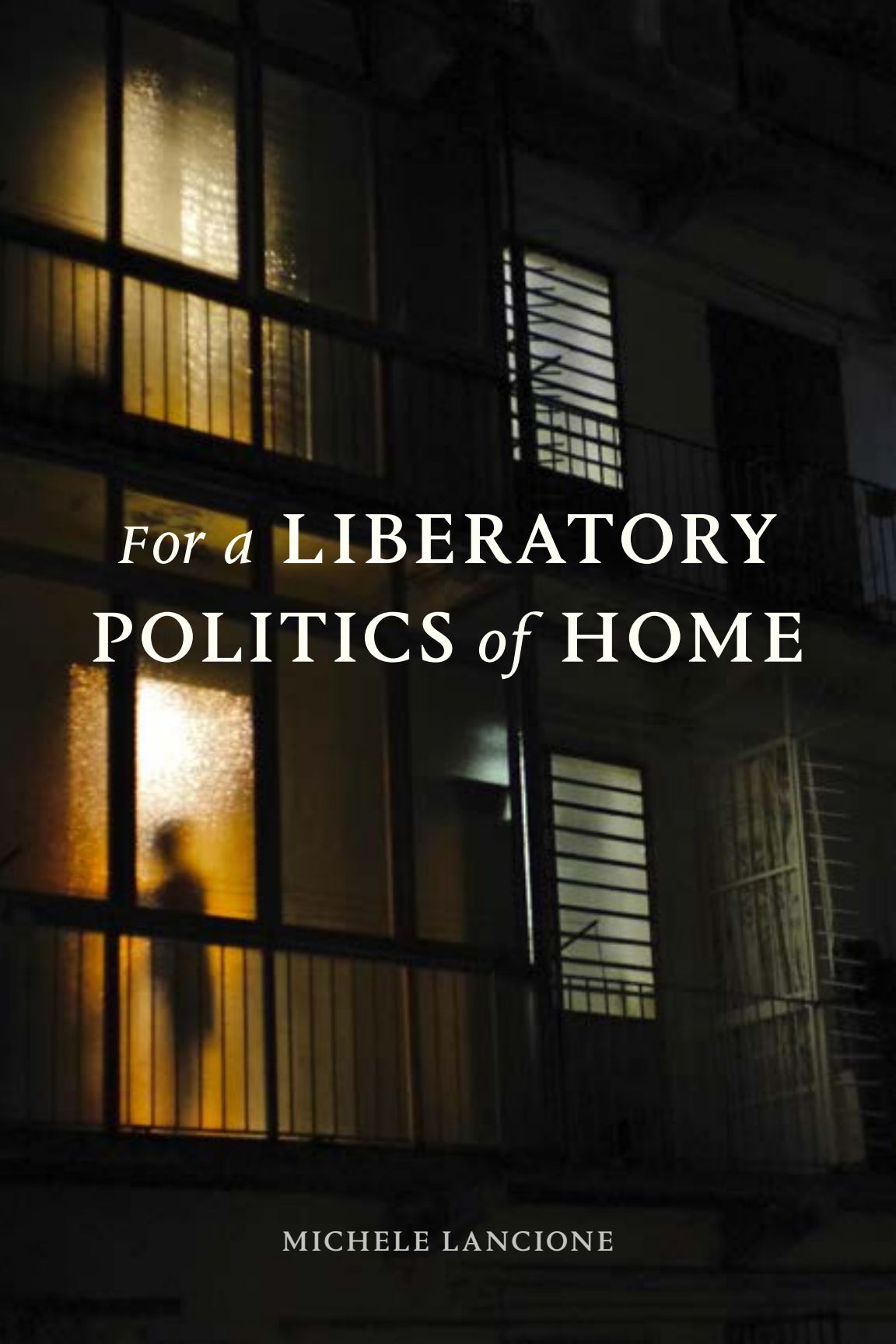

For a LIBERATORY POLITICS *of* HOME

MICHELE LANCIONE

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Contents

Preface

What if the solution to *homelessness* is not *home*? What if home is not worth going back to, and one instead needs the constitution of a more radical beyond? What kind of epistemic and material liberation is needed for thinking and doing that?

In this book, I try to provide an initial response to these questions by transcending a binary reading of home and its other. Conventionally, home is longed for as a place of ontological security and belonging; its loss defines what it means to be home-*less*. What follows is a political and affective charge to "go back home": to fight homelessness as the deviation from an otherwise worthy path. Entire economies of the homely, large industries of salvation and even instances of housing activism are founded on this oppositional reading of home and its less. Contrary to this, my proposal is to conceive home and homelessness as matter of the same. This is not about discarding traumatic experiences conventionally conflated in the latter but to affirm that home contains in itself the possibility of not being at home: for one can be made to inhabit a space of the less without requiring home to alter its parameters. This is what I call the impossible possibility of home: a salvation designed around its annihilation; a tension sitting very much at the heart of what is made to count as other and how that is governed, recursively so, from the level of individual subjection through the diagram of global boundaries.

I aim to explore these tensions, moved by the belief that current conceptual frameworks of home and homelessness are inadequate and dangerous. They are inadequate because they reduce homelessness to the realm of exceptionality and thereby (re)produce it rather than solve it. And they are dangerous because they sustain particular ideologies of home, hence foreclosing other

ways of inhabiting the world. The proposition I bring to the fore is radically simple: homelessness cannot be solved without dismantling our current makings of home. There is no possible adjustment, no innovative intervention, and no salvation if we do not crack through the ceiling of home itself. This means many things, including challenging scholarship and policies on the matter and intersecting with cognate struggles against patriarchy, the financialization of housing, and the violence of racial capitalism. But above all, it means retrieving and then building upon the desire for liberation that constantly unfolds, and lingers through, the interstices of home and its foundational "lessness." The book provides a concrete propositional politics in such a sense (part III). To get there, it offers a conceptual grammar to navigate the constitutive threshold of home/homelessness (part I), and it grounds the argument locally (taking up the case of Italy) and in the West (part II). Through this journey, the ambition is to offer just one possible way of thinking for a liberatory politics of home: a praxis to move beyond current modes of homing the world.

I want to be clear about the inescapable limitations of this volume. I say *inescapable* because these are limitations related to my journey. I have been able to care for, and struggle with, friends, comrades, and research participants fighting for another way of homing for a while, but I do not assume I can speak for them. Although all the arguments in this book have been discussed and validated through many years of engagement, they remain mediated by my trajectory. I am a white bisexual man, born into a very modest working-class family from a tiny industrial village in the northern periphery of Italy.[1] The making of this subjectivity grants me a limited view of the world, which impacts how I see, feel, and make sense of things. My journey as an adult has questioned and added to this, but this book can only offer partial accounts of the individuals rendered in its pages. These are people whose experiences come with their historical freight and specific violence. I have tried to account for these complex histories but have probably failed. The same goes for the geographies of reference: this text is grounded in my Italian ethnographic work, with connections to the Anglo-Saxon worlds of the UK and North America. It knows little of other contexts and does not presume to speak about them. However, I hope that its methodological, conceptual, and political grammar may be helpful to those fighting entrenched understandings of home elsewhere in the world, too.

Given these limitations, the following aims to provide a transversal pathway to the land of lessness, where some are supposedly at home and others are not. I aim to account for the fact that, in immanent terms, many lack a way of dwelling joyfully, and there is much to be gained in recentering thinking from

that standpoint. I believe that a critical approach to what I call home(lessness) provides access to broader and more radical framings. Hopefully, this book indicates a way to experiment with those, