Its Impact on Cities, available at: https://www.weforum.org/reports/migration-and-its-impact-on-cities?fbclid=IwAR2by2E2GbWKob2-bBjQsmZfjn1kNP5xYC9x1dJo6kF4Tec3BtsACID8eyk

The current age pushes us to question who/what the Human Being is becoming in the light of its growing intimate link with technology and critical relationship with the environment in which it lives. In this context, the creation of a close connection between urban ecosystems and dispositives of protection and control of the excess populations is undoubtedly worth attention. For these reasons, as I mentioned before, I consider Rosi Braidotti point of view concerning the role of the *zoé*, the non-political life, deeply persuasive. Like Agamben, Braidotti's work focuses on the Aristotelian differentiation between Zoé and Bìos. The feminist philosopher highlights the process that human Zoé (which in our case are the excess populations) is undergoing to and how it has to be placed in a broader process of commodification of life. According to Braidotti, the essence and fine functioning of advanced capitalism pushes in this direction: in recent decades, biological life has been capitalized more than anything else through nano and bio-technology, intensification of livestock, social profile data, etc. In short, a commodification of "animal" life (the *zoé*) in all its forms is taking place, pushing the human being to move from a humanistic centrality, and making its "bare life" an object of commodification. That is why Braidotti acknowledges the term "zoèpolitics" more pertinent than that of "biopolitics", as suggested by her teacher, Michel Foucault. Humanitarian spatial production is the socio-material manifestation of these processes of commodification of *human zoé*, albeit complex and specifically declined in single contexts. If, so far, the City has been the core of the *bios* and the Camp the place of the *zoè*, where is this undeniable convergence leading us, in spatial terms? This is the question that this research certainly does not claim to answer. As an alternative, it aims to outline traits and dynamics of this convergence, drawing the attention to the fate of the lively complexity in which we inhabit, for those who care. This research also has the ambition to demonstrate, through references and reasoning that go beyond the single discipline, how planning can and should be a practice that sees no substantial differences among materiality and spirit. The monistic point of view from which I observe the world is clarified in the first chapter, where I state explicitly my starting point: the attempt to overcome a finite and universal Subject in favour of a nomadic and posthuman Subjectivity that consequently is able to transform planning practices. For this reason, I have made extensive use of Deleuzian feminist literature. As you may have perceived, mainly due to the love born for the thoughts of Rosi Braidotti, I substantiated perplexities, frustrations, ideas and tensions I had, that could not find

words to be expressed before. Her literature, along with her masters' Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze, helped me build the horizon of meanings that frame the paradigm shift which I propose in the analysis, management and planning of the territory.[5] By acting as a facilitator of processes, those who govern and plan spaces can escape the trap of "authorship" as enshrined in the concepts of anthropocentrism, humanism and speciesism. Laying the foundations on a nomadic and rhizomatic Subjectivity has led me to use the *assemblage* as a tool for analysing reality, and more specifically the City and the Humanitarian Space as realm with a machinic and immanent functioning, by definition declined and existing only in a specific socio-material context. I outline what I refer to as "the City" in this work: if the Subject is no longer complete and universal, then what we call "City" can no longer be so; nor can the elements that create and undo it every day. It is no longer enough to define the City as the place of Politics (bìos). Nor as the place of the Market. Currently, the City is more complex than something that has a recognizable limit. It is not unique, but multiple, widespread, hybrid, and the continuous circulation of its elements in a strong relationship with different "Elsewhere" makes it alive and in a constant transformation. It has become a particular gathering of elements, a tangle of processes defined by the relationships they weave, capture and put into circulation by bonds of various kind. Moreover, space production strongly depends on economic rhizomatic processes. In our times characterized by advanced capitalism, globalization and *zoépolitics*, geographical and spatial differences have become a tool to create profits through the constant making and unmaking of - several kinds of - borders (Mezzadra and Neilson 2012). By leveraging racism, logistical and territorial differences, production processes have been multiplied, fragmented, and delocalized to increase the surplus, reduce labour costs, or reposition the skilled and unskilled workforce. Simultaneously, in recent years, the migratory flows that have poured into the cities have produced an excess of populations in specific areas where people struggle to acquire citizenship and access to rights but experience partial and limited forms of inclusion. Together with migration policies that fail to be complex and adequate to face the phenomenon, a proper excess

5 The "discovery" of this literature took place in the second part of this research and has largely conditioned the results. It is worth pointing it out because I consider significant that I, as a young scholar and during my studying and training as an architect, have never come across texts and concepts that hinted at the complexity of spatial production or stimulated a reflection on the designer's position in this process.

population for the market needs is created. Racialized bodies, not legally legitimized, not qualified enough to be authorized but at the same time recognized (Sassen 2006) and fully entitled to seek asylum and be protected. They are captured by institutional and informal camps, shelters and humanitarian spaces around the Western world and in particular in Europe. Since their presence as *zoè* in urban productive space allows to avoid relocation of production abroad, these spaces become forges of low-cost and unskilled labour kept in a state of survival by funds of humanitarian or charitable origin.

However, the Camp as device undoubtedly transformed based on site-specific economy and forms of sovereignty has always maintained a link with its colonial origin and permanently been configured as a racializing tool. At the end of the first chapter, explaining the genesis and nature of what has been defined as "Camp" or as "Humanitarian Space", I have not focused on a detailed history of this practice, nor a proper *literature review*, but rather a reasoned evolution of the model in order to clarify how the very nature of the Camp has been changing, depending on the nature of the government and on the economy of the moment. From being a dispositive deployed for the first times in colonial contexts where the administration was essentially based on the absence of regulatory structures and the state of exception continuous use, it has been remodelled from concentration camps in moments where totalitarian states amplified their sovereignty, to the UN blue helmets Camp proposed in times of liberal democracies. The wave of human rights attention that followed the Second World War ensured that the Camp protective function was accentuated. It was increasingly linked to the humanitarian presence, transforming it into a protective dispositive for human life, which led to a complete "dependency-on-welfare'' style. Nonetheless, in the last two decades, and mainly subsequently to migratory flows from Syria and southern Sahara, new camps created in not yet urbanized areas (such as the Domiz Camp or the Zaatari in the Iraqi or Jordanian deserts) have quickly acquired the appearance of cities.[6] Simultaneously, people's flows to Europe have

6 Some examples are Sibani F., (2017) 'Dai campi profughi nasceranno le città del futuro', in Internazionale available at: https://www.internazionale.it/bloc-notes/francesca-sibani/2017/06/20/campi-profughi-citta?fbclid=IwAR1pPbnV6svUCAkH5o5GkzJeIUz7G_7tZ2mf8IgP0qcR2gceASpe-Aql8RM; African Renewal, 'The refugee camp that became a city', available at: The refugee camp that became a city; ShelterBox (2012), 'Business as

forced States to expand exponentially their reception systems and to establish more or less recognized camps scattered throughout the continent. This sequence of events and the encompassing and extensive evolution of the urban dimension has led the Camp to necessarily interact with widespread urbanization, which, in turn, has begun to incorporate elements and mechanisms of this device into its production processes and governance practices. If urbanization strictly depends on the evolution of capitalist processes in the 21st Century and the Humanitarian Space is becoming a device for the commodification of human bodies, this convergence of the Humanitarian Space as a part of the City will inevitably have its repercussions on urban mechanisms.

The methodology I used to produce and interpret data is consistent with the theoretical assumptions indicated. I explain in the second chapter the phases of my investigation process that led to the definition and re-definition of this research aims and questions, in the light of my theoretical findings. The production of results was, however, characterized by a robust empirical approach. I used two different experiences, both of immersive nature, largely taking inspiration from the ethnographic method, and at the same time avoiding assuming the human being at the centre of the system. Rather, being also inspired by the Actor-Network Theory (Latour 2005, 2009), I followed the assemblage elements as differentiated actants based on their ability to impact reality and their agency, rather than based on *a priori* categories and the difference between human and non-human. In the first case, data production was made through a long period of participant observation in a typical camp of the Italian Reception System, an Extraordinary Reception Centre in the province of Rome. There, studying the oscillations of a vehicle, of a human body and a practice, I determined my idea of what the Camp is, producing a theorization of it as a machinic dispositive and outlining the functioning of its forces. To this end, I found helpful to use a Deleuzian concept to read power relations: the *power diagram*. Among other advantages, it is not linked to specific uses and socio-materiality and exclusively consider the direction of the forces in the field. The extrapolation of these forces allows clarifying the effectiveness of power in its various situated material manifestations. These characteristics have permitted me, subsequently, to track the same forces down in a different context.

usual at Domiz refugee camp', available at: Business as usual at Domiz refugee camp - Iraq; Ledwith, A. (2014) Zaatari: The Instant City, Boston: Affordable Housing Institute available at: Zaatari: The Instant City

In the second case, data production was made through an ethnographic study of the humanitarian assemblage of Castel Volturno, a peculiar town near Naples and Caserta. The interaction with the complex world of Castel Volturno allowed me to recognize the functioning of the power diagram in a context that is not recognizable at first sight as a "Camp" - rather defined and treated as urban - albeit characterized by the presence of a significant excess population and of a materiality considered as "waste". In the same chapter, I clarify ethnographic positionality and explicit the factors that prompted me to use my biographical profile as a humanitarian activist in choosing the position, with the most achievable and comprehensive accessibility. Subsequently, I study the machinic functioning of the Camp through the analysis of my working experience in a Reception Centre, which I had before engaging in this research. By observing the oscillation of three elements - a human body, a car and a practice (the distribution of food) -, I have realized that the point of maximum performativity of the Camp-assemblage is reached when all the elements are in a *state of survival*. The survival threshold curiously coincides with a precise *minimum standard* which humanitarian actors have an interest in guaranteeing to prevent the dignity of human life from falling below acceptable levels. For this reason, the survival threshold is also an imaginary place where the most significant humanitarian presence is located. Ultimately, however, in addition to the humanitarian agency, all the forces of the Camp assemblage push towards the same threshold: the funding of such a system comes in the vast majority of cases from outside, from third parties and acts of humanity (often NGOs are financed by large and small private donations or, as in the case of the Italian Reception System, most of the funds are of European origin). In the latter specific case, the financing is stable, and the actors in charge of the service have to distribute resources to avoid large output imbalances. In addition to this, it must be considered that the most of the resources have to be deployed for increasing vulnerabilities (in human elements) and for malfunctions (in non-human elements) or for triggering specific empowerment paths (human) or efficiency (non-human). This dynamic inevitably implies that the diagram ideal equilibrium is reached precisely in the middle: in that state of "minimum indispensable" that allows the Camp not to waste resources while fulfilling the purpose of its existence (protecting and managing human life in excess). The image of the forces that summarize the power diagram make this dynamic visually clear. This study on the functioning was

then completed by observing how this humanity in a state of survival increasingly becomes a labour force at meagre cost and inadequate protection. Entrepreneurs “hire out” asylum seekers which are guests of the Reception Centres because room and board costs can be deducted from their salary. This represents the most distinctive evidence of how productivity uses the *zoé* (and therefore the dispositives that produce it) to meet the market needs that seek an increasingly cheaper and more flexible (in terms of mobility and protection) workforce. Once the Humanitarian Space machinic functioning has been theorized, I try to recognize its dynamics in an undoubtedly urban place, characterized by a specific accumulation of elements considered “waste” or “excess”.

In the fourth chapter, thanks to the experience I had in Castel Volturno, I offer concrete evidence of how these forces - albeit with their unpredictable material drifts - characterize the functioning of a territory which, for various reasons, is a catalyst of socio-materiality in a state of survival. What happens, then, is that the forces of power diagram in a territory resonating with the concept of “minimum indispensable” not only constantly capture and make external elements circulate, but also infect nearby elements and actants, pushing them to perform according to the moral logic: “I do the bare minimum, but I do it with Humanity”. The continuous friction between humanitarian space and urban processes produces hybridizations on both sides. If it is true that the power diagram captures and infects properly urban elements, institutions and means of government (producing administrations that perform as humanitarians and humanitarian actors that acquire negotiating power and government functions), it is true, at the same time, that the contact of the Camp with the City produces an inevitable short circuit of both. As I have done in the previous part of this research, through the stories of elements that move in an oscillatory way on the power diagram, I try to outline the trajectory of three human elements and one infrastructural practice, confirming that striving towards a state of survival or being a “waste” is a decisive capture factor. At the same time, being overwhelmed by vulnerability or taking paths of inclusion (intercepting urban processes of legitimizing existence through work, etc.) are factors of repulsion and escape from this kind of space - with more or less favourable outcomes, obviously depending on cases. Unlike the Camp as a Heterotopic and Other space, the possibility of intercepting urban

processes amplifies the potential of undertaking paths of escape from oppression. In short, what has so far been presented as a dispositive with a one-way ending, finds in the intrinsically unpredictable nature of urban processes the opportunity for an open and often creative evolution. As I explained in the conclusions, the consequence of this process of contact and hybridization is that “the Camp”, described so far as a heterotopic and oppressive space for the production of bare life, can instead be transformed into a potentially neutral infrastructural dispositive that preserves the nature of the forces created and the characteristics the City is using them for. If the City needs flexible and temporary platforms and infrastructures, let this need be recognized and the processes facilitated to make the horizons of affirmation that we are not yet able to imagine in detail become real and material. Let the production and cyclic dissolution of non-canonical infrastructures be facilitated, capable of, at the same time, favouring the transformation of the negative, of oppression and the construction of socio-material concatenations in support of living humans and non-humans. Among other things, the moment we live in is decisive. This work is a modest voice that speaks from the second year of the Covid 19 pandemic and wants to join the debate searching for a glimmer of light that inevitably filters through the breaking points. We have deconstructed and are deconstructing structures and habits, expanding the space of transformation of urban processes. There is a definite possibility of rethinking the relationship between activities and spaces. Moving and transforming work, educational and productive activities into the home space is already in itself a questioning of a paradigm that is changing things - too long to be a state of temporariness that will bring things back as we conceived them before. The temporariness is among us permanently. In this crack between the solid certainties, critical thoughts must be inserted to seek new horizons, even currently unimaginable, without pretending to find clear short-term answers but having faith in the very act of walking. In this specific condition, the responsibility and vocation of planning are to imagine the concrete steps to bridge the gap created between present materiality and the future horizon. If the goal is still not visible, if the overall path is not clear, but there is confidence in the ability that the processes of research itself and the production of knowledge have to produce new scenarios, then we can believe that continuing to contribute to a multiple debate in the same direction, may finally create material conditions we do not see now and change the paradigm of our lifestyles.

CARTOGRAPHY OF REFERENCES

This research wants to overcome disciplinary specificity by trying to think of space, matter and bodies as a tangible manifestation of invisible dynamics and relationships. Although it may seem odd to begin arguing urban planning research from strictly philosophical questions, this is the main reason: a monistic conception of reality. I attempt to formulate a discourse by clarifying both the need to change the cultural paradigm and the tangible processes, expressing then, step by step, open but concrete suggestions. This chapter is a "Cartography" because it creates a free connection between concepts without providing a complete critique of the entire relevant literature nor framing it in a particular hierarchy or chronological order. So, the Deleuzian Cartography as "experimentation grasping the real that favours the connection of fields" (Amara 2016) is the best idea for my intentions. I clarify, critique and draw a framework of references deliberately based on what is needed to provide a network of evidence around my point. Firstly, this chapter will clarify what is meant by "subject" by relating it to the era we live in the Western world, particularly in Europe, taking great inspiration from feminist and posthuman theories. In particular, drawing on the idea that our age is characterized by the repositioning of the human being caused in particular by advanced capitalism that produces capital on the *zoè* - biological and animal life (human life included) (Braidotti 2014a) -, I have assumed in my investigation the fact that space production cannot ignore this shift in the position of humanity with respect to the rest of living and non-living reality. The concept of assemblage is the idea that, in this sense, most materializes the idea of subjectivity resulting from the intersection of relationships, existing only if linked to specific bodies, things, economies and spaces, and constantly in transformation. As a conceptual analysis tool particularly suited to complexity, it was beneficial for recognizing both humanitarian space and urban processes and allowed me to understand how these two functionings meet each other in a constant mechanism of capture and repulsion of the elements.

I will then give a frame of reference of the concept of "City" I am talking about: in this case, the assemblage helped me to overcome the idea of the City as the place of the *polis*. Given the positional shift of the human being that I have just mentioned, it would be anachronistic to think that the City is the delimited place of politics, citizenship and bìos. Not because it no longer is, but rather, if what triggers economic

interests powerfully drive the production of urban processes, and at this moment there is undoubtedly a proliferation of economic processes around the zoé, then it is of my interest to recognize and outline economic-urban processes of space production linked to the human zoé. Through a short literature review of the concept of Camp, I will try to tell how it has been defined up to now, especially by the Agambenian literature. However, I will highlight how it has taken different forms depending on the historical-geographical context and how, starting from the last decades, it is incredibly converging towards dynamics and physical characteristics of urban space and increasing its humanitarian characterization. This direction taken is an additional sign of this convergence between humanitarian space and urban processes, inscribed in broader economic-philosophical changes but recognizable in the tangible reality of the space we dwell in. In short, if the animality of human life is commodified and there is an economic-urban process around it, this means that a particular production of territory is connected to this new form of subjectivity.

RETHINKING THE SUBJECT

In August 2016, the International Geological Congress held in Cape Town officially recognised the Anthropocene geological era's beginning. Although the term had been widespread for decades thanks to Nobel laureate Paul Crutzen and other scholars, the conference recognised the Holocene overcoming starting from the 1950s. The delineation of this new geological era was due to recognising the irreversible impact of human being on planet Earth (Carrington 2016). The enormous change in climatic factors, the presence of plastic particles that future generations will find as fossils and other particles deriving from fossil fuels combustion, the above-average increase in plant and animal species extinctions are only the main factors that prompted the scientific community to say that the Earth is changing direction and that the human being has become largely capable of influencing the planet. In the process of collective recognition of the changing position of the human being concerning the existing life, this has undoubtedly been one of the most significant awareness

in recent years. According to Braidotti (2019), currently, humans and non-humans living on Planet Earth are in a condition defined by the intersection between the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the Sixth Extinction: while the spread of advanced technologies, the use of the internet, nanotechnologies, robotics and biotechnology creates an increasingly clear distinction between what is digital, what is physical and what is biological (and significantly accelerates advanced capitalism's interest in *zoé*), human activities increase the speed of climate change, facilitating the extinction of many living species. This convergence is global, multi-scalar, and it impacts materially, socially and economically on all the assemblages affected by urban processes. It is increasingly evident that what happened with the Anthropocene is due to the pyramidal conception of life on earth, which has tended to see the Man - ideally understood as a western heterosexual white male - at its top. Therefore, if it is true that this positioning of Humanity has led to the point of no return and that it is now necessary to embrace a change of perspective, it is true, at the same time, that it is also necessary to question the principles that have built the subject and the Humanist culture from which it derives.

THE POSTHUMAN SUBJECT: BEYOND HUMANISM

Drawing on the assumption that we can no longer continue to think with categories that have created today's unequal world, the call for the dismantling of old categories has accompanied history throughout most of the twentieth century, often following radicalizations that played the role of highlighting their limits. The intersection between technological changes, discoveries, philosophical reflections and political struggles have led, especially in the last century, to an accelerated journey towards questioning what has been considered "human" until now. The word "Man" is no longer sufficient to indicate the whole of humanity since the philosophical debate has questioned the idea of a finite and universal subject, reasoning, instead, around the idea of a nomadic subject defined on the basis of its relationships. Simultaneously, the need has emerged to overcome the Marxist culture, which sees the class struggle as

the way out from oppression and inequality of capitalism. The current epochal crisis of the political left is linked to the substantial failure of this social "care" inscribed in the Hegelian dialectic. The latter consists of believing firstly in the existence of a thesis (finite, universal, evolving subject) and its antithesis (negation of the subject, historically assimilated to the idea of Otherness). Secondly, the Hegelian dialectic believes in the process of contrast between thesis and antithesis, between the subject and his Other, as a necessary process to arrive at the synthesis as the manifestation of the Universal Reason. In the cultural transposition of the Hegelian dialectic there is, thus, an acceptance of the idea that the *negative*, the Otherness as an opposition to the subject, is a necessary "travail" for the manifestation of God. As a painful manifestation in the form of opposition, Otherness and difference, therefore, take on a negative and devaluing conception. Furthermore, assuming that the subject was inevitably the Man - heterosexual white male human being - it is not difficult to imagine how the concept of Otherness has historically been linked to the Woman, the racialized body, animal species, and everything that differed from what was assumed as the subject. For these reasons, the Hegelian background of Marxist theory indissolubly links the class struggle or any other form of opposition and revolution to the role of antithesis and marks a political modus operandi which at the end of the twentieth century manifested its decline. The questioning of Hegelian theories and cultures of the negative - as Braidotti calls them - emerged following the tragedy of the Second World War. If, according to Hegel, the negative and the world's pain, even if not understandable by the limited human reason, remained essential and necessary for the manifestation of the Universal Reason in history, this global tragedy has forced thinkers to question that the price to pay for the manifestation of God in history was the genocide of a people. The subsequent philosophical currents, in fact, began to question Hegel, his idea of the subject and the dialectical process as the functioning of reality, to the point of questioning the Cartesian separation of the world between Spirit and Matter. In particular, the questioning of Cartesian ideas led to a recovery of Spinoza's monistic philosophy, especially following the spread of Deleuze's work. The philosophy of Deleuze and his love for Spinoza have begun to represent, in recent decades, a proper alternative to Marxist culture, to the conceptual hegemony of Descartes and, in particular, of Hegel, still considered by many to be the last great philosophic systems. As Braidotti would say, that was an excellent opportunity to

overcome the culture of the negative, the Hegelian dialectical antithesis: overcoming the definition of the Woman as a lack, the idea of Otherness as devaluation, the melancholy that has undergone politics for centuries, the psychoanalytic idea of repression and the negative definition of desire is the way for the creation of a reality freer from oppression. In particular, I find that posthuman feminism resonates very strongly with my view of things because the path towards overcoming traditional categories and the traditional conception of the subject began with the shift of attention from the body of the Man to Woman's body, to then open up, complete and develop in the culture of differences and the conception of a multiple, ecosystemic and rhizomatic reality. Braidotti writes:

"The feminist woman-subject is one of the terms in a process that must not and cannot be forced into a simplification that reduces it to a form of linear and teleological subjectivity. It should be seen as the intersection of subjective desire and the will for social transformation. [...] The feminist subject is nomadic because it is intensive, multiple, embodied and therefore perfectly cultural." (Missana 2014)

The feminist woman-subject comes to terms with the nomadism of our historical condition and is the only one who can dialogue with the complexity and current transformation of things and territories: porous, permeable, unfinished and defined by external relations. This cultural process of questioning the subject, this shift of focus from the body of Man to that of Woman, starts taking shape with the work of Simone de Beauvoir in the mid-nineteenth century. Overcoming both Marxist historical materialism and the hysterical materialism[7] of psychoanalysis, Simone de Beauvoir gave life to a philosophical current later defined as Material feminism, specifically focusing on the body. The early inspiration to this approach can be identified in particular with the publication of her book *The second sex* (de Beauvoir 1949) where she presents a new vision of the body, conceived as an experience, as lived matter, a memory and a witness of facts. Since then, according to Braidotti, the experience of feminist thinking about

7 Rosi Braidotti thus defines Freud's theories and their subsequent complexification of Lacan which see the materialization on the body of unconscious traumas in Braidotti, R. in Lecture at the Transdisciplinary Course of Gender a.a. 2009/2010, Alma Mater Studiorum - University of Bologna and Orlando Association, Rosi Braidotti: Il Neo Materialismo Contemporaneo, 3rd May 2010, https://vimeo.com/12093925

the body has not been limited to the creation of a new materialism but has been exploring new methods of research that question the paradigm of Humanism, rejecting, on the one hand, the Cartesian dualism of separation between mind and body, and on the other hand, the universalist perspectives. With Michel Foucault (2016), the materiality of the body gets more into focus. Indeed, just before capitalism dematerialized away with the old concept of industrial production (and becoming focused on information, data, knowledge about life in the late 1990s)[8] Foucault was putting corporeal materialism as the base of biopolitics. In that context, the notion of Other was being developed along dynamic axes of categorical differentiation, automatically multiplying the number of possible Alterities and identifying *sexualization, racialization* and *naturalization* as the principal axes of differentiation. It is at this moment that the resistance of feminist movements, LGBT and human rights activists explodes: starting from the 70s, the struggles for the rights of sexual and racial minorities and those for human rights (which gave rise to the second wave of humanitarian organizations explained later) have been the political expression of this cultural shift questioning the Humanistic subject. According to Braidotti (2014a), this is the moment in which Humanism ended. With the publication of Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things* in 1966, we became aware that the way the human being had always been conceived was wobbling. It was at this time that even old materialism ended. Capitalism quickly dematerialized mainly in favour of a global-scale production of knowledge and capital. Along with the decline of this conception of the subject, Europe began its decline. By "European decline", I firstly mean a crisis in the concepts of "European subject" and "Europe", and secondly, a current internal crisis deriving from the EU's own sovereignty-oriented member states, that can bring it to a fatal loss of economic power and influence in the globalized world, if not more existing as a Union[9].

Regarding the concept of "Europe" and mentioning Husserl's *Crisis of the European sciences*, Braidotti argues that "Europe" is not a geopolitical position, but rather "a universal attribute of the human mind that can lend its qualities to every appropriate

8 See Braidotti 2014a and Gorz 2003 which refer to the so-called "cognitive capitalism".

9 See, for example, Hall P. A., The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis, in German Politics, 2012, 21:4, 355-371, Nelli Feroci, F., Perchè malgrado tutto l'Europa ci conviene, in CeSPI (Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale) del 20 Sett. 2018, and http://www.cespi.it/it/eventi-note/articoli/perche-malgrado-tutto-leuropa-ci-conviene, and https://www.infodata.ilsole24ore.com/2018/10/23/leconomia-globale-in-una/

object" (Braidotti 2014a).

According to Husserl, Europe presents itself as the place of origin of critical and self-reflexive reason, qualities that both refer to the Humanist norm. Identical only in itself, Europe transcends its specificity as universal consciousness, or rather, presents the power of transcendence as its distinctive feature and humanistic universalism as its peculiarity. This makes Eurocentrism something more than a matter of contingent attitude: it is a structural element of our cultural practice, rooted even in theories and in institutional pedagogical practices. [...] This Eurocentric paradigm implies the dialectic between the self and the other, as well as the binary logic of identity and otherness, as engines of the cultural logic of universal Humanism. (Braidotti 2014a, p.23, translation by the author)

What defines the Human, in short, has been closely linked to the concept of "Europe", and the reasons that undermine Humanism also undermine the Western world that is culturally based on these foundations. In this moment of crisis, when Man loses his central position in the vision of the world, the *vulnerability* of the Human is revealed, and in some way, its *marginality*: Man is no longer the centre of the Universe and the Knowledge. This kind of crisis opens a fissure in that solid certainty that has always characterized the conception of *existence* in the West until this moment. The unknown and unknowable of this fissure puts Man in a position of vulnerability, forcing him to admit that he is not the only and the strongest influential actor in reality. Hierarchy principle was questioned too. The existence of the human being in the world was placed in an ecosystemic relationship to the rest of creation, finally recognizing that the subject is given only through the relationship and intersection of multiple elements. These ideas remained latent until the end of the 1990s, with the only exception of Donna Haraway in the mid-1980s (Haraway 1985). Haraway shifts the focus from Human to biotechnology, in particular to optical biotechnology, which increases the collective ability of visualization and highlights the establishment of an optical-political regime, able to penetrate even in the most intimate structure of living matter, transforming and managing it (including human bodies), making visible the invisible, structuring what has no form, but, above all, overcoming the linearity of time and asymmetrical binary thinking. The "Man" was no longer considered just as a natural body opposed to an artificial body, and neither a body conceived exclusively

in biological terms. Haraway's thinking inaugurated a kind of materialism that no longer implied an inert vision of matter: matter was no longer passive, dead material. It became vital, capable of self-organization and lighting, active part of multiple terrestrial movements. At the same time, feminist literature favoured the process of redefining the subject through the debate on gender. Feminist theorists, Judith Butler in particular, pointed out that gender is constantly culturally constructed and *performed* rather than being inevitably tied to an alleged naturalness deriving from biological sex.

[...] gender cannot be understood as a role which either expresses or disguises an interior 'self,' whether that 'self' is conceived as sexed or not. As performance which is performative, gender is an 'act,' broadly construed, which constructs the social fiction of its own psychological interiority. (Butler 1988, p. 528)

By presenting gender as performative, Butler breaks the consequential link between sex and behaviour, between identity and action:

[...] gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various act proceede; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time - an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts. (Butler 1988, p. 519)

Questioning the consequential nexus between "who is" and "who does" through the breakthrough of performative gender, we come to a different understanding of action in general. Action is released from the "nature" of the subject who performs it. Such an understanding led me, in this research, to release the materiality and the discourses of the actors involved in the actions under my focus, from the nature of actions themselves. Through such release, I was able to identify repetitions of "humanitarian performances" acted by presumably governmental actors as well as a *stylized repetition of* [governmental] *acts* performed by humanitarian institutions. Not just gender is under scrutiny, in feminist philosophy. The body is too. On this note, Butler affirms that the body is the materialization of a historical situation, of a cultural doing and undoing. In other words, it is a *"manner of doing, dramatizing, and reproducing a historical situation"*. (Butler 1988, p. 521) Moreover, she recently focused on the performative power of bodies that gather together. In this perspective, the American scholar argues that the body and its flesh have political weight regardless

and beyond discourse: although in a different way from what we have known so far, bodies still gather, and their union has no political significance related to the meaning of what they say, but to the performance that they do, as in a vigil or a funeral:

Assemblage expresses a meaning that exceeds what is said, and this mode of signification is itself a corporeal and concerted action, a plural performative form. (Butler 2017)

According to Butler, acting together can constitute an incarnated form of contestation of the most recent and robust dominant conceptions of the political, if linked to the plural and performative right of appearance. The exposure and the acknowledgement of gathered bodies can become the basis of their resistance, even if they remain silent. Butler here is talking of gathered bodies as "any bodies" getting together, even those bodies living in subaltern, voiceless and marginalized worlds. In essence, the American philosopher argues that *the gathering of human zoé is, in itself, political.* This is the point of greatest distance from the concept of "bare life" proposed by Agamben, in which the excluded is deprived of the ability to ally and resist:

[...] if what we try to do - says Butler - is to consider exclusion as a political problem, as part of politics itself, then it is not enough to say that, once excluded, these beings lose appearance or "reality" in political terms, which have no social and political status, or that they are abandoned and reduced to mere being (all forms of "existence" precluded to the sphere of action). Nothing so metaphysically extravagant must happen, if we agree that one of the reasons why the political sphere can not be defined by the classical conception of the polis is that we would deprive ourselves of a language capable of understanding the forms of agency and of resistance undertaken by the dispossessed. Those who are in conditions of radical exposure to violence, deprived of the most fundamental political and legal forms of protection, are not for this reason outside the field of politics, nor are they deprived of any form of agency. (Butler 2017)

It is worth noticing that body alliances are not only made *on* infrastructures (roads, squares, centres, etc.) but *for* infrastructures: numerous examples can be made to support this idea, first of all, the frequent meetings and spontaneous protest assemblies in reception centres, temporary camps along the European borders, shantytowns in different parts of the world: alliances of bodies fighting for access to primary urbanization (water, roads, electricity, etc.), for access to work, for a

liveable place to live and for some necessary resources in order to have a bearable life, as if these infrastructures were collaborative *agencies*. In this perspective, an extraordinary concentration of allied bodies on a given territory, even if [and precisely because] not officially recognized, becomes a political presence of resistance simply by being gathered and creating connections between them. Moreover, as Simone already argued in "People as Infrastructure", (Simone 2004) their alliances of various kinds, where they are located and connected to a specific materiality, become, in themselves, *infrastructure*. As will be illustrated later, it will be interesting to note how this aggregative capacity of bodies and the materiality related to them can become, in the case of this research, a *humanitarian infrastructure*. What I argue, on the basis of the concepts just illustrated, is that from Humanitarian Space and urban processes convergence, new possibilities for making infrastructure can arise. However, returning to the question of the subject's re-definition: the historical debate solicited by feminists on the questioning of the subject as finite, transcendent and universal has led to considering in its creative process also non-human elements, as well as a certain degree of undefinition and "mobility". In particular, the definition of "Man" as the universal human being underlies the convention that exists a given subject and an Otherness to the subject itself. As mentioned before, the first form of life considered "Other" compared to what is "Man" is undoubtedly the Woman: she has always been defined as unfathomable and irrational[10] , as "subject-Other". This type of objectification also affects the animal world. By perceiving animal life as Other than the Self, the dignity of the subject and the sensory capacities have been deprived of animal life, ending up being conceived as an object. This devaluation of animality, on closer inspection, not only unites the speciesist thought that tends to consider the human species as the only one to possess a conscience but is also used as a criterion of objectification to discredit the figure of the Woman and non-white human beings. *Sexualization, racialization* and *naturalization* are, therefore, the three axes along which life, particularly human beings, measures its Otherness and its difference from what is normalized by social devices. It is based

10 Irrationality meant as "Other than Reason", where the latter is wholly assimilated from Descartes onwards to the idea of God. The Reason, first in Descartes, but above all in Hegel, has been defined as God's manifestation, Divine's and Universe's manifestation. What is Other than Reason and Other than a God conceived as a Man-subject is defined on the basis of specific negativity, a lack.

on this complex distancing from the norm that certain human beings are unable to reach the status of complete *human*, not if by "human" we mean the idea of a subject inherited by us from the Enlightenment:

The Cartesian subject of the cogito, the Kantian "community of reasonable beings", or, in more sociological terms, the subject as citizen, rights-holder, property-owner, and so on. (Wolfe 2010)

In short, to put it as Braidotti would say: '*We are all humans, but some of us are just more mortal than others*'. (Braidotti 2013, p.15) Therefore, all the "Others" with a recognizable human aspect, sexualized, racialized and naturalized and reduced to disposable bodies are *less-than-humans*. For this reason, what Agamben defines as *bare life* is the result of processes of weakening and stripping of the human being from connections, desire and support system in the surrounding environment that reduce it to be "just zoé". This is the case of black lives, refugees, migrant people hooked to the social system because they are bodies capable of still being a workforce. These are the lives that Bauman (2004) calls "wasted lives", Rahola (2003) "humanity in excess", and which I will try to describe here as a crucial element of a specific territorial production. Being sure that would be an error to reduce the complexity of reality to a type of subjectivity that can no longer grasp the world, I think it is necessary to embrace the rhizomatic nature of the subject, without forgetting to recognize its mutability, its oscillations that depend, time after time, by the bonds it creates. Rosi Braidotti (2011) defines him as "nomadic", not defined by its shortcomings, but rather as a *subject-in-becoming*.

The subject is a process, made of constant shifts and negotiations between different levels of power and desire, that is to say, entrapment and empowerment. Whatever semblance of unity there may be is no Godgiven essence, but rather the fictional choreography of many levels of a relational self into one socially operational self, within a monistic ontology. The implication is that what sustains the entire process of becoming-subject is the will to-know, the desire to say, the desire to speak; it is a founding, primary, vital, necessary and therefore original desire to become. (Braidotti2014b, p.169)

Reconsidering the Humanitarian Space starting from this type of subjectivity becomes, in my opinion, the first step to get out of the grip of oppression. If the "bare life"

is, in fact, the victim of dispositives that inscribe the subject in a general idea of Otherness and oppression, the less-than-human is a nomadic human being whose subjectivity is made up of forces and relationships that bind him. However, being a subject determined by the intersection of external relations, it finds in them an opportunity to escape from a travailed destiny already marked. So, what happens when that same subjectivity is captured by an urban practice and manages to transform the humanitarian assemblage that lives into opportunities?

FROM SUBJECTIVITY TO ASSEMBLAGE

How to translate these theoretical assumptions into a methodology for the investigation of the territory? If the subject is nomadic, rhizomatic and not universal, then the most versatile structure to understand both the different practical manifestations of the humanitarian space and the densification of processes that characterize the City is the concept of *assemblage*. As Beauregard (2012, p.11) clearly summarizes:

Four qualities define an assemblage: 1. network formations with 2. heterogeneous elements that engage in 3. fluid relationship, and 4. achieve consequences through their mutually, constitutive interaction.

[...] to develop a way of thinking about reality that does not assume that humans are active and the rest of the world passive, that recognizes that humans do not act alone (that is, without tools or without meaningful interactions with non-humans) and that proposes, therefore, that any significant action in the world involves heterogeneous elements. My focus is on four of them: 1. humans 2. non-human things; 3. tools or technology and 4. ideas.

We also mean assemblage as a "spatial order of a particular kind" that "can not be reduced to a socio-spatial pattern" (Beaureguard and Lieto 2013, p. 15). In his *Reassembling the social*, Latour (2005) states that the constituent elements of reality are not individuals or elements, but rather actor-networks (or assemblages). To understand reality from this point of view and find the courage to change perspective, we need

to overcome two great divides that the modern world has largely assimilated and which are still the expression of a humanistic point of view of Eurocentric derivation: culture/nature, and formal/informal (Beaureguard and Lieto 2013). To overcome the first divide, we need to put human and non-human on the same level: each element is considered an actant in the assemblage, as long as it is able to change the network itself (making it work, influencing its dynamics, interrupting its existence).

[...] things have equal weight in determining actions within an assemblage; trees, hares, and speed-bumps are practically equivalent ways to action. [...] The impetus for an assemblage stems mainly from humans, but that impetus is only realized when culture and nature are bridged. (Beaureguard and Lieto 2013, p. 12)

The second divide concerns the conception of formal reality as separate from the "informal world". Planners have always considered and designed a formal world as an expression of the prevailing structure of the dominant culture, and ignored an overflowing informal world considered irregular, anomalous or even illegal in its entirety, sometimes even indirectly facilitating its criminalization:

[informal practices] are not the manifestation of anarchy, chaos or social disorganization set in dichotomous opposition to formality, orderliness, and organization. Rather, these practices constitute the adaptive relations of assemblages. [...] If we reject the formal/informal divide, informality is no longer the prerogative of the global south and a marginal issue in the global north. Even in northern/western cities, informality arises continuously in co-functioning chains that connect humans and non-humans with objects and technologies. (Beaureguard and Lieto 2013, p. 15)

Simultaneously, although it is not the only regulatory agency in socio-materiality, the economy remains a fundamental and powerful driver of actual reality. Capitalism is, in fact, the general economic system that orients forces and matter, and its current organization allows at the same time the inequalities produced by cultural devices to take shape and to embody their immanence. Trying to depart from an exclusively Marxist conception of the economic system, I was inspired by the work of Anna Tsing, an American anthropologist who reflects on the possibility of life in capitalist ruins. In particular, in *The Mushroom at the end of the world* (Tsing 2015), she describes and imagines an essential change of perspective towards the capitalist

system, trying to frame and suggest a way out of the monopolizing interpretation that sees capitalism as a monster capable of also appropriating the processes that contest it. Anna Tsing shows us a vision of capitalism that overcomes the oppressive and productive conception as a social inequality agent, through the study of the various assemblages intertwined with the Matsutake mushroom – a pricey, luxury food on the Japan market no longer growing in Japan but surprisingly thriving among the ruins of former industrial forests in North America, home of derelict land and deprived communities. The Matsutake assemblage exists through the global dimension of production and supply chains bringing it to Japanese high-end restaurants, but also thanks to the peculiarities of local communities, the attitudes of their individuals, the places where they have settled, the technology they use and the matter that connects them. This intertwining of actions, on which humans have no decision-making power (this type of mushroom cannot be cultivated, there are no training courses to prepare gatherers for his research but only life experiences that have developed special skills, it is not possible to decide where to make them grow and when, it is not possible to standardize their price, etc.), comes to life spontaneously and for a series of contingent and synergistic positive factors, and generates production and well-being among the actors involved, including humans. This perspective, therefore, seems to open up hope for the existence of an alternative vision to the existing economic system, a more neutral and contingent one, whose mechanisms are already in place among us, but which we still often fail to recognize. Furthermore, this fluctuating concatenation allows the desires and individual vocations of its elements to *affirm* themselves, escaping and transforming the negative. Its functioning is not pyramidal but leaves room for singularities to assert themselves, constantly become Other from Self, and function for the collective without central management of processes. In a context in which, especially at this moment, it is necessary to take a step back from the idea of controlling migratory flows and the spaces that host them, acknowledging the existence of a self-organized, spontaneous and self-generating system parallel to the formally recognized one - possibly made also of new form of infrastructures -, I believed that such a change of perspective could be a fertile basis for my research, which intended to propose a planning vision able to acknowledge, analyse and overcome a way of governing territories that no longer manages to live up to our times.

Since this research questions the convergence between humanitarian space and urban processes, I am interested in clarifying my references in the field of planning and urban studies in general. In this sense, I argue that what made possible the encounter between the City and the Camp - conceived until recently as a heterotopia - is, firstly, a non-stop global urban drift, and the difficulty, today, in recognizing the threshold of distinction between what is urban and what is not. This difficulty has led scholars to mainly use the term "urban processes" rather than imagining a City as a defined entity. This "bleeding" of the borders has consequently led to imagine the urban space as the place where these processes are concentrated in a continuous functioning that produces territory by ceaselessly capturing and discarding elements. In this sense, the City is a *thickening of assemblages*. Precisely this machinic functioning allows it to include humanitarian assemblages in its processes, pushing them into a strategic position of convenience from which, as will be explored in the next chapter, *zoé* becomes a low-cost workforce. For these reasons, this operation is in no way intended to be a sharp definition of what is urban and what is not. Instead, by inserting the urban functioning in this cartography, it aims to be part of the vast debate on the City and the territory. In recent decades scholars have recognized the growing complexity of what had been defined as "City": even more so, under the pressure of planetary urbanization (Brenner 2016), they needed a new grammar to read and make sense of it. Drawing on Foucault's work, particularly on *Security, Territory, Population*, we can redefine the idea of sovereignty over a territory shifting from the sovereignty of the King to the notion of governmentality. In this passage the tools of territorial management change too. It is from the end of the 16th century that, according to Foucault, the transition from the existence of the people to what is now called "population" takes place, a transition that is justified to manage large masses of individuals within modern economy. In short, the passage takes place from a body considered uniform to a multiple and heterogeneous one, which therefore also requires the most articulated and complex management of its living spaces and functions. This shift ensures that the city begins to be considered as a space for circulation managed by the "police" (understood as "the set of means that serve to increase the forces of

the state, guaranteeing the good order of the state itself"(Foucault 2017)) and the use of statistics as a tool for measuring and managing heterogeneity. This type of question arises from the moment in which states must necessarily measure themselves with wealth and at the same time find a balance between them. However, although wealth (and therefore, production potential) is very closely related to population growth, wealth cannot be expected to grow only in a way that is directly proportional to population. From this point on, the government of the population and the territory depends on various factors which, taken together, facilitate the production of wealth: a State is no longer inhabited by subjects as "arms destined for work", but by a complex spectrum of forces that can be read, recorded, developed and strategically addressed (also through decisions like *not* taking as census, as is evident in the case - even of this research - of the exploitation of low-cost labour by less-than-human). So, the modern state thrives on the homeostasis of wealth creation processes and the management of bodies and forces based on self-policing rather than repressive regulation. Indeed, it is on the basis of this transformation that new forces, other than classical government, come into play whenever a new demand, a new process needs to be addressed: most recently, the contribution of the humanitarian world – to which the management of certain types of populations is delegated – represents a new manifestation of this search for homeostasis: the elements are left free to play with each other in a heterogeneous context and allow the functioning of a mechanism that would work in a non-advantageous way without the humanitarian logic. Furthermore, if "police" and "urbanization" are the same thing, (Foucault 2017, p. 241) the elimination of the disorder for which police exists becomes, in our time, a function exercised beyond the institutional bodies: for this reason, humanitarians become part of the practices of governmentality (embodying, as will be explained later, a typical coexistence of *care* and *control* (Malkki 1995)). In the late 1990's, James Scott (1998) explored this question in *Seeing Like a State,* underlying how the State manages to make the social fabric readable through bureaucratic processes of simplification of lives. This effort of simplification and readability by the State is aimed at implementing policies for the good of the population. However, as Scott rightly points out, the very concept of "good" and its political horizon derive from a cultural positioning of Eurocentric origin. In places where, therefore, the cultural epistemes are multiple and/or do not coincide with the Western ones, this type of

territorial management ends up proving to be unsuccessful for the wellness and affluence of the actual population. The very dividing line between what is considered "formal city" and what ends up in the heterotopic cauldron of "informal" is the exact expression of what is acknowledged as "similar" and what, instead, is relegated to a role of Otherness. As Lisa Bjorkman (2015, p. 6-7) asserts, over the years, various scholars have criticized the Eurocentric and universalizing assumption of generations of urban planners, proposing to abandon a vision of informality as an excluded, oppressed and marginalized fabric, in favour, somewhat, of a recognition of "urban instantiations of modes of life rooted in indigenous cultural practice". In short, they are there, regardless of the value judgment given by the most powerful culture in that context. Although I am aware that specific cultural categories are intrinsically part of us and that liberation from them is constituted by a long process of recognition and overcoming, I have constantly tried to encounter the reality that has absorbed me in this research as an instance that worked according to logics not definable a priori, precisely because, at least in the case of the practices carried out by African bodies and communities, they respond to really complex imaginaries to delineate.

CAN WE CALL IT CAPITALISM?

In addition to the common thread of governmentality, urban processes are inseparable from the capitalist economy, which triggers them, produces them, directs them in an - almost - totalizing way. In particular, I do not want to absolutize the political economy of capitalism. However, I think it is essential to understand the mechanism of a particular circuit - the territorial production process linked to human *zoé* - in the set of multiple ecologies of life in the city. From the pioneering analyses of Henri Lefebvre about the production of space that heralded the radical urban transformation that took place and accelerated by the global processes of planetary urbanization, urban space was evidently becoming more and more intertwined with the jolts of capitalism. According to Soja (2000), since the Third Urban Revolution, when the large-scale manufacturing industry became part of the urban space, the City became no longer

separable from capitalist processes. Thanks to the example of Manchester, Soja tells how the English town was the first urban agglomeration socially and materially produced by industrial capitalism's socio-spatial practices. In fact, in little more than a century (from 1770 to 1885), Manchester went from being a market town to being an industrial city organized in concentric zones, in which, for the first time in history, the flows of the majority of the urban population took place within the city itself, between places of residence and workplaces.

It was a relation so formidable that it would define industrial capitalism as a fundamentally urban mode of production. (Soja 2000, p. 76)

Indeed, some social classes - such as the proletariat and the bourgeoisie - are born and remain intrinsically urban, and for the first time in history, the surplus is no longer only controlled and coordinated by the city but also *produced* within it. For this reason, from this moment onwards, this meant making room for millions of new dwellers, infrastructures of industrial production, but also finding new ways of holding these economies together, administering and reproducing the social and spatial relations of multiscalar capitalism and new technologies of control. The creation of a social "sub-class" as a powerful disciplinary strategy of urban-industrial capitalism is also part of this balancing mechanism: extreme poverty and the existence of a "reserve army" is used to threaten individual "free" workers, reminding them of their probable fate in case they challenge established social relations of production (Soja 2000 p.80, Marx 2018, p. 459-460). With the advent of advanced capitalism and the global dimension of production assemblages, this "reserve army" has become increasingly composed of migrants and refugees (Rajaram 2018). At the same time, through a progressive "stripping" process, this less-than-human target embodies the animality of life (*zoé*) more than any other segment of the population. As will be explained below, the composition of the surplus population will increasingly follow devaluation criteria of the workforce that respond to the three axes of differentiation and measurement of Otherness mentioned above (racialization, sexualization, naturalization), in particular by creating a system of ethnicization that allows absorbing excesses of capital through the exploitation of labour (Harvey 2001, Avallone 2017). In short, from the Third Urban Revolution onwards, the infrastructures and systems of capitalist production have been implanted in urban space, establishing a permanent correspondence between

economy and socio-materiality. Therefore, since then, economic developments have been inextricably intertwined with urban socio-materiality. With the rise of advanced capitalism and globalization the production of territory has become linked to multiple dimensions and scales, as well as to the interest in biological life as capital. If the main problem, endemic to capitalism itself, is the formation of an excess of capital in different forms (commodities, productive capacity, money or zoé - in terms of *population in excess*), then what the capitalist system has to constantly worry about is to find ways, spaces and practices to absorb these excesses, which would otherwise lead to the collapse of the system itself. As Harvey (2001) asserts, this type of crisis is utterly intrinsic to capitalism, and the crisis of the system is in no way avoidable but only postponable in time and space.

There are serious friction problems caused by the fact that excess shoemakers cannot instantly become scientists, and it would be a very talented roadman who could improvise as a teacher. The workforce is not qualitatively homogeneous, and surpluses of one type usually cannot be instantly absorbed elsewhere. The transformation of employment and occupational structures is inevitably slow, and this calls into question the persistence of any form of spiral development. (Harvey 2018, translation by the author)

Among the strategies of absorption and reduction of labour cost in the era of globalization, there is a precise "spatial solution": *delocalization*, a strategy based on the centre/periphery dualism and, more specifically, on movements of displacement from a supposedly central area (or market) towards outer orbits. What is delocalization, if not the exploitation of a difference in economic power deriving from a spatial relationship? The geographical differential has allowed capitalism to survive the twentieth-century thanks to the ability of multinationals to quickly move capital and take advantage of positioning on different labour markets. Therefore, where this differential has become usable in the same urban area due to its relationship with the ethnic differential, less-than-humans (also considered excess to be absorbed) inevitably become the ideal tool to absorb other kinds of urban excesses. If this differential based on centre-periphery logics (but also to First and Third World, formal-informal or even waste/first choice dynamics) is spatially translated by considering the difference in power existing in the same urban region, the large availability of waste elements (such

as the migrant escaped from the reception system, abandoned house, etc.) becomes itself an indispensable rebalancer for current urban processes, because that reserve army guarantees the absorption of excesses.

MACHINIC FUNCTIONING

Overcoming hierarchical perspectives, binary oppositions and dualisms as the only lenses to look at reality is a major task for many contemporary thinkers. Power relations, forms of socio-cultural exclusion and territorial policies are crucial in producing assemblages (De Landa 2006, Dovey 2010). All this indeed leads to the interpretation of the less-than-human population as the most oppressed one. The social organisation's structural violence gives us proofs in terms of accessibility to services, to the guarantees of a regulated labour market, to a multiplicity of housing solutions, to general freedom understood as a "wide range of possibilities of realisation". The perception of bodies, economies and things as "informal" on the basis of their Otherness lead specific circuits of the City to have less possibility of gathering and tighten bonds due to the lack of infrastructures or the more general freedom to access a multiplicity of relational possibilities, and this is why there is a need for a change of perspective and practices performed by planners, politicians and governors. We need a way out of Eurocentric regulatory policies, but we are still at the point of failing to recognize what they are. Reading urban processes only from the point of view of economic dynamics, without including the actual agency of all the other factors, would continue to trap our understanding of reality into a univocal, hierarchical, centralised Cartesian system. Looking at the city as a gathering of assemblages should take us in the opposite direction. If urban planning is performed by *continually thinking the play of the actual and the possible* (McFarlane 2011, p. 652), recognizing the functioning of what is now at stake should, at least, help us in planning the steps towards a fairer City. In short, it should help us to recognise that spaces, things and population are not predefined in our research frame as well as our actions. Their positions and roles, the way they unfold throughout reality, depend

on where and how they are located within specific assemblages. Thinking the city as an assemblage allows to include not only the relationships between its various elements (buildings, norms, groups, natural elements, technologies and the like) but also their temporariness, ephemerality, their processes of capture and dispersion, their horizons, their direction even if there is no specific destination. In a word, their transformations. What an assemblage presupposes, explains McFarlane, is its *inevitable capacity to exceed the sum of their connections* (McFarlane 2011, p. 654):

"aligned with inventive ways of thinking and doing and configuring and reconfiguring relations with other actors [...] What is inventive is not the novelty of artefacts and devices in themselves, but the novelty of the arrangements with other objects and activities within which artefacts and instruments are situated, and might be situated in the future."
Assemblage implies a greater conceptual openness to the unexpected outcomes of disparate intentions and activities. (Barry 2001 in McFarlane 2011, p.654)

Only if we consider the City as a unique densification of assemblages (and in particular the assemblage that I will define as "humanitarian" in continuous connection and friction with the rest of urban processes), it is possible to grasp the mutant, open and highly potential nature of the socio-spatial threshold between urban and humanitarian. That is, a spatial threshold of liberation, of transformation, of opportunities for passing from the less-than-human to a political body for every possible socio-material connection. In this way, belonging to one assemblage rather than another becomes a matter of *performance*: the more the performance of an element responds and finds socio-material correspondences with specific scenarios, the more the construction process of that landscape will be responding to the desire of that (nomadic) subject. It will be evident later how this performativity of the subject is valid both in the case of humans, non-humans and entire assemblages: both, in short, in the path of empowerment of a less-than-human and the oscillation between the function of government and the humanitarian function of actors (institutional and humanitarian) of the territory. If the City is an intertwining of assemblages, in which its infrastructures take on vital importance for its performativity, then its prosperity can only be seen as something that has to do with the whole of that tangle, rather than with just a few of its single elements. In particular, as Amin and Thrift

(2017) argue in *Seeing like a City*, the machinic aspect of infrastructures consists in the ability of their conformation to group and assemble human and non-human elements in order to generate, in their becoming, new urban forms. According to them, recognising the machinic aspect of cities inevitably means recognising their *vitality*, manifested in the practices and socio-material drifts they create. Furthermore, in each agglomeration's complexity, the spatial dynamic impacts the economic possibilities of the place. In this sense, the City is not a grid where this or that element can be activated to boost economic growth, but a series of infrastructural arrangements that may allow for cities' economic potential. At the same time, the capabilities are always intertwined and assembled with the infrastructure of the City. This lets us think that human capabilities cannot be seen as a matter of subjectivity and personal initiative because they are, by definition, performative and, therefore, made and remade *with* and *through* the City. It goes without saying that in addition to recognising existing dynamics, requesting and facilitating humanitarian networks or performances on a given territory actually contribute to the production of a less-than-human population and to the production of a territory that more easily than others captures socio-material waste and performs as absorber of excesses. In short, the City is no longer a predictable, entirely planned and finite spatial object, but rather an evolving entity, which escapes permanent characterizations and does not lend itself to the one-to-one dynamic problem/solution. It can be read more easily, however, by following its *concatenations*. The latter refuse to respect categorical boundaries assigned by a specific way of reading the world: a production process follows a chain that often goes beyond the boundaries of the so-called "formal city". The same thing applies to the distribution of services or some aggregation methods that inevitably use elements that are not adequately recognized or "standard". To this conception of urban processes, it is, therefore, necessary to associate an alternative representation and a recognition of practices already implemented, which up to now the categorizations have not been able to trace. As Amin and Thrift then suggest, overcoming this conception of the City and its planning also has to do with a new understanding of its *rhythms*. For example, primary activities are considered those carried out during the day rather than those carried out at night, generally associated with indispensable services. Specifically, the temporal hierarchy of production activities tends to be dominated by the primary production hours (9 am-6 pm) and generally associated with white-collar workers'

work. Therefore, instead, it is no coincidence that the hours immediately preceding them are associated with service activities such as cleaning services or related to waste disposal and the same spaces frequented by social classes with less economic power. It is a conceptual connection originating from the Third Industrial Revolution, from when for the first time the flows of displacement of the population between residence and workplaces began to be within the same City, then strengthened by the principles of zoning, by the diffusion of urban mathematical models and the ideas of Functionalism. The recent pandemic crisis that has strongly questioned this traditional binary relationship between places of residence and work has highlighted even more how we should take the opportunity to multiply the opportunities to rethink space planning, recognizing the existence of multiple changing concatenations. In short, a linear and hierarchical perception of time has been taken for granted. Thanks to these assumptions, so far, we have also understood the concept of liminality, of the threshold-dwelling, as the "suspension" of time. So we should, for example, make an effort to imagine that liminality is not a kind of black hole, a space-time void that coincides with the space of the Camp, but that, instead, tells us about the multiplication of timelines, of a multiplicity rhythmic of processes that occur at the same time, often overlapping, and which have, in fact, a machinic nature.

THE CAMP AND THE HUMANITARIAN SPACE: OVERCOMING EXISTING CATEGORIES

The Camp-space in the twentieth century acquired so much importance in the management of territories that it even stimulated the birth of a specific field of study. Born as a tool for managing the excess population, it has followed the transformations of history, becoming, from time to time, a more or less radical space depending on the economic, disciplinary and practical transformations of state sovereignty. Over the decades, thanks to the increasingly *zoépolitical* characterization of governments and the waves of political demands of minorities, the excess population's management has been inextricably intertwined with the logic and organization of the humanitarian

world. The feminist, anti-racist, LGBTQIA political movements, which, intensified after the 1960s, have led to greater public attention on the protection of life in its many forms, as movements demanding the so-called "Otherness" empowerments and for a different approach to differences. In particular, post-colonial thought movements and some feminisms have recognized a common interest in these struggles: the liberation from a patriarchal culture of oppression. In this sense, reducing the human being to a less-than-human or excess population has undoubtedly become one of the phenomena that feminisms and rights movements have begun to care about. Among the consequences of these claims, there was certainly more significant attention to the theme of universal human rights, which (as will be discussed later), although it is an idea born in an entirely Western context, has also led to a significant change in orientation and self-perception of humanitarian organizations. The increasingly close encounter between the Camp and the humanitarian world's practice has reached a crucial moment of transformation today. Their materiality is confusing; the complex nature of reality no longer allows an interpretation of the Camp as an enclosed space or of the humanitarian space as a sufficiently protected and neutral place. With the following reflections, I intend to reconstruct the meaning of what has been called "Camp" up to now, in order to propose in the third chapter, on the basis of empirical work, a new theorization of what I think we can still call this way.

THE CAMP

The most influential research of the last decades on the Western concept of "camp space", which undoubtedly acts as a watershed between different ways of reading this type of space and of understanding Human Rights, is *Homo sacer* by Giorgio Agamben (1995): the Italian philosopher gave birth to the debate on this issue defining the Camp as a "biopolitical paradigm of the modern age", introducing it as an earmarked place for leftover humanity (what I call "less-than-human"). It leads to a consideration of two ways of naming and conceiving life in ancient Greece, which, until the modern age, regulated the distance between natural life, power and politics:

For millennia man has remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal and, moreover, capable of political existence; modern man is an animal whose life is politically in question as living being. (Foucault 2014, p. 127, translation by the author)

At the times of Aristotle, men used two distinct words to name what we today circumscribe with "life": *zoé*, that is life shared by every living being (men, gods or animals) and *bìos*, which expressed the "qualified", social way of life of an individual or a group, a particular way of life. Although the simple natural life was excluded from the Greek pòlis, even Aristotle wondered if there was a proper value in bare life, in the "only fact of living". According to Agamben, - and on the basis of a conceptual construction that builds from the biopolitical premise - this is the main point on which modern Western politics is based: the claim of the *zoé*'s value. To put it in Agamben's words (1995, p. 13): nowadays we are engaged in "finding *bìos* in *zoé*". Since the birth of modern democracy, when the "Man" as a living person appears no longer as an object, but as subject of political power, Western politics was based on dualisms like "naked life-political existence, zoé-bìos, exclusion - inclusion ", and no longer on "friend-enemy" (Agamben 1995, p.11). From this dynamic of exclusion, it fundamentally derives the idea that the Camp is a Heterotopic space and fundamentally "Other" than the City. For Agamben and his school of thought, the Camp generally becomes the space inhabited by *bare life*. Discarded Men, those who do not have citizenship or to whom it is practically not recognized, end up living in limbo-places, spaces of internment and containment of the "problem". So, the solution to managing what is considered "excess population" then becomes to suspend it spatially and temporally through this spatial dispositive that is considered by many to be a sort of "bubble on a smooth and continuous territory" (Petti 2007, Rahola 2003, Hardt and Negri 2002). According to this position, in that limbo, this part of humanity loses its individual bìos, (its skills, profession, social and relational roles), and loses sight of its kin (the family, peer groups, small communities and associations). In short, as a space of production of bare life, the Camp takes away from the human being the political weight and the ability to socio-materially affirm itself and project the body in a form of ever-present time. Thus, the life of an inhabitant of the Camp is worth something similar to his body weight (Arendt 2004): pure *zoé*, the pure embodiment of human rights, pure matter without anything added. However, recent trends seem

to bring this "classical" conception of the Camp into question, broadening the current debate. Several scholars in recent decades have been contributing to the study of this spatial manifestation of power, also given the need to analyse the question following the mutations brought about by the migratory flows that occurred in recent years. Scholars from various academic backgrounds have been interested in excess-population management practices. To name a few: Bauman (2004), who reads the phenomenon as a waste management practice; Achille Mbembe (2016) who, in his work with solid Foucaultian foundations, describes how the technology of racism lends itself perfectly to exercising the old right of the sovereign to kill, in a world where the sovereign is instead forced to "letting die". Geographers and anthropologists such as Claudio Minca (2015a, 2015b, 2018), Adam Ramadan (2013a, 2013b), and Michel Agier (2011) instead study its variety of manifestations (spontaneous and institutionalized) as economic and geopolitical management tools that now dot the globe. Paul Gilroy (2004) is interested in the Camp as an instrument of colonial heritage; others have dedicated themselves to this theme by studying the Roma population and citizenship issues particularly (Maestri 2019, Sigona 2015). Among architects, we should mention the work of Alessandro Petti (2007) and Camillo Boano (2013, 2017), who, although both strongly linked to Agamben as a "conceptual father", the first directs his work in particular by declining the Camp more and more around the concept of dispossession, the second wondering what kind of repercussions this dispositive of power has on the redefinition of the project and the role of architecture and urban planning in the light of this spatial practice. Federico Rahola's work (2003) outlines a genealogy of the phenomenon (just mentioned here) and, if we exclude the Indian reserves where North-American indigenous people were confined, we can identify the first cases of "camps" in the European colonial laboratories during the nineteenth century. The first concentration camp was born in Cuba, in 1896, during an insurrection: the colonized gave rise to a revolt, and the Spaniards "were forced" to confine the civilian population in fortified camps, in order to protect it and prevent it from becoming a victim of Spanish violent reprisals. The second episode occurred in South Africa in 1900, with very similar dynamics: the British interned 120,000 Boer civilians in camps with barbed wire, in order to have a "free field" and openly oppose the insurgents of the independent republics of Transvaal and Orange (see figure n.1).

Figure 1 South African concentration camp in the Anglo-Boer War

These two examples can be considered as the very first cases of "humanitarian intervention" and of "excess population managing". In these first events, however, the internees were the subjects that the settlers "let live", to "kill" those who did not enter the camp, but the colonial root of this spatial dispositive says volumes about its nature and use (Gilroy 2004). Here begins what has been called "the century of the Camps" (Kotek and Rigoulot 2001). Intertwining with historical contexts, the Camp has radicalized during totalitarian regimes, producing Auschwitz and related monstrosities. With the spread of neoliberalism and the invention of the "right of interference" (implemented for the first time during the Balkan war), the camps have returned to being spaces of "protection" managed by the UN peacekeepers: places characterized by total welfarism that forced the human being to total dependence. From this moment on, the humanitarian presence (both in terms of actors and performances) inside the camps and for the management of excess populations has become an essential constant. As mentioned before, in recent times the duality

"letting live/dying" has been reversed: starting from the assumption that the founding concept of the classical power's structure was "killing and letting live", Kotek and Rigoulot (2001), in their Foucauldian study on camps, explain, indeed, an overturning due to biopolitics' logic:

The Ancient Regime let live and gave (occasionally) death [...], whereas the modern state [...] has the claim to give life and let die [...] increasing more and more control. However, if someone dared to make a discordant voice heard, by placing himself as an enemy, the state takes possession of him/her, it banishes him/her without trial and lets him/her die. (in Rahola 2003, p. 57)

In the Western world in which the living being is politically central, "killing" becomes "letting die", and the task of the "suspended spaces" is to depose the juridical person and its belonging, as a necessary condition for the destruction of the person himself. The first work on this shifting point was proposed by Hannah Arendt: the ninth chapter of *The origins of totalitarianism* ("The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man") is decisive. It is precisely here that Arendt puts us in front of a very harsh and cruel reality:

The world found nothing sacred in the abstract nakedness of being human. (Arendt 2004, p. 415)

The work of the German philosopher is clearly referred to the totalitarian state, and the subsequent historiographical works, although recent, will both assume a clear distinction between liberal states and totalitarian regimes. The first historiographic work, however, investigating the history of concentration camps is *Konzentrationslager 1896 bis heute* by Andrej Kaminski. The aforementioned distinction between liberal and totalitarian regimes leads Kaminski to literally remove the existence of internment camps within liberal-democratic spaces. The second historiographical work is the already mentioned *The century of the camps* by Kotek and Rigoulot, where the authors assume the distinction between totalitarianism and liberal democracy as still crucial. The challenge at the core of Federico Rahola and Alessandro Petti's research is instead overcoming the diversity of treatment for Nazi and Soviet concentration camps and internment spaces of neoliberal democracies. Even Petti (2007)(starting from the Agamben's assumptions) proposes to extend the notion of "camp" also to spaces not

properly referable to the definition used up to this point, making fit into this category the Palestinian occupied Territories, reception centres, camps for natives and the fortress-cities in South Africa, red zones of the cities during meetings for the global economy. In short, especially after the intensification of migratory flows in recent years, new trends seem to be developing in the use of the Camp as an institutional tool for managing the excess population and as a "weapon" for governing the territory. Demolition itself is now a political and administrative weapon in a war conducted not only against civilians but against the territory. Petti describes well how the policies of demolition and managing the territory in the State of Israel are able to influence lives of entire Palestinian generations, and similar weapons are easily and increasingly used especially on the outskirts of European cities as a means of temporary containment of the electoral discontent. The French intellectual Christian Salmon, after a trip with other scholars in Palestine in 2002, describes in "Le Monde diplomatique" how some forms of governing the space (and time) are becoming complex weapons:

You can perceive the voluntary hand of the State, which makes a tabula rasa of the past. It tears off, ransacks, uproots, evicts, depopulates. What we witness is the crumbling, the dissolution of the landscape. The abolition of the territory. [...] as far as the eye can see, there is nothing other than open-air construction sites, gutted hills, destroyed forests. A tattered landscape. Made unreadable by the violence that seems concerted. Not only the violence of bombs and war, not only the destructions inflicted by the incursions of tanks, the most moderns in the world and even the heaviest, but rather an active, industrious violence [...]. It is the first war made with bulldozers. An effort to deterritorialization unprecedented in history. It is a total war, in the sense that it is not conducted only against civilian populations, but against the territory itself. It is an agoraphobic war. Which does not aim at division, but at the abolition of the territory. [...] A cadastral violence.[11]

According to Petti, this sneaky and powerful weapon cannot be thought as a direct link to war: the device of demolition and dispossession is a real tool for managing territories inextricably linked to the state of exception. Among Italian cases we mention the one of Casilino 900 (Careri 2015), where not only the intervention of Savorengo

11 From Aa.Vv., Viaggio in Palestina, Roma, Nottetempo 2003 in (Petti 2007, p.138) (translation by the author)

Ker (participated self-construction experiment made by the Roma Tre University) has unhappily ended with its fire, but especially where the city administration sanctioned the end of the existence of the village after about sixty years, among the protests of the historical inhabitants, snatching them from their homes and transferring them in "Solidarity Villages": camps outside the Grande Raccordo Anulare, included in the Roma plan of the city (together with other displaced people of different ethnic groups with which there was often tension since the Balkan war). In short, the Camp is becoming a government tool no longer used more in armed conflict contexts but relatively widespread as an urban and territorial mechanism even in European liberal democracies. From these management dynamics clearly emerges the main governance's practice to address the phenomenon: the speculation on the state of exception and emergency. This forcing allows not to insert any decision in the framework of "normal" policies that, by definition, acknowledges limits and rules as fundamental concepts, but rather grant extraordinary decisions and impacts, given their being considered "exception". Below a short passage by Agamben on the state of exception:

[...] the state of exception comes more and more to the foreground as the fundamental political structure and ultimately begins to become the rule. When our age tried to grant the unlocalizable a permanent and visible localization, the result was the concentration camp. The camp - and not the prison - is the space that corresponds to this original structure of the nomos. This is shown, among other things, by the fact that while prison law only constitutes a particular sphere of penal law and is not outside the normal order, the juridical constellation that guides the camp is (as we shall see) martial law and the state of siege. This is why it is not possible to inscribe the analysis of the camp in the trail opened by the works of Foucault, from Madness and Civilization to Discipline and Punish. As the absolute space of exception, the camp is topologically different from a simple space of confinement. (Agamben 1998, p. 20)

However, looking at the experience of European reception systems in the past few years, the disciplinary role (to which the notion of camp is related) of these facilities cannot be ignored when it increasingly intrudes on urban processes and contributes to the production of the territory. As I will make clear in the third chapter, in addition to not being a closed and defined system, the Camp is now adopting a specific economic-

disciplinary dynamic which is the result of the merging between the management system of the excess population and processes of urbanization. The categorical separation between *zoè* and *bìos*, between animal and political life, has meant that even spatial analyses were conditioned by it. The most evident consequence is that the Camp, the space of production of bare life, was conceived as entirely antithetical to the City, the space of the polis, of political life. This sort of spatial correspondence allowed the Camp to be generally accepted as a heterotopy. According to Petti (2007), the camp-space presents itself with the appearance of an *enclave*, a place in which the smooth and boundless space of the Empire is interrupted, but essential to the Empire itself in order to govern through the state of exception (became, in the meantime, the rule) (Hardt and Negri 2002); it presents itself as a space of total Otherness, that is to say, also beyond the logic of inclusion-exclusion (which includes excluding). In this interpretation, the Camp, this sort of "Anti-city" purposefully created for the temporary containment of disorder which ends up taking the form of a definitive solution, implies repercussions on the political city and its public space, just as the Other transforms the Self through its presence. Anti-cities popping up as "bubbles" from a smooth and continuous territory: tolerated, instituted, demolished, not provided by urban plans but forced by them to temporality. An attempt seems to emerge to consider the effects of heterotopic space, but through a dialectical process, which continues to imprison this space in a definition of a finite subject that actually manages to affect reality only through its being Other. This can only be associated with an equally unambiguous idea of a City, subjected to dialectical processes instead of a multiplicity of concatenations and rhizomatic dynamics, which can more faithfully describe the complexity of the Real. Moreover, the refugee camps born after the outbreak of the war in Syria now are clearly far from the idea of camp as an *enclave*: just to mention the most emblematic examples, the Al Zaatari camps in Jordan and the Domiz ones in Iraq, which now have obvious features of urban agglomerations and multiple forms of community resistance. Spontaneous responses are emerging to overcome this total Otherness, and are transformed into political and active commitment by the dwellers of the camp: there is the awareness and the consequent refusal to embody the object of assistance instead of being the citizen of a certain place. In other words, the refusal to be "just zoé". Facilitating the engagement, taking care of the places, modifying, shaping, affecting the socio-materiality of the territory where the present is lived,

transforms the space of suspension of the enclave to an urban landscape. All this literature about the Camp space as the place of *zoé production* (or bare life) does little to deal with a larger picture characterized by the growing interest of advanced capitalism in zoé. If the human zoé is becoming an object of commodification, then both it and the space it dwells cannot be excluded from the productive mechanisms of urban processes.

THE AMBIGUITY OF THE HUMANITARIAN ASSEMBLAGE

The operational part of the population in excess management process is almost always entrusted to non-governmental organizations and humanitarian associations. Especially after the second humanitarian wave of the 1970s, which saw the birth of various humanitarian movements, the position of those interested in protecting human dignity moved by a feeling of care (*agape*) has diversified and complexed at the same time. While the approach considered "classic" or "Dunantian" saw humanitarian actors intervening "on the sidelines" of conflicts (mainly of an armed nature) without considering the prevention of vulnerability itself to be his competence, the new-born organisations are much more interested in the strengthening of the empowerment of individuals and communities as a weapon against the creation of new suffering. Therefore, it is increasingly complex to untie it from political struggles for universal access to human rights, from advocacy processes and discourses concerning social justice (Barnett 2011, Donini 2011, Slim 2003). Even the International Movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, the largest and longest-lived humanitarian actor in the world, from which the "traditional" values of the humanitarian world derive, in recent years has been investing in a growing number of programs and activities that not only promote social justice beyond emergency logics but even include among their activities the valorisation of differences, the change of mentality and the awareness of climate change. In short, they seem to embrace a vision of ecosystemic well-being, in which human vulnerability is also prevented and through the caring of what is not human. Mainly for reasons of "freedom of service", however, they try to

maintain a "neutral" position concerning political discourse and universally negotiate subsistence standards under which human dignity is considered trampled. For years now, international organizations such as UNHCR, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and other NGOs, thanks to the contribution of architects and planners, discuss and promote guidelines to alleviate the suffering of people affected by natural disasters and conflicts, clearly including settlements among the main points. Just to give an example, we can look at the Sphere Project, launched in 1997:

The Sphere Project is a programme of the Steering Committee for Humanitarian Response (SCHR) and InterAction with VOICE and ICVA. The project was launched in 1997 to develop a set of universal minimum standards in core areas of humanitarian assistance. The aim of the project is to improve the quality of assistance provided to people affected by disasters and to enhance the accountability of the humanitarian system in disaster response. The Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response are the product of the collective experience of many people and agencies. They should not, therefore, be seen as representing the views of anyone agency. (Sphere Project 2004)

This global operation between multiple actors aims at establishing universal minimum standards of satisfaction of needs. This collective effort seems to find the external elements necessary to guarantee a body in a *state of survival*. The humanitarian world's shared intention clearly tries to set a limit below which human dignity cannot descend. The most interesting point is that this limit seems incredibly close to that threshold which, according to the scholars mentioned above, divides Zoé from Bìos—assuming that it can(not) be clearly divided: the raw animality of life from the political subject. Furthermore, as will be demonstrated later, this threshold established by the minimum standard below which it is unacceptable to descend lends itself to become the crucial limit around which are built the power relations aimed at managing the excess population, or the power diagram characterising the Camp. Anyway, despite the attempt to create a joint response, the humanitarian world is closed in a tight and contradictory grip: on the one hand, the attempt to advocate for the recognition of the rights of displaced persons to live with dignity, the assistance work aimed at satisfying the primary and most urgent needs of these populations; on the other, the awareness of Humanitarian Organization perspective's limits and their standpoint in

not assuming official governmental or political roles:

Agencies' ability to achieve the Minimum Standards will depend on a range of factors, some of which are within their control while others, such as political and security factors, may lie outside their control. (Sphere Project 2004, p. 13)

Despite the identification of these limits of intervention, humanitarian organizations have always played an important role: advocating the cause of displaced persons at work tables and in institutional offices, they fight for the acknowledgement of the equity of human beings and their access to rights, in the world of Western formality. In some ways, they try to avoid being "part of the system", but practically they become it, because they are often entrusted with control and assistance tasks that in many cases have taken away autonomy from the "guests" of a camp, facilitating the tendency to "bare life". This is the ambivalence between *care* and *control* that Liisa Malkki (1995b) refers to when she describes the nature of the Camp-space: on the one hand, the protection of human dignity, on the other, the functions of control and monitoring (in a word, of *government*) that humanitarian actors inevitably assume in the operational translation of their intentions. The *humanitarian-space* concept, instead, seems to have originated from the Cold War conflicts in Central America, just when UNHCR began to use the term to indicate the space used for humanitarian dialogue with belligerent parties, in order to define a larger operational space within which humanitarian actors can work safely. For this reason, it seems to be the spatial equivalent of that position of neutrality that is so dear to humanitarian actors. The definition became more widely used in the early 1990s when the former president of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) Rony Brauman spoke about a humanitarian space that should have been the place where NGOs could feel "free to evaluate needs" of assistance, free to have a dialogue with the people" (Collison and Elhawary – HPG 2012). Some ideas that have always been characteristic of humanitarian action have been fundamental for the formation of these definitions. These concepts are the universally recognized Humanitarian Values and Fundamental Principles that inspire humanitarian movements throughout the world: independence, neutrality and impartiality. The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) uses the terms "agency space" to define an apolitical operational space in which humanitarian organizations can maintain a clear distinction between roles and functions (saving

lives and alleviating suffering) and those of military and political actors:

A key element for humanitarian agencies and organizations when they deploy, consists of establishing and maintaining a conducive humanitarian operating environment, sometimes referred to as "humanitarian space". The perception of adherence to the key operating principles of neutrality and impartiality in humanitarian operations represents the critical means by which the prime objective of ensuring that suffering must be met wherever it is found, can be achieved. Consequently, maintaining a clear distinction between the role and function of humanitarian actors and that of the military is the determining factor in creating an operating environment in which humanitarian organisations can discharge their responsibilities both effectively and safely. Sustained humanitarian access to the affected population is ensured when the receipt of humanitarian assistance is not conditional upon the allegiance to or support to parties involved in a conflict but is a right independent of military and political action. (OCHA 2003 p. 14-15)

In the 2012 report-document by Sarah Collinson and Samir Elhawary for the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the two scholars summarize humanitarian trends and definitions of "humanitarian space", coming to a reconstruction where seems to emerge a multiplicity of meanings attributable to the definition of "humanitarian space" and a contradiction on the meaning of the word "political". Humanitarian Movements define their "neutrality" as the abstention from being on one side or the other with regard to armed, ideological, religious conflicts, etc. By saying this, they refer to "discursive" neutrality, assuming the intention to protect human beings and alleviate their suffering. This view of protecting vulnerability, for example, is far from Judith Butler's one, who in recent years has spoken about the production of vulnerability assuming that the mere existence of allied bodies, is political, regardless of their argument. In this regard, Hugo Slim (2003) argues:

Humanitarianism is always politicized somehow. It is a political project in a political world. Its mission is a political one – to restrain and ameliorate the use of organised violence in human relations and to engage with power in order to do so. Powers that are either sympathetic or unsympathetic to humanitarian action in war always have an interest in shaping it their way … [T]he 'politicization of humanitarianism'

is not an outrage in itself. Ethics and politics are not opposites. I believe that there can be good politics, bad politics and some politics that are better than others. So for humanitarianism to be a political project is not a contradiction or necessarily a problem. The real questions for our debate are the ones that follow from this recognition ... Who is politicising humanitarianism today, how and to what end? Does the predominant politicization of the day matter to victims? If so, what can humanitarians do about it?

However, from a posthuman perspective the separation between humanitarian space and political or military space, and the conception of the humanitarian subject as finite, univocal and bearer of universally neutral behaviour, immediately appears somewhat artificial and aleatory. Assuming that a body in state of vulnerability does not need charity, but a social support system around it, Butler (2004) says:

Being deprived of protection is not a condition of "bare life", but a concrete form of political exposure and potential fighting, which can be full of concrete vulnerability, even destructiveness, but also virtually and actively provocative, and even revolutionary. [...] The reason why someone will not be cried, or has already been judged as unworthy of mourning, lies in the fact that there is no support structure for that life. This implies that it, according to the dominant patterns of value, is devalued and not considered worthy of support and protection.

To this extent, we can understand the great difficulties and internal contradictions of NGOs or humanitarian actors, who work to build support for these lives, to eliminate a tactical exploitation of vulnerability, but, at the same time, they work in a complementary way to the system of powers that produce it:

A vulnerability must be perceived and recognized in order to come into play in an ethical encounter, and there is no guarantee that this will happen. Not only is there always the possibility that a vulnerability will not be recognized and that it will be constituted as the "unrecognizable," but when a vulnerability is *recognized, that recognition has the power to change the meaning and structure of the vulnerability itself. In this sense, if vulnerability is one precondition for humanization, and humanization takes place differently through variable norms of recognition, then it follows that vulnerability is fundamentally dependent on existing norms of recognition if it is to be attributed to any human subject.* (Butler 2004, p.43)

Regarding this, Rosi Braidotti (2015) explains the new development of "humanitarian studies" as an answer by our world to what during the cold war were the studies on peace: a scientific collaboration between studies on migration, political science, feminism and post-colonial studies, tackling the phenomena that deprive human beings of their humanity. Then she links these trends to the effects of advanced capitalism:

I use the word zoe-political, and not biopolitical, to indicate the shift from "power over life" which in one way or another implies the centrality of anthropos, to a "power over life" which is exercised over all living species, including carrots and apples. Today I would talk more about zoe-centrism, which unexpectedly displaces the centrality of our species, but in a very negative and problematic way because it inserts us all in a global market whose only goal is profit. Whether it is a matter of reproducing some species, or of eliminating them, we must always ask ourselves to what extent it is convenient to the capital. Capital today is more than ever power over life. It is not biopower in the classic Foucauldian sense, that is in the sense of "managing what exists", but it is zoe-power in the sense of making what is no longer there, the apples and pears of the past, but also the children and the forms of human life that we recreate in laboratory. (Braidotti 2015, translation by the author)

Therefore, seeking to connect this consideration to the current debate on the subject, it is assumed that the humanitarian reality will be conceived and analysed as a specific, complex and manifold (by definition) assemblage. Indeed, curious is the path of entities that, born from the interest in protecting and enhancing human life regardless of alignments and differences, have found themselves over time reflecting the position that culture has given to the Human Being in the environment. From the interest in the Otherness of the enemy as a place where, beyond the differences, one can find a common nature, up to now finding oneself in the operative position in which to protect human life, there is a need to produce a cultural change, to overcome social constructs external to the human being and to modify organizations that create inequality. The humanitarian movements themselves, in short, more or less consciously look more and more to the Human Being as part of complex assemblages. In particular, given the transformation of perspective, role and performance of the humanitarian world, which is increasingly intertwined with the Zoe-centrism of advanced capitalism,

with increasingly indefinite, widespread and porous urban processes, what seems interesting to wonder is: which are the forces that regulate this process of encounter, both on a conceptual and socio-material level? And how can the sciences that have the ambition to plan and govern territory and population continue to do so without having the ability and the power to recognize what happens in practice?

METHODOLOGY, CASE STUDIES, RESEARCH QUESTIONS

When I chose Castel Volturno as a case study, I did not know it at all from an empirical point of view. I knew its fame through newspapers and personal acquaintances in the world of the reception system that painted that place as a sort of hell. For me the relationship with this environment was not new: not only I was on my sixteenth year in the humanitarian world, but I also had a good knowledge of the functioning of migrant hospitality, thanks to a professional experience in a CAS which took place immediately before. This background knowledge has greatly facilitated me in accessing key elements of the research, but I had to face the construction of my relationship with this place leaving somehow my old ideas and the experience I had had up to that point deconstructing step by step. Furthermore, the work done for the Master thesis certainly allowed me to recognize elements and characteristics of the "Camp", but if I really wanted to question what did not convince me, I should really have been ready to deconstruct my starting ontological categories too. Based on the stated cartography, I would like to highlight the importance of producing scientific knowledge on an empirical basis. Since the time of Aristotle, and reinforced by the Cartesian culture, material competence was relegated to a role considered "minor", especially in politics. As Noortje Marres (2011) explains, quoting Pocock:

According to the classical, Aristotelian view of citizenship, an actor became 'political' precisely by moving beyond the domains of work, of the domestic, of economic (chrematistic) action, and citizenship was denied to those, such as slaves and women, who were 'too much involved in the world of things in material, productive, domestic or reproductive relationships'.

Contrary to Aristotelian thought, Marres (2015) highlights how political production is not linked predominantly and exclusively to the *discourse* but strongly depends on objects' materiality and circulation. Hence the belief that to understand the process of political construction, it is necessary to identify and follow materiality, especially as a tangible trace of invisible dynamics. This assumption, expressed in the specificity of this research, implies that to truly grasp the production process of *zoé* subjectivity in its related humanitarian space, it is necessary to follow the trajectories of bodies

and objects closely. In particular, my experience as a humanitarian activist made me understand how the relationship with specific material situations and their interactions with bodies in Camp-contexts is essential in realizing the impact that global migrations have on urban processes and territory. As it will be evident in the following chapters, the functioning of the Camp and the production of less-than-humans goes through specific practices which, for instance, relate bodies of migrant people to a specific type of diet that pushes them to look for different food elsewhere, or to an inability to move due to the variable availability of train tickets or the availability, rather, of a bicycle. In this sense, I considered appropriate production of data due to immersive experiences in specific contexts, considering the entire processes as a real ethnographic experience. I used typically ethnographic data production methods: mainly participant observation, field diaries, interviews at different degrees of structuring and a focus group. As explained in the theoretical assumptions, as a researcher I started from the premise that there is no clear-cut split between the subject and the reality or phenomenon she/he investigates. There is no explicit limit between the ethnographer and the fieldwork: the world of anthropologists and ethnography have debated extensively on this (Edmund 1967, Willis 1980, Malkki 2007). The positionality of the researcher is something that not only influences the research process itself but naturally interacts and has a particular impact on the environment she/he explores, modifying it. In particular, I believe that, if the subject *"is a process, made of constant shifts and negotiations between different levels of power and desire"* (Braidotti 2014b), then the field of research and the fieldwork are elements that *embody* the desire of the researcher; the concatenation of elements with which she/he surrounds herself/himself to create around her/him the landscape that identifies, and which makes her/him be and transform.

> *The broad point here is that anthropological fieldwork is not usually a straightforward matter of working. It is also a matter of living. Ethnographic research practice is a way of being in the world.* (Malkki 2007, p. 178)

Specifically, my way of staying in the world is characterized by a long history of activism in the humanitarian world, especially in the field of Peace Education and acceptance of Otherness. A story that is inextricably linked to my desire and to the socio-materiality that constitutes my subjectivity. It is from this entanglement that

my own drive towards this type of investigation arises, and specifically towards the research questions I have formulated. Everything that I have been, what has guided me and I have wondered over the years contributes to the process and conclusions of this research. For this reason, the empirical data of this doctorate do not derive only from specific periods of fieldwork (at least as traditionally understood) (Malkki 2007). They come from professional and non-professional experiences that I have had over the years, and which have led me to a heartfelt, aware and specific formulation of research questions. Moreover, my experience made me consider the *abduction process* as the most suitable path for my knowledge production. Firstly, I observed the unequivocal convergence between the Camp and the City: on the one hand, I felt that something fundamental was missing within the literature about the Camp and the Humanitarian Space, especially given the evident changes of recent decades - as explained in the previous chapter. On the other hand, the widespread recognition that the City was no longer a circumscribed entity and can be opposed to a possible "Otherness". Secondly, I hypothesized that the critical point was in a change of perspective relate to that conceptual place with numerous concrete manifestations that have been called "Camp". Inspired by a type of literature that convinced me to observe reality in a rhizomatic way, I realized that I could extrapolate the machinic functioning of the Humanitarian Space on the basis of an empirical experience in a reception centre - which I considered a particular manifestation of the Camp. The theorization of the Camp as a functioning allowed me to conceive a force field traceable in very different contexts and conditions. The forces taken into consideration can materialize in infinite and changing ways in the immanent world but respond to the same dynamics. Finally, with a similar procedure, I explored an urban settlement (Castel Volturno) with particular characteristics that I considered attributable to a Camp: liminality, state of exception, exclusion and a substantial humanitarian presence. With these assumptions, at the beginning of my PhD, I looked for a research methodology that would help me overcome an approach to analysing phenomena from a purely human point of view, which would allow me to recognize the forces of production of the territory regardless of human intentionality and that took into account the rhizomatic functioning of reality. For this reason, I found the ANT particularly useful for my investigation.

ASSEMBLAGES, ANT AND THE OVERCOMING OF THE DIVISION BETWEEN MATERIAL AND SOCIAL

As previously clarified, my research acknowledges the shift of the "Man " as the centre of the world and wants to adopt a "flatter" view through which have a different understanding of complex processes such as the production of the City. Bruno Latour, one of the creators of the Actor-Network Theory, argued about the overcoming of the separation of the realm of nature from the realm of culture through a new study of the human beings extended to the study of sciences and techniques, thus overcoming the epistemology of traditional anthropology (Latour 2009). The human and non-human elements of reality take the name of "actants" which participate in the formation of reality working as "hubs" in a network of connections. However, the fundamental characteristic of this method is its epistemological assumption: the ANT does not acknowledge the same ability to act of humans and non-humans, and does not question their hierarchy, role and properties, but rather, it acknowledges the power that non-humans have to make possible and affect human life. This perspective allows us to focus more on the way actors organize themselves and their way of establishing dynamic connections - *assemblage* -, rather than on their nature (Latour 2005). The use of the concept of *assemblage* is therefore what I consider most appropriate to read a reality in which humans, non-humans, and "less than human" have great power of affecting reality and making it work together. As Latour masterfully explains, the proliferation of technologies that span the world causes infinite systems made up of policies, actors and technologies which, once assembled together, produce specific outcomes on the territory, which do not necessarily correspond to expected results (Latour 2009). In fact, the problem of many policies is precisely not being able to take appropriately into account the agency of non-human actors producing socio-materiality of territorial processes, remaining anchored to the idea of a substantially hierarchical world, in which Western man occupies the central role, a major position (Boano 2020). Therefore, it happens that urban plans look more like utopias, conceptual artifacts linked to the authorship of professionals, rather than strategies that really adhere to the reality of places. Furthermore, Deleuze and Guattari use the term "assemblage" to define a contingent set of practices and things that are divided along the axes of

territorialization and deterritorialization.

> *In short, particular assemblages of technology and politics not only create their own spaces, but also give diverse values to the practices and actors thus connected to each other. Deleuze and Guattari call any multiplicity of interconnected techniques and actors ''a continuous self-vibrating'' plateau.* (Collier and Ong 2005)

In particular, I believe that the dynamic concept of assemblage is useful to investigate a socio-material context that seems to attract, transform and re-circulate different types of leftovers and waste (both from the human and non-human realms). What I call "discarded materiality" is, in fact, a number of humans (less-than-humans) and non-humans discarded by different capitalist processes, gathered and reassembled through what I call "the humanitarian assemblage". Moreover, the way ANT investigates reality does not include particular "rules" of investigation, but rather an exploratory approach aimed at reconstructing the dynamic framework of the assemblage. Therefore, there is no a priori identification of actors and relationships within the network, but an outlining of them during the research process itself. Furthermore, above all, it seems necessary to clarify that the point that moved me was not to understand and reconstruct the connections between the elements that make up the specific type of assemblage, but rather to understand their trajectories. What I was looking for was to understand how the network of socio-material connections stabilizes itself to the point of becoming a centre of power, while remaining a network in constant transformation. In short, what are the forces that hold together certain elements of the assemblage despite the constant transformation and that make it produces a territory of a specific nature (namely that tend to the threshold of survival)? For this reason, my fieldworks and general data collection have been planned with the aim of identifying agency and actant with regulatory power.

TWO CASE STUDIES, BEYOND HOMO SACER

What seemed essential to problematize is the fact that all reflections around the

concept of Camp as a spatial device are actually based on humanistic assumptions. Agambenian literature puts Man at the centre and considers the Camp as a dispositive of power that fundamentally weakens him. The homo sacer is not studied in relation to the elements that surround it: it is considered a finite and unitary subject, which is more or less crushed, weakened, stripped by external forces and fundamentally institutional powers. The focus is, however, what happens to the Man when the practice of government is somehow intensified and made more dominant through the absolute exercise of sovereignty. The "state of exception" uniquely summarizes a specific condition of the sovereign's power over the territory, somehow assuming that the difference in power between the sovereign's agency and that of all the other elements that make up reality is so large that the latter can be overlooked. The forces of any specific contexts are tacit and unspoken, the human race is summarized in a single universal category, and the conceptual journey unfolds between elements of the history of Man (*that* Man). This is my point of disagreement. My assumptions of investigation and conception of reality differ from the humanistic tradition, and this is also the reason that prompted me to problematize the definition of the dispositive of Camp. What is a Camp, starting from post-human assumptions? What can we call a Camp if the subject is not something that is merely crushed by the sovereign power, but rather a nomadic subject that can *be* only in relation to something external to itself? These assumptions led me to draw the lines of a *diagram of power* rather than delineating a univocal definition of the Camp: a force-field that hopefully manages to outline a functioning, rather than a finite identity.

CIAMPINO

In order to carve this conceptualization out of empirical experiences, I decided to use a professional experience in a reception centre (CAS) in the province of Rome, as well as the part of me that over the years has known, contributed and fought within the humanitarian world, the life in a typical reception centre (CAS is the most widespread type of reception centre in Italy) has allowed me to observe, experiment and interact

with the Camp-logics to the point of being able to outline a theoretical scheme of its functioning. When I had to give a name to what I was building, I first called it "Matrix", intuitively following the feeling of identifying a "Mother" dynamic from which all the various Camp variants derive. The mistake I was making, however, was precisely to admit the idea that there is an "absolute" form of a Camp, a core, a unitary essence that excludes the multiplicity of natureculture that can cross it. What I was actually doing, instead, was not tracing the limits of an underlying essence, but identifying the directions of the forces in the Camp. What the theory then indicates is the open infrastructure through which variable forces and elements move. I realized then that what I was doing looked a lot more like a *diagram of power*:

"[...] a functioning, abstracted from any obstacle [...] or friction [and which] must be detached from any specific use". The diagram is no longer an auditory or visual archive but a map, a cartography that is coextensive with the whole social field. It is an abstract machine. It is defined by its informal functions and matter and in terms of form makes no distinction between content and expression, a discursive formation and a non-discursive formation. (Deleuze 1988, p. 34)

This definition of a diagram taken from Deleuze's work on Foucault's thought highlights how the diagram has to do with the manifestation of the relationships between forces that constitute power:

The diagram or abstract machine is the map of relations between forces, a map of destiny, or intensity, which proceeds by primary non-localizable relations and at every moment passes through every point [...]. The abstract machine is like the cause of the concrete assemblage that execute its relations; and these relations between forces take place 'not above' but within the very tissue of assemblages they produce. (Deleuze 1988, p.36-37)

Therefore, the conceptualization work is to be understood as a search for a correlation and synergy between the concrete assemblage and the field of forces that determines it and makes it performant. I analysed that period some time after the data collection, and I felt I had the advantage of a sufficient emotional distance from a story that somehow absorbed all my energy and made me feel incredible frustration. Putting my ideas in order with objectiveness around a couple of beliefs that have never changed

since then allowed me to think more lucidly and neutrally, without renouncing the priceless advantage of having experienced the camp and the reception system from within.

The experience in the fieldwork was overwhelming. For about a year and a half, I was absorbed by *why* and *how* what I was experiencing was happening. I still had no idea about how I would have made my observation useful or scientific, but the constant desire to understand what "logic" was behind the material events led me to collect some material in a digital diary and reflect on the relationship between the elements even then. In particular, the experience was conducted from April 2016 to July 2017. I was hired as a humanitarian worker and in charge of coordinating the training and career guidance of 80 beneficiaries. I must admit that, at the time, I had a perception but not a complete awareness about my positionality - which instead I had during the fieldwork at Castel Volturno. It was a great initial difficulty being a white woman in a male-only centre. It increased the mutual distrust and made sure that specific arguments remained unspoken even afterwards by all the people involved. In particular, the issues related to my gender that created mistrust were my unvarnished personality, the fact that I was a single woman with no children and my unwillingness to have "maternal" attitudes of care. In addition to the gender, other reasons of diffidence were the perception of ambiguity about my sexual orientation - which turned out to be a reason for trust in a particular case -, belonging to a different social class and the general mistrust in institutions and the reception system. From my end, there was a tendency (and prejudice) to consider their mistrust as an expression of oppressive masculinity. My strategy to overcome these barriers has been to use my facilitation and mediation skills to build an integral and trusting relationship. My goal was to demonstrate (even to myself) that I was able to overcome stereotypes both from a cognitive point of view and a behavioural point of view. Over time I gained the esteem and trust of the leaders and large part of the staff, mainly through integrity and consistency with the Humanitarian Principles. After a few months of participant observation and several moments of informal conversation, I was put in charge of coordinating the training and career counselling sector. It was an excellent opportunity to individually interview almost all the beneficiaries. The interviews were semi-structured, took place privately and almost always allowed me to talk about individual aspirations and resistances.

The main obstacles during the interviews were mainly two: firstly, the beneficiaries had an incredibly vague idea of what “aspiration”, “will”, or “personal desire” meant. Given poverty, the questions about aspirations were perceived as inappropriate: the main issue was to earn. Moreover, my experience and the interviews I did later with the mediators and in particular with Father A. in Castel Volturno, led me to think that this difficulty was also linked to a cultural imperative typical of African cultures that puts the collective dimension before the individual one. It generally pushed people not to question themselves, identify and express wishes related to their migration projects in terms of a purely individual subject, but to declare that any job would be fine, as long as it was profitable enough to be able to send money and prove to the family of origin that they had made it in Europe. For this reason, I often had to work hard to avoid making the beneficiaries uncomfortable during the interview. Secondly, great mediation skills were needed in terms of language: I spoke a sophisticated language, I am graduated and quite disciplined in recognizing meanings and signifiers of the European reality, whereas the beneficiaries were extraneous to any type of Western social ritual, with very few possibilities to know them, often unable to read, write texts or name the emotion they felt. They did not perform in that context, just as I would not have been in theirs. The most emblematic episode of the cultural gap is the story of G., which told me that he was trying to convince the legal commission that his asylum request was unquestionably linked to a family curse. That reason would never have been considered sufficient and reliable for the commission. Since that moment, the difference between mine and his “Theory of Everything” was clear to me, and it was also the demonstration of how soft behavioural skills (in this case, mediation) are crucial in accessing and producing scientific data. Furthermore, as it is easy to imagine, the experience was full of meetings of different types between the staff team (both organizational and psychological), which represented constant moments of collective reflection. In particular, the weekly organizational meetings and the significant problems related to the distribution of food, the availability of the car, and the management of particular vulnerabilities allowed me to realize and focus on the centre’s non-human elements. Also, the entire participant observation was characterized by moments of individual reflection that occurred during the compilation of the digital diary. Often the notes were hot-written on the phone and then reread and rewritten. I wrote the diary in particular following moments of staff

team crisis or particularly emotionally touching episodes, with the primary goal of remembering as many details as possible of the experience. With the data collected, I decided to follow and analyse the oscillations of human and non-human elements of the assemblage testing the intuition I had had by choosing three different points of view. I focused on the story of a beneficiary, the means of transport of the camp and the practice of food distribution. The events of these stories have confirmed to me that all forces converge towards a threshold of survival that coincides with the minimum standard of humanitarian canons. Moreover, the case of Ciampino discloses a camp pattern which clearly articulates itself in claws within the urban fabric, and aims to understand *how the camp intertwines its materiality to the city*.

CASTEL VOLTURNO

Once the diagram of power of the Camp-space was outlined, my interest was to find correspondences in an urban space with evident peculiarities: a literally exceptional population and a territory that somehow seems to have all the conditions to bind and function together with human bodies in a state of survival. Making a comparative analysis, however, would have been a big mistake, because an operation of this type would not have taken into account the fact that each assemblage is immanent, and therefore ontologically linked to the uniqueness of its specific elements. Therefore, I decided that superimposing the diagram of power on the Castel Volturno case study and expecting precise correspondences, linear resonances, would have been too naive. Instead, considering the rhizomatic nature of reality, I preferred to go and trace the same kinds of relationship between forces that create dynamics of power and observe the drifts they assume in the specific assemblage of Castel Volturno. In the first phase, I tried to identify which forces and which actors had regulatory power on the territory: more or less agency or capacity to have an impact on material reality. I recognized, then, that this power was unexpectedly in the hands of “non-traditional” actors. I realized it for the first time when I observed the negotiation skills that humanitarian actors have at various levels (and which later led me to argue that they perform as a

government) or the structuring role of the Pentecostal religion in the life of the less-than-humans' communities. Then, I tried to recognize the survival threshold, and I realized that in Castel Volturno the survival threshold is a magnetizing force that attracts humans and non-humans who resonate at that same frequency. Interrupted economic cycles leave socio-material waste of various types: abandoned buildings, low prices, polluted lands and waters attract each other, resonate and also attract those who, for various reasons, can dwell (or not dwell) at these conditions. At the same time, it attracts those who guarantee circulation and stability of the territory and foreign communities without affecting institutional costs: humanitarian actors, in this context, become the last link in a chain of *outflow capitalism*. Furthermore, this tangle around the state of survival synergistically responds to the demand for ultra-flexible and low-cost labour of current capitalism, becoming more and more an integral and indispensable part of urban processes. In short, the process was to try to recognize - again - in a specific assemblage, the power relations between new elements; recognize the familiarity of some dynamics and observe their multiple outcomes. Verify that, in the end, the functioning of the diagram of power is the same, but with connections and lines of flight that manage to tell us new things about the role of the Camp-space in urban processes. In particular, the fieldwork in Castel Volturno has been planned in 2 different phases: a first one aimed at exploring the field and starting the construction of the framework and the identification of the main actant. The second, aimed at conducting an in-depth analysis. The first part of the fieldwork period was conducted in June and July 2019. Research data were collected through an immersive experience: participant observation in the Emergency's humanitarian clinic, a fieldwork diary, one focus group and several semi-structured interviews. The second part of immersive fieldwork is been in December 2019 and January 2020 and periodically throughout 2020, including the pandemic crisis period. This phase was more oriented towards acquiring more details on the peculiarity of the assemblage that I was studying and on the deep understanding of the relationships between the actants. It was the moment in which, trying to deconstruct the traditional associations between actants and performances, I was able to focus on the trajectories that connect the Camp to urban processes. The participant observation of the first phase allowed me to learn and carry out mediators' work alongside them. Emergency helped me establish direct relationships with patients, led me to a broad understanding of people

and allowed me to conduct numerous interviews. In general, in Castel Volturno there is a widespread distrust of journalists and researchers - considered somewhat similar to each other. Some humanitarian interlocutors are wary but used to interviews and try to rewrite a narrative of the place far from the desperate situation described by news and cinema. Others, given the constant and intrusive speculation, are very unavailable. Despite this, establishing an understanding with Emergency's staff was not difficult at first: I was lucky enough to meet a project manager who immediately understood the nature of my research thanks to his theoretical preparation. With the rest of the team, the understanding was facilitated by personal curiosity and my willingness to make a concrete and pragmatic contribution since I was by no means new to humanitarian experiences. With little and loving sacrifice on their part (because they are more passionate about the operative part of their job), I managed to create a moment of reflection through a focus group with the staff of Emergency, structured and facilitated to understand the role of Castel Volturno related to the reception system. The interviews took place within the clinic to the available patients: in the first phase of fieldwork, I interviewed several people employed in the agricultural and construction sector, mainly investigating their experience with the reception system, their current housing and working situation, and the reasons had brought them to Castel Volturno. Outside the clinic, I interviewed pastors, institutional political representatives and community leaders. In the second phase, the interviews were aimed at more specific profiles such as "businessmen", 1EuroBus drivers, shepherds and nannies. While in the first phase the exploration of the place was favoured above all by the expert guidance of the Emergency mediators, in the second, I deepened specific contexts going to observe, for example, the Kalifoo Grounds (roundabouts where people gather before dawn to be hired for the day) and the 1EuroBus (alternative transport service). Throughout the experience, I accompanied and followed some people in a particular state of vulnerability, accompanying them to carry out medical examinations or administrative procedures. The relationship I established with them as a humanitarian operator allowed me to get closer to a detailed perspective on reality challenging to access if you are not a humanitarian actor. During these last explorations, I have produced a significant amount of data mostly thanks to informal conversations, given the difficulty of access and the extemporaneousness with which specific scenarios occur. Besides, for the whole first period, I stayed at Caritas - the

longest-serving humanitarian actor in the place - having the opportunity to better understand the functioning from within and to embody, in a certain sense, the relationship between two of the main humanitarian actors in the area (Emergency and Caritas). It allowed me to enter into the mechanism of collaboration between the two parts, especially following the care of T., a patient with important vulnerabilities. As in the case of Ciampino, even in Castel Volturno the investigations were often influenced by the fact that I was an unmarried white woman with no children. In some contexts, in which I introduced myself only as a researcher, mistrust was still a giant wall to break down. In a couple of situations, I have been explicitly told that I am an odd and problematic woman. In the next paragraph, I will explain in more detail how performance and humanitarian role have been compelling means of accessing data.

THE CHOICE OF THE HUMANITARIAN NETWORK AS THE MAIN OBSERVATION POINT

Since the attempt in my research is to recognize and study the threshold-space and considering the intrinsic difficulty of accessing specific networks that make invisibility their strong point (like that of the underground economy of *caporalato*[12], of the black rental market or simply the life of undocumented migrants), I went in search of the broadest possible observation point. So, I chose what I consider to be the "mediator-space" by definition: the humanitarian world as a connection, a bridge between one realm and another: my first point of view would have been the Emergency outpatient clinic. Emergency is one of those NGOs born during the most critical period of the "old humanitarianism"[13], and firmly related to human-rights-approach

12 Illegal gangmaster trade (i.e. workers being illegally and occasionally employed in the agricultural sector at very low wages).

13 Since the last part of the twentieth century - and mainly starting from 1968-, several NGOs have arisen themselves as exponents of a "new humanitarianism" which took distance from Dunantist traditional humanitarian principles, especially from their way to conceive neutrality (Henry Dunant founded the Red Cross Movement in 1863 and since that moment, Red Cross Principles have always been conceived as the "classical" ones). The new

humanitarianism. Founded in 1994 by Gino Strada, Emergency is an "independent and neutral international organization". Its mission is to "provide free, high-quality medical and surgical care to victims of wars, anti-personnel mines and poverty"[14], and its activities are spread in 7 different countries: Afghanistan, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Central African Republic, Sudan and Italy. "Programma Italia" opened in 2006 to provide medical care to migrants, foreigners and poor people in general, given the significant number of persons living without real access to the National Health System, although Italian law guarantees it. In 2015, an outpatient clinic opened in Castel Volturno. Since 2013 Emergency went around neighbourhoods using a mobile clinic and focusing mostly on providing assistance for sex workers[15]. Later they became a permanent clinic whose main target is the many non-regular (as explained in the Castel Volturno Chapter, especially "not-anymore-regular") migrants living there. The staff is composed of one staff-doctor and two/three volunteer-doctors (paediatrician included), two nurses, four mediators (one of these is the Project Manager) and random volunteers. Part of this staff is rooted and deeply expert of the territory and the local networks: the PM and two mediators (a Neapolitan mediator and a Nigerian mediator, who has a crucial role especially in those complicated cases in which patients are still distrustful of white people), and a Romanian mediator (employed on two different projects). In choosing my positionality as a queer white woman researcher in Castel Volturno, I immediately wondered what was the most convenient position, despite the traits just mentioned. So, I naturally took into account my desire, my attitudes and my experience as an activist. Although I grew up in the most Dunantian humanitarian world ever (the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement) and immediately felt the difference in the approach to the Principle of Neutrality by Emergency, I immediately made available my experience and my skills to the Emergency clinic, basically for two reasons: firstly, because being an active part rather than a non-participating observer facilitates the spontaneity of the processes and incredibly reduces the impact of a

humanitarianism conceives, instead, its action as an instrument to reach a more "political" aim of equality related to human rights.

14 From Emergency's website: https://en.emergency.it/who-we-are/

15 It is difficult to esteem precisely the number of sex workers in Castel Volturno, just as the exact number of undocumented persons, but this territory is certainly popular for the great presence of prostitution, especially related to the human trafficking from Edo State.

presence perceived as extraneous in the fieldwork; secondly, because putting myself in the field as a nomadic subject necessarily implies that I become one of the elements of the assemblage, and that, as such, I do so consciously with my desires, my sexualized body, my vision of the world and my tendency to get entangled by elements of the humanitarian mission as an act of affirmation.

[...] you as an ethnographer work with what you are given—even as you make new things—means also that your gender, age, race, nationality, class, temperament, imagination, subjectivity, histories, and your whole social personhood are in some degree constitutive in the fieldwork process. (Cerwonka and Malkki 2007, p.177)

My gender and my appearance would inevitably have influenced my fieldwork and my research in general, but being able to present myself in the role of a humanitarian worker has certainly facilitated access to the situations I wanted to investigate. When I was introduced as a researcher, this term was never enough to define me: I was often initially perceived as a speculator and my work comparable to that of journalists. Someone asked me which university I was working for, where I came from, what precisely the research was about and how much time I intended to spend in Castel Volturno. In these cases, my feeling was that they were trying to understand how strong was my affection, my bond and knowledge of that place, to understand if and how much I deserved their flow of information. In other cases, however, I was asked how old I was, if I was married and if I had children and, above all, why the answer was "no" to these last two questions. In these cases, the feeling was that my interlocutor was trying to understand where the "bug" was in my femininity program and why I ended up doing a job for men. In the most striking case, I was even offered a sort of recovery path. On the other hand, when I acted and conversed as a humanitarian worker, as an Emergency volunteer or when the interviews took place in the clinic, the "rest of me" automatically ended up in the background: my gender, my appearance, my adherence to a certain idea of a woman, my sexual orientation, my origin, the price I had paid in terms of devotion, time, practical contribution and love to Castel Volturno. Everything ended in the background. The position of the NGO facilitated not only the exchange of information but also the building of relationships of trust. The volunteer role reassured the people through the trust in the organization regardless of who I was, and this much helped me to access both institutional spaces and communities

of foreign people. Sometimes it was enough to say "I'm at the Emergency clinic every day" or "I am staying at Caritas" to pave the way and remove from the imagination of my interlocutors that I was yet another journalist arrived in Castel Volturno to speculate on the "Hell's Gate" narrative.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In conclusion, after the analysis of the literature and the current debate, I intend to underline some critical points that the case studies are indisputably stressing. Firstly, the whole research lays the foundations on a crucial awareness: the idea behind the creation of the Civil State and the governmentality of the population is the farthest from the Principles and Values founding the humanitarian world. While the first relies on the concept that every life means an "income", the feeling of humanity of the humanitarian world has always fought for the claim of disinterested and unselfish values beyond the strictly economic logic. As mentioned above, the understanding of the contemporary city can no longer be disconnected from that of capitalist production. As such, the State has to worry about guaranteeing the conditions for competition, free markets and so on, even if someone pays the price with its rights. The wealth of the State (and, in this case, the functioning of the urban system) must be guaranteed at the cost of producing and leveraging *zoé* using specific devices. Thus, when certain presences, a certain workforce is not acknowledged as a proper part of the civil State, the City seems to short-circuit and "camp-size" itself. This involves a constant collision between the two worlds mentioned before, which materializes every day in the match between the urban system (as a realm of capitalist production) and humanitarian space (as a realm of care and protection of vulnerabilities). At the same time, it is now anachronistic to conceive certain places as "heterotopias" and think that they are not included in urban processes at the time of planetary urbanization (Brenner 2016). For all these reasons, the questions to be answered in the case study currently underway have to do, firstly, with the overcoming of the definition of "Camp" as "spatial enclave". What I propose is, in fact, an idea of Camp as a functioning. Scattered, perforating, but

existing only in its numerous and multiscale spatial manifestations, intertwined with other assemblages and persistently in transformation: a *humanitarian assemblage*. Others general aims are analysing how the entanglement of capitalistic ruins and racialized dispositives of power is affecting urban space, and, in a more general sense, understanding how the Humanitarian-Space assemblage is redefining what is "Human" through the continuous repositioning of the bare-life-production threshold. Therefore, based on these general guidelines, what my research wants to investigate is:

How do the logic and mechanisms of the Camp relate to the logic and mechanisms of the City? What are the forces that produce zoé and humanitarian space?

Which are the attractive-repulsion factors of the City-Camp space?

How do humanitarian actors guarantee the functioning of the humanitarian assemblage?

The acknowledgement of what is currently considered bare life or "less-than-human" by the Civil State and its governing dispositives (including, hence, regulatory plans, statistics, political representativeness and so on) it would be a step towards a broader and fairer idea of "population" and, ultimately, closer to the founding values of that humanitarian world currently frustrated by its great contradictions. In a historical condition that sees the spread of the humanitarian reason (Fassin 2012) in discourses and methods of government, the specific way humanitarian assemblages produce subjectivity and territory, and humanitarian actors work alongside and replace government functions represents an important segment for understanding current urban processes. These kinds of investigation will allow me to outline guidelines and alternative strategies for planning and managing the humanitarian-space assemblage, particularly focused on the urban area of Naples, and then replicable to a wider territorial dimension.

THE CAMP'S POWER DIAGRAM

Based on the assumptions of this research that I have illustrated both in the theoretical chapter and in the one concerning methodology, I cannot exclude from the production of data what has contributed and still contributes to creating my subjectivity: desires, relationships of interest and power, bonds and past, present and future aspirations. As my skills profile strongly determined the positionality chosen to investigate my object of study, I found it helpful to include a professional experience occurred before the official beginning of this research in the research material. It was decisive in the interpretation and analysis of the Humanitarian Space. I already had the curiosity for this type of space since the degree thesis, and it led me to live that professional moment in a reception centre as a real ethnographic experience. For this reason, throughout the period, I kept a field diary which proved to be extremely useful in retrospect, together with the frequent moments of reflection I had alone after the moments of writing, with all the colleagues I worked with and with some in particular. For these reasons, I found it useful to retrieve and use those data to produce a theorization of the Humanitarian Space functioning as a diagram of power. Furthermore, it would be appropriate to clarify why I think the dynamics of a reception centre help analyse the functioning of what I have so far called “Camp” and “Humanitarian Space”. The clarifications already expounded in the previous chapters underline how the definition of “Camp” - generally used by academics of Agambenian inspiration - mostly indicates a conceptual place with different spatial manifestations substantially characterized by the production of bare life through power relations. Instead, what is called “Humanitarian Space” - mainly by humanitarian actors - is the physical space characterized by operational neutrality aimed at protecting human life. As a humanitarian activist and researcher at the same time, I realized, over time, that the use of these two names was used to call that type of space in which there is the compresence of exclusion, state of exception, liminality and humanitarian presence (although the latter is a constant feature arisen since the camps established in recent decades by democratic-liberal states - to be clear, especially since the nineties). These considerations led me to think that there must be something in common in the different spatial manifestations that this concept assumed in addition to the coexistence of these elements. A forcefield that produced, through similar dynamics,

different outcomes depending on the specific context. This is the reason why I used the Deleuzian concept of "diagram" (Deleuze 1988). The diagram - a concept that Deleuze constructs based on Foucault's work - is a representation of power relationships that constitute the effectiveness of power, free from specific uses and socio-materiality. It is what, in my opinion, the Camp can be: a field of recurring forces that produce different outcomes depending on the socio-materiality they pass through. The power diagram of the Camp (or Humanitarian Space) is what I tried to define starting from a specific manifestation: a reception centre established in central Italy, in which the coexistence of exclusion, state of exception liminality and humanitarian presence was also verified. In short, I considered the CAS a specific manifestation (assemblage) of the Humanitarian Space in order to trace and theorize a power diagram that I have taken as a definition. For me, therefore, the Camp is a functioning, a field of forces around a minimum threshold.

THE ITALIAN RECEPTION SYSTEM AND THE "CAS" CENTRES: HOW THE "EXTRAORDINARY" WORKS AS FULLY ORDINARY

Among my experiences in the humanitarian world (I am a Red Cross volunteer since 2003), this was the most continuous and immersive to the situation of migrant people living in a camp. Thus, this work experience is what I can consider a proper participant observation fieldwork conducted from April 2016 to June 2017. The "CAS[16] Ciampino" reception project fund was awarded to the municipally owned corporation "ASP" (Public Services Company), already operating in Ciampino's territory with the presence of various pharmacies, canteen services in schools, school transport, cleaning groups, nursery schools. The project provided reception and hospitality to 80 male asylum seekers from more than 10 countries (most of them, sub-Saharan countries). Since ASP did not have adequate staff and experience in the field of migration and hospitality,

16 The "CAS" (Extraordinary Reception Center) is a specific type of reception centre of the Italian National Reception System characterized - as can be guessed from the name - by an emergency institutive logic. As will be further detailed below, its diffusion is equal to approximately 80% of all reception centres in Italy.

it decided to completely entrust the Italian Red Cross in the managing of the CAS's social functions. Hence, I was hired as a social worker by the Ciampino Red Cross Committee. At the beginning of the experience, the Red Cross Team was composed of 13 Social Operators, 1 Coordinator and 8 specialised staff members (2 psychologists, 2 cultural mediators, 1 doctor, 1 nurse, 1 social assistant, 1 lawyer). ASP would have maintained the direct management of the project in relations with the Municipality, the Prefettura and with other external institutions, the overall management of the funds and the management of the entire logistic branch (canteen, laundry, supplies, cleaning service of the common room). This chapter analyses the space and the dynamics of a CAS in Ciampino, a little municipality of 38500 inhabitants, situated in Rome's Metropolitan Area. In particular, it is based on a long participant observation experience, a fieldwork diary and various collected material as memories of daily reports, meeting reports, official emails, group messaging and personal thoughts I collected in the diary. Since the CAS Ciampino is just one of the numerous reception centres in Italy and its dynamics are extremely widespread, I decided to examine them in order to deduce its underlying logic and its relation to the City as a "no longer isolated and heterotopic space". For this reason, the purpose of the chapter is to theorise the forces that underpins the managing of the humanitarian space[17] and I chose to analyse in particular three different emblematic experiences occurring within and out of the centre, each related to a specific point of view: the experience of a Camp-dweller, that of a non-human item such as the car of the camp and a (relatively) simple daily practice such as the distribution of food.

THE MINIMUM STANDARD AS THE CORE OF THE DIAGRAM

A wider view can make me assert that the fieldwork in the CAS was conducted during

17 In this context what I mean with "Humanitarian Space" is the whole assemblage related to the protection and the control of migrant people and not just that space where humanitarian organizations try to operate in neutral conditions. For instance, in the case of CAS Ciampino, both Red Cross and ASP were *performing* as humanitarian actors, despite only the Red Cross was the proper humanitarian organization.

a transient period of transformation of the Italian Reception System and before the emanation of the "Salvini decree" (113/2018 Decree-Law, converted with Law 132/2018). As a matter of fact, it has embittered rules and has made more difficult the concession of International Protection and asylum seeker's life in general. Before the Salvini decree, the underlying idea of the Italian reception system was originated by the input of the Unified Conference on 10 July 2014 and officially issued by 142/2015 Legislative Decree, in line with the European Immigration Agenda. It was sharply outlined according to different phases through which institutions envisaged the migration process. The system was organized in a *preliminary phase* of relief, first assistance and identification, that took place in government centres close to the landing sites, which often, due to the absence of structures, consisted in the port space itself; a *first reception* phase in Government Centres (CPSA - First Aid and Reception Centre, CDA - Reception Centre - and CARA - Reception Centre for Asylum Seekers) which lasted for the identification time, for filling the application, launching the procedure of examination, and for making a health assessment of the person. Lastly, a *second reception* phase in one of the structures operating within the SPRAR system (currently called "SIMPROIMI") set up by local authorities, where the asylum seeker remained for the entire duration of the examination procedure, including possible judicial appeals, unless he/she lost the right to being hosted in designated facilities. The difficulties and distresses encountered in the hospitality path are many and not only linked to scarcity or the pressing possibility of suddenly becoming homeless. As Astolfo and Boano (2020) argued, the intertwining of the lengthy bureaucratic process, the discomfort of the reception centres and the oscillatory emotional state of migrants pushes them to produce practices (and spaces) where they can feel at home in the urban space. This kind of camp encourages people to find home in the City, rather than in the house. Although this system has been considered as one of the best in Europe and one of the most virtuous experiences of Italian welfare, it dealt with a persistent inadequate capacity. Reception centres that compose it are a specific form of humanitarian intervention, inspired by European humanistic values and established before the so-called "migration crisis" of the 2010s. This sudden increase in numbers has led governments - particularly the Italian one - to seek emergency solutions such as the recovery of disused spaces, the adaptation of facilities created for different uses to the minimum standards for establishing a

reception centre. This logic of adaptation and fulfilment of *minimum requirements* also involved the companies in charge of managing the centres. In a short time, it made legitimate the existence of a CAS (Extraordinary Reception Centre), for example, in a former restaurant or hotels, managed by companies specialized in plumbing. This form of humanitarian intervention then became structural in the system, to the point that the CAS currently represent the vast majority of reception centres in Italy. In particular, the Government centres of the first reception phase should have been the so-called regional/interregional hubs, or other structures already active in the area such as CARAs (Reception Center for Asylum Seekers) or CDAs (Reception Centers). Indeed, in recent years each region has been asked to provide at least one *hub* with a capacity of 100-250 beds, in order to achieve total elimination of CARAs. Until 2017, none of these facilities had been activated, except for the case of Bologna. Since the Legislative Decree 142/2015 had however provided that, in the case of saturation of the Government centres, it was possible to establish the so-called CAS (Extraordinary Reception Centers), the System damped the surplus of asylum seeker through the opening of a huge amount of CAS identified from time to time by the prefectures of the regional capitals, in collaboration with local administration. Until the introduction of the new Salvini decree, the CASs were hybrid spaces halfway between first and second phase, the result of "extraordinary" and emergency logic, which ended up to represent in 2017 around *90%* of the reception facilities in Italy (InMigrazione 2018) and around *80%* in 2018.[18] The Salvini decree has changed the National Reception System essentially unifying the preliminary phase and the first phase (extending the residence time in a first reception camp for the entire duration of the procedure - 2 years on average, sometimes even 5 years), and making the second reception phase accessible only to whom have already obtained International Protection. The procedure for the evaluation of the application for International Protection is extremely long due to an "asylum application's supply chain" (police immigration offices, members of the Territorial Commissions, secretariats for the production and transmission of documents, courts for the appeal of the denied) that has never been sufficiently

18 Data by Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Economy and Finance available at https://www.interno.gov.it/sites/default/files/dossier_viminale_ferragosto-dati_1_agosto_2017_31_luglio_2018.pdf and at http://www.dt.mef.gov.it/export/sites/sitodt/modules/documenti_it/analisi_progammazione/documenti_programmatici/def_2018/DEF_2018_-_Sez.1_-_Programma_di_Stabilitx.pdf, p. 56.

enhanced and conformed to a systematic logic. Moreover, Salvini decree has abrogated the concession of the humanitarian protection[19], importantly swelling the number of undocumented persons on the national territory.[20] Anyway, as mentioned above, the vast majority of the Italian Reception Centres are still CASs, "Centri di Accoglienza Straordinaria". For this kind of Centre, the Salvini Decree has reduced the budget from 35€ a day per beneficiary to a range between 19 and 26€, stressing the system up to the point that many invitations to tender did not receive any feedback.[21] Indeed, the CAS centres are configured as a widespread reception system throughout the national territory, activated by Prefectures through invitations to tender and managed, through the assignment of public procurement procedures, by private actors (which might be both involved and not involved in the social sector, and including both profit and non-profit organizations). This means that each Prefecture uses to publish its own announcement which therefore contains the threshold of minimum services requested of all the CASs that will be established on that territory. In defining which are the minimum requirements to start a CAS and granting the appointment to the most inexpensive proposal, Prefectures outline a fundamental survival threshold: a *minimum standard* to keep people alive. InMigrazione (2018) published a report of evaluation of the invitations to tender made by Prefectures based on the following assessment criteria: the ability to facilitate the opening of dispersed centres in flats with small number of guests, the supply of personal and integration services (such as the teaching of the Italian language, linguistic and cultural mediation, psychological and social assistance, orientation and legal support for the application for international protection, proposal and support for participation in local activities and healthcare),

19 The Humanitarian protection was a kind of protection provided by the Italian State in addition to the form of International Protection, to acknowledge a legal status to those who don't have right for International Protection but, at the same time, cannot be expelled because of serious personal condition (such as reasons of health or age, or victims of situations of serious political instability, episodes of violence or insufficient respect for human rights, victims of famines or environmental or natural disasters).

20 According to the Ministry of Interior, the humanitarian protection has been recognised to 20,000 persons in 2018, to 20,000 persons in 2017 and to 19,000 persons in 2016. Data available at: http://www.libertaciviliimmigrazione.dlci.interno.gov.it/it/documentazione/statistica/i-numeri-dellasilo

21 Nardinocchi C. (2020), 'Decreto sicurezza, bandi deserti e piccole strutture chiuse: così naufraga l'accoglienza', La Repubblica, available at: decreto_sicurezza_bandi_deserti_e_piccole_strutture_chiuse_cosi_naufraga_l_accoglienza-245176277/_

the request of specialized operators and of an organizational and methodological management project. According to the research, out of 101 invitations to tender analysed, 63% were found to be "deficient", 21% "very deficient", 9% "just enough" and 7% "good". None of them was found "very good". As a matter of fact, in establishing what are the minimum requirements (both quantitatively and qualitatively) to apply for this activity, Prefectures define the position of the *minimum standard* that the private actor will try to reach spending as little as possible. Indeed, the worst cases are characterized by poor design of the services to provide (for instance, the mediation service is vaguely mentioned and it is not specified a particular amount of mediator in relation to the number of beneficiaries) or by the omission of the maximum number of people to be accommodated per facility. Where, instead, minimum standards are specified by Prefectures, they clearly recall the minimum standards established by humanitarian international actors to let people survive in situations of temporary vulnerability.[22] After lengthy negotiation processes and with the growing centrality of human zoé and humanitarian government, the aforementioned "Sphere Project" was born in 1997. What was initially created by the largest humanitarian actors in the world to establish a threshold of shared minimum standards under which life would not be protected has now become a primary reference tool for NGOs, governments, voluntary associations, private institutions and those involved in humanitarian interventions. These global guidelines have an incredible relevance at every scale of intervention, and in different sectors, from the quantity of the minimum food per capita to suggestions for settlements. Limits and principles of this complex instrument are obviously aimed at the protection of human dignity. Still, once they are embodied in territorial assemblages, they deal with zoepolitical mechanisms of profit and control of bodies. In the next paragraphs, I will focus on the building that housed the Ciampino CAS and the practice of distributing food, trying to demonstrate the logic of the minimum standard behind the whole functioning of the camp-assemblage. However, it is worth to underline how these stories are not the result of negligence, lack of professionalism or indolence of the management or of the professionals who worked there, but *the result of a complex system of forces in form of rules, political intentions, cultural, economic and value factors that make the assemblage regardless*

22 See for example the Sphere Project: https://spherestandards.org/about/

of the will of the individual actors, and which, for this reason, it is worth to be studied.

THE HUMANITARIAN LOCATION

The Ciampino CAS was subject to the power diagram's forces. But, I chose not to focus on his building and location because I preferred to consider something less complex to observe and narrate as an example. For this reason, the following lines are only intended to briefly tell the context and support the hypothesis of the position of humans and non-humans around the survival threshold. The CAS was located in a quite isolated area of the town, next to a cemetery, a few waste facilities and some abandoned plots of land (most of them, Municipally owned). The nearest railway station is at 30 minutes walking distance, where one can take the train to Rome every hour or so. To reach the more connected Ciampino Train Station, one should walk 45-minutes. When we started to work, the centre was opening: everything was new and not organised. There was nothing established, although in the previous years, in that place a reception centre already existed but was closed because of the managing company's involvement in the "Mafia Capitale" scandal. After several years of inactivity, the building was quite crumbling. The Municipality had to guarantee the actual functioning of the building, repair all damaged things in order to obtain a certificate of "agibilità" (compliance with safety and standards) and rent out the structure to ASP. Although they would have been beneficial for the activities of the centre, the lower floor and the lift were not evaluated in compliance with safety and standards and did not obtain permission to be used. Therefore, the camp-space consisted only of the ground floor and the upper floor. The condition of the building after the general repair is one of the most emblematic things of the functioning of the assemblage: apparently, everything was working. All the *minimum standards* were met, and all utilities were in place: electrical, fire, water and sanitary systems were operating. Nevertheless, during the entire period, a tremendous number of times social operators had to notify and report relatively little malfunctions in every room and every part of the building, facing and managing guests' protests. This approach

could seem an irrelevant detail, but it affected the calm and the wellness of the guests in terms of their possibility to properly *dwell* the space in which they were living, even if the camp is, by definition, a temporary situation. A broken bed, door or flush, a plugged sink, the lack of a pillow, the delay of the soap distribution, low pressure in the shower have been, countless times, an incredible reason of stress, frustration and discomfort for every beneficiary and an emphasis on their grey disempowered condition[23]. Furthermore, even the building itself (as I will argue later, like all the camp-assemblage) was on the *survival threshold*: no specific investment to improve its plant functioning, the care of the spaces or small details as doors, handles, etc. However, even it would not have been possible to have a building in a state of vulnerability or below a certain operating threshold. The building lived, like all its guests, on the minimum standard.

DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD

An emblematic episode concerning the minimum standard is related to the food distribution in the centre. Distribution of food in the camp has always been a subject matter for discussion and conflict among the staff. As mentioned before, guidelines established by the agreement between the Prefecture of Rome and the Municipality of Ciampino when Ciampino decided to welcome 80 asylum seekers on its territory, defined the minimum standard. Based on that standard, an exhausting negotiation - especially about the details of the breakfast - took place between asylum seekers, social operators and the governance of the camp. The latter was interested in guaranteeing and even exceeding the minimum quantity agreed with the minimum expenditure. Asylum seekers were interested in having enough food to not feel hunger before late morning (most of those who usually had breakfast at the camp went out early to go to work), and social operators claimed both a satisfying breakfast for guests and transparent procedures for them to follow. The negotiation clearly highlighted that the core of the camp logic was not necessarily to strictly follow the rules but always to

23 I will argue later about this condition.

keep everything around the minimum threshold. The agreement with the Prefecture said precisely:

Breakfast consists of:

1 hot drink (200 cc choice between milk, coffee, tea);

rusks (4 rusks) + 1 pat of butter + 2 single-portion packs of jam or honey. Alternatively, 80 g of single-serving packaged biscuits.

Each meal (lunch and dinner with alternating menus) consists of:

A first course (pasta, rice, couscous 100/150 g depending on seasoning or 80 g of pasta and 100 g of legumes, semolina or rice. Pizza is also allowed);

A second course (red meat 150 g., White meat 200 gr. or 250 gr. if with bone, fish 200 gr., two eggs, 100 g of cheese);

Vegetable side dish 300 g;

Seasonal fruit (150 g or 1 fruit, banana, apple, pear, orange, etc. or yogurt or, twice a week, dessert single portion);

2 rolls (60 g each);

1 liter of mineral water per capita;

Condiments and flavourings must be made available, even in single-portion packs;

travel baskets must be provided in case of transfer of guests to other centres.

The manager provided that the distribution of breakfast was a social workers' task. This organization allowed ASP to save an entire kitchen-shift, providing staff just for lunch and dinner. At that point, the managing company would have just to assure that the minimum standard portions and the hygiene regulation were respected. For this reason, products to be distributed were packaged, so there was no need to have qualified personnel with a HACCP certificate. A single pack of biscuits (25/30 g) or croissants (40g) was considered as a portion and the beneficiaries started complaining very frequently about the quantities of food distributed. The quantity required by the

minimum standard (80g) was legally reached because, in addition to the portion of biscuits or croissants, were made available bread of the day before and a few portions of rusks. But, unaccustomed to that type of breakfast, guests did not like to get sated with leftover bread and rusks.

"Twenty people could make a tiny but complete breakfast. Everything finished now, biscuits and rusks. The quantities left would not have been sufficient to cover the number of guests present [80], even if they had been consumed in minimal quantities." (13 Maggio 2016, Social Operator on the chat)

The logistic manager usually left a number of different products for the next morning to give guests the chance to choose. Still, quantities were determined considering that not all guests in the camp used to have breakfast (mostly because they were still sleeping). Moreover, the individual portions considered were still too small for the beneficiaries (adult males). The operators began to solicit a more abundant breakfast, requesting that the portions were considered for the entire amount of guests. In this way, considering that many beneficiaries did not use to have breakfast, the parts for those who had it would have been more abundant. A few days after, the count of the quantities left for breakfast was as follows:

60 croissants, 25 g per serving

20 melba toasts, 15 grams per serving

58 biscuits, 13.4g per serving

13 single portions of jam

58 chocolate cream portions

Cold milk

coffee and tea

no fruit juices

(from the group chat, May 24, 2016)

Numbers are higher than 80 pieces (one per beneficiary). However, the count of grams per portion does not correspond to the quantities specified by the Prefecture. The operators were still asked to deliver brioches and biscuits personally so that beneficiaries could avoid taking independently more than what was intended for them. On the report of 27 May, it can be read:

Breakfast: it was agreed that the unit quantities of food at breakfast had to be equal to or greater than the number of guests. There are no problems for biscuits and little chocolate creams, which are in quantity, but brioches, from the count, are 24. The small number of brioches that are also the most sought-after could generate conflict between the guys and us.

Several conflicts, debates and discussions among staff have led, over the months, to creating a real case for the distribution of food and breakfast. Around mid-July 2016, an episode upset the entire centre. The following story is taken from the author's diary:

Yesterday in the camp an extremely demanding event occurred. It all started with breakfast. After the frequent tensions due to the counting of the brioches and the exact amount to give to each beneficiary, after the internal discussions in the team between who grants more food and who strictly adheres to the "rules" giving a single brioche per person (a problem regarding the credibility of the operators), last night I was on duty, and yesterday morning I distributed the breakfast. Early in the morning, I was about to leave, and Z. descended the stairs to have breakfast, a very peaceful Nigerian boy. He enters the reception counter and takes two croissants. He was probably going to work around Roma Termini. [...]

[I felt under pressure with my colleague's eyes on me. There have been some conflicts between him and me because of the quantity of the portions.]

So, I decided to go to Z. and tell him that I was sorry, but I had to take one of the two brioches because the rules were valid for everyone. He looked at me shocked and told me that just one croissant is not a proper breakfast. I thought to myself that with that croissant, I would not have reached even 9 am, and he is practically double compared to me. However, he did not insist, he remained silent, and after a few minutes, he went

away. Last night I returned to the centre by chance, and at a certain point, one of the guests came to call the operators in reception asking everyone to run. When we went up, outside the window of a room, there was Z. who threatened to throw himself down. I was in there with a colleague, a couple of the roommates and the guy who called us. I did not know what to do at all. I had the instinct to get closer, but I realized that maybe I might not have been the right person to pull him inside because of what happened during the breakfast. I asked the guy who called for us to help me, and he slowly approached the window telling Z. that whatever has happened, does not deserve such an end. After about 10 minutes, he managed to pull Z. inside. [...] (author's diary, 16 July 2016)

That one was a shocking experience for the whole centre. The day after, Z. confessed that what happened during breakfast was the straw that broke the camel's back. It had made Z. feel completely without dignity and pushed him to make a striking gesture to try to change something in the camp. In other words, Z. made the only gesture of resistance capable of causing the chaos in the Camp-system: he threatened death in a *zoépolitical* place designed to keep bodies alive. It was the only gesture that stressed the Camp logic so much that it questioned its existence, its *zoé*. The frequent repetition of unheard complaints by beneficiaries seemed to have wholly emptied their voice, their speech, their message, their crying for help and their demands for wellness. The real threat was instead received when one of them decided to endanger his bare life. According to Z., what would have damaged the centre would also have been the scandal that followed. The protest would have attracted much visibility, and the camp would have been overwhelmed by investigations, which suddenly would block the entire mechanism functioning solely on the existence of the bodies of its guests. In those few minutes, Z. was able to use his body weight to jeopardize the camp assemblage. Still, the logic of the minimum standard has not been changed. Among the staff there was a new ferment, more awareness, more debates, more forces who were fighting for "humanity". Multi-ethnic dinners began to be proposed, and governance put more pressure on operators to create and increase daytime activities. Months and months later, however, the problems arising from the distribution of food, breakfast and material, in general, had not changed much:

45 portions of wafers (50g)

16 strawberry croissants (25g each)

17 carrot pastries (40g each)

22 servings of biscuits (13.4g per serving)

With these numbers we are forced to give either 1 wafer or 1 brioche or 1 camilla [carrot pastries] *or 1 portion of biscuits to ensure breakfast to all 80 beneficiaries. It will be an arduous undertaking to remain unscathed.* (an operator on night duty in the group chat, November 23rd 2016)

The discussion among the staff continued slavishly even after the provisions given by the new coordinator, who took over in autumn 2016 and established that a full breakfast per person was composed as follows:

1 croissant (25g per serving)

1 portion of rusks (15g per serving)

1 portion of jam or chocolate or honey

The portion still did not reach the minimum quantity provided (80g). So, to guarantee the respect of the minimum standard, bread from the day before and biscuits were still left available for those who were "particularly hungry". Essentially, the operators were responsible for checking that no one ate more than expected. In this way, the directives prescribed by the prefecture would have been respected (each person had theoretically available even more than the legal minimum). However, the centre distributed practically around 40 brioches per day (the number of asylum seekers who actually had breakfast at the centre). The food available to all - bread, rusks and jams - was consumed in minimal quantities because the guests did not prefer it. The minimum standard would have been respected, and no kind of abundance has become customary, except for leftover food from the day before. Same logic had the food distribution for lunch and dinner: the diet was planned and comprehensive of meat and fish, as the agreement provided. Rice or couscous was in abundance every day and their service was left to the beneficiaries. Instead, the distribution of the "main" (the most expensive and nutrient) part of the meal was counted and entrusted to a staff person: no second portions were allowed, despite the protests.

The sporadic concession of double or larger portions was one of the most frequent reasons for conflict and brawls within the camp. For this reason, the governance required the presence of at least one mediator in the canteen during the meal hours. A custom that was, then, requested to social operators because it would not have been necessary to pay overtime to mediators. The large amount of pasta or rice served, without the combination of enough fruits and vegetables, caused significant digestive and intestinal problems to the beneficiaries. According to the minimum standard, vegetables were present in meals, almost always inserted in rice's sauce. In most cases, however, they were canned vegetables. Occasionally, kitchen staff prepared fresh salad or fennels. Fruits (usually bananas and apples - which guarantee a longer preservation) were instead distributed away from meals, from social workers during the day, at the reception, once a day, only on request. Such a diet based on rice and bread caused very often health problems to the guests, besides not pleasing them at all. Some doctors prescribed specific diets to those with digestive problems, but the canteen could not manage the changing for more than two days, considering the diets as "extra-services". Many beneficiaries also began to suffer heartburn and ask for medicines to alleviate the discomfort. After a short time, the use of medicines was restricted to avoid overuse and for economic reasons. The logistics manager was always available to negotiate and modify the diet, but the situation never changed because he was forced to adhere to the standards indicated by the prefecture and, at the same time, not spend over the budget. Despite this, it was fundamental to avoid that "little" health problems became chronic diseases, because, in that case, the cure would have been more demanding for the camp-system. At the end of the year, beneficiaries who did not have breakfast at the camp were realistically about half of them. Who tried in every way to resist in transforming his body into proper bare life, inserted himself into external urban systems to become productive "elsewhere". They were those who, taking into account the pocket money, had extra income to choose and buy the breakfast they preferred outside of the camp. What I wanted to emphasize here is that the whole negotiation around the breakfast, the food and all the services in general, were essentially focused on the minimum standard agreed with the prefecture, which, in turn, are based on humanitarian standards. Despite the interests of the factions and the oscillation of the minimum quantities practically served, the common ground for everybody and everything in the assemblage was the

minimum threshold.

DISCIPLINE AND PRODUCTIVITY OF THE HUMANITARIAN SPACE

Drawing on the idea of Humanitarian Space as something always susceptible of variation and constantly seeking for new balances depending on permanent negotiation among actors (Hilhorst and Jansen, 2010), I believe that this kind of space is certainly subjected to more or less *discipline*. Several scholars have spoken of the disciplinary nature of the humanitarian space (Agier 2011, Fassin 2012, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2020, Minca 2015, Oliver 2016, Rahola 2003), the intensity of which varied according to the historical and geographical context. Some humanitarian spaces evidently border on prison dynamics. Others have a less restrictive form of discipline hybridised by the humanitarian cause of protecting human life. Foucault understood discipline as an ordering dispositive of relations, bodies and things in space to produce a normalisation. The latter, in turn, is aimed at the optimal management of the population, which, if kept in a state of well-being, is productive and allows the state to assert its power. Foucault explains how, especially following the birth of statistics, the heterogeneous concept of "population" has replaced the homogeneous idea of "people" (Foucault 2017). This complicated the practices of government (for this reason, Foucault introduces the concept of "governmentality") and radically transformed the Sovereign role. Biopolitics, according to Foucault, also determines the transformation of sovereignty from "power to let live and make die" into "power to let die and make live", of which the Camp is undoubtedly an exemplary expression. This process led to the measurement of wealth (also in terms of human capital) and the formulation of political economy as a science. In this framework, disciplinary dispositives are born to guarantee a sufficiently prosperous State because it is also composed of a productive population. So, suppose we understand discipline in the Foucauldian sense. In that case, as a socio-material organisation aimed at production, discipline must also be recognised in this particular form of humanitarian intervention, such as reception centres. However, one cannot fail to notice how the productivity of these

dispositives is no longer linked to bodies employed as a workforce. The productivity of European reception centres, on the other hand, is related to the existence of *human zoé*, regardless of everything else. Capitalisation in Camps humanitarian spaces, their existence itself, is linked to their very (*zoépolitical*) ability to keep human bodies alive. As will be more evident later through the formulation of the power diagram, the point of maximum profit in the case of reception centres of the Italian system coincides precisely with the threshold of maximum "stripping" of the *bìos* and, at the same time, with the minimum humanitarian standards (which, indeed, have the same interest in protecting human life). These reasons led me to analyse these disciplinary aspects, underlining the differences to the traditional Foucauldian conception. According to Liisa Malkki (1995b), from the literature produced immediately after the Second World War, the management of the Camp was outlined as a hybrid between *care and control*. In particular, the functioning of the centres of the Italian Reception System (as a dispositive of control) recall the characteristics of the Panopticon and the discipline, as Foucault (1995) describes them in *Discipline and Punish*. Although the management of the reception centres in the Italian system is not limited to actual humanitarian actors, in cases where there is the presence of this latter, the dichotomy between the functions of "pure" control and those of protection is more evident, dictated by the benevolence of humanitarian values. During the whole fieldwork, tensions between an "control approach" and a more "human" approach have been embodied by the several members of the staff team. After a few weeks from the opening of the camp, the necessity to let the rule and regulation have more impact on the daily life of the centre became more evident. The coordinator started to underline the "*educational role"* of the Red Cross team - clearly in a disciplinary sense -, requesting the social operator to educate the guests and give them "rules of life" because our role was *also* to "educate". Almost imperceptibly, social workers started to realise how much of their work was related to control and compliance. Those who were hired because of expertise as humanitarian workers and were expecting a role of support, protection, empathy and care of vulnerabilities, had to *also* face their fundamental "educational role". Several practices in the camp and the rational managing of resources had an undeniable tendency to a disciplinary approach. The following depiction could seem over-detailed but, in order to make explicit and tangible the materialization of the disciplinary rules and emphasizing the Foucauldian idea of "discipline as political

anatomy of detail" (Foucault 1995, p.139), I opt for a complete description of some procedures aiming to stress the unique way the humanitarian space uses it. From the moment in which a person is welcomed in the centre, the detailed procedure provided the delivery of the personal hygiene kit with a related signature of delivery form. The kit is composed of one toothbrush, one case, two razor blades, one toothpaste, a pillowcase, two sheets, a blanket, a duvet, a large towel and a small towel. Immediately, the beneficiary was compelled to have a fact-finding interview with the coordinator and strongly exhorted to medical examination and psychological interview. All the introductive meetings aimed at drafting personal profiles with possible reports of particular sensibilities. In wider terms, they were at the beginning of the process that Michel Foucault describes as the creation of the "case":

"[the case] is the individual as he may be described, judged, measured, compared with others, in its very individuality; and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded, etc. [...] This turning of real lives into writing is no longer a procedure of heroization; it functions as a procedure of objectification and subjection." (Foucault 1995, p.191-192)

All the documents in possession of the beneficiary were photocopied and kept in a personal folder in the administrative office, in order to keep them always available for the staff. The process continued through the interview with the Training and Career Counseling sector manager (me) or with the Social Worker (in order to define attitudes, previous experiences and personal wishes) and finally with the lawyer who was in charge of registering the "case" in the legal database. The personal story of the migrant was added to the archive in the form of a document of appeal or other types of documents, boosting the mechanism of "describable individualization". This procedure is generally made to give persons the support they need (mainly because, in addition to a general need of orientation, many of the beneficiaries were not educated enough to read and independently manage their documents in a completely different country) but it consisted in a proper act of subordination to the centre as assemblage and dispossession of personal agency. Few persons kept secreting some of their documents as an act of resistance. This kind of *panopticism* includes also the distribution of individuals in space and constant reporting of all the activities to the governance of the camp. With regard to the space, at the arrival, the beneficiary was

assigned to a bed in a room with three roommates. The assignment was based mostly on nationality or other contingent criteria. The rooms were distributed in series along corridors, as in most of the Italian centres that were originally designed to be barracks. This latter phenomenon of using barracks and former military bases to host refugees is clearly not new, as described by Liisa Malkki (1995b), and it will be argued later how this is also part of that process of reuse of discarded materiality.

In spatial terms, too, the military model was important. The basic blueprint of the military camp and many of its characteristic techniques were appropriated by those new spatial and disciplinary practices that were emerging in the 1940s refugee camps in Europe. [...] The utilization of existing institutional care buildings suited to mass control and was built into the policy plans of SHAEF and UNRRA. (Malkki 1995b. p-499-500)[24]

For istance, this kind of distribution was useful in Ciampino to the surveillance checks of the operators conducted various times a day for announcements, waking ups, collections of signatures, checking on cleanness or just inspections. Moreover, the rules of the centre provided that all the doors of the rooms, of the bathrooms and of the personal wardrobes should always remain open, effectively abolishing the possibility of having private space. Any sums of money or valuables were deposited in the centre's safe. Regarding the daily report, the panoptistic practice was to write every significant activity or event, to keep updated not only the staff not in service, but also the entire governance (the coordinator, the director, the president of Red Cross Committee and the Municipal council member) capable of punishing and admonishing in every moment both the beneficiaries and the staff. This virtual surveillance was perfectly in line with the original sense of panopticism: "each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible" (Foucault 1995, p.200). And the effect was what exactly was expected:

"*to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So, to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effect, even if it is discontinuous in its action; [...] the inmate must*

24 In a note, Malkki specify: "Sometimes schoolhouses and hotels were used". Exactly as it still happens in Europe today.

never know whether he is being looked at any one moment, but he must be sure that he may always be so." (Foucault 1995, p-201)

As mentioned before, the staff team was immediately strongly in conflict about discipline. One part began to ask for more discipline: more control tools, more punishment, more clarity and rationality in the procedures. The other part of the team began to complain that such treatment was not sufficiently "human" and did not leave to beneficiaries the possibility of being considered independent men, in control of their lives as best suited to the individual needs, thus promoting empowerment. Essentially, everything suggests that this is an objectification and subjection procedure, in Foucauldian terms: the creation of a "case" for each beneficiary, to be monitored. A conceptual Panopticon invoked very often by the social operators as support to their tasks and lightening of their work. Most of the operators have incessantly requested a solid fence with external gate, alarmed doors, cameras, an electronic signature system, more rigidity, rationality and clarity in the food rationing, written rules and procedures, certainty of punishments, less flexibility in practices and a general increase in discipline throughout the entire period. They were often driven by the fact that the responsibility for control was over them, although no one felt this responsibility as proper to the humanitarian actor. However, it is not surprising that the Camp is a dispositive of control pervaded by disciplinary mechanisms. What is fascinating is trying to understand what are the differences that the Camp adopts, compared to the traditional discipline studied by Foucault. If the Camp is a place of *zoé* production, this trend must necessarily deal with the fact that, at least in most European humanitarian spaces, this transforming power of bodies in a state of survival, responds to the urban demand of "surplus population". Those forces that push bodies to bare life have created a mechanism of collaboration with capitalist production. In essence, at the moment, it is precisely the Humanitarian Space that produces the only bargain-priced workforce that meets the demand from production lines of maximizing profits by lowering labour costs. The real core of the disciplinary mechanism seems to be maintained in this case anyway: *productivity*. Foucault (1995) argues about the use of discipline as a tool aimed at creating a *productive man*: including subjects in the functioning and in the "coherence of a tactic" must serve an economic and utility speculation. But many aspects differentiate the Camp dynamics

from the typical disciplinary ones, even if the attempt to stimulate direct productivity has occurred multiple times.

Firstly, *the economic growth of the Camp-system cannot sustain the multiplication of economic production processes within the Camp itself*. The governance of the centre always pressed the operators to start processes that would have led to productive dynamics. Still, any production process has never been implemented in the space of the centre. The Director of the centre himself requested several times to social operators to work on ideas such as bicycle workshops open to the public, vegetable gardens to start future farms, self-construction laboratories to create additional spaces for productive activities. Every initiative aimed at developing these kinds of ideas has always seemed to run aground on logistic excuses, bureaucratic slowness, unavailability of funds to invest and beneficiaries' resistances. The humanitarian assemblage cannot integrate them because of sustainability reasons. The existence of the centre itself, the receiving of funds and the minimum expense attesting the compliance with the minimum standards of agreement with the Prefecture of Rome, was *itself* the productive fact. Taking charge of the asylum seeker himself is productive (it produces income, specialized work, a specific kind of subject – human zoé - etc. and is perfectly integrated in the economic system), but only if life survives at the minimum standard. The camp guarantees minimum subsistence, not personal growth. Secondly, whereas the traditional discipline aims to increase and direct the forces of the bodies in economic and utility terms and to decrease them in political and obedience terms, *the Camp system tends towards a meticulous general disempowerment*. In these places, the push towards bare life takes place through small and large daily situations. As Kelly Oliver (2016) also argues, in the logic of refugee detention there is a general lack of adequate food, medical treatments that guarantee a real level of well-being, and the shortcomings are further aggravated with women, especially if pregnant. During my professional experience, I have noticed how the "greyness" in those spaces is continuously injected through the minuscule. Some deprivations are similar to those of penal institutions. Still, some details make clear that the authoritarian and repressive force of the rigid rules is replaced by a general lack of structure that weakens the individual by letting him drown in a depressive sea. In addition to the restriction of movement, sexual deprivation and the total lack of

privacy, many disheartening details lead the beneficiary to a condition of frustration that dramatically amplifies the post-traumatic symptoms of most asylum seekers. A few examples are the impossibility of keeping appliances - even, for example, a fan - or to receive the visit of a friend, an inadequate diet dictated by the flattening of quality to the minimum standards - e.g. canned vegetables only -, the impossibility of personalizing private space, a very long walk to reach the station and even the closest coffee shop, the neglect of the area -e.g. often the beneficiaries slept for days on broken beds-, a lack of drying racks, a poor laundry service, waits of days to replace a light bulb or weeks to solve hydraulic problems, a personal budget of 2.50 € per day, etc. Moreover, the restriction of movement is not utter and repressive: there is an obligation to sign every day and the loss of the right to a bed after two days of absence. In practice, this makes it impossible, for example, to travel to visit relatives or to undergo periods of probation at work in other cities. In their report about the mental health situation, Médecins Sans Frontiéres (2017) highlights the significant size of the phenomenon, the difficulty of recognising the symptoms of psychological discomfort and the general lack of adequate facilities and specific resources for the most vulnerable cases. But above all, they emphasise that the conditions of particular precariousness experienced within reception structures are among the leading aggravating causes of mental distress:

"87% of patients said that they suffer from life difficulties in the centres. The CASs, established in 2014 as a temporary and extraordinary measure to cope with the growing arrivals, over time have become an integral part of the ordinary reception system, thus crystallizing an emergency approach, poorly oriented towards favouring long-term projects and inclusion in the territories."

Once again, most of the problems listed were substantially due to the attempt to respect the minimum standards with the minimum economic expenditure. For example, the company manager had provided the presence of a figure responsible for minor repairs and the care of outdoor spaces. Still, they had not provided for an exclusively dedicated one. Instead, they asked his corporate handyman to take care of the camp in addition to his ordinary duties. For this reason, his presence was extremely sporadic. In short, the forces that push human bodies towards the survival threshold seem to involve even non-human elements, effectively creating a homogeneous environment in which

entities (human and non-human) absorb and return the same grey survival energy. Thirdly, what is different from a "traditional discipline" is the *time management*. Contrary to the precise rhythm of the activities described by Foucault as a means of connection of forces focused on their utility, the general lack of activities and daily rhythm in the reception centres facilitate the perception of time as *liminal*. According to the principle of non-idleness which considers the waste of time "moral error and economic dishonesty", the pure idea of discipline aim at controlling activities and extracting from time as many instants as possible and increasingly useful forces. However, at the reception centre, despite the will and attempts to beat the time and increase the discipline in these terms, the only rhythm approximately respected was imposed by the canteen. The operators were sent every morning to wake up the beneficiaries and every evening to close the common areas. Despite this, most of the guests reversed the circadian rhythms: among other things, not having goals and activities planned, the tendency to sleep during the day rather than at night was very difficult to contrast. In the same space, different types of timing intersected: political time, much slower than biological time; time of memory, the passing of time in the world of origin, the image of an unclear future and the impossibility of being in the present. The only time that really seems not to be contemplated, in fact, is the here and now, the time of dwelling: the sleep-wake inversion, the total separation from the rhythms of nature and the seasonality of food (many asylum seekers were former farmers) were further elements of disorientation. Thus, the daily void and the temporal disorientation towards which tends an asylum seeker intertwined and wrapped one another, while the numerous attempts to establish a routine by the staff have always found resistance in the functioning of the assemblage itself. The lack of a daily plan unavoidably facilitated depression and the perception of the time and the self as *indistinct*. This *indistinction* is the liminality experienced in the Camp-space. As Boano (2017) makes clear, quoting Teyssot, the threshold of liminality is not a border, but a *zone*, and compares it to the physical space of the *pronaos*:

"passage and peristyle, pronaos and portal, entry and vestibule, triumphal arch, sacred and profane: these lines, imaginary and tectonic, do not create boundaries but an in-between, a space in the middle" (Teyssot 2008)

Moreover, as Agamben specify:

"the threshold is not...another thing with respect to the limit; it is, so to speak, the experience of the limit itself, the experience of being-within an outside" (Boano 2017, p. 47)

Factors such as the chronic lack of daily rhythm, the apparent expectation that waits for its end without being able to glimpse it, the indistinction of the time and the self, push the individual from a chronological perception of time up to confusing and overlapping timelines. Indistinction leads to suspension and multiplication of timelines and depersonalization. It is one of the leading means for the production of bare life. However, as will be seen in the next paragraph, despite the differences with the Foucauldian discipline (through the weakening and the lack of rhythm and control of the activities), this type of subjectification still manages to be convenient for the capitalist City.

SURPLUS POPULATION

As mentioned before, when bodies are resistant to the grip of the bare life, the fog of the tangle of regulations pushes those who do not let themselves be wholly swallowed up by depression to be engaged and bind elsewhere, to the not-rejecting urban mechanisms. Thus, the Humanitarian Space becomes a place that presses to make the bodies shell somewhere else with deep and hidden roots. I believe that the forces able to transform and push bodies towards this economic and social threshold have to do with those of the humanitarian assemblage. Prem Kumar Rajaram (2018) would say that these people, considered as an actual "surplus population", are grasped by backstage capitalism: "where people who are for different reasons unable to valorise their body power as free labourers are exploited as a surplus population" (Prem Kumar Rajaram 2018, p. 628). Marx maintained that the "surplus population" was vital for modern capitalism: its "condition of existence". According to him, the "surplus population" constitutes an "industrial reserve army [...] a human material to use, available at any time" and which can suddenly be moved where needed (Marx 2018 p. 459-460). At the time, the "industrial reserve army" was produced through technological innovation,

as well as through the natural increase of the population, and was characterized by fluctuating transformations. Today, migration flows significantly affect the surplus workforce. As Rajaram explains, the colonial ideology inherent in the birth of modern capitalism (which associates desirable traits with European 'culture'), makes sure that those who cannot transform their body power into labour, are those who come from the global south:

"Refugees, like other groups marginalised by capitalist valorisation of labour, become surplus, a population with a tangential relation to the norm, that leads not only to their economic deprivation but to a deep-seated social insecurity borne from having an insecure command over social, economic and political rights." (Prem Kumar Rajaram 2018, p. 635).

Based on this background, I believe that the humanitarian assemblage and the Camp play a fundamental role in the creation and management of this segment of the population. Firstly, because entrepreneurs and *caporali*[25] tend to prefer hiring workforce living in camps because of the "convenient" conditions in which they live. In fact, beneficiaries living in CASs do not need to pay any rent, food or general care, and often they are also available all day long because they are far from family and friends. With these premises, entrepreneurs take the liberty to lower their workers' wages even further and, at the same time, increase working hours. In this case, *the existence of zoépolitical dispositive concerned with ensuring survival and subsistence of the human zoé* - through the minimum standard threshold - *also become economic devices for reducing the workforce's cost*. In this sense, the humanitarian space becomes part of the urban economic and spatial productive process. This is true especially in large urban areas where current capitalism pushes the economy to seek stratagems to absorb surpluses (Harvey 2001), guests of reception centres represent the ideal target for those productive activities that require unskilled and low wage labour. Secondly, because part of the public welfare assistant and support functions are increasingly transferred to humanitarian actors. As I said before, despite its particular kind of discipline, the dispositive of the Camp in the European contest is still productive (in

25 Illegal gangmasters (i.e., businessmen hiring illegally and occasionally workers employed in the agricultural sector at very low wages).

the sense of "being useful to the capital"). For this reason, since my objective is to outline a theoretical diagram, I will explain it through two more stories. In the first one, I will describe the conduct of the camp assemblage in relation to an asylum seeker who experienced different levels of vulnerability and empowerment during his stay. In the second one I will argue about two means of transportation that have been part of the camp assemblage for several months, but not provided by the agreement with the prefecture (thus, considered an excess over the minimum standard).

THE DIAGRAM OF THE ASYLUM SEEKER

The story of G. was chosen because of his arduous experience, which allowed him to live the camp both as a "productive elsewhere" man and as a vulnerable guest, since, unfortunately, he had a severe accident that made him the main character of an emblematic situation. This oscillation of his personal wellness and empowerment highlighted, in turn, the different conducts of the power diagram in reaction to vulnerability. From the moment of his arrival, G. was mainly absent from the "day-life" of the centre: he used to leave the camp every day to go to work in a car dismantling which he left once he obtained the asylum. That business was regularly declared, and the owner was Italian. G. was not a regular worker, and after a while, he decided to leave that place to look for some job with a contract, following his great desire not to resign himself to the pressures of disempowerment. He began to work in the eastern suburbs of Rome, in a place of the city incredibly hard to notice, but which exemplifies how the camp assemblage and the humanitarian space are imperceptibly intertwined to the City: a garage at the end of a narrow street in the outskirts, behind an anonymous gate with no sign or intercom. Not even residents of the road, according to G., have never wondered what was behind that gate. Once past the gate, I was in front of a landscape of another country: I was in a land of brown earth with a few holes here and there and a couple of loose dogs. On the bottom, there was a prefabricated warehouse, in front of which a truck with the open backside was exactly on the main door of the depot. Once I entered, I noticed the administrative office on the right, where G. let me in by introducing the head of the business. In the main room of the warehouse, there

was instead a very high pile of used and discarded things: shoes, clothes, bags, dolls and toys, suitcases, bicycles, small and large appliances, broken paintings, etc. Three people, two boys and a woman, selected and prepared things to load on the truck. The lady owned the latter, and once it was full, it would have been driven to the port of Genoa, by a contact of theirs, which would have sent it so, untouched, directly to Nigeria. G. himself explained to me that what seemed to me like a landfill, actually meant a notable amount of money for them. Their activity consisted in collecting discarded "western-style and branded" material in good conditions from used flea markets, bins, offers and gifts, and sending everything to their Nigerian contacts where there is a high demand for those items. That was the first time I saw the economy of shipping items from Europe to Africa with my own eyes, and I realized how important and widespread this kind of trade was among the CAS guests and several hidden parts of the City. Later, I found the same great spread in Castel Volturno. At the time, G. used to return to the centre around nine o'clock PM without having eaten. After an interminable return trip, he hoped that it was a lucky day in which rules had not been strictly observed so that he could enjoy some leftovers of dinner at the camp. For the unfortunate evenings, G. had arranged with a small microwave in the room to heat lunch-leftover food (lunch at work consisted of African cuisine, and was brought to the scene by a Nigerian lady). Needless to say, after two or three times that the microwave was seized by operators (given the prohibition on keeping appliances in the rooms), G. gave up with his microwave and had to rely solely on the "humanity" of some operators who decided to "break the rules" and kept for him some leftovers of the dinner. But, after all, at that time, G. was one of the most resistant beneficiaries of the CAS: more empowered than the others, able to work, he could pursue personal goals without stressing the camp system. Indeed, he often did not even enjoy camp meals and he hadn't needed medical attention until then. After three months and a half at the CAS Ciampino, G. had a terrible accident at work, being severely burned. He was taken by ambulance and hospitalized in the burns department. The doctor defined him in serious condition because of medium-deep burns on 40% of the body (from the abdomen down), caused by gasoline, and he needed complex surgery. At the time of the accident, the centre still had no means of transportation

available to the operators, which would have allowed more accurate care by the CAS[26]. The only one who could take care (as a worker) of G. was the coordinator. Other workers could go privately and volunteer out of working hours. A month and two surgeries later, G. finally returned to the camp. At the time of his return, he was received with much warmth by operators and other beneficiaries. Since then, G. became an extremely vulnerable and demanding guest for the centre. The organization in shift work made G.'s care quite impersonal and fragmented. As the days went by, the attention of the operators returned to being absorbed by other logistic facts. G. became not only *unproductive* in absolute terms, but in need of extraordinary attention, specific care and expenses. Once back in the centre, taking proper care of G. would have meant helping him in changing bandages three times a day and in spreading oils and creams, having his skin often checked by a specialist (especially transplanted areas), supporting him in performing exercises prescribed by doctors and advise him in the best positions to take to withstand pain, tingling and discomfort, making an extraordinary amount of water available and communicating a specific diet to the kitchen. No extraordinary measure was taken from the centre, because it would have meant, indeed, an increase in resources (of all kinds). As prescribed, the CAS managed to accompany G. at every check-up. Still, the quality of care depended solely on the sensitivity and negotiation skills of the operators with the kitchen and the logistics manager, from the sensitivity of the centre nurse, the organization of her usual working time and her willingness to do more than she was paid for. In other words, voluntary "surplus" actions guided by humanity and based on humanitarian values were the ones that made the treatment effective. That kind of availability to do whatever the situation needed by humanitarian operators despite everyone's tasks was a proper fortune employed by the camp-system. As a complex tangle of elements that acts regardless of agency and will of the individual actors, this latter has been able to continue operating with the usual dynamics. The availability of the actual humanitarian actor, in these cases, represents a *non-accidental element of structural elasticity of the assemblage*, thanks to which it is possible to maintain its functioning according to the logic of the minimum standard. One episode, in particular, was typical. When G. returned from the hospital, he received a prescription to spread a

26 In the third story I will argue about the car as a not-essential item for the CAS.

specific healing cream over the whole body to keep the skin elastic. After a few weeks, G. was accompanied to a check-up by his doctor, who told him that the situation was quite good and he could stop the treatment gradually, over time. Once the news reached the centre (through a daily report): the CAS immediately proceeded to replace the most expensive cream with a cheapest basic one. Then, G. warned that with the new cream he was having problems that with the previous one he didn't have. The centre then made several attempts in trying to provide different creams to G., but always cheap and basic. G. then started complaining about the confusion, asking to avoid changing cream every week and reiterating that he was better with the first cream applied, prescribed by the doctor. After a few weeks, the pharmacy itself (owned by the same company that managed the CAS), refused to provide the cream required by the operators: the one G. preferred. He became aware of the fact that the problem was the economic expenditure, and for the social operators G. 's cream became a case to fight and renegotiate for. Providing a cream that was not "the bare minimum" but one that somehow would have made him feel better, more comforted, at the cost of few euros more per week, became a gesture of humanity for which it was worthwhile colliding with the logistic manager and the accountant (who continued to maintain that the guest's desire was a whim and the scientific truth of the doctor had allowed the supply of a cheaper cream). G.'s incredible strength allowed him to get back on his feet in a few months. He began complaining about tremendous boredom and difficulty in moving even to go to the city centre: the distance from the CAS to the central square of Ciampino is about 3 km, but he felt pain in his legs after few hundred meters of walking and after few minutes of standing, given the concentration of blood in parts of the body in which most of the tissue was in the regeneration phase. No extraordinary care, walk, operator or specialist was paid just one more hour to facilitate his recovery and his psycho-physical well-being. Every extra attention was the result of spontaneous and substantially free gestures of "Humanity", a strategic element that, in these cases, becomes an economic factor. When G. was able to return to work, he resumed exactly his previous life: he returned to be productive elsewhere and not challenging the camp-system. All things considered, the centre had strong interests in making sure that G. had all the necessary care, but on condition that they did not exceed the bare minimum. In a more general perspective, G.'s story also testifies that increasing vulnerability and the demand for specific attention in the

humanitarian space is something that puts its functioning in crisis.

THE DIAGRAM OF THE CAR AND THE BICYCLE

To make the functioning of the Diagram clearer, the next story describes how some items are considered as not strictly necessary for the camp-system. In particular, I have chosen to detail the negotiations around what allowed accessibility and movement to the guests: the car and the bicycles. While the first was made available (for a period) through an agreement and considered as "the car of the centre", the bicycles were owned by single beneficiaries and obtained through charity donations. Neither the car nor the bicycles were included in the agreement with the prefecture. In this sense, the absence of these objects in the agreement based on the fulfilment of the minimum, triggers, as a consequence, the impossibility of the bodies' free movement. The presence of the car derived from a negotiation whithin the governance, following the request of social workers. It provided for the proper humanitarian actor (Red Cross) to make its committee's car available. It was initially not provided because it was considered a surplus expenditure, well beyond the minimum standard. Still, since it arrived at the centre, it has radically changed the conditions of the beneficiaries. There are three reasons why the health of guests began to improve since the car was introduced into the assemblage. Firstly, there was a better treatment of health problems due to the presence of operators and mediators driving beneficiaries to doctors and external services. Here just an example:

C. complains about his health. He says he feels pins and needles in his stomach. He previously made visits, but doctors have always directed him to the psychiatric field. He, then, got angry and said he didn't want to go to the doctors anymore because he is not insane. He was forced to go alone, and when he realized he was with the psychiatrist, he escaped leaving the doctor appalled. The previous time he had failed to explain (he had always gone alone for lack of means of transportation and mediators). In the next few days, one of the operators will accompany him because now we are authorized to leave the camp. (personal diary, 3 October 2016)

I accompanied C. to the internist visit. After the "psychiatric experience" he was much more relaxed. The fact of not being alone helped him to explain better what feeling he had in his stomach: he says he feels worms. However, the doctor ruled out a series of diagnoses related to pressure and internist medicine. He was also convinced that C. had psychiatric symptoms. So, he told me this: as an internist doctor, he could prescribe "psychiatric" drugs but up to a certain point. He currently could prescribe what he can prescribe, as he understood from me that C. refuses to be seen by a psychiatrist, but he still advised us to keep him under control from this point of view. I was thinking that if no one had gone by car, we still would not be able to start treating (albeit temporary) C.'s symptoms. (personal diary 5 October 2016)

Secondly, the car allowed asylum seekers to reach places otherwise very difficult to go:

S. and B. today had to go to the Vincentian Centre. On the report it is written: "S. and B. left to go to the Vincentian Centre. Unfortunately, they could not find the Centre. They ask to be accompanied by someone after holidays." The guests got lost in the centre of Rome and could not find the Vincentian Centre with the printed map provided by the operators. It seems they have asked for directions to passers-by but have not received any answers. They came back disappointed and angry, especially because they felt discriminated. (personal diary 30 December 2016)

Thirdly, it allowed to strengthen relationships of trust among guests and operators (often the journey by car has led to significant conversations for the improvement of their well-being:

Today I accompanied M. to dr. V. to act as a mediator. Unexpectedly, a story of violence [...] came out. M. was in fact there because he needed a certificate to be presented at the judicial hearing. During the trip back I tried to understand if M. needed help or wanted to talk about something in particular. He made me read his profile with the appeal he applied in which there is the story of a homosexual relationship he had in Gambia. I think that M. really needs to become familiar with his sexuality. He is so scared. I told him that in Italy there is no death penalty for homosexuals like in Gambia, and that he can feel free to explore what he feels. He should find the courage to do it, but, in his situation, so scared and alone (none of his friends in the centre knows about it

because he feels so judged). I spoke very generically because from what I understand he is still very afraid to talk about these things even with his Gambian friends: they are all Muslims and Gambians, so for them is quite normal to punish homosexuality with death penalty. I told M. that in the coming days I will inform him and let him approach specific psychologists [...]. (personal diary, 15 December 2016)[27]

As a result, the presence of the car as object and infrastructure allowed them to take small steps to overcome a state of chronic vulnerability and become productive and more connected with external activities, work, places, things, persons. It has brought significant changes also in social operators' tasks, who, since then, have begun to move not only for the various assistances to the beneficiaries on the territory but also for services connected to the general needs of the centre. For instance, during the same exit, an operator accompanied a beneficiary to the doctor, went to the pharmacy to collect drugs and to another doctor to collect certificates for other beneficiaries. All the activities mentioned were carried out, previously, without the presence of the car, by the coordinator of the centre, in addition to his primary duties. It involved a considerable delay on the whole procedure and obviously on the taking of medicines by guests, as well as accentuating frustration and general resistance/protests by the beneficiaries. Still, for the camp-system, the car was a demanding extra. After a few months, the car was removed from the camp for increasingly long periods, because it was necessary to carry out other humanitarian services of the Red Cross Committee, considered as a priority.

During this experience, another type of means of transport became part of the CAS: the bicycle. The bicycles were able to improve beneficiaries' lives radically, thanks to an almost entirely external "humanitarian" initiative: the Italian teacher of the centre[28], having taken guests' well-being very seriously, involved a third association

27 I started, then, to accompany M. to the Mario Mieli's Circle (in the centre of Rome). He looked more confident and motivated. He was happy about the support and started to feel less alone. But I was no longer authorized to take the car and bring M. to the psychologist. After two times that he tried to go there without finding the place, he gave up and came back to the previous silent mood.

28 In the CAS, for the first few months, there was an Italian school 2/3 times a week in the afternoon. However, the school was not officially recognised and could not issue official certificates. The Italian teacher pushed the guests to attend the nearest official school and proposed her hours of lessons at the centre as additional to help

that she already attended in her free time, and began to network with a Rome bicycle-workshop. Together they launched a project that included the donation of used bicycles to asylum seekers, collected and fixed by the bicycle-workshop, then donated to the most regular student of the Italian school at the centre. This initiative had a substantial empowering impact on their lives. Bicycles became so coveted that they also created conflicts between beneficiaries. Bicycle owners began to reach much more easily Ciampino Station (and, therefore, the workplace), the school accredited to issue certificates of Italian Language and middle school certificate, general practitioners, or the closest bar to the camp. Throughout the project, the camp-system did not invest any extra official resource for their maintenance and parking. The only involvement was the spontaneous availability of the logistic manager, who provided a small company truck to transport the bicycles at the time of their acquisition. Also in this case, every extra attention was the result of spontaneous free gestures of "Humanity" and voluntary actions, able to significantly transform and empower migrants' lives, but involved in the assemblage in an extra and collateral way. The social workers made themselves available for the construction of a pallet bicycle rack during their working hours. After having planned the activity, the requested material was never provided. Operators were instructed to wait for the availability of the company handyman, who would come to the camp with their own tools. After about two months from the planning of the initiative, the handyman became available for the creation of a little rack enough for 5 bicycles (out of more than 20). Asylum seekers were involved for about two hours, but the bicycle rack was not finished. It was later completed by the handyman, at a time of his personal availability.

THE DIAGRAM OF THE CAMP

After having emphasised the logics underlying the space of the Camp through the

the beneficiaries learn the language faster and structure their activities. The Italian school in the centre, however, was interrupted after a few months, but the teacher continued in attending the guests through random external initiatives.

empirical narration of some stories, I will conceptually extrapolate and abstract the forces that constitute it in order to outline the diagram of a spatial model of government.

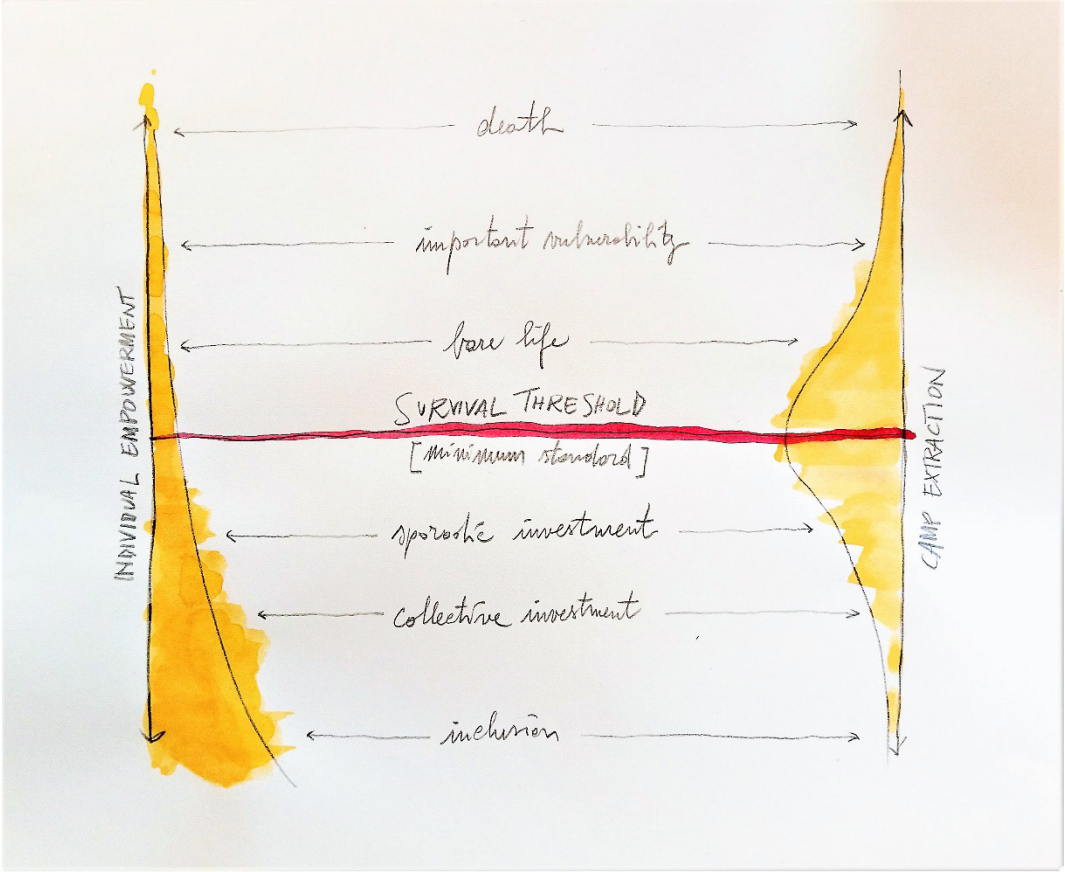

Figure 2 The power diagram.

The reason for this theoretical operation is linked to the interest of my research to subsequently transpose the diagram from the government of a proper Camp-space to an urban territory whose features clearly border on Camp-dynamics. Therefore,

based on the long personal experience described and on the available literature, I outlined a conceptual scheme that I consider the *power diagram*[29] of the Camp. As explained before, the Camp is a *dynamic machine* which pushes life towards a *survival threshold* of "minimum standards". In general, minimum standards usually follow what is acknowledged as "humanitarian standards''. In the case of most of the Italian Reception Centres (CAS), minimum standards are established by *Prefetture* (territorial agencies of state police) through a publication of periodical calls for bids. The diagram allows to compare the general "wellness" of a camp-dweller to the "wellness" of the camp-system, understood as an assemblage in itself (so, composed of distinct types of actants in continuous transformation and with different agencies, but which works with mechanisms that go beyond the control of its single parts). An important part of my analysis focuses on its economic dynamics, because the Camp is certainly not extraneous to the capitalistic system. As Netz (2004) claimed in his "Barbed Wire", the Camp is not only a space of exception. Rather, it is the result of a process of capital control started in the colonial era (and mentality), aimed at creating new methods of control of certain forms of lives. According to Netz (2004, p.51), the concentration of specific life forms in a single space was precisely the way to control and capitalize on them more easily. This practice, started with animals in colonial states, was then replicated on humans and became a global strategic ecology that produces specific political economies. Minca (2015) summarizes Netz's work with these words:

The camp is [...] a key political technique fully integrated into a certain kind of capitalist space, a certain kind of bio-geopolitics originating in the colonies and then imported into Europe, with the imprisonment of animals and (certain racially and politically determined) humans, to violently constrain their mobility and manage their 'bios'. (Minca 2015, p. 80)

For these reasons, this type of space is one of the cruellest spatial manifestations of capitalism and its functioning depends strongly on its growth. However, the difference between the camp and any other capitalist productive system is that the camp *per se* is not directly bound to the creation of a product (which can be that of an institute of detention aimed at rehabilitating and reintegrating detainees). The camp in itself, as

29 See image n. 2.

all the literature confirms, is required to suspend and contain, to control and to keep alive as a zoépolitical performative dispositive. Therefore, in an extremely simplified way, whereas a capitalist system, at the end of the day, obtains a final value composed of the invested value plus a certain surplus, the camp-system instead does not produce autonomously any type of surplus. However, having to guarantee at the same time a continuous growth (or income) and absolve its natural zoépolitical function (keeping life alive), the camp-system is forced to an operation that could be called *"outflow capitalism"*: the "surplus" derives intrinsically from the very fact that the camp exists and, therefore, invests resources to resist as a *zoépolitical space*. A *condenser of human zoé*. The result of this dynamic is inevitably the tendency of the economic convenience of the camp-system towards a minimum spending threshold, or what is enough to keep its inhabitants alive: the survival threshold based on the minimum standards. At this point, a fundamental agent plays a role in the mechanism: humanitarian aid. Didier Fassin (2012) criticizes humanitarian reason because, as a fundamental moral imperative (to the point that questioning it is considered as taboo), it has also become an excuse for political or military action. As much as I agree with this critical thinking, however, I would like to emphasize here the actual practical synergy of the humanitarian reason with precise functional economic and governmental needs, rather than the political intentions of individual actors. In particular, I would like to underline how the interest of the proper humanitarian world, driven by the spirit of active benevolence that has roots in Christian charity (and, even before, in the sentiment of *agape*), exactly corresponds to the zoépolitical interest of protecting and valorising life. So, the well-being of the Camp-system decreases and is put in crisis if the life it hosts and maintains at the survival status goes towards the important vulnerability (as in the case of G. 's accident) or is even threatened by the presence of death (as in the case of Z.). On the other hand, the well-being of the camp-dweller is directly proportional to the possibilities and resources offered to him. By its nature, however, the Camp is not a dispositive aimed at empowering and emancipating the single bìos, rather, to protect zoé. Raising the *quality* of life is not part of its profit logic. On the contrary, through its specific form of discipline, in guaranteeing survival and subsistence, it produces disempowerment and disidentification. For this reason, the well-being of the Camp-system is put in crisis even if its resources are used for individual or collective paths of empowerment, both because the latter implies a

reappropriation of one's identity and political resistance and because the flow of available resources would not be enough for a single beneficiary to escape the Camp threshold. In the perspective of the spatial concentration of a given form of life, the humanitarian space becomes a model of control aimed at capturing, maintaining and managing the excess population. At the same time, however, it is also a zoépolitical dispositive producing a *specific subjectivity* - a racialized, low-cost productive body in a state of survival - and of a *particular territory* - low-cost economies connected to spaces characterized by immobility or extremely poor accessibility. As is evident after only a few days of frequenting the camp-space, "well-being" and resilience of camp-dwellers is generally strongly entangled with the surrounding urban dynamics. In escaping the grip of the camp that pushes towards the production of mere *bare life*, camp-dwellers usually find room in certain urban economies and productions, ending up weaving the proper physical camp-space to the City and giving life to a broader and transformative *camp-assemblage*. In this sense, the City becomes an opportunity to escape from the oppressive forces of the diagram. Guests of the Camp that inhabit the survival threshold pour into the maze of the capitalist City that increasingly seeks a depoliticized, extremely flexible, devalued and not delocalized workforce. This intertwining between the Camp and the City constitutes a break with the idea of the Camp as an enclave. Instead, it defines itself as a reality scattered and widespread throughout the territory which, by encountering the City, produces unexpected results.

THE CITY-CAMP SHIFTING PROCESS

THE CASE OF CASTEL VOLTURNO AS A CITY-CAMP SHIFTING PROCESS

The City of Castel Volturno is a municipality in the Province of Caserta, an hour's drive from Naples, at the mouth of the Volturno river. Its proximity to a densely urbanized area such as that of the cities of the urban region including Naples and Caserta undoubtedly facilitates the relations between these urban agglomerations. At the same time, there is a significant lack of services provided to the population currently present, a great difficulty in accessing the area due to the scarcity and malfunction of metropolitan public transport, which does not favour social and economic blooming. Evidently, this makes Castel Volturno acquire the traits of a bedroom community. In ancient times it was an Etruscan and Roman settlement called Volturnum, reached by Via Domitiana in 95 AD, which allowed Romans to move for holidays during summer along the coast, and to reach modern Pozzuoli. That settlement and the surrounding area were also part of the land generally known by Romans as Campania Felix (happy countryside), due to its great fertility. Even today, the Via Domitiana is one of the main infrastructures that connect Naples to Rome. A very fertile area where agriculture and farming are still main activities today, but mostly linked to an export production which contributes, as will be explained later, to attract *less-than-human* bodies. Despite the great fertility, since the 2000s, this area of the Campania region has been affected by the so-called phenomenon of the "Terra dei Fuochi" (Melorio 2015, Peluso 2015): fires, dumping and burial of toxic industrial waste in the lands and waters of the territories between Naples and Caserta. In addition to the evident consequences on the health of the places and the population, the debate around this phenomenon was a severe blow to agricultural economies and contributed in describing Castel Volturno as a place of disrepair. Moreover, starting from the second post-war period, Castel Volturno was affected by a vast expansion. In fact, during the period of economic prosperity of the whole nation, it became a summer tourist destination for the Neapolitan middle

class. Professionals and wealthy families began to spend their summer months along the coast, triggering the town's economic growth. This development also involved a considerable increase in activities and interests and an escalation in the circulation of human and non-human elements around the area.

Figure 3 Ruins in the Villaggio Coppola neighbourhood. Source: author.

In addition to an unprecedented (mostly unplanned) urban growth, the area was infrastructured without the regulation of any plan: the birth of almost exclusively residential neighbourhoods along over 25 km of coastline and the lack of proper urbanization developed in concert with the building expansion still characterize the

nature of this controversial and fascinating territory.[30]To the problems of a territory that has grown without a plan, is then added a significant gap, not captured by official demography, between the registered population and the actual population which accentuates the already inadequate provision of urban services. Nowadays Castel Volturno is inhabited officially by 26,735 people (around 4,300 of them immigrants)[31]. But an estimated 10,000-15,000 undocumented migrants swell the total population to around 40,000 people, especially considering the significant increase during the harvest.[32] On this basis, the municipality assumes that around 50% of inhabitants are immigrants. In particular, there is an estimated presence of 78 different nationalities and 100 ethnic groups, but the largest communities are from Ghana and Nigeria, particularly from southern-Nigeria. As in the rest of the country, public funding to municipalities is often paid out in proportion to the formal resident population. Public Services depend on public funding as well as local revenues. In addition to the apparent population gap, in Castel Volturno taxes are paid only by a part of the population. The former mayor Dimitri Russo reports that, at the beginning of his mandate, only about 40% of the resident population paid taxes and that the available resources are barely enough to provide the waste collection service and pay the salaries of the employees of the municipality.[33] The municipality of Castel Volturno is in fact in a "structural deficit situation", and financial collapse was officially declared in 2011.[34] This dead-end spiral puts the institution itself in a state of survival, such as to often resort (admittedly or not) to the support of a robust humanitarian network for the

30 See image n. 3

31 Source: ISTAT. updated to 2020 January, 1st, available at: http://demo.istat.it/pop2020/index.html

32 Sources: interviews with Dimitri Russo (former mayor), Sergio Serraino (Emergency PM) and Mimma D'Amico (Centro Sociale Ex Canapificio); Camera dei Deputati. Commissione parlamentare di inchiesta sul sistema di accoglienza, di identificazione ed espulsione, nonché sulle condizioni di trattenimento dei migranti e sulle risorse pubbliche impegnate (2016), Resoconto stenografico. Audizione congiunta del sindaco di Castel Volturno, Dimitri Russo, e dei responsabili del presidio ospedaliero Pineta Grande di Castel Volturno, Vincenzo Schiavone, direttore generale, e Fulvio Calise, direttore scientifico, XVII Legislatura, 14 June 2016, available at: Rif. Camera Rif. normativi XVII Legislatura Commissione parlamentare di inchiesta sul sistema di accoglienza, di identificazione

33 Interview with Dimitri Russo (former mayor of Castel Volturno), December 2019.

34 The resolution of the Municipal Council of Castel Volturno n. 32, 07/12/2011 declared a state of financial collapse.

management of the territory. In particular, humanitarian actors are necessary for the management of the "excess population" that is invisible in the local administration's census.

Figure 4 Occupied houses at Villaggio Coppola, Castel Volturno. Source: author.

Together with other anomalous, irregular things and processes of the territory that, by their own nature, escaped the grip of formal institutions - such as the National Reception System or the formal real estate market (which will be adequately discussed later), the "excess population" readily becomes the subject matter of a narrative that

keeps feeding a representation of degradation and crime. While the film industry seeks this place for surreal and post-apocalyptic scenarios, books and newspapers have largely contributed to place within collective imaginaries the idea of Castel Volturno as the main base of the infamous Nigerian Mafia, a hellish place for prostitution, drug and human trafficking and even as the site of clandestine surgical operations linked to the international trafficking of organs.[35] As argued by Amin and Thrift (2002), this kind of narrative enormously contributes in producing a "symbolic economy of mechanized images which redefines the sense of a location" and, in this case, the stigma becomes a relevant productive force in how this territory evolves and is produced. In the next paragraphs, I will describe the coexistence of the peculiarities of both the Camp and the City in the "Castel Volturno world", and how the Camp power diagram actively produced by this coexistence works on this territory. I will start focusing on the Camp dynamic and, although the socio-material features of camp-like spaces in Castel Volturno are not immediately comparable to those of a proper refugee camp, I will provide arguments to understand these forms of socio-materiality in that vein. In camp-like spaces the power diagram actively working in everyday life produces results that are incessantly intertwined with the materiality of urban processes and increases the ambiguity and interchangeability between the role of the actants and their performances. Therefore, I will explain in more detail how humanitarian actors take on governing functions in the territory, while humanitarian performances are increasingly frequent among classical institutions. In particular, humanitarian actors take an active role in territorial governance through providing essential services to the "excess population", managing the circulation and guaranteeing access to otherwise strictly segregated areas. The fulfilment of these functions makes them indispensable for social security and gives them extraordinary bargaining power in the actual governance of the area. As they do so, formal institutions learn from them and incorporate the humanitarian logic into their modes of functioning, partly because their economic state of survival forces them, partly because, as Didier Fassin

35 Some example of journalistic mystification are available at: https://internapoli.it/traffico-organi-2/ and https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-03-17/castel-volturno-is-headquarters-for-nigerian-mafia-in-italy/12033684. Sergio Serraino, project manager of Emergency in Castel Volturno, explains how there are several fake informants in the area belonging to African communities who take advantage of media attention to sell gory and invented stories to journalists in search of a scoop.

(2012, p. 253) points out, the government is increasingly conditioned by the moral imperative of the Humanitarian Reason: a political theology characterized by "the principle of the equal value of all lives ".

Figure 5 Villaggio Coppola, Castel Volturno. Source: author.

By telling stories linked to single bodies, I will highlight how the elements cross the power diagram in an oscillatory way, changing position according to the variation of vulnerability or inclusion (in the case of humans), malfunctioning and efficiency (in the case of non-humans). Moreover, I will highlight how the humanitarian space

coinciding with the survival threshold is actually a void, a potential suspension that leads and materializes either involutional or evolutionary trajectories, depending on the specific material connections and the willpower of affirmation. The constant friction with urban processes enables the elements to find, precisely in that void, paths to escape from the state of survival.

CAMP CASTEL VOLTURNO

As explained above, the debate around the concept of Camp is very heated, and several authors have tried to give their definition. However, some traits are undoubtedly recurrent and push me to circumscribe the Camp as that theoretical concept that in the materiality of space finds the coexistence of *exclusion*, *state of exception*, *liminality* and *humanitarian presence*. Thanks to the experience in Ciampino, I theorized the functioning of its elements, trying to define the force field that makes it work. In the following paragraphs, I will demonstrate instead how in Castel Volturno there is the coexistence of the characteristics of the mentioned traits and how the diagram of power works in this specific assemblage, although the friction with urban processes makes it assume unpredictable drifts and expressions.

DISCARDED MATERIALITY

First of all, Castel Volturno is an extraordinary place of capture and circulation of excluded bodies and things, escaped, overflowed or discarded by other assemblages[36], which manage to create unprecedented chains of survival. For example, pull factors for such a significant presence of immigrant communities have to be found in the matching of several historical elements, but primarily in the large number of abandoned houses, which represent, for bodies in a state of poverty, a potential

36 See Figure n.6

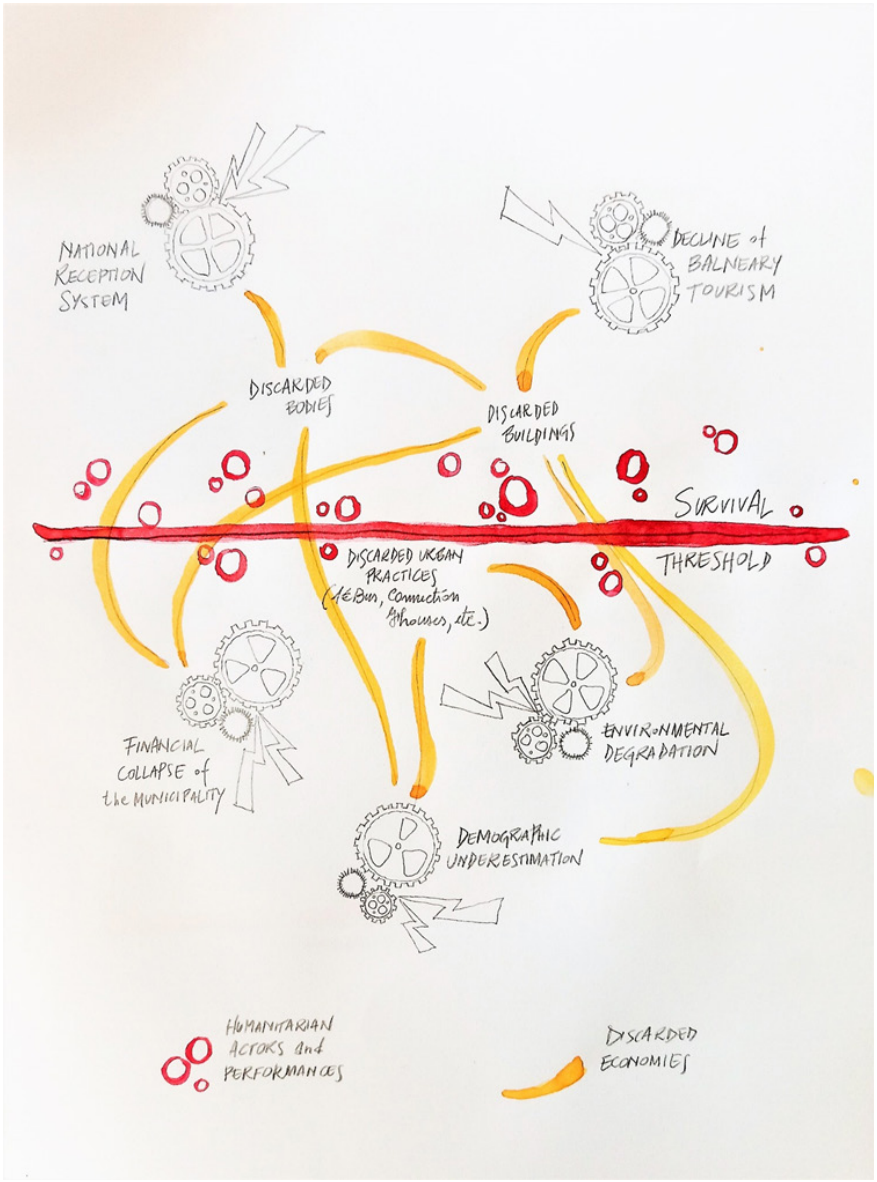

Figure 6 Capture and recirculation of discarded elements escaped and overflowed from other assemblages or dysfunctional mechanisms.

home. In particular, I consider discarded materiality bodies and things escaped from previous assemblages due to different types of tie-breaking: the end of economies functioning in the past produced discarded buildings, the difficulties in containing bodies of the National Reception System produces discarded bodies, and the business of used objects or literally considered junk produces what I call "discarded economies". Discarded bodies, things and economies are, in the ways I will explain shortly, captured by Castel Volturno through the presence of a humanitarian assemblage that guarantees the functioning of the territory. Castel Volturno features a vast and discarded built environment, made up of abandoned houses[37] that can be rented at incredibly affordable prices or just occupied. This availability of buildings derives from the collapse of the touristic economy started on the Domitian coast from the 1960s onwards. After the Second World War, Italy had a period of great prosperity during which Castel Volturno underwent a remarkable transformation thanks to the intense reclamation of marshland during fascism and since 1954, when the new Via Domiziana and the new bridge over the Volturno river were completed. It experienced rapid and disorderly growth, also due to the creation of seaside tourist centres. From that time on, the Neapolitan middle class started to move to Castel Volturno in the summer, often building illegal beach houses. In the late 1960s Villaggio Coppola was built. It is considered one of the most extraordinary examples of large-scale illegal building [38]: a 'utopian residential community' planned for wealthy inhabitants[39], now half demolished and occupied by poor people, mostly immigrants. A similar story happened in Destra Volturno and Pescopagano, parts of the municipality where unauthorized buildings were constructed directly on the beach. From the late 1970s, the city went into decline. Firstly, after a series of earthquakes in the Campania Region at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, Villaggio Coppola hosted more than 5,000 earthquake survivors. With the requisition of houses by the government

37 See images

38 Pianigiani G. (2017), 'Forsaken Village on Italy's Coast Tells Tale of a Paradise Lost', The New York Times, available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20190701023603/https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/17/world/europe/villaggio-coppola-italian-seaside.html; Falco, P. (2012), 'Villaggio Coppola, dove c'erano gli ecomostri ora va «a scuola» la Forestale', Corriere del Mezzogiorno, available at: Villaggio Coppola, dove c'erano gli ecomostri ora va «a scuola» la Forestale

39 Old advertising video of Villaggio Coppola available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OU76H7mrijQ

the degradation of the area began: private owners started to sell their properties and stopped maintaining infrastructure.

Figure 7 Some of the buildings in Destra Volturno. Source: author.

Figure 8 Destra Volturno. Source: author.

Figure 9 Discarded buildings in Bagnara di Castel Volturno. Source: author.

Figure 10 Discarded buildings in Bagnara di Castel Volturno. Source: author.

Figure 11 Occupied building along Via Domitiana. Source: author.

Figure 12 Rented houses near Via dei Diavoli. Source: author.

Secondly, Castel Volturno and the surrounding area were considered by politicians in that period as an opportunity to reduce urban blight and social degradation in the city of Naples.[40] The population more than doubled between 1981 (7,311 inhabitants) and 1991 (15,140 inhabitants) as a result. Thirdly, after the rehousing of displaced people and the beginning of non-Italian migration flows from the 1980s, Castel Volturno started to lose its touristic appeal and discrimination between locals and immigrants started out.[41] The end of the tourist economy left Castel Volturno with a large and abandoned material capital which would have been taken and re-capitalized soon by someone else. This was the beginning of the process that led Castel Volturno's beach houses to the current situation: an astonishing number of crumbling buildings and ghost neighbourhoods. In fact, ruins are diffused throughout the entire municipal territory, with the exception of the historic centre and a few specific areas. Dereliction is such a part of the landscape that in the last few years it became emblematic: documentaries, press reports, and even movies have Castel Volturno's ruins as their background.[42] Today, buildings and neighbourhoods are sharply divided on an ethnical base: the historical centre is mainly inhabited by local Italians; Destra Volturno, most similar to classic ghetto, is mostly inhabited by African families, the area in front of Pescopagano is inhabited by Pakistani immigrants, and close to it there's another area which is inhabited by immigrants from East-Europe, and so on. Crumbling buildings are occupied or rented at extremely low price by owners (or even by Italian middlemen unrelated to real owners) who don't want to renovate them or who try to sell them without succeeding. As the former mayor explains (Camera dei Deputati 2017), many buildings could have been easily evacuated for hygiene reasons, but there are numerous obstacles to proceeding given the widespread difficulty in tracing the property owners: some pages of the real estate registry are still censored because of military reasons[43], because of lack of order (they simply are inaccurate and

40 Roberto Saviano clearly describes in Gomorra how this exodus prepared the environment for the subsequent organized crime's investments.

41 Still today the name "cas' carut" is used to indicate those who originally lived in Castel Volturno because they were displaced.

42 Matteo Garrone shot in Villaggio Coppola one of his lasts movie: Dogman, trailer available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ewh0lBcEb2U

43 A NATO Base is located at Lago Patria, a few kilometres from Castel Volturno.

discordant) and for other reasons related to the state property administration. Thus, those crumbling buildings just remain stuck in a sort of limbo: they cannot be sold, confiscated, demolished, rebuilt or restored. They just can be rented or occupied. The former mayor says[44]:

"Very often the owners want to donate the house to the Municipality to avoid paying IMU and TARI[45]. They blame the parents who left the property as an inheritance and didn't sell it when someone would have bought it. However, I have never accepted these donations: we already have 120 confiscated assets, and we do not know what to do with them, imagine if I accept an old house that is in danger of being occupied! Then if something happens the responsibility lies with the Municipality!"

The owners then very often decide to rent the house even irregularly, at a meagre price.

"The owners who are still identifiable put black people in and with 100/50 € each they pay the taxes. In Castel Volturno, there is the lowest real estate price in Europe! Some of them live in Qualiano and say they don't want to go back to Castel Volturno. Neither them nor their children. And then they ask me why they have to pay taxes in a territory they don't want to be in".

In fact, the real estate price of Castel Volturno is extremely low: a residential house in a poor state of conservation in Destra Volturno neighbourhood is appraised between □ 170 and □ 240 per square meter[46]. A house of 100 square meters can therefore be purchased for about □ 17,000. For these reasons, renting in Castel Volturno is relatively easy for undocumented people and those outside the reception system. Most immigrants in Castel Volturno are persons overflowed from the National Reception System, for various reasons: either their Visa is expired or they left their accommodation for seasonal work, or they spent more than two nights out of the

44 Interview with Dimitri Russo (former mayor of Castel Volturno), December 2019.

45 National tax for the property of a second house (IMU) and garbage tax (TARI).

46 Source: Agenzia delle Entrate, available at: https://wwwt.agenziaentrate.gov.it/servizi/Consultazione/ricerca.htm

centre[47], or they are part of human trafficking networks[48], or just because they have obtained asylum but they cannot afford rent when it is time to leave the centre. During my fieldwork, the vast majority of people I interviewed were in these situations, and I began to realize that Castel Volturno is not just a place full of abandoned houses and infrastructures, but is also a natural gathering point of discarded bodies[49]. Bodies in excess even to the reception system end up in this hub attracted by several coexisting factors mentioned before, creating an extraordinary concentration of *less-than-humans*. Castel Volturno is a great reference point for some immigrant communities, in particular the Nigerian one (which is estimated to be one of the largest in Europe)[50]. From this point of view, the international relevance of the Nigerian community here is such that in 2015 a famous Pentecostal Pastor, Johnson Suleman[51], made a tour called "Operation Europe" in two main stages: Amsterdam and Castel Volturno. Moreover, to exemplify the extent to which Castel Volturno is the "leftover place" of the Italian Reception System, the number of non-registered persons in Castel Volturno is 75 times more than the Italian average (Camera dei Deputati 2017). At the same time, in addition to bodies, it is interesting to underline how objects and things working in the camp-assemblage have been discarded from previous assemblages and re-captured in the current one: crumbling buildings, used means of transportation, outlet clothing and appliances trades, etc. are nothing but discarded materiality still able to be part of a specific kind of market.

47 In the National Reception System, centres are required to throw beneficiaries out if they spend more than two nights out of the building without permission from Prefettura (which is extremely difficult to obtain).

48 It is the case of women forced by smugglers and madame to start prostitute themselves.

49 These data are confirmed by informal conversations with Emergency's and Centro Sociale's staffs. See image n. 7.

50 Source: informal conversation with Emergency mediators, June 2019.

51 Suleman Johnson is a Nigerian televangelist, senior pastor and general supervisor of Omega Fire Ministries International Church, which is based in Edo State, Nigeria. Website at: http://apostlesuleman.org/index.php

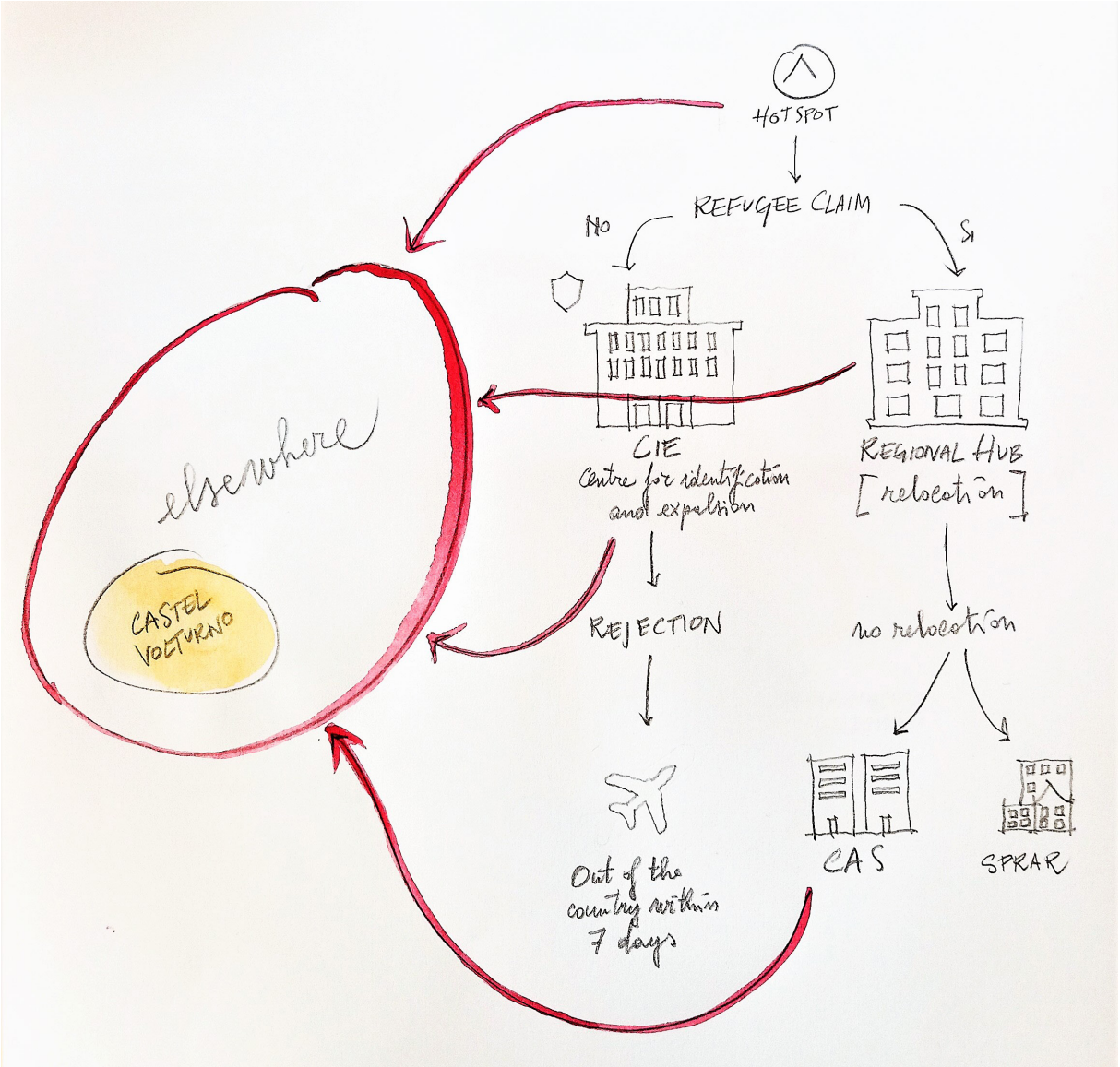

Figure 13 On the right, how the National Reception System works (officially). During the process and between a stage and another, many bodies overflow from the system, and they end up in places like Castel Volturno, where it is possible to survive as undocumented.

According to Agamben, the Camp is mainly the place where the state of exception is in force: that threshold where the decision-making and political power of the Sovereign override the juridical one:

The exception is a kind of exclusion. What is excluded from the general rule is an individual case. But the most proper characteristic of the exception is that what is excluded in it is not, on account of being excluded, absolutely without relation to the rule. On the contrary, what is excluded in the exception maintains itself in relation to the rule in the form of the rule's suspension. (Agamben 1998, p. 17-18)

The Sovereign creates the state of exception as he can decide to derogate from a rule that is itself one of its emanations. In this historical moment, sovereignty is fragmented: power is no longer concentrated in the hands of a single sovereign, but rather in the hands of multiple actors who have different levels of agency on the territory. However, the sovereignty of the government is exercised through institutional actors at different scales on the territory, which inevitably take on different forms and outcomes based on the specificities of the place in question. In this process, it bumps into actors able to negotiate interpretation and application of the standard itself. In this case, the "exceptions" of Castel Volturno granted by institutional actors contribute to the contamination of the territory by the Humanitarian Space forces and are added to the rest of the attraction factors of less-than-human bodies. Like other camps established as a superordinate and emergency management response to an excess population, here some assumptions enable the institutions to work according to emergency logics and create the conditions for the state of exception. Not being a properly established camp, I will try to explain through some examples how Castel Volturno still represents an exceptional place. A place where, given the persisting logic of a "state of emergency", it has been and is cyclically necessary to recognize that some regulations in force in the rest of the national territory cannot be considered feasible in this unique place because of its demographic, economic and morphological peculiarities. According to many of the immigrant dwellers, the landscape and the way of life in Castel Volturno is similar to the one they had in their countries of origin. For instance, there, they can

simply manage a taxi business without having a driving license or car insurance[52]. They can open a restaurant in a normal house, or even convert it in a Connection House[53]. The fact that all of this is possible is strongly related to the assumption of a lack of controls and supervision by enforcement authorities. This is such a common idea that every person I interviewed during my fieldwork answered mentioning the lack of control and the similarity with its place of origins, without exception. As explained before[54], more than 60% of the regular inhabitants in Castel Volturno usually don't pay taxes. The former mayor declared that the municipality receives a grant from the Solidarity Fund for 25,000 inhabitants, but in reality they are around 40,000, and with this budget they can barely pay municipal employees' salaries, electricity and manage the regular waste collection.[55] The mayor, during a deposition to the Italian Parliament (Camera dei Deputati 2016), explained how the lack of control is due also to the fact that enforcement authorities (Polizia and Carabinieri) do not have enough funding to supervise the area, while Castel Volturno's budget council member asserted that the physical condition of the territory is ideal to hide oneself in the several private alleys off the main roads (during the 1970s and 1980s, Castel Volturno was shelter for many Camorra fugitives). He maintained that the Municipality of Castel Volturno is 74 square kilometres, while the Municipality of Naples is 100 square kilometres. In Castel Volturno there are 2 social workers and 16 policemen: considering working shifts, 3-4 policemen are all that are available at any time to conduct judicial actions, notifications, inspections on unauthorized buildings, environmental inspections, residential acts, document for the Procura della Repubblica and the Neapolitan DDA (Anti-mafia Departmental Direction). This represents "a total impossibility to operate" (Camera dei Deputati 2017). In brief, the lack of resources to control and offer services, the morphology suitable for hiding and the demography exceptionally far from the

52 See the alternative transport system of "OneEroBus" in the next paragraphs.

53 Connection houses are gathering places where most of the dwellers go to spend their leisure time. They are dozens in Castel Volturno, scattered in every neighbourhood, and they are different and similar at the same time: some are just bars or restaurants, some have rooms to rent for short periods or end up hosting prostitution. They generally are managed by a lady or, in case of prostitution, by madams, often part of the human trafficking chain.

54 Previously explained in detail.

55 Also declared during an interview of the mayor with the TV program "Piazza Pulita" available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N8HPNPMP_QQ

actual conditions of the territory, therefore, represent the basis for the creation of a state of exception, where the juridical order is suspended. At the request of the former mayor, since 2014 the Prefettura[56] reassured the Municipality with an internal directive, pledging that no reception centres would be opened in Castel Volturno, already saturated with immigrants. Considering how the Italian Reception System works based on 'accoglienza diffusa' (scattered reception) throughout municipalities, this is undoubtedly an exception. According to the agreement between ANCI (National Association of Italian Municipalities) and the Italian Government (Ministero dell'Interno 2019) (an important frame of standards for the entire Italian Reception System which establishes - among other things - the number of asylum seekers that every municipality can host, on the basis of their local populations), if Castel Volturno had not been an exception, the municipality would have had to receive 7.5 million euros in 2016 and 2017.[57] Paradoxically, it is the presence itself of so many migrant persons in need, that population in excess, which creates the impossibility to respond and the emergency logic behind the mechanism of the territory. Additionally, given the awareness about the excess population, in Castel Volturno institutions make possible the access to the national health system without having been registered as an official resident, differently from the rest of Italy. It would be enough to have a Permesso di Soggiorno (residency permit) - or just a sort of receipt with the appointment for its renewing released from Questura[58] - and a "Self-certification of actual dwelling" to have a personal doctor assigned. Notwithstanding this, sometimes even regular migrants prefer the Emergency clinic to a personal general practitioner: local doctors do not speak English or French and do not have mediators or mediation skills. But this is an example of how the humanitarian world finds itself performing governmental functions that will be adequately discussed later.

56 According to the Italian immigration law, the opening of a Reception Centre is under the jurisdiction of the local Prefetturas: companies which would like to apply to manage a Reception Centre have to wait for their competition announcement.

57 The Italian Government in 2016 and 2017 allocated a fund to reward the Municipalities which host migrants. The "gratitude bonus" provided for a payment of 500 euros each migrant officially hosted in Reception Centres, but there are no Reception Centres in Castel Volturno. More details about the fund at: https://www.fondiwelfare.it/bonus-gratitudine/

58 This one also is an exception: in most of Italy, this receipt called "cedolino" or "slip" is not considered as a proper document which can take the place of Permesso di Soggiorno.

Figure 14 Entrance of a rented house in Pineta grande, Castel Volturno. Source: author.

Further evidence of the exceptionality of the place is the fact that the payment exemption comes automatically for every person in possession of an STP number[59]: the Italian law allows undocumented persons to have access to urgent medical care after they obtain an STP number, but in most Italian regions, to obtain the payment exemption, a person has to face a very complex bureaucratic process which requires

59 The STP number is a code assigned in place of a regular Codice Fiscale (National Insurance Number) to foreigners temporarily staying in Italy in case of need of urgent medical treatments. Thus, it is used for medical prescriptions to undocumented persons.

documents that undocumented migrants clearly don't have (for example an income statement). This means that, where the payment exemption is not automatically related to the STP number, the cost of the medical tests is at the expense of the reception centre (in case of asylum seekers with accommodation). Otherwise, the health care pathway is just interrupted due to the lack of money. This exception, instead, allow the significant number of undocumented persons living in Castel Volturno to have access to the health care - at least for urgent medical treatments, avoiding degenerations and protecting the circulation of elements on the territory. The state of exception is therefore something that puts Castel Volturno in a constant ambiguity of status: the emergency humanitarian approach contaminates the spaces and, often, replaces ordinary government practices, leaving room for the actual humanitarian actors to join the assemblage.

LIMINALITY

Together with its space, the time of the Camp is often described as "suspended" (Agamben 1995, Rahola 2003, Ramadan 2012 et al.). The concept of "liminality" is understood as an undefined zone of "permanent temporariness" (Rahola 2003, Bailey 2002 et al.). Liminality is also defined as a "zone of indistinction", of hybridization (Boano and Muzzonigro 2013). Not something that has to do with the boundary, but "an in-between space" (Teyssot 2008) where multiple identities, projects and temporal references overlap. Castel Volturno is a sort of in-between for the general functioning of migration flows in Italy - understood both as what is included in the National Reception System and what outflows or entirely escapes from it: migrants use to go there when they need a pause in their struggling migrant pathway. During the period in which I produced the data in Castel Volturno through participant observation and semi-structured interviews, I also proposed and organized a focus group with the Emergency staff in order to better understand their shared perception of the place, dynamics and target of the population to which their services are addressed. During the focus group, a part of the staff drew a conceptual map of the Reception System from the migrant's point of view. The outcome was a labyrinth where Castel Volturno was portrayed as a place of rest, equated, in this sense, to a CAS or a SPRAR (official

Reception Centres) and to "the community"[60]. As one of the mediators explained:

"When they come to Castel Volturno, they stay. [...] They go to Germany, they "goof around", they do everything they have to do, and then they come back. It is a sort of recharging point", says one of the cultural mediators trying to explain the migrant's point of view: "during the planning of my migratory pathway, I didn't plan to deal and solve a health problem. [...] When I come here to the clinic at Castel Volturno, it means that I don't know how to move along, that I find myself in a dead-end, and I need to be pushed elsewhere in the labyrinth, like in a pinball machine, to resume my pathway." (Emergency mediator during the focus group, July 2019)

The time spent in Castel Volturno seems to be a time between one phase and another, a sort of life on the threshold, even though not necessarily between past and future, or between the journey and the goals everyone wants to reach. To be clear: it is not necessarily a *waiting time,* if we consider a waiting time as a time with an end. It is, indeed, a zone of indistinction between the identity, the time and the events happening in the country of origins and to their families and the Otherness of the hosting community. An example of how a life-rhythm in Castel Volturno can be influenced by a significant event that happened in the country of origins are the consequences of the Oba's edict[61] in 2018. Since the vast majority of women trafficking comes from this particular Nigerian region, when in March 2018, the Oba Eware II condemned trafficking and released all the women bound to a juju[62] ritual, the news had a great impact on Edo people all over the world, particularly in Castel Volturno. This specific event has been perceived as a sort of "Year Zero", a turning point in which many women felt free for the first time. Some of them stopped sex work, others continue this kind of job, forced by *madams* or just because there are no circumstances to change. But what is certain, is that Oba's edict compelled the system of trafficking

60 This term is understood as the network of compatriots rooted in the territory which always strive for creating the initial condition to let a person settle down.

61 The Oba of Benin is the King of Edo State and Edo people. It is the traditional ruler and the custodian of the Edo culture, and it is based in Benin City, in Nigeria. He has delegates and ambassadors in every part of the world which hosts Edo people.

62 Juju is a spiritual belief system incorporating objects used in religious practice in West Africa. It is considered as a form of witchcraft and has a huge capacity of affecting migrants' lives.

to reorganize itself: madams started to press women in many ways, changing the practice and claiming that rituals celebrated before Oba's edict were not involved, women escaped from *madams* and *connection houses* started to request again a bed in the reception system (forcing centres to realise that new pathways and more beds are needed), others started to live with their boyfriends, some smugglers went out of business because of fear of *juju*, others began to search for different route of trafficking and location for ritual out of Edo State (hoping that in other places the edict has no magical power), etc.[63] The Oba's edict and, in particular, the perception that people had of being entered in a brand new historical course had the power to change Castel Volturno's international assemblage and the arrangement of Edo State Delegation. After numerous interviews, the focus group with the Emergency staff and the reflections made during the participant observation, I concluded that, the liminality of time in Castel Volturno is given by the fact that there is a lack of congruity between the time in the migrants' mind and the material world in which they live that leads to the impossibility of a proper rooted dwelling. Even if people are waiting for something (most of immigrants says that they are waiting for "paper" almost as an automatic answer), the time they spend struggling to do it is so "crumpled" and multiplied that it is no longer conceivable as "chronological" and in consonance with the linear idea of their steps. A transit migrant person living in Castel Volturno has at least two different rhythms affecting its life: the time of the family in its country of origin (which often is considered as the time of the past, but still affecting so much the present), the time and the events of the country (as in the case of Oba's edict), the time of the daily schedule (work rhythm, religious gatherings, etc.), and the time of the future a person imagines, which, often, includes a vague and very distant return home after having achieved the objectives of the migration project.

"Life here is difficult because my mother asks me for money from Ghana. She's not well, and I'm sending her money as soon as I can. But I don't know when I have money to send, because it doesn't depend on me! It depends on how much work there is.

63 These pieces of information have been collected through the daily conversation with Emergency mediators during my fieldwork and thanks to Piam Onlus' reports. Piam Onlus Asti is an anti-trafficking Italian association which has collected these informations after the edict through the collaboration of Nigerian mediators, women and social operators. Report available at: https://m.facebook.com/piam.asti/photos/considerazioni-sulleffetto-delledit-to-delloba-di-benin-city-che-annulla-i-riti-j/918794894967452/

Sometimes it is difficult for her to understand this. She thinks I'm in Europe so I have money to send. Last month she asked me for money because she had to pay the doctor in those days, but I had nothing last month because I only worked for 4 days. This month I managed to send more money. And for the next month I have to be able to find a job of at least a few days because my mother has to pay the doctor again." (Mohammed, 29 years old)

This liminality is emphasised also by the impossibility to go back to the country of origins, even if craved, (mostly because of cultural reasons) and by the struggling to move along with plans because of legal and bureaucratic reasons. Moreover, many immigrants, especially Ghanaians, are in Castel Volturno only for the agricultural harvesting season. They move according to agri-business demand and the timing of the crops: in November the labourers are in Calabria for the citrus harvest. Then in Sicily or Puglia. The number of the excess population in Castel Volturno swells in summer also because it is the tomato harvesting season, and this city-Camp absorbs flows of bodies that (not)inhabit it for only a few months. All these reasons force immigrants to live their lives facing temporality and time suspension, which are some of the historical and most important features of the camp-space. According to the Agambenian literature, this condition of liminality contributes to disempowering the subject and producing bare life. My research, on the other hand, demonstrates how the relationality of the elements of an assemblage allows interpreting the Camp-space in a more "neutral" way. I will discuss later how the threshold can be experienced and interpreted as a "zero point", a moment of suspension to reprogram desire (and therefore also the personal migratory project) rather than being an accelerator of depression and emptying of identity.

Figure 15 Villaggio Coppola, Castel Volturno. Source: author.

Figure 16 House along Via dei Diavoli. Source: author.

EXISTENTIAL PRODUCTIONS

The humanitarian management of the territory is characterized by a tangle of policies, rules, material elements, associations, cultures and actions. During the fieldwork in Castel Volturno, the mismatch between "nature", purposes of actions and behaviours, and "nature" and purpose of the actors became clear. Humanitarian actions and behaviours are not only taken on by properly humanitarian actors (such as Emergency, for example). Instead, the humanitarian agency is produced by multiple actors, even if not strictly humanitarian, and not necessarily continuously. In the same way, the actors easily identifiable as "humanitarian" take on a fundamental role in the governance of the territory and *act*, precisely, with management purposes that at least guarantee social stability, health care and mobility. These multiple actions produce the hybrid existence of the actors involved. As Guattari argues, if existential pragmatics is distinguished from discursive pragmatics and acts for a production of the Self beyond the discourse, a humanitarian actor who acts as a manager of the territory also *positions itself* as a government agent. Similarly, if the action of the institutional government is characterized by humanitarian logic and aims (such as guaranteeing migrant life at the survival threshold), its humanitarian agency is also *self-affirming*. Therefore, it is *acting* in itself that must be considered humanitarian or not, governmental or not, regardless of who acts it. Humanitarian agency and government agency work in Castel Volturno in a simultaneous and complementary way, hooking up and unhooking from time to time to different assemblages, depending on the need of the moment, in line with an emergency logic, but also with an ever more ambiguous, rarefied and overflowing dynamics of the urban process in the humanitarian world.

THE HUMANITARIAN GOVERNMENT

As explained above, although it is rather complicated to provide a concise definition of the humanitarian world (especially because large humanitarian organizations are proposing more and more interventions of daily support to vulnerability, advocacy

for human rights and the empowerment of people and, on the other hand, the convergence of politics to morality and humanitarian rhetoric) (Fassin 2012), we acknowledge here the importance of the "humanitarian function" that provides the minimum indispensable assistance to human life based on the sentiment of Humanity or *agape*, as the ancient Greeks would have called it. Castel Volturno is an area with potentially explosive characteristics: social discontent both in indigenous communities and migrant communities, the latent conflict between them, the widespread lack of services, infrastructures and institutional responses that don't guarantee efficient urban circulation, the presence of trafficking and criminal networks capable of stirring up agitation and, indeed, the rhetoric that paints it as significantly degraded make this place one of the most monitored in terms of potential social disorder. But Castel Volturno surprisingly functions, as a city, on acceptable socio-sanitary levels and, in general, keeping what Foucault (2005) would call its "governmentality" under control. The French philosopher indicates as necessary (among other things) to guarantee the governmentality of a certain population a health care policy capable of reducing child mortality, preventing epidemics, lowering the rate of endemicity and imposing norms covering food, habitat and city planning. A capacity that the State institutions of Castel Volturno do not have enough – and for which the City "overflows" to the Camp. Most of these functions are indeed performed by the humanitarian network: firstly, the presence of the Emergency clinic as a reference point guarantees constant and wide-ranging monitoring of the health situation of undocumented people. Together with the Pineta Grande Hospital, the clinic handles the riskiest diseases and provides patients with proper treatments. Adding on to this care network, the Centro Fernandes and the Delegations of African communities play an important role as well in controlling homelessness and providing care and shelter. As a whole, this humanitarian network guarantees that the situation never exceeds a certain level of hardship, at least keeping the excess population (which sometimes includes some Italian citizens) at the minimum state of survival. In particular, the official role of Emergency is to assist and provide medical care and counselling services to those who cannot access the national health system. Its presence makes the Castel Volturno Camp clearly evident. Emergency is a benchmark along Via Domiziana and used to practice triage

as the first response to every person who enters the clinic.[64] Besides, they conduct a fundamental monitoring of pregnancy, abortion and childcare through their activities, which is an essential monitoring function in a place seriously affected by sex work and human trafficking. As the Project Manager explains, 60% of their patients are women, and most of them are followed in check-ups related to gynaecological problems. In the absence of Emergency in the area, the undocumented community would not turn (mainly for reasons of lack of trust and insufficient hourly availability) to the STP clinic of the ASL. For example, the problems related to pregnancy would be handled perilously: when a pregnant woman needs an abortion but is unable to enter the humanitarian network (the Emergency clinic, a volunteer gynaecologist of the Caritas and the connection they create with public structures) the alternative is to ingest an extremely risky cocktail of drugs and alcohol. Instead, a strong collaboration established by Emergency with nearby hospitals, specialist doctors, social workers and psychologists guarantees the medical monitoring of pregnancy and constant education to childcare. In this and other cases, Emergency contains, directs and monitors the population at risk that the institutional government is unable in any way to reach. Its role in territorial governance is also evidently recognized by various institutions that turn to Emergency or attribute exceptional duties to it. As an example, the clinic has direct access to the regional booking system of medical services, as if it were the public ASL (Local Health District). According to the National Health System, an Italian citizen with a regular personal doctor can book a specialist medical examination by going to the specific desk (CUP) in the ASL or calling the CUP telephone number from home. In Castel Volturno, the Emergency clinic performs this CUP function, despite the existence of a specific office in the ASL devoted to STP prescriptions. The key difference is the work of cultural mediators[65]. During my participant observation, I realized that these figures, cooperating with doctors with foreign language skills, make a difference to such an extent that immigrants used to go to the Emergency clinic as their first choice. When patients were received in the

64 Triage is a medical practice intended to assign the degree of urgency of the diseases, and carried out by the staff of Emergency as "filter" and first recognition of contagious diseases.

65 The delicate work of cultural mediators lets undocumented persons to approach Italian institutions without fear. Theirs is a work of attention to detail and caring of the specific needs, which allows the person to feel at least minimally recognized, despite the fact that the Italian State does not do so.

clinic, and especially when people with documents and assigned general practitioner showed up, they declared that they don't trust the personal doctor due to the difficulty in communicating both in Italian and in English or French, both because of the significant perception that that type of doctor was not actually able to cure their ailments.[66] In this case, mediators seem to be essential infrastructure for accessing care.[67]. Additionally, Emergency is also the promoter of a particular procedure to access the health system thanks to its self-created, unique form called "Self-certification of actual dwelling" and its power to negotiate with local authorities. As already mentioned above, in Castel Volturno it is possible to access the National Health System without having been registered as an official resident, unlike the rest of Italy. It would be enough to have a Permesso di Soggiorno (residency permit) - or just a sort of receipt with the appointment for its renewing released from Questura[68] - and a "Self-certification of actual dwelling" to have a personal doctor assigned.[69] Thus, the negotiating power of Emergency has allowed the clinic to produce a rule in all respects, thanks to a specific collaboration agreement with the ASL. It should be also clarified that the acquired negotiating power also derives from the international credibility of the Italian NGO and their nature as an organization financed through private donations rather than public money. And, as a matter of fact, the essentiality of the *entire* humanitarian network gives the negotiating power to their components on the territory. As previously mentioned, the public administration would have difficulty

66 This perception can be attributed to the general belief that a healer, in most African cultures present in Castel Volturno, must necessarily also have spiritual skills. It is believed that between Matter and Spirit, there is an effective correspondence and that, above all, illness arrives by divine will, often for punitive purposes. Therefore, a Western expert in allopathic medicine who, moreover, before proposing a cure invites the patient to undergo further specialist examinations in places difficult to access (such as hospitals and clinics spread throughout the territory), certainly does not facilitate the creation of a relationship of trust between the two.

67 The aim of Emergency is to support public institutions until they will be in condition to manage the situation independently, so they struggle to accustom people to go to their general practitioner, when they can have one.

68 This one also is an exception: in most of Italy, this receipt called "cedolino" or "slip" is not considered as a proper document which can take the place of Permesso di Soggiorno.

69 Notwithstanding this, as mentioned before, sometimes even regular migrants prefer the Emergency clinic to a personal general practitioner: local doctors do not speak English or French and do not have mediators or mediation skills.

accessing some parts of the area and the population without them. The spread of some diseases (infectious or not) would not be monitored. The same goes for monitoring the social discontent of migrants, which is specifically carried out under the guidance of the Ex Canapificio Social Centre (their meetings, in particular during the pandemic held online, have expressly had this purpose, as well as to keep people informed and involved). Besides, the solid relationship of trust built with foreign communities allows humanitarian actors to access a natural flow of information regarding, for example, the alternative transport service (the 1EuroBus, which I will illustrate later), the difficulties in accessing work at a specific moment, emerging practices, trends in economic interests, etc. This makes them not only essential interlocutors, but also a *political infrastructure* in itself. Among the other components of the humanitarian assemblage, there is undoubtedly the Caritas. Caritas Centro Fernandes is an historical presence in Castel Volturno, although not officially acknowledged as a "reception centre", the Centro Fernandes has hosted migrants since 1996. These important solidarity actors and the network they create together with some other associations function to keep immigrants' life standards to an acceptable level, especially at the moment of the arrival. They offer meals and accommodation (30 beds) every day to needy persons. For this reason, Caritas used to be an important helping actor in the "settlement process" of migrants: they request a bed in Caritas just the time to start seeking a job at the Kalifoo Grounds[70] and to become able to afford a very low rent. They also have a soup kitchen open to anyone in need, which represents a real parachute in moments of extreme poverty for people. In this sense, Caritas is a fundamental element of the Castel Volturno Camp-system but, like the rest of the actors, it is characterized by an intense ambivalence of functions. Depending on the assemblages considered, the Centro Fernandes can be a humanitarian actor who guarantees the minimum survival threshold, but also a force in the territory to empower people and offer services for inclusion. It can also be a space of encounter that hosts institutional and humanitarian events, but above all, a

70 Kalifoo Grounds are a series of roundabouts where migrant people go to wait for bosses in need of daily workforce: most of them are recruited to work in the field of agriculture or construction. The main Kalifoo Grounds in the surrounding area are in Licola, Pianura, Villa Literno, Quarto, Sant'Antimo, Qualiano, Giugliano and Varcaturo. As illustrated later, they seem to be a basic job platform strictly connected to the humanitarian presence.

key interlocutor for the knowledge and management of the territory. The Centre hosts an Italian school (which in the Italian system is usually associated with the presence of a reception centre), summer camps for children and teenagers, cultural initiatives, a legal desk and a specific reception project for foreign university students. In short, what on the one hand traditionally presents itself as a charitable body is, at the same time and in the same space, a hotbed of social activities and services that should be conceived and provided as the implementation of specific welfare policies, and which, in the specific case of a public administration in a state of chronic emergency, they are assumed by humanitarian actors. Among the humanitarian actors (those who try to guarantee at least the minimum needs to the less-than-humans population and who fight for its rights) there are also the Ex Canapificio Social Centre and numerous Pentecostal Churches. Centro Sociale Ex Canapificio is the political benchmark of the area: a place of strong resistance and political representation, not commonly defined as "humanitarian" but deeply involved in advocacy activities for human rights. It is a gathering point open since 1995 and currently struggling against a requisition of their offices wanted by the former Interior Minister Matteo Salvini.[71] This place offers migrants legal assistance, job counselling service, cultural mediation and promotes numerous awareness-raising projects and events throughout the territory. It has been hosting meetings and headquarters of the Movement of Migrants and Refugees for years until the recent eviction just mentioned. This place of resistance is so recognized by the migrant community that, according to the Emergency Project Manager in Castel Volturno, if migrant people could have voted to the last elections, the mayor would now be "Mr Fabio", the spokesperson from Centro Sociale Ex Canapificio Caserta, which is also one of the leaders of the Migrants and Refugees Movement.

71 As a right-wing sovereigntist leader, Matteo Salvini has put on his political agenda a new pension plan that favours those close to retirement and penalizes younger generations; he cut funding and strongly modified the national reception system, facilitating reception in large centres rather than in small and widespread territorial units; he has promised unprecedented numbers of repatriations and disembarkations on the Italian coasts (failing, however, to change the numbers of his predecessor significantly); promoted and promulgated a new law regarding self-defence.
To learn more about the specific changes to the reception system launched by the Salvini Decree, see chapter 3.

Figure 17 A Pentecostal Church in Destra Volturno. Source: author.

Figure 18 A Pentecostal Church in Destra Volturno. Source: author.

The Pentecostal churches and the settled foreign community are a further part of this humanitarian network that continually works in synergy. Like Caritas, they often host newcomers until they find a sustainable accommodation thanks to the income from the jobs they get at the Kalifoo Grounds. Given the role of religion in the life of Ghanaians and Nigerians[72], churches often perform a healing function as well. P. is a Pastor and also one of the founders of the Movement of Migrants and Refugees. He manages its community providing services and reinforcing the Ghanaian network: people in trouble speak mainly to Pastors, then with their political leaders, then with humanitarian actors (Emergency, Caritas, etc.). When I met Pastor P., we discussed the role of religion as "ruler" in African communities. According to him, although "white men" have spread Christianity through Africa, now the Western world seems not to believe anymore in the message of God. More precisely, whether in African communities religions still have the power to "structure", regulate and rhythm people's life, in Western Countries people seem no longer to fear God: nobody goes to church on Sunday. The Catholic mass in Western countries lasts barely an hour and it does not affect social life or personal health, whereas a Pentecostal service lasts at least 4 hours and looks more like a concert than a mass. It is a proper social event, in which a specific part is devoted to healing, and churches are the only real public spaces. People await Sunday service to be "treated" for their physical pains, to show themselves in public and to solve their daily problems, because they are strongly convinced that God (through Pastors and their community) can see, heal, guide and punish them. Furthermore, as a network, the humanitarian actors mentioned above assume even more fundamental importance. They are often considered first interlocutors on the territory by journalists, universities and research centres, and even, as recently happened, by the Prime Minister himself. In October 2020, on the occasion of the delivery of a Permesso di Soggiorno to Ghanaian workers victims of labour exploitation and the wife of a deceased worker[73], the national government was at work to amend

72 In particular, Nigeria and Lagos are widely considered the "global Capital" of the Pentecostal religion. Its specific ways of influencing urban processes and practices are also becoming the object of study by several scholars. See Katsaura O. (2020) 'Pentecosmopolis: on the pentecostal cosmopolitanism of Lagos', in Religion, 50:4, 504-528, DOI: 10.1080/0048721X.2019.1650308

73 In June 2020, a Ghanaian and an Italian worker lost their lives while working in Pianura. The Ghanaian man and his colleagues were holders of a Permesso di Soggiorno for humanitarian reasons that they lost due to the "se-

the “Security Decrees” and asked the humanitarian network of Castel Volturno to make their requests as experts and front-line agents in one of the most complex territories in the country. Some representatives of the network gave testimony of the situation of the territory and officially presented their political requests.[74]A brief example will give a better idea of how the connection and interdependence of the humanitarian actors in their network guarantee the cure of vulnerabilities. Since 2013 Emergency went around neighbourhoods using a mobile clinic and focusing mostly on providing assistance for sex workers, starting to become a reliable presence for foreign communities[75]. Later they became a permanent clinic whose main target is the weighty number of non-regular (as explained before, especially “no-longer-regular”) migrants living there. The staff is composed of one staff-doctor and two/three volunteer-doctors (paediatrician included), two nurses, four mediators (a Romanian, a Neapolitan, a Sicilian -also Project Manager- and a Nigerian one – the latter having a key role especially in those thorny cases in which patients are still distrustful of white people), and occasional volunteers. Part of this staff is deeply rooted in the territory and the local networks. On the one hand, their strong knowledge of foreign communities and on the other the strong relationships they have with the territory allow them to act as a bridge between one world and another. However, although the powers of Emergency are vast, the NGO is part of a more complex mechanism made up of several complementary parts, which together make effective the management of the so-called “excess population”. In fact, their daily work is intensely synergic and negotiated with several surrounding actants: persons, institutions, associations, software, objects and rules are constantly matched together. To make an example, taken from my fieldwork and my own engagement as an Emergency volunteer, it is worth briefly recalling the story of T. – who’s an extremely vulnerable man due to his precarious health. He is also unable to afford a minimum rent and, for this reason, T. is temporarily hosted by

curity decrees" and had continued to work illegally without a residence permit. To know more: Crollo di Pianura, consegnati i permessi di soggiorno ai compagni e alla vedova di Thomas

74 A brief report of the day is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dfWblcs6tAI&feature=youtu.be&fbclid=IwAR1JucPGpufgoXAUojazJbwHyeGwUKkyQfeJuQfwecjlwTdHpQYKs4JcemQ

75 It is difficult to esteem precisely the number of sex workers in Castel Volturno, just as the exact number of undocumented persons, but this territory is certainly popular for the great presence of prostitution, especially related to the human trafficking from Edo State.

Caritas - Centro Fernandes. Moreover, he is a regular migrant with a personal doctor assigned. This means, at least in some fields, less complexity with rules and right to care – and, specifically, the managing of T. 's specialistic visit which started from an unclear medical prescription from the hospital where he had been hospitalised. To address the prescription according to the health care services available on the territory, the Emergency's doctor asked the hospital more elucidation through her personal contacts. Having obtained more details, one of the mediators started to prepare T.'s visit to the general practitioners (who had to assess and prescribe specialistic visits). Several actors must coordinate daily just for the management of this one patient: the Emergency mediator informed the Caritas about the visit, and she asked them to let him be ready to go the following day at 9.00[76]. Caritas does not have a person in charge of the caring of vulnerable people, and any action aimed at treating particularly vulnerable cases is to be considered a charitable action. Nuns are there to fulfil other kinds of tasks. Sister L. is in charge of managing the accommodation and coordinating the soup kitchen, and Sister G. is a nurse working there as a cook. This is the reason why Emergency staff usually mediates with Sister L. for general issues, and with Sister G. for medical issues. Early in the morning they are both occupied in other activities, and to prepare T. they had to struggle and make extra time in their agenda. At the same time, for Caritas, the negotiation with Emergency is very convenient: the division of care labour distributes the burden and the cost of their management (which, it must be remembered, is anyway a "outflow economic movement", as I defined it previously). The following day the mediator and I went to the Caritas and brought T. to his general practitioner, who made an examination and prescribed some other visits. Then, we went back to Caritas and updated one of the nuns regarding the pharmacological therapy T. had to follow everyday. Back to the clinic, the following appointments were taken by the mediator through the CUP platform[77]. Others, calling CUP platforms and hospitals in Naples. In the meantime, I used my own car to collect the drugs as soon as possible in two pharmacies where they had been booked and brought to the Caritas. The Ex Canapificio was consulted by Emergency to consider more advantageous legal or administrative paths for T. (which they have known for

76 The timetable, in this case, depends on the schedule of T's general practitioner.

77 As explained earlier, the CUP operating system is the outcome of a previous negotiation with the local institution that allows Emergency to act as a proper institutional actor.

years). Any potential option that would make him return to a state of subsistence and survival, rather than requesting extra assistance to all members of the humanitarian network. This intense synergy in the division of tasks and the interdependence of the actors who are part of it makes the humanitarian network of Castel Volturno a real complex urban mechanism for the managing of the excess population that involves people, objects, infrastructures and rules in a threshold position between the Humanitarian Space and urban processes. At the same time, T.'s increased vulnerability becomes a factor in the rejection of T.'s body from the Humanitarian Space: needing special care and as there are no assistance structures in which it can be readily accepted, humanitarian actors are forced to make extraordinary efforts which, however, by their nature, cannot become permanent. Then, they organize themselves to somehow get T. out of the Camp forcefield or to return him to a state of autonomous survival. Therefore, it can be said, to put him back into circulation or to remove him from the power diagram entirely.[78]

When my periods of participant observation in presence ended, I continued to remain available for Emergency as a volunteer and support them remotely during the Covid-19 pandemic. In that particular moment, the government performances carried out by the humanitarian actors and their essentiality for the withstanding and the effective administration of the territory became even more evident. Obviously, in an emergency situation in which the state of exception has been extended to the whole national territory and amplified in Castel Volturno, humanitarian logic has enormously affected all institutions. However, it is interesting to underline how the crisis has highlighted that the presence of the humanitarian world in the territorial government system was already deeply structural. Given the risks of a territory in which about 40% of the population is not officially registered and the urgent need to send communications, distribute necessities and enforce the rules, the municipal government has established the Municipal Operations Centre (COC) in March 2020[79], including all the actors and

78 A few months from the events told, T. returned to Africa to be looked after by his remaining relatives. Such a conclusion of the migration project is unsuccessful by the very admission of him during an interview. Returning to Africa when you have the opportunity to stay in Europe is a decision that convinces the family and the community of origin that things have gone bad due to the inability of the migrant person, that something terrible has happened willed by God and that, in any case, the desired happiness and abundance never came.

79 The Municipal Operations Centre was established with Ordinance no. 56 27/03/2020, available at: Comune

associations that are closely related to the "excess population" in the area (as well as some environmental associations to find additional resources and volunteers). Aware of the insufficiency of the administrative resources at his direct disposal, the Mayor writes among the reasons for the ordinance:

"Taken note [...] That some of the associations previously involved could not guarantee immediate and necessary direct intervention for the ongoing health emergency, not being in charge and competent in the specific area of intervention and crisis."

In particular, Emergency, Red Cross, Caritas and the Ex Canapificio Social Centre were part of the COC, and their work was institutionally acknowledged (albeit temporarily) as part of the government. This type of collaboration made it possible to monitor and respond to the needs of the poorest part of the population: day labourers, "illegal" workers, undocumented migrants and all those who daily look for work in the Kalifoo Grounds were forced not to leave their homes during the lockdown and, therefore, not to have any income or access to aids provided by the national government. The relationship of the humanitarian actors built in times of non-emergency was, in this case, essential to collect and convey requests for help, distribute necessities and raise awareness among foreign communities about compliance with the rules.[80] So, there is in Castel Volturno a consolidated network guaranteeing minimum standard services on voluntary and humanitarian bases, which fill the managing gap of the local institution due to its chronic financial instability. This presence is so fundamental in Castel Volturno to govern bodies and things to which the institutions have no access, that it is now part of the ordinary administration that guarantees circulation and public order.

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di Castel Volturno

80 Some commentary of the support of the humanitarian network to the most difficult to access areas and communities are available at: https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=216661866368339, https://fb.watch/1BaLF7K2I5/, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=3491245357565725, https://fb.watch/1BaIjjE5kO/, https://fb.watch/1Bb8I-Ox-eH/, https://napoli.repubblica.it/cronaca/2020/04/10/news/castel_volturno_cosi_un_gruppo_di_musicisti_spiega_ai_braccianti_come_rispettare_le_regole_anti-contagio-253663492/?fbclid=IwAR0wjLmsqrCrMRS0ZT-8Tauzk-VDKkBncBEFqSF4rNQZ6DHZV_G2lh4xHSgI, https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=1704234719716669&id=527886284018191, https://www.internazionale.it/video/2020/10/29/campania-crisi-sociale-volontari?fbclid=IwAR3VaJn3kNgIP3xqgYHtiNVspQYKEl_Nvsst0wV4-xbsCQf5PPjn0_ciT38

Even formal institutions of the territory carry out "forgo actions" that would not fall within their competence, but which are moved by a feeling of humanity. Pineta Grande Hospital is considered to be a premium medical centre in the Campania Region. It is a private hospital and has had an Emergency Unit since 2012. 10% of Pineta Grande's patients are immigrants, often in critical condition (Dr. Schiavone - Pineta Grande's CEO - explain how usually undocumented migrants arrive to the hospital late because of the fear to be reported to police, or because they firstly call an African medicine man). For this reason, immigrants are on average more in need of hospitalization, and that, considering the condition in which they come back to life outside the hospital, doctors use to delay their releases until they are strong enough to be sufficiently safe to face their hardship again.

"We have a very short recovery in our hospital. Typically, a colon cancer lasts a week, a fracture of the femur lasts a week [...]. When all this happens to an immigrant patient, it does not double, it does not quadruple, but the time becomes significantly longer. Why? Because the conditions in general, as I said, are accompanied by notable complications but, above all, because then there is the post. *When we discharge, we transfer the patient to his home, where there is a family, a wife, a mother, a daughter, a nurse who goes to treat him. Where we discharge to, here? Under the bridge? In the shack? Then, my doctors don't discharge. Or where can it go? In rehabilitation. But since they are STPs, they don't want them. The rehabilitation institutions don't want them."* (Schiavone in Camera dei Deputati 2016, p.18)

Therefore, the hospitalization of a less-than-human often causes the occupancy of a bed for a long time and becomes unproductive. Also, the private hospital invests in the use of its resources for the monitoring and maintenance of the patient. Other kinds of problems for Pineta Grande are related to the managing of children: they are not officially in charge of custody of children or entombments, but they are used to do it together with the Municipality and the Court of Minors (Tribunale dei Minori).

"[...] a large number of women give birth in our facility and renounce to motherhood. Paternity is not mentioned at all. We have a substantial number of abandoned minors

and a close relationship with the Neapolitan Court of Minors for the custody of these poor unfortunates to whom we try to provide maximum assistance. We offered, always free of charge, to assist them up until custody, in order to avoid passing from the nursery to the foster homes where the children generally go to be entrusted. We make them skip a step. [...] The problem does not arise so much for healthy babies. The problem arises for the pathological ones, above all because not everyone is available to take them into foster care." (Schiavone in Camera dei Deputati 2016, p.17)

Taking care of an abandoned child then becomes an act of humanity: Dr Schiavone explicitly declares it. The same dynamic occurs when the body of a deceased person is not claimed.

"When we see that the mortuary refrigerators are all full for 15, 20 or 30 days because no one comes to claim the corpses, or when for other particular conditions there is a need to release them so as not to leave the emergency unit without the possibility of having refrigerators for possible deceased, we are forced to do something. [...] For a super obese patient, we had to pay 3,500 euros for the coffin. It was needed immediately, and we had to pay 3,500 euros for it. We also often buy burial recess in the cemetery. I would like to remind you that we are a health facility. According to the classifications, we should be a nursing home, and we should not give a damn about all these things." (Schiavone in Camera dei Deputati 2017, p.9)

The issue of deceased bodies is also a problem for the municipality. As the former mayor tells us:

"Pineta Grande is a humanitarian actor in all respects, a great social safety net. People who go there very often don't even have STP and, for these patients, they do not even get a refund: they get 20%, so for 80% it's just charity. But there is also the downside: when an immigrant dies there, and the body is not requested, I have to take care of the funeral and give a worthy burial because the law says that it is the duty of the municipality where that person is deceased. To bury a black man, however, it takes about 2000 euros for the coffin, purchase of the burial recess, etc. ". (Interview with Dimitri Russo - former mayor- December 2019)

This, together with the caring of MSNA[81], pose one of the greatest economic problems for Castel Volturno's municipality. The former mayor reports how the need to guarantee the minimum standard to these less-than-human bodies actually triggers an economic camp-dynamic (see the diagram of power described above) that ends up obscuring the real feeling of humanity:

"Yesterday they told me that there were eight children in my room, brought by the carabinieri. I saw them: they were barefoot, malnourished, had been far from parents for five days, drank water and ate snacks. I did not think that those children were sick. My first thought was to do the math: seven for eight fifty-six, then 560 euros a day. It is not normal for a mayor. I am losing humanity because there are daily emergencies that we cannot manage with ordinary resources. I want to be human again. [...]" (Dimitri Russo in Camera dei Deputati 2017, p. 4)

This chronicle survival situation forces the administration to turn to the humanitarian world at least to amortize costs and, at the same time, guarantee minimal care:

"It is terrible to talk only about resources, but I do not have the resources to manage these phenomena. Even choosing the institution where to place them is very difficult: first because we have to make an essentially economic choice, so we will choose the cheapest facility, but often, since we are in arrears because we are structurally in financial collapse due to the presence of immigrants, then many structures invent that they have no place." (Dimitri Russo in Camera dei Deputati 2017, p. 4)

"In moments of serious failure, I found myself asking favours to Caritas to take care of some minors because I did not know where to put them." (Interview with Dimitri Russo - former mayor- December 2019)

The institutional world in Castel Volturno is, therefore, constantly in a strong relationship with the humanitarian world. The Camp-characteristics of this place force the institutional actors to act in pure charity or to do "forgo investments" that match the Camp diagram of power, where all forces push towards a survival threshold.

81 Unaccompanied non-UE minors, which have particular right and protection according to the Italian law.

The fact that urban processes increasingly include the humanitarian world is also a matter of reduction of production costs. As explained earlier, the hiring of a worker living in a reception centre allows the reduction of wages because the pay does not consider that the worker has to afford room and board (guaranteed by the humanitarian economy), and this is easy to found where the Camp and the City intertwine. As stated in the Cartography of References, the production of urban space is inseparable from the economic dynamics of advanced capitalism. According to Harvey (2001), capitalism goes in crisis by its intrinsic nature due to excess of capital (in the form of goods, money or productive capacity) and is continuously looking for ways that can postpone the crisis by absorbing its surplus. Often, the latter is absorbed through factors related to localization, defined by the British geographer as "spatial solutions". Neoliberal agriculture, for example, occupies transnational spaces and is organized in chains of transformation and distribution defined by specific power relationships (Pedreño 2014). One of the ways to absorb excess capital is to exploit the global centre-periphery (or North-South) tension which in recent decades has facilitated the relocation of production of large companies to regions of the world where the workforce has a significantly lower cost. The workforce devaluation thanks to which the excess of capital is absorbed is increasingly based on racial dynamics (Avallone 2017, Dines and Rigo 2015): the more the human differs from the white-heterosexual male, the more his/her work will be devalued. In this way, the Camp and the spaces dedicated to the production of bare life become key *dispositives* for the creation of the ideal workforce, because they leverage a racial devaluation which, in the case of migrants arriving in Italy, often coincides with an unskilled population. Considering that the literacy rates in the countries of origins of migrants arriving in Italy[82] are the lowest in the world[83], it is not difficult to imagine the level of

82 Source: Report on International Protection in Italy 2017 and Report on International Protection in Italy 2016 available at: https://www.sprar.it/pubblicazioni

83 UIS Unesco data available at: http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/fs45-literacy-rates-continue-rise-generation-to-next-en-2017_0.pdf

schooling in this territory.[84] This unskilled workforce is partly absorbed by the local agribusiness, which is quite thriving thanks to the production of food excellence: tomatoes and buffalo milk mozzarella are the most important examples of a series of products typical of the Caserta region and widely exported throughout a large-scale distribution network. As mentioned before, most of the undocumented workers are involved in agricultural and construction sectors in the surrounding fields and in farms that work as nodes of national and international supply chains. People are generally recruited in the Kalifoo grounds, or "hired" for a full-time job paid an average of 2 euros per hour in very hard-working conditions.[85] Furthermore, less-than-humans respond to the demand for a highly flexible workforce adapting to the cycles and needs of a global-scale distribution network: a migrant willing to move depending on the seasonality of crops is, for example, the ideal target of the agribusiness system of southern Italy. The exploitation of less-than-human bodies is also what allows the existence of the farms themselves: the penultimate link in a chain in which the final price of the product, the rhythms and delivery times are strictly decided by large-scale distribution. Not having the power to decide the amount of the final price of the product, farms find themselves in a tight grip and decide to amortize the costs by taking advantage of racial devaluation (Wilkinson 2009). There is, in fact, a hierarchy of value even within the foreign community of Castel Volturno[86]: for example, a Romanian labourer costs more than a Tunisian, a Tunisian more than an Indian and above all more than a Ghanaian. Even Kalifoo Grounds waiting areas are divided by skin colour and, consequently, by labour cost. In any case, this type of excess population allows avoiding delocalization of production because it is present at a few steps away in the large urban regions. However, whether the agri-business network of Southern Italy is clearly defined both in the rhythm of crops and in space (Avallone 2017, D'Ascenzo 2014), Castel Volturno represents a fundamental node of this network and differs from the Apulian, Calabrian and Sicilian tent cities thanks to its intersection with urban practices and its housing availability, which in some way represent the opportunity to

84 These data are also confirmed by the Emergency's statistics and direct observation.

85 See reports regarding caporalato in the South of Italy. Reports available at: http://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/normativa/Pagine/Caporalato.aspx

86 This idea results from several interviews and informal conversations with day labourers and drivers conducted during the fieldwork.

get out of the survival threshold and defuse the Camp diagram of power. In addition to the agricultural sector, this complex urban region offers a range of possibilities of connection with other kinds of socio-economic assemblages and, although the racial devaluation of the workforce is the prerequisite for these networks as well, the presence of a greater density of urban processes makes the survival threshold a void with a potentially different meaning. In the municipalities of Giugliano, Villaricca, Melito, Afragola, Arzano there is a demand for labour in the shoe industry, and the packaging and construction sectors (Spagnuolo 2005). In the nearest urban centres (Naples and Caserta) unskilled labour is requested at the service of main activities: people work in the cities as factotums, porters, gardeners, cleaners, dishwashers, little peddlers (the so-called Mr Buongiorno), window cleaners, car park attendants, gas station attendants, stockman, warehouse worker (regarding men) or as baby sitter or cleaning ladies (regarding women). This greater concentration of processes, its housing availability and the humanitarian presence represent, in fact, a possibility of choice for a person who "dwells" the survival threshold. It is not uncommon for people to choose not to work "in campagna" (in the countryside):

"I don't work in campagna *because it's too hard and it ruins your back. Often it happens that the boss does not pay you, or that at the end of the day he gives you a very poor pay. Nobody tells you how much he will give you at the end of the day at roundabouts. They look at you and tell you to get in the car. But before, I always ask at least what kind of work it will be. If they tell me "muratore" (construction worker) it's okay, "gardener" is okay, but if they tell me "campagna" I won't go."* (Interview with Issifu, June 2019)

In any case, the presence of a humanitarian network that guarantees the survival of this population with "forgo investments" is and remains the essential prerequisite of the capital transformations just described. The existence of this "underworld" labour force and the non-human elements related to it, seem to be precisely the realm on which the new production of the capitalist city bases its existence: thanks to the "humanitarian" management of its waste and the inequality produced, the urban mechanism continues to function sufficiently oiled.

OSCILLATIONS

To clarify how the forces of the power diagram influence the humanitarian space of Castel Volturno, I decided to describe some stories of less-than-humans who have crossed this physical and conceptual space, obtaining different results. Then, I wanted to illustrate the operation of the 1EuroBus, the alternative transport service which, born as an "informal" infrastructure, plays a connective role between different realities. It clarifies how some elements tie themselves to diverse assemblages depending on their encounters (that they wouldn't do if they weren't part of urban processes) and the relationships they build. During the research, I realized that the movement of humans on the power diagram was oscillatory: the evolution of their life events placed them in different points of the diagram according to the situations with which they are related, the type of house they were able to live in, the care their health required, the possibilities to access work or the Kalifoo Grounds, the personal bonds they managed to forge and consolidate and the desire that guided their actions. All of them have passed through the threshold of survival. Someone came out of it positively, someone else in a way that, as in the T.'s story already mentioned, in a disastrous way. What is certain is that every less-than-human body crosses the threshold of survival in Castel Volturno and that, if from that threshold it is possible to hook an element to build a productive concatenation somehow linked to urban dynamics, that relationship becomes an escaping infrastructure from the dynamics of the power diagram and the oppression towards the mere animality of life and the commodification of bodies. The story of the 1EuroBus, on the other hand, is the story of an infrastructure that, as such, connects worlds, allows encounters and transformations to happen and relationships to tighten and consolidate. The position of the 1EuroBus on the power diagram fluctuates according to the processes it connects. It is not a hybrid practice but a multiple one. Each small bus is independent. Each driver has a unique relationship with the practice and adapts it to his needs and personal times, decides who and what to transport, route variables and time slots based on subjective assessments of the request. This service is essential in the case of the humanitarian assemblage that connects just arrived bodies to the Kalifoo Grounds and the places where they found temporary accommodation. Precisely at the same time, it serves the local population

who prefer it to official public transport (because it is not reliable and malodorous), and to Nigerian restaurateurs who use it to go shopping and advertise their business. It is an infrastructure in transformation, not coordinated or centralized, but set up thanks to individual and collective gestures of escape from oppression. It remains free to self-organize according to the possibilities of the moment, but it always succeeds in matching the demand despite everything. Ultimately, it makes emblematic how this type of infrastructure makes the oscillations of waste materiality a possible escape from the Camp space.

THE STORY OF P: FROM FARMHAND TO PASTOR AND POLITICAL LEADER

P. is a Ghanaian man who decided long ago to settle down in Castel Volturno. He is the son of a Liberian father and Ghanaian mother, and he fled from Ghana because he was the victim of persecution along with his parents. The period in which he escaped was also the time when he lost most of his family of origin. P. arrived by sea in Lampedusa. He remained on the island for a few days, until he officially entered the reception system and transferred to a camp in Crotone, Calabria, for three weeks. The commission that evaluated P.'s story did not grant him international protection but a permit for humanitarian reasons (which, at the time, would have expired after one year). When the permit expired, P. was excluded from the reception system and decided to move to Castel Volturno as most of the bodies discarded form the system. At that time, P. was living around the survival threshold, finding a way to escape it.

"Actually, the only place where you can start a life like that is Castel Volturno. Here they are less rigid, you can move. That fear you can feel all around Italy, as a person without documents, you don't have it so much in Castel Volturno. They are very flexible here. So, for us, if you don't do anything wrong to attract police, if you don't break the law of the land, I think you can live here in peace." (Interview with Pastor P., July 2019).

He knew it would not be hard to find a place to sleep in Castel Volturno. Someone had suggested him to ask Caritas. He did so, and when he arrived, he spent a week eating and sleeping in Caritas which allowed him to start looking for a job at the Kalifoo

Grounds:

"When you come here, you may be look for a church, and someone immediately show you how can you look for a job: you go to stand at the roundabout".

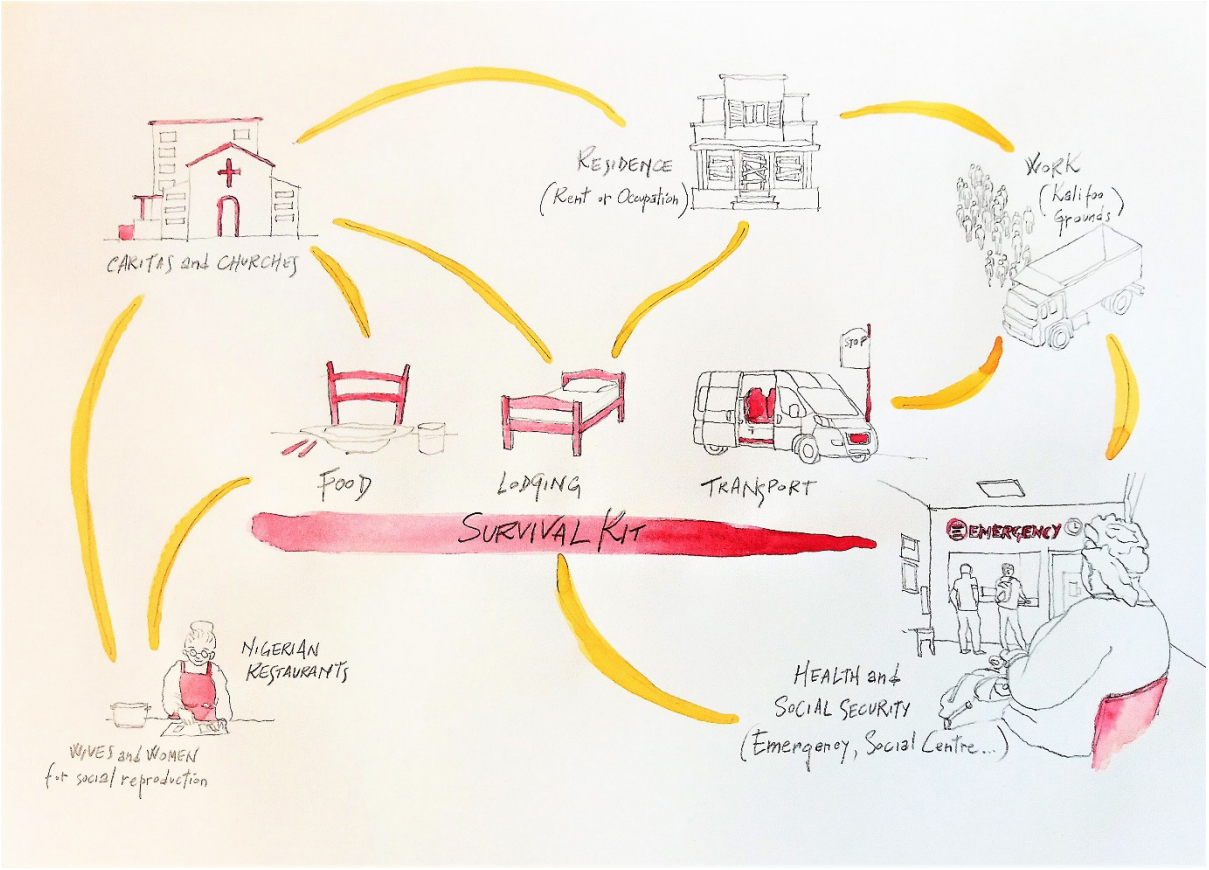

Figure 19 First reception services offered by humanitarian actors and performances allow access to work platforms. Humanitarian assemblage captures the zoé subjectivity and produces related territory.

As happens to most of the discarded bodies of Castel Volturno, for P., the access to his new life took place thanks to the humanitarian presence. The latter allowed him, in turn, to access the unskilled labour platforms: the first step towards a partial form of inclusion (Mezzadra and Neilson 2012). In this case, the humanitarian assemblage represented a proper infrastructure, as a sort of "survival kit" to access urban processes: a place to sleep and eat in case of emergency, a place to monitor and manage significant health problems, a flexible and accessible transport system and counselling in case of legal issues. All these are minimum services that produce and keep *zoé* alive. However, the contract of the job he found ended after a year, and P. had to start looking for a new job. When he knew the staff of the Ex-Canapificio Social Centre, P. got himself hired as a social worker, started working in the SPRAR project of the Municipality of Caserta and began to move away from the state of survival. In the meantime, P.'s migratory project became less impossible: after a short time, he was able to live together with his wife (who joined him in Italy) and re-join his vocation as a Pastor. P. was, in fact, a Pastor before starting his migratory project, and when he was able to get out of the survival threshold behind which the forces of the Camp had pushed him, he went back to cultivating the ambition to establish a church in Castel Volturno. Attending the Social Centre and its work environment led him to become one of the founders of the Migrants and Refugees Movement of Caserta, which is currently one of the most active and politically recognized migrant associations in Italy. In the meantime, P. managed to find a suitable space for his church, and together with his wife (who is a Pastor too) began planning activities like a religious school, moments of prayer and Sunday celebrations. The roles of Pastor and political leader became central to his life. As he explains, he now feels the responsibility of guiding a community of people in all respects, working alongside organizations such as Caritas that offer hospitality and essential services to those who arrive or who find themselves in extreme difficulty:

"The people recognise only Caritas, but, in a general sense, it's supposed not to be only Caritas. Today, my church also helps people who are in need. For instance, we don't do big things, but if we have the possibility, it could be 1euro, a drink for those who are thirsty. [...] Caritas have the capacity to do it for hundreds of people, but if I can help and give to one soul, I would be like Caritas."

P. and the church he leads started performing as humanitarian in Castel Volturno. He managed to rise up on the survival threshold several years ago thanks to the engagement of inclusive forces triggered by urban processes. Although he has lived for some time around the survival threshold, taking advantage of all the humanitarian infrastructures available, now he has a stable job, a vital responsibility as a spiritual guide, is a mentor for his community and has been and is a crucial person in managing difficult issues in Castel Volturno (such as the period of the pandemic). He has been able to short-circuit the Camp forces and escape the humanitarian dimension as a person in need, re-connecting himself to his identity and desire. At the moment it is the reference face of an entire community and its leadership is acknowledged by various kinds of interlocutors (journalists, local leaders of other communities and humanitarian actors, political leaders, etc.).

THE STORY OF E.: FROM THE PRODUCTIVE BODY TO IMPORTANT VULNERABILITY

E. is a 58-year-old Liberian man who, before leaving his country, was an English teacher in Ghana, Liberia, and a bank employee in Nigeria, in Lagos. He says that the war dispersed his family: his wife and four children went missing and today he does not know where they are. E. arrived in Italy 16 years ago. Having entered the reception system, he obtained a residence permit for humanitarian reasons and spent some time in a reception centre in Crotone. In the camp, before leaving, he was told that Castel Volturno would be a quiet place to live for an immigrant. So, he has been in Castel Volturno for many years, driven to this place by the same reasons as everyone else: the accessibility of rents, the lack of controls and the presence of those who, in case of extreme difficulty, provide help. Like many others, as soon as he arrived in Castel Volturno, E. slept with a friend for a few days and ate at the Caritas. The first period E. put his CV online and tried to look for a job as an English teacher, his usual job. Despite being contacted by several people, he never managed to make this his profession in Italy. Despite the disappointment, E. told himself that he would humbly try to adapt to any job he could find if that were God's will. With this spiritual reason,

E. resigned himself to living around the survival threshold for a while. Through her friends, he was offered a job as a handyman, thanks to which E. managed to get by with self-denial for some months. Later, E. managed to work several years as an attendant in a gas station in Naples, starting to intercept, in some way, the urban dimension. He supervised the place and served customers during and after opening hours, reaching a certain work stability which, albeit very modest, allowed him to constantly pay the rent, live independently and have a good planning capacity. Until that moment, E. had been crushed on the survival threshold by the impossibility of capitalizing on his professional skills and poverty. Through a chance contact, he could hook up a job in the city and plan for the future a little more than before, imagining a trip to find his missing wife and children. Unfortunately, at some point, his vulnerability began to grow, slowly taking away his independence, the power to affect his own life and leading him more and more to need assistance. E. began to have eye problems: his sight began to decrease significantly, so much so that he could not see clearly during the night. He paid little attention to his health for fear of losing his job until his boss realized that E. was not able to select the amount of fuel required by customers. The gas station owner began to get angry at him, and E. had to surrender to the fact that his decreased vision was risking his livelihood. Soon, the boss fired E., and he began looking for a job he was still able to do despite his eyesight continuing its rapid decline. At that moment, E. moved back to the survival threshold and began looking again for a way out. He ended up as a parking attendant for a supermarket in Caserta, but after a few months, he was forced to quit this job too, because his eyesight worsened too quickly and he was no longer able to move independently. At that moment, E. also lost his residence permit and was financially helped by an act of personal generosity of the supermarket manager. E. was permanently forced to leave the productive segment of the population, quickly passing from being a poor, racialized but productive and autonomous man in search of social stability to being a less-than-human in need of support and dependent on acts of charity and humanitarian services. In 2016, thanks to obtaining a residence permit for humanitarian reasons and certifying his disability, E. was able to obtain a small subsidy. Upon the expiry of his residence permit, E. lost his only economic income, as well as, once again, the recognition of his presence on the territory. Then he was no longer able to pay the house rent and had to live on donations, gestures of solidarity from the community and the taking charge of his

case by the humanitarian network in the area. The social centre takes care of his legal issues and the recognition of its legal status, Emergency takes care of its health and manages to follow him particularly closely thanks to the official employment of a volunteer (me). On Sundays, some friends bring him some shopping and tidy up his house a little. Fortunately, E. has lived for years in the same place in Destra Volturno: he knows the house by heart and still manages to find his way around. The landlord is Italian, and E. feels fortunate because he believes his landlord is a good person: when he had the opportunity to pay the rent, he always paid. However, since he is no longer able to pay, the landlord, driven by a feeling of humanity, does not get angry, because he knows the situation and is willing to wait for E. to take a subsidy again. However, he decided to look for a housemate for E., to make sure that at least someone pays the rent of the house. A few months after the interviews I collected during the fieldwork, E. had a further health problem that confused and disoriented him. This event took his need for care beyond the sustainable threshold from all the humanitarian performances that already supported him. Thus, it was organized for him a return trip to someone willing to take care of him in Africa. E. has, therefore, made his final exit from the Camp forcefield thanks to an oscillation towards vulnerability that has led him to no longer be a sustainable element of the system.

E.'s story is that of a teacher who, by changing his life context, found himself less-than-human. Finding himself in extreme vulnerability due to a further debilitating health problem in a ruthless forcefield like the Camp, the assemblage he was part of is characterized by a network of relationships of a purely humanitarian or charitable type. E. is a human being who, in Italy, has never been able to enhance his professional skills and to build chains that would allow him to permanently get out of a penalizing forcefield. If we depict E.'s story on the power diagram, we notice that, despite his best efforts, he has failed to hook and resonate with socially inclusive urban forces. E. managed to be partially included just through its unskilled production capacity. His qualifications as a teacher did not engage any kind of market or urban process. As a pure *zoé*, E. began to move away and slowly exit the power diagram in the opposite direction to that of P.: his growing vulnerability made him so unsustainable even in the presence of humanitarian performances, that E. had to leave the Camp and return home to receive the dignity and support necessary for a man who is no longer able to

be productive.

THE STORY OF B. AND THE CONTAINER BUSINESS: FROM WASTE MATERIAL TO ECONOMY

When I generally ask B. what he does for a living, he immediately replies with enthusiasm: "I am a mediator!". His way of introducing himself has been puzzling me for quite a while, until, I concluded that, indeed, that is the most appropriate way of introducing himself. B. is a Nigerian man, originally from Lagos, in Italy since 1989. He says he is one of the first migrants arrived in Castel Volturno: he arrived when Italians were still not used to black people, and Caritas hosted many more persons. At the time, he only wanted to arrive in Europe, without a specific destination. By chance, he was able to obtain an Italian visa. When B. arrived in Italy by plane and with his tourist visa, he did not even know about the possibility to apply for asylum: migration practices and their management were quite different from those of the last waves. His luck was to meet a person on the plane bound for Rome who advised him not to stay in the capital without documents: "Go to Naples. - he said - Here in Rome it is dangerous. In Naples they make tomatoes. If God is behind you, after a while, you will have documents." Then, B. came to Castel Volturno in search of tomatoes and slept at Caritas for several days, benefit from an initial humanitarian infrastructure made of Caritas, solidarity of others African people and an alternative transport system which, at that time, was managed by Italians. He managed to obtain a permit and worked as a servant for four years, with a regular contract, for a commander of the Carabinieri in Casoria, near Naples. When the permit expired, B. felt he had taken a big step backwards and had to start his struggle over to work legitimately in Italy. Meanwhile, some friends B. had in the rest of Europe told him "In Naples, they make beautiful shoes!" and started asking him to send them.

"The problem is that here in Naples there aren't many legal factories where people can work, but they are very ingenious. They make good shoes, good bags, good clothes, jewellery. They are also here in Castel Volturno, but no one knows them because they are not regular. They call us and tell us, "Look, instead of selling drugs or spread

prostitution, we do these things. Tell it to your people!" And our people buy this stuff a lot! In Africa every weekend there is a ceremony: a wedding, a party, etc. Women look for clothing and accessories from Europe to show off. It is very fashionable! Sometimes I even take commissions directly from Africa for specific ceremonies!" (Interview with B., December 2019)

Figure 20 Rented house near Via dei Diavoli. Source: author.

The informal production of goods in the Neapolitan hinterland, therefore, finds African buyers interested in European and Italian clothing because they are considered high-end and fashionable. However, shipping goods from Europe has increased so much overtime that container shipments are now a big business, and according to B., African governments that do not favour manufacturing contribute to this type of

import economy:

"When you don't manufacture things, you depend on imports. And when you depend on imports and you pay cash and not by electronic money, can you afford it? No! So, you have to go for used things. If you ask me to supply 100 microwaves, for example. I can get a new one for 50 euro, which is 5000 euro total. If I tell you this price you would never accept. You would tell me that you don't have 5000 euros, but you have 2500. So, as a businessman, I will not go for a new one, I will go for a used one."

Through processes like this facilitated by B., discarded objects are captured by Castel Volturno and become part of discarded economies. To find the 100 microwaves, B. often uses online platforms for buying and selling used items. The spread of the Internet has greatly facilitated the identification and collection of objects, encouraging this type of business which, years ago, was mainly characterized by word of mouth. Thanks to these platforms, B. views, evaluates and buys objects throughout Italy, sometimes using day workers hired at the Kalifoo Grounds and old vehicles such as vans and large cars. Once all material has been collected, B. uses the broad availability of abandoned buildings in Castel Volturno to store and select the material until it is ready for shipment. Those who start such a career and have no money to invest in the purchase of used material resort to the selection of scrap from junkyards, garbage bins, FB groups of people donating things, etc.

"*You Europeans often throw away things that in Africa they would buy with their eyes closed! Sometimes in African ports, you buy containers or half-containers without even knowing what is inside! You just need to know where they come from*!"

The re-circulation of waste material has strong connections with the legacies of a colonial mentality. The great demand for waste items from Europe is related to a myth of abundance and, at the same time, to a meagre purchasing power. Once collected, stored, organized and selected, B. takes this waste material to the port of Naples, where he rents containers (or parts of containers for smaller loads) for the shipment. At the place of destination, the container is usually awaited by a person with whom B. coordinates and to whom he provides information about the contents of the shipment. Sometimes prices are fixed; other times, they are negotiated or auctioned. Otherwise, businessmen send, along with the container, a woman who, on arrival, is charged with

calling the contact-person. Large groups of people are involved in the import-export activities: they usually have a frontman with regular documents who can rent the container and pay.

Figure 21 Discarded car waiting to be disassembled. Source: author.

All the rest of the workers can be undocumented. People use containers also to send money, to avoid the exchange-rate fee and official payment (for which you would need a bank account and documents). The practice is called “euro-to-euro”: people bring money to the referring person in Italy, taking a code number from him. Then,

they call a member of the family in Africa reporting the code number. So that the member of the family can go to collect the money from the contact person in Africa. In the meanwhile, cash is travelling to Africa using containers, sharing space with broken cars or used clothes. Thanks to this business, B. has managed over the years to emerge from the state of survival and to have an economically stable life although he is still having legal difficulty. At the moment he lives in Castel Volturno with his wife and a 23-year-old daughter, a university student, and is part of the black population that has embarked on a path of social inclusion. Despite his individual exit from the survival threshold (through his involvement in multiscalar urban processes), B. is not yet formally authorized to inhabit the Italian territory. At the same time, it cannot be said that B. is a completely excluded person (Mezzadra and Neilson 2012). B. facilitates the re-circulation of waste objects through the creation of a substantially discarded economy: objects discarded by someone remain desirable in Africa primarily thanks to the fact that they come from Europe, "the land of progress and abundance ". This gap is then concretized and supported by the difference in actual purchasing power. Within this framework, Castel Volturno becomes the ideal place for the logistical realization of these discarded economies. A tangle of *zoé* kept alive by humanitarian availability, extremely accessible storage buildings and free or very low-cost ancillary services become an ideal territory that functions as a condenser of humans and non-humans in a state of survival. The thing that is still worth emphasizing is this: only thanks to humanitarian assemblages as a proper infrastructure specific global urban processes can exist.

THE STORY OF THE ONEEUROBUS

The combination of factors of a different nature in Castel Volturno has made the development of an alternative transport system possible, to the point that now this system is the first mobility option for those who need to move in the area. During the fieldwork, I was forced to travel with the 1EuroBus in the absence of my own car. The rest of the data were produced through semi-structured interviews with passengers, drivers and informal conversations during the numerous shuttle trips. What was

clear from the beginning was that the official public transport is characterized by an extremely inefficient one-line bus service, the MB1 bus that connects the city of Mondragone to Naples.

Figure 22 A man taking the 1EuroBus along Via Domitiana. Source: author.

However, the presence of an excess population, often in a state of poverty, has accentuated the crisis of public transport: the very low percentage of people who pay the ticket, overcrowding and situations of conflict between Italians and foreigners

on the busses often push drivers to skip all the stops in Castel Volturno towards Naples, or, as I happened to testify, to threaten to stop the bus until the conflict had subsided. On top of that, frequent strikes and unwillingness to replace drivers in the event of illness or impediment make the transport situation even worse. This infrastructural lack allowed the Camp Castel Volturno to restore, modify and adapt an old practice originally widespread among locals. The development of transport with a private paid car, now called "OneEuroBus" or "Afrotaxi" was facilitated, in addition to the infrastructural lack just described, by the lack of controls and supervision[87], by the significant circulation of used vehicles among foreign communities and by the great need for a transport service even among the Italian population (which considers this service more useful and reliable than the public one). The route covered by the "OneEuroBuses" generally connects Castel Volturno to Licola train station, although the nearest train station is Villa Literno. But the extension of the municipal area (and thus, the lack of resources and discipline by the institutions that materializes through the lack of control in a specific territorial district) is such that reaching Licola is less "dangerous" because one has to travel only a few kilometres in a different municipal district. OneEuroBuses are cars or little trucks purchased on online platforms or obtained through groups of people with non-certified experience (and not profitable on the formal job market) who buy used parts and assemble cars in their informal garages. Other times, as in the case of S., vehicles are gifts from friends or the result of a collective effort aimed at getting someone out of a difficult situation. S. has become a 1EuroBus driver after a long illness that forced him to abandon the job he did before. His friends' humanity helped him intercept this urban practice and return as an independent, productive man, capable of managing both the care he needs and his family. Now he decides when to work based on the seasonality of the crops (in the summer, for example, the tomato harvest brings many more people to Castel Volturno who need to reach the Kalifoo Grounds), on his routine marked by medical visits or simply based on how much his willpower allows him to work at night. The 1EuroBus route follows roughly the same stops of the official public transportation, with the difference that they are by far more frequent. The name derives from the cost of the

87 As explained above, the lack of controls is due by the fact that the administration in a state of economic distress cannot hire more agents than those currently in service, who, of course, are overloaded with work and are unable to patrol streets adequately.

single ride. It runs mainly along Via Domitiana, from the last roundabouts at the South of Mondragone, it reaches the Licola railway station. From there, a metropolitan train runs to the centre of Naples. Less often, the 1EuroBus goes to the Villa Literno railway, where the regional train that connects Rome to Naples passes, but on whose route there are more frequent checks by the Villa Literno police. The 1EuroBus is driven mainly by Ghanaian immigrants (who were the first to re-introduce this practice in Castel Volturno), many Nigerians who prefer to "do business" rather than work in agriculture, or by Tunisians, Liberians or Ivorians who can drive (regardless of having a driving license) and support their activities as street traders becoming part of this infrastructure.

P. is a Ghanaian man who has been living in Castel Volturno for so long that he is waiting to obtain the Italian citizenship. Currently, he runs a carwash along via Domiziana, and we met there when he explained to me how the idea of the "OneEuroBus" was born, and how they are now struggling with the municipality to negotiate an acknowledgement of their alternative collective transport, since it is now widely recognized as a service and also used by white people. Years ago, they were looking within the Ghanaian community, men available to give people a lift and reach the Kalifoo Grounds early in the morning. They started the practice to fight the bad reputation of Ghanaian people too lazy to go out and look for a job and often being involved in little crimes:

"You complained there is no bus to go to work? Now you don't have excuses anymore! You just go out on the street and you will find a OneEuroBus at every time of the day." (Interview with P., June 2019)

P. maintained that this was an attempt by the Ghanaian community to stop people from falling into crime like selling drugs and give individuals an opportunity to empower themselves and earn money. Now they are struggling to get the municipality to legalise the practice:

"We went to the city hall the other day, but they said that they cannot acknowledge the service".

The biggest complication for the municipality is the fact that most of the drivers (not just Ghanaian) do not have driving licenses or car insurance. P. is strongly convinced

that with the chance to become "legal", most of the drivers will struggle to obtain a license and follow the Italian rules. But, since the number of drivers without a license and insurance and their instruction level[88], it still seems a thorny problem. So, the administration continues to let the service exist without formalization: this "passive management" of public transportation is not intentional by the municipality. It is rather due to the lack of assets and tools to control and supervise. Ultimately, it is absolutely convenient for the administration to have an informal labour force (regulated and constantly circulating), rather than a potentially explosive population of idlers scattered in the neighbourhoods. Drawing again on the political game of borders between inclusion and exclusion argued by Mezzadra and Neilson (2012), this 'unauthorized recognition' of urban subjects and practices contributes enormously to the redefinition of who and what produces territory. Two points deserve to be emphasized. Firstly, the fact that this infrastructure is a practice of friction and connection at the same time between the humanitarian realm and the production of the City. The surrounding urban processes are strongly connected to the existence of this unacknowledged infrastructure made up of the re-assembling and re-circulation of copious waste materiality (bodies, cars and invisible spaces connected to their maintenance) and an extremely transversal use that allows the circulation of several kinds of citizenship. The 1EuroBus is, in fact, a key element of the humanitarian assemblage as a "survival kit infrastructure". Secondly, it is worth underlining how the non-centralized functioning - and coordinated at the most per very small groups - of this infrastructure is given by numerous autonomous, flexible and mainly inconstant particles that always manage to respond to the demand (albeit variable) and to maintain a precious constancy as a whole.

A THRESHOLD TOWARDS MULTIPLE DIRECTIONS

The interdependence between urban processes and the humanitarian world is at

88 Many drivers speak a little of Italian, but often they cannot read and it would be really hard for them to pass the driving-licence exam.

the same time an expansion of the possibilities of exploitation of life (which one would expect from advanced capitalism in a zoèpolitical world), but also a tangle that multiplies connections and escaping routes from a specific oppressive system. Castel Volturno is the emblematic place of this encounter. A place lived in a more or less liminal way, characterized by a metaphysical aesthetic for this reason chosen more and more often by filmmakers in search of a timeless landscape, not only peripheral but "at the end of the world". Beyond the narrative and the artistic suggestions, this chapter has tried to describe the socio-materiality of this unique place, through specific relationships it interweaves with the territory. The intertwining of the power diagram and the humanitarian assemblage with the urban processes in Castel Volturno shows how the direction taken by this *zoepolitical dispositive* allows us to distance from a definition of the Camp as heterotopia opposed to what is defined as "City". If the Camp is a threshold between one direction and another that the actors who exercise sovereignty over the territory began to use, a space-time suspension (or multiplication), a void towards which different urban endings lead, then it can be conceived as a proper turning point: a *threshold of becoming* capable of transforming negativity and oppression into autonomous and collective construction actions. It is urgent to overcome an exclusively oppressive narrative of the Camp. For example, it is emblematic the uncertain origin of the name "Kalifoo Grounds", which shows how what on the one hand is conceived as a space of oppression, can be experienced at the same time as a place of redemption: although Sergio, the head of the Emergency's project, assures me that the name is simply the Ghanaian distortion of the French word "carrefour" (which means "crossroads"), it is interesting to note how widespread the belief is that "Kalifoo" is instead the distortion of "carry you forward", which instead emphasizes the need and the opportunity to escape the survival threshold. This version of the story sees the origin of the name in Libya, where the "r" is pronounced as "l" thanks to the sounds of the Arabic language. In short, a rhizomatic conception of the Humanitarian Space necessarily excludes a one-way nature towards the entire production of bare life. The drifts it produces through the encounter with the urban processes create oscillations in multiple senses, which distinctly depend on the specific concatenations that the actants are able to make and on their ability to materialize desires. Humanitarian spaces are placed and trigger urban processes of escape from them. Conceiving it as infrastructure means observing and making its

agency exist in the production of the territory.

Figure 23 Statue of Jesus along the Volturno river. Source: author.

CONCLUSIONS

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE HUMANITARIAN ASSEMBLAGE

At the beginning of this research, I was looking for answers related to the role of humanitarian organizations in urban contexts. After more than 15 years in the humanitarian world filling my head with innumerable questions, it seemed clear to me that humanitarian movements, moved by a feeling of "active benevolence" (that in jargon is called "Humanity"), were the embodiment of a crucial contradiction of the system and, at the same time, a receptacle of speculation. In particular, I noticed how the municipal administrations of failed cities (Berdini 2014) - which were no longer able to build an effective welfare system - increasingly relied on humanitarian and charitable organisations to manage and support vulnerable populations. At the same time, it was under my nose how the humanitarian organisations' approach that until a few decades ago had worked - if not exclusively, at least mainly - in contexts of conflict, tended more and more to be preventive and widespread in contexts of peace. Some of them even started providing advocacy and education as political practices in favour of universal social justice. In my experience, I also saw a fascinating friction between the interest in the protection of human life and the growing awareness that to reach that point it is urgent to look - in an ecosystemic sense - to the well-being of what is not human. It is emblematic that, for years now, the International Movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent has placed among its priorities awareness-raising projects about climate change or social inclusion. Prevention of vulnerability in times of peace pushes them to focus no longer only on emergency intervention linked to the need of the human being in the strict sense. They suggest changes in the environment in which it lives to increase its well-being, aware that the latter depends above all on the assemblages that capture humanity. This is why in recent years, they have exponentially increased campaigns that suggest behaviours of respect for the environment or support actions in favour of the accessibility of minorities (such as the creation of social infrastructures, the spread of a culture of differences and non-violence, etc.). In short, humanitarian movements are aware that human vulnerabilities are specific and linked to the space-time context they inhabit. It is now anachronistic to think in terms of "vulnerable categories" as if someone could be born and die in conditions of

vulnerability. This awareness ensures that their attention is also and above all directed to external relations. Having contributed to this vision as an activist, particularly in the field of the culture of non-violence, over the years, I turned my attention to spaces characterized by particular forms of oppression. Two of those spaces, Castel Volturno and Ciampino, initially appeared to me as materializations of the conceptual category of the Camp. The personal experience I had working in a reception centre for migrants left me with the belief that there were specific forces at stake in the making of oppression, which I was intent on understanding. As a matter of fact, my interest in the Camp as a dispositive of production and management of excess population came out of this life-long-experience. I initially tried to grasp the functioning of those spaces that seemed capable of completely undressing and weakening human life. Later and gradually, I began to understand that the Camp was just one spatial manifestation among many others existing in a perfectly oiled machinic concatenation. During the PhD, I finally acquired the grammar and vocabulary to name the complexity I had in mind. Being inspired by the thinking of Deleuze and Guattari (2017) and Braidotti (2011), I realized that my goal was to develop a conceptual framework working as a "cartography". By "cartography", I mean a transformative conceptual concatenation that creates a theoretical background by relating concepts without claiming to be a complete, fixed and chronologically oriented disciplinary framework. The cartography I have built does not want to include all the previous literature about the object of study but rather to use the most emblematic and valuable concepts to outline a framework of meaning constructed through transitions of scale and interdisciplinary connections.

In the first chapter, I tried to clarify how I see the world inspired by an intersectional[89] and posthuman conception of the feminist subject. Accordingly, the subject is there understood as a substantially nomadic entity in a monistic relational environment in opposition to the stable and finite Cartesian subject at the base of modern thought. Having been among the first deconstructing forces of the European Humanistic subject especially starting from the thought of Simone De Beauvoir, feminisms - in

89 "Intersectionality" is a concept initially put together by Kimberley Crenshaw, within a field of study called "critical race theory" (CRT). It is usually used in discussions around categories of oppression that include sexual-orientation, gender, class, etc.— to understand how it interacts and intersects with those other categories.

particular posthuman feminism - continuously put in question the paradigms that have brought the Earth to this point of non-return, which is the Anthropocene. With these assumptions in mind, and in order to better manage, plan and govern the territories we dwell, attention must be paid in particular to the overall condition in which we find ourselves. In particular, the need to consider the growing centrality as capital of the *zoé*, the animality of life, or using a term more familiar to Camp studies, the bare life. According to Braidotti (2014a), this condition is the result of the synergy between the technological possibilities derived from the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the growing interest of advanced capitalism for this naked form of life. It is precisely this recent integration of zoé inside the political-economic processes of capital accumulation, destruction and extraction that prompted me to inquire into the role that humanitarian spaces assumed in the overall production of territories. I suspected that those spaces could no longer be considered as marginal/peripheral to the City. Rather, I came to understand that the populations who inhabited humanitarian spaces and were thereby marked as "in excess" or as discardable zoé, actually poured in and out of urbanized territories as the City expanded. Therefore, humanitarian spaces must be conceived not as an exception to the urban, but as central to the mechanisms of urban production. Accordingly, drawing on a rhizomatic conception of the subject and through different literatures dealing with the production of territory (Soja, Harvey, Amin and Thrift and of course Foucault), I explained how the City is understandable today only as a densification of processes rather than as a finite circumscribable object. In this sense, I found in the concept of assemblage the natural environmental transposition of the posthuman nomadic subject. In particular, it was helpful for me to understand the functioning of the production processes of the territory as a constant formation and interruption of bonds between humans and non-humans through dynamics of capture, creation of waste socio-materiality, circulation and recirculation of objects, bodies, economies. Awareness of this machinic functioning has led to realize that the binary categories used so far for the analysis of urban processes - formal/informal, centre/periphery, urban/rural, small/large scale – provide a divisive understanding of the City's production mechanisms that is highly contested since it descends from a unique and dominant episteme: that of an Eurocentric - heterosexual white human male - subject who conceives difference only as a devaluing manifestation of Otherness. By observing an increasingly humanitarian

characterization of government ways (Fassin 2012), I have also highlighted how the management of cities tends to perform and adhere more and more to emergency logics and humanitarian services in replacement of a no longer sustainable public welfare. Afterward, I tried to summarize what has been considered "Camp" by different academic literatures. Confronting such literatures, I have maintained how humanitarian actors avoid using the term 'camp' and prefer "humanitarian space", considered as a "neutral" place of protection – no matter how unlikely such neutrality can be. So far, the interest in the "Camp" dispositive follows Giorgio Agamben's work, who builds on the assumption that there can be complete dispossession of what is political in human life and postulates the existence of a bare life without political weight. However, the increasingly widespread use of this humanitarian dispositive in liberal democracies has made it difficult to describe the Camp in absolute terms. The intertwining of changing economic dynamics, with the multi scalarity of places, with the global interdependence and the growing indeterminacy of what is urban and what is not, have, in fact, increased and complexified the ways in which the Camp - as a zoépolitical dispositive - can manifest itself on the territory as a spatial governance tool. The shift in perspective from a finite and transcendent subject to a nomadic and rhizomatic one allows us to consider the production of territory linked to the functioning of multiple assemblages. According to this philosophical shift, then it is also necessary to let go an absolute and finite definition of what we call "Camp" in favour of a more complex and changing humanitarian assemblage. Aware of the convergence trend between Humanitarian Space and urban processes, I formulated the research questions that guided the investigation. I wondered *how* logics and mechanisms of the humanitarian assemblage meet and relate to those of the City. Furthermore, considering the machinic functioning of space production, I wondered what the attraction and repulsion factors of humanitarian space were and how they declined in its urban manifestations.

Trusting that the philosophical assumptions are sufficiently clear also thanks to conceptual cartography, in the methodological chapter, I explained how in this research, I combined the practical approach to reality given by my long experience as a humanitarian activist with the academic one. I deepened the empirical strategy that guided me in producing and processing data through two case studies of

ethnographic inspiration. Through the first one, analysing the oscillating stories of a human body, of vehicles such as a car and bicycles, and the practice of distributing food, I conceptualized the Camp's functioning and developed a power diagram that would highlight its components, forces and escape routes. Through the second, I tried to identify power relations in a completely different context - Castel Volturno - outlining how the power diagram forces decline and branch out, producing assemblages with unexpected urban drifts. Consistent with theoretical references, Actor-Network Theory helped me to decentralize my observation point from a human-only perspective in order to achieve a more ecosystemic vision of reality. I clarified my position in the two different contexts, also specifying how I chose to use my biography as a humanitarian worker to expand access to data production. In the third chapter, drawing on empirical experience, I focused on the Camp as a *power diagram*: a changing scheme that responds to forces directed in specific directions, around which revolves a heterogeneity of elements that from time to time, and depending on the context, are captured, transformed and abandoned. The power diagram is a tool to look at the variables and mutations of the socio-material context under investigation. The concept of "diagram" derives from the Deleuzian reading of Foucault's work (Deleuze 1988). Starting from a long participatory observation made through a professional experience in a CAS (the most widespread type of reception centres in Italy and the one which, according to recent legislative changes, seems to be destined for even greater diffusion), I have reconstructed relations of power linking humans and non-humans until realizing that the forces pushed towards a common direction: the survival threshold dictated by the minimum humanitarian standard. The diagram was helpful as a *representation of power relations free from uses and specific socio-materiality*. The absence of constraints allowed me to outline the forces that constitute the effectiveness of power from what I believe is a specific and immanent manifestation of the Camp, such as a reception centre. The nature of the diagram allowed me to formulate a machinic theorization of the concept of a Humanitarian Space, which, I argue, could be later on put to use in acknowledging similar dynamics in Camp manifestations tied to completely different contexts from the one I studied. Moreover, I illustrated how, over time, and in particular with the cultural claims that increasingly highlight - at least in the West - human rights, the feeling of "active benevolence" of Humanity enters the Camp (a practice of managing

excess populations originally born in colonial context) together with the need and rhetoric to protect the dignity and human life as a social priority. Since then it has become a dispositive in which *care* and *control* are present at the same time (Malkki 1995). The humanitarian world then becomes the executive and final part of a specific *zoé*-based governmental practice. Meanwhile, global political-economic dynamics have given rise to new ways of absorbing excess capital in different forms. The delocalization of production processes and the ethnicization of work have widespread worldwide as they allow to reduce labour costs (Mezzadra and Nielson 2013). Precisely at this point, where a productive system searching for an economic and super-flexible workforce encounters large amounts of excess populations (the refugee flows of the last decades) in the same territory, the Humanitarian Space becomes the perfect link between economic, territorial production and zoépolitical exploitation. Bodies are kept alive by the humanitarian imperative (which would never consent to the deliberate killing of human lives) and, almost always, through external and moral-oriented funding flows - as in the case of the Italian reception centres financed by the European Union. This external financing mechanism ensures that camp managers earn on a fixed amount of income, incrementally reducing expenditure until it reaches the minimum standard threshold: the minimum of services and nourishment internationally recognized by humanitarian negotiations. An economic dynamic that I have called *outflow capitalism*. Just the minimum resources to keep zoé alive suspended in space-time and make the related economic-urban processes work. It is the implied temporariness that justifies the sufficiency of a minimum standard to be respected and humanitarian actors' willingness to guarantee them. In the meantime, however, the world has got used to this practice: the suspension of space-time becomes a management practice, the humanitarian actor is increasingly in a position of auxiliary of governments - which, in turn, increases the demand for it. While they govern more and more camps with growing urban dynamics, administrations increasingly use the logic of doing the bare minimum through humanitarians rather than imagining a sustainable and truly radical welfare strategy. Deciphering these processes helps understanding why paths of empowerment and personal affirmation become increasingly rare, difficult to carry out due to a lack of resources necessary to guarantee constant care, and an (infra-) structural inclusion that guarantees "a ship to travel alone once accompanied in the water". In short, governments in crisis that do not invest in infrastructures and public

services rely more and more on the outflow capitalism of humanitarian spaces, slowly intruding into the slots of government and urban economic processes.

The case of Castel Volturno described in the fourth chapter illustrates how this perfect mechanism is normalizing in a widespread way, becoming part of the urban processes. The non-accidental (but not even intentional) accumulation of waste materiality in a geographically strategic position has triggered capture processes and gathering of similar materiality. Along the Domitiana coast, the decline of balneary tourism - an actual flaked assemblage - has caused a massive abandonment of second homes now available to migrant communities from South Sahara settling in a desirable place close to Naples. Besides, the fact that they are considered "waste", "abandoned" in an absolute sense, is the result of a perspective view that relegates the subject to the sole owner of the past and does not recognize that they are currently no longer abandoned. The morphology and the environmental criticalities caused by the inclusion of Castel Volturno in the Terra dei Fuochi area, together with the belief that it became a disreputable place after the involvement of the Camorra and the repopulation by post-earthquake, post-bradyseism and "post- sentenced to house arrest" people, triggered a drop in the houses' prize on the real estate market. This new accessibility has begun to represent a tempting opportunity for those who, on the other hand, from the position of nakedness of less-than-humans, have finally put themselves in a relationship with urban processes, finding themselves amid practices and concatenations with disparate results. Another key capture-factor, triggered by this particular concatenation of elements, was the municipal administration's survival status. This status of emergency now perpetrated over time forces the administration to provide a minimum of urban services, so much so that even the former mayor himself talks about "maintaining the state of survival". In this case, factors such as the presence of a substantial unrecognized population (because considered irregular) and the circulation that it entails, make the use of the survival logic as chronic and transform the expectation of better times into a stable and expanded liminal present. Furthermore, given the actual enormous undersizing of services, actors and humanitarian performances are captured by this tangle of synergical interactions to support a territory that would otherwise, according to many, be explosive. Here the imaginary lines of separation that in our heads divide humanitarian reality from

government definitively lose shape and categories blur out of definition. Despite the neutral benevolence of their intentions, humanitarian actors realize that they are in a key *infrastructural* position. They are so indispensable for maintaining the circulatory processes that produce the place that they find themselves in positions of governmental power they never wanted. In situations where the emergency is amplified - such as the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic period - their power to discipline and govern the territory has been made even more evident. At that time, the mayor established a coordination group called COC in which all the humanitarian actors of Castel Volturno were included. Without it, the municipal administration would not have reached virtually and practically the foreign population in the labyrinths hidden by the Domiziana - for example, for the food distribution. It has been only the most evident manifestation of the disciplinary centrality and the negotiating power that the humanitarian world has in that context, even in non-emergency, because of their capacity to have relationships with a specific part of the area. Unavoidably, other capturing factors are the labour market that offers "attractive" work opportunities in and around Castel Volturno, despite not being legally recognized as such, and the presence of a robust humanitarian infrastructure enabling the initial stabilization. The historical agricultural vocation of the Province of Caserta, which is tragically affected by phenomena of exploitation and caporalato, in a certain sense perfectly responds to the specific needs of an essential part of the population of Castel Volturno, that is, the transiting migrants or the highly mobile ones. If we consider that this kind of work organization takes the form of new slavery and does not offer the slightest guarantee on workers' wages, health, and rights (but instead profits from their absence). In that case, it appears that the Kalifoo ground system as a platform for meeting the demand and supply of occasional work allows bodies that propose themselves as an available workforce to maintain extreme flexibility both regarding the nature of the work to be accepted and the frequency and period during which to make themselves available. Without considering, of course, being able to actually remain productive (and therefore often be able to respond to the expectations of the family of origin) despite the condition of "irregularity". To avoid misunderstandings, it is worth acknowledging that the power of choice I am talking about is almost entirely crushed by poverty. Many people go to the roundabouts every single day before dawn and accept any job forced by the plague of necessity. But at the same time, there are groups of people who strenuously defend their even

minimal power of choice. In general, it is rare to find Nigerian men working in agriculture because there is a widespread belief among the Nigerian community that working in the fields is too exhausting and harmful to health. This reason pushes them to devote themselves to the invention of new professions such as “the broker” or the “container businessman”, supporting a cultural attitude more aimed at commerce and at the same time triggering new trans-urban processes. Similarly, the Ghanaians’ need to facilitate access to the Kalifoo grounds platforms has led to the creation[90] of a de facto infrastructure such as the 1EuroBus, which currently connects heterogeneous elements - legally acknowledged or not, and different in origin, race, interests, etc. A power of choice that should be supported and legitimized through the support of these practices of overcoming the Camp and drifting in urban processes. Furthermore, the Kalifoo ground system produces infrastructures related to its accessibility, almost entirely performed as humanitarian actions. Without documents and just arrived in the “Castel Volturno area”, a migrant person in transit needs a so-called temporary subsistence situation to access that market space materially. It requires a minimum standard: what is enough for a few days’ survival to those who arrive as “a body that is worth its weight in flesh”. Therefore, a temporary bed, a bathroom, and some food become the standard welcome kit for newcomers to Castel Volturno. A proper “survival kit”. It was initially offered by Caritas (which is why their help station is often known from the countries of origin), now also provided by Pentecostal churches, settled communities and specific political representatives (for example, the Delegate of Edo State in Campania, domiciled in Castel Volturno) or just individuals who provide a bed. So, it is evident how these humanitarian performances trigger the *production of particular type of subject and space* linked to temporary accommodation, catering and transportation with all the circulation of objects connected to them. In essence, this humanitarian assemblage made up of a transformative and non-centralized gathering of things, homes, vehicles, people who perform independently in a humanitarian spirit creates what can be called a

90 The practice had already spread several years earlier among Italian citizens, then fell slightly into disuse. However, it is possible to say without doubts that by the Ghanaians, there was an action of re-appropriation of a fundamental part of the "mobility market" of the area, which undoubtedly led the practice mentioned above to become a proper stable infrastructure.

humanitarian infrastructure[91]. The humanitarian assemblage working as a humanitarian infrastructure is added to those factors of specific capture of bodies and things. Indeed, what makes Castel Volturno an emblematic place of entanglement between Humanitarian Space and City are several interconnected influences: the opportunity to live in a house at meagre cost (or no cost at all); free access to care; a more substantial possibility to find food and accommodation in extreme situations compared to other places; the presence of a community' support infrastructure (through churches, social reproduction services such as groups of women preparing food or long-term babysitting, etc.); the possibility of work despite the irregularity of status and, last but not least, the presumptive involvement in urban processes that represents a possibility to escape the survival position in the power diagram. There is, therefore, the Caserta tomato on the supermarket shelves on one end of the production line. On the other, a spatial and infrastructural humanitarian assemblage to support the naked body guarantees the purchase of the tomato itself.

THE REPEATABILITY OF THE HUMANITARIAN LOGIC

In this research, I highlight the functioning of the humanitarian space and its friction and entanglement with other urban processes. I argue that humanitarian spaces and logics are increasingly influential in the production of urban space, alongside the space-productive governance practices that are usually associated with peacetime. I further insist that humanitarian morality is regularly deployed as an effective political discourse, with consequences on urban planning and policy-making (Fassin 2012). Recent examples (not only related to the management of migrant populations) may help clarify how the idea of entrusting the management of urban services and resources to humanitarian actors goes increasingly unquestioned. The involvement of a famous humanitarian such as Gino Strada - founding surgeon and former President of Emergency - for the management of a regional government crisis of Calabrian

91 See figure n. 17

Health Department in November 2020[92] is one testimony to this integration of humanitarian actors in practices until then restricted to institutional governmental actors. In particular, it had been proposed by the political movement "Le Sardine" as an ideal profile to resolve the crisis, but above all, as a competent figure for an infrastructural re-construction that would solve the structural and chronic criticalities of the Calabrian system. In short, he was proposed as a political figure. Involved several times, the national government has never accepted to entrust him as commissioner, nor officially pronounced about the Sardine's suggestion, probably due to the explicit declarations of the Calabrian Governor Nino Spirlì:

Calabria is not Afghanistan, it is a region of Italy, and like all other regions, it has the right to govern itself as all the others are governed. We don't need missionaries of any kind.[93]

After several weeks of embarrassment due to the difficulties encountered in finding a person, the central government appointed the more institutional figure of Guido Longo, former police commissioner and prefect in Calabria. Although the affair ended with a gesture that certainly still does not delegate political governance to humanitarians, it is certainly significant that, eventually, Emergency was largely involved by the Italian government through an agreement with the Civil Protection and entered the operational management of the territory. The existence of Emergency's Programma Italia is itself emblematic: through specific agreements, some regions have allowed the NGO in the most vulnerable contexts of their territories, giving rise, in fact, to a dynamic of auxiliarity that goes to lighten the burden of the malfunctioning welfare systems, in particular where excess populations cannot be expelled because involved in the production processes (especially in Southern Italy, the Emergency stations mainly follow those of agricultural seasonality: Latina, Castel Volturno, Naples, Polistena, Sassari, the "transformed strip" of 30km of greenhouses

92 Candito, A. (2020), 'Calabria, Sardine in pressing su Gino Strada. Cristallo: "Sia nominato subito subcommissario' in Repubblica , available at: Calabria, Sardine in pressing su Gino Strada. Cristallo: "Sia nominato subito subcommissario"

93 ANSA (2020) 'Calabria, Gino Strada annuncia accordo con la Protezione civile – Cronaca' in ANSA, available at: Calabria, Gino Strada annuncia accordo con la Protezione civile - Cronaca

in Ragusa[94], Palermo and Foggia - now closed[95]). Additionally, more and more Italian municipalities entrust (or leave to) voluntary associations driven by a spirit of charity or Humanity for the management of assistance services. During the Italian pandemic crisis, it has been evident that the collapse of many urban realities was avoided thanks to the enormous response of the voluntary network. Still, the vast majority of those realities offer support services or assistance even in normal times. Think, for example, of the humanitarian role of Naples' social centres: thanks to a policy of "tolerance" on the occupied common spaces, Mayor De Magistris has allowed a critical socio-infrastructural network to be created to support urban poverty. We might also think of the breadth of services offered today by a humanitarian actor par excellence such as the International Movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent. In the Italian Red Cross's daily activity, services offered are so integrated and auxiliary to the territorial government that range from food distribution for impoverished families to the "Street Unit Service", which at the same time monitors (not to say discipline) and takes care of homeless people. From social inclusion projects to the management of proper reception centres. From support services to hospital staff to education and empowerment of the youngest segment of the population, the services provided by CRI are crucial in countless contexts where state-provided welfare is inefficient or plainly inexistent. For several years, CRI has even been offering various educational programs in schools - a disciplinary body par excellence - now even supported by a national dissemination platform[96] thanks to an agreement with the Ministry of Education and Research[97]. To sum up, the intertwining and contamination between the humanitarian world and urban management processes are increasingly widespread in Italy. Administrations, especially those in difficulty, increasingly rely on humanitarian actors and performance to discipline excess humans and non-humans or maintain a sufficient assistance service level. At the same time, humanitarianism extended beyond the armed conflict is becoming increasingly political in peacetime as well because,

94 See the Emergency's website at: https://en.emergency.it/projects/socio-medical-assistance-to-agricultural-workers-in-sicily/

95 See the Emergency's website at: Terminata la convenzione tra EMERGENCY e Regione Puglia per l'assistenza sanitaria nelle campagne della Capitanata | Comunicati stampa | EMERGENCY

96 See for example the "MI Project" at Progetto MI

97 Currently divided in Ministero dell'Istruzione e Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca.

thanks to the desire to overcome the welfarist approach favouring the inclusive one, it lends itself to be a more and more territorially-grounded infrastructure enabling the circulation and distribution of a guaranteed minimum standard of "human life".

AFFIRMATIVE PLANNING

Urban planning deals with our actual idea of the future. Planners measure themselves with the idea of justice, with possible collective horizons and bargaining with the gap they create to the present reality. It is a constant interlacing with what is believed to be materializable and what is instead excluded from directions to take. This has a lot to do with the position in which we decide to place ourselves to look at the horizon. At the same time, it is the formulation of discourses about how we intend to transform power relations into a more just concrete reality. The peculiarity is that these ideas of ideal change are materialized through processes of categorization, taxonomy, localization of interests, bodies, meanings, limits or openings circulation flows. In each of these areas, we take responsibility for what - more or less predictably - follows from design. In general, actual urban planning policies still struggle to include in their horizons specific locations for temporary stays, more flexible circulation management practices, recognition of alternative forms of citizenship or housing and rhythm variability - all of those being possible tactics that would substantially manage to escape the emergency logic. Planning goes as if the structuring and infrastructuring of space-time still necessarily had a limit given by solidity and permanence, and as if the only way to allow a different degree of space-time management were through derogation and state of exception: the substantial creation of a void in a solid regulatory structure. Alongside the struggle in changing the paradigm in institutional planning practices, however, more tactical and more context-specific forms of planning are already widespread, usually operating through delegation to non-institutional actors. Humanitarian actors, stakeholders or various entities are, as already expressed previously, very slowly joining and replacing government actors in designing a public welfare system capable of responding to emerging needs. These spatial apparatuses

exist de facto and contribute to economic and urban production through the activation of complex, productive and scattered power relations throughout the territory. They are performative devices that guarantee the system's tightness despite and through the fact that they are still recognized, told and defined as "Other Spaces", heterotopies. If they weren't so, the commodification of the zoé - in this case, the racialized body - would no longer be the piece that production needs to keep its chains and accessibility intact. In this regard, Braidotti argues that advanced capitalism benefits from scientific and economic control and the commodification of life across species. In essence, the capital born from *zoé* comes from the total commodification of animals in intensive farming, from the development of biotechnologies, from the production of data by human (cyborg) life connected to digital platforms, etc. For this reason, she prefers to talk about *zoé-politics* rather than biopolitics.

All the species, included the human one, are subjected to the same logic of capitalisation of life. It is a post-anthropocentric logic because it puts humans on the same level as other species when it comes to capitalising and commodifying. (Braidotti 2014a and Università di Bologna 2020)

According to Braidotti, it is advanced capitalism itself that causes the human shift from the top of the pyramid to a more or less marginal node of a productive and ecosystemic mechanism. For the same reason, it is not surprising that the Camp's transformation since the beginning of the 21st century has been characterized by its increasingly broad involvement in production processes, and therefore in urban processes. If earlier dispositives for the control of bodies created suspension bubbles on a connected territory, nowadays, those bodies are crushed towards a state of pure *zoè* by racializing power relations become part of the production processes *precisely* because they are "almost animal life", less-than-humans. The posthuman condition, in short, shifts the role of humanitarian spaces from being biopolitical to *zoé-political dispositives*. Those spaces have become machines for the production of bodies and things in a state of survival, aimed at absorbing excesses of capital (in human and non-human form) and disciplining the (re-circulation of waste. They work according to power diagrams that gradually contaminate the very conception of welfare and urban government and slowly assume government responsibilities and functions. As I demonstrated using the case of Castel Volturno, humanitarian assemblage is a

gathering of heterogeneous elements (houses, bodies, skills, vehicles, rules, objects, etc.) which, precisely because it performs as humanitarian - based on a negotiated minimum - it unknowingly becomes an *infrastructure*. Capturing humans and non-humans through factors that are naturally its own (such as the offer of minimum survival services), it allows access to specific negotiation platforms of the *zoé* as a workforce (for instance, the Kalifoo grounds - places where, as in reception centres, the surplus occurs through stripping mechanisms up to the survival threshold). Simultaneously it guarantees the functioning of urban production processes (such as agricultural production and construction). Therefore, the production of the *zoé-subject* is also linked to a humanitarian territorial production that makes its disruptive entry into the City.

"If urbanism is an achievement, it is also a crucial domain of the possible" (McFarlane 2011, p. 652). As scholars and professionals tasked with finding ways to materialize an idea of a just future, planners cannot fail to recognize a gap between what institutions acknowledge and legitimize and the actual "humanitarian planning", the infrastructural practice that already responds to specific urban needs. Amin and Thrift (2017), too, argue that it is urgent to "rethink who is who in the democratic account of urban life", and it is precisely the step to do to admit a democratic and heterogeneous multiplicity of existences. The same scholars then suggest that a policy of prosperity in response to urban poverty can only and exclusively be a policy that prioritises access to an essential infrastructure supply. This is the condition sine-qua-non of any "empowerment" or sustainable "resilience". In short, even where there are shared objectives and efforts aimed at increasing justice and inclusion, urban planning seems to struggle to take on a central role and the transformative power it deserves. If the affirmative power of a nomadic subject increases together with the "quality" of its connections and its general accessibility, the role of the infrastructure that supports it then becomes the way to make an affirmation process materially effective. The types of humanitarian infrastructure that we find in Castel Volturno are examples of practices for temporariness that are constantly able to evaluate and respond to demand through independent and supportive initiatives aimed at the collective interest, without real central coordination. In Castel Volturno, controlling the zoé, is not traditionally managed by institutional disciplinary power, but delegated instead

to the humanitarian government. For instance, no one centrally coordinates the 1EuroBus vehicles (unlike the comparable services that historically exist in the nearby city of Naples). Also, the network of the main humanitarian actors is not based on the central and hierarchical coordination of the activities but on constant contact mainly functioning through the union of communicative segments that leaves each entity free to pursue their own interests and unconstrained. If these practices succeeded in influencing public planning, the enormous consumption of resources typical of emergency logic would be re-channelled into infrastructural elasticity. And energies expended by excess populations in building patching infrastructure and alternative practices would be freed up and re-channelled by a public overhaul of the urban skeleton. At this point, we must ask ourselves: is the Camp a governmental dispositive that deserves to disappear? Answering "yes" to this question would mean falling into the trap of dialectical opposition that would end up restoring strength to the thesis through the juxtaposition of its antithesis. As explained above, after decades of Marxist melancholy crushed by a sense of resignation that sees no way out in front of the monster of advanced capitalism that manages to incorporate all the opposing forces, I find an approach based on the idea of affirmative politics - and therefore planning - more consistent and realistic. The positive aspect of affirmative ethics - says Braidotti (2017) - lies in believing that negative elements can be transformed. This belief rests on the dynamic interpretation of all affects, even those that paralyze us in pain, horror and mourning. [...] Every event contains itself the potential to be overcome and subsumed - its negative charge can be transposed. The moment of its realization is at the same time the moment of its neutralization. She argues, in particular, of a "project to undo the Hegelian trap, which consists of the equivalence between desire, lack and negativity". On the other hand, an affirmative approach proposes *desire* as a positive affirmation of a joint and multiple instances at the same time to build the political weight of the subject through links and relationships. If this is true, then oppressions and injustices produced by and through a territory can also be transformed, not through an oppositional consciousness, but through the production of relationships between elements as material concatenations of desire. What we continue to define as "informal practices" are already functioning machines producing territory and guaranteeing its endurance through constant circulation. Rather than being dismissed as Camps, "ghettos", or places of degradation, a neutral

gaze should be able to recognize the reasons that orbit around objects in a state of minimal maintenance because they are linked to a temporary use that does not necessarily involve belonging. Being able to transform the pain, the negative, the oppression instead of resigning to a narrative of permanent and almost inconclusive struggle is an extremely practical and material way of conceiving resistance because it sees action here and now as the only way to change, in the immanence of the Real. Moreover, it allows to "express high levels of interdependence, that is, dependence on Otherness" rather than damaging the subject's ability to enter into a relationship. Furthermore, this thought hopes to overcome even the logic of recognition: I exist if and only there is a Great Other who sees me and recognizes me. In our case, it is the role that the State plays through its disciplinary branches. There is no doubt that the State's recognition of certain subjects is the missing action to establish and build rhizomatic relationships that help the affirmation of multiple otherness. In our case and many others, negative forces that crush, oppress and normalize are still more robust than those that resist and assert themselves. The Camp has been so far the expression of a specific type of oppressive institutional discipline aimed at controlling excess populations. It is impossible not to stress that the "excess" exists only if we let exist a racial difference in our cultural paradigm and only if there is no correspondence between supply and demand, in other words: between desire and production. But, the point is that the lack of recognition turns out to be nothing more than an obstacle to the slosh of the flows already present. This type of force already exists and have productive agency- as in the 1EuroBus or the reception infrastructure for people in transit organized by Caritas or permanent communities: the "survival kit". The humanitarian infrastructure is already at stake and highly spatially productive, and it will be a problem if we fail to see it. Through a continuous game of making and unmaking humanitarian performances and urban practices, a large and heterogeneous number of actors distribute agency and power of affirmation among themselves, becoming a *unique but multiple, adaptable and non-centralized humanitarian infrastructure*. Whether you want to recognize it or not, those machines are already there. Their bodies move, their practices work, and the territory transforms with them. For this reason, the profiles of planners, governors and the designers should increasingly aim to facilitate the tie of relationships, expand the possibility of creating new ones and, ultimately, foster the conditions - currently not present - for an

environment of change. In a nutshell: facilitate the freedom of affirmation, reducing and changing the understanding of discipline. That is, to create a multiplicity of possible paths and material choices made by an accessible solid infrastructural fabric. The creative forces of humanitarian space, which make up the power diagram, are not necessarily condemned. The functioning of the mechanism must be seen and understood and, in an affirmative sense, facilitated in terms of sustainability and equal well-being. Resistance, then, means living a relationship of power without ever becoming "bare life"; without ever being annihilated and without ever becoming a commodified body at the mercy of the blue, of oppression and political undefinition. Setting the conditions for change means letting work the same power diagram at a higher frequency, imagining infrastructural mechanisms with increased flexibility and transformation, and guaranteeing mobility, continuous captures and releases, multi-scale connection and proper Dwelling, even if temporary. The multiplicity of time must be considered by complexifying the intertwining of spaces and times of use. The imbalance between permanent and temporary must be recalibrated, restoring the indispensability and dignity of the temporary. In short, the efficiency of the humanitarian space must be transformed into (infra-)structural. There is no need to spatially retain any excess population at the cost of protecting all the rest's functioning. There is no need to continue to conceive the Camp as Other, as a heterotopy, as a guarantee of production processes. "Camp planning" should be included in institutional practices.

We are free to acknowledge that the Camp has entered urban processes to transform its negative charge. Its survival threshold can and must become a power threshold, a *threshold of becoming*, -rather than a void - in which all possibilities, paths and potential connections are contemplated. It can and must become a context in which it is possible to transform the negative in the "here and now" of place and time, not through empowerment paths based on the provision of resources from the top, but as a free supply of tools for the way out. It is precisely the contamination between the Camp and the City that creates the condition to short-circuit resignation to oppression. Drawing from the encounters between humanitarian assemblages and urban processes, the heterogeneity of the elements and the hybrid nature of the capturing forces, we can imagine ways to escape the state of survival through the imagination of

infrastructures made of autonomous elements in synergy and synchronic movement with each other. It is the specific contact with the City that manages to amplify the relationships of a subject and facilitate its political affirmation. The infrastructures for migrants imagined so far - for instance, reception centres of the national system or other types of humanitarian spaces - are based on the thinning of spaces and services for homogeneous and desireless bodies: “migrants”. These bodies in urban contexts search for comfort in connections outside their house, building infrastructures and performing uncoordinated and not hierarchically regulated collective practices that persist in different forms despite the temporary presence of all the elements. At the same time, this gathering of autonomous atoms orbiting around the same trajectory guarantees freedom for the parties to disengage from the infrastructural assemblage without creating dysfunctions. There seems to be a massive gap between the imagination and the realization of this type of infrastructure, yet it already exists. In these terms, the responsibility of laying the foundations for the material transformation of the negative lies with all those who have professional, but above all, emotional and affective relationships with the City and with urban processes.

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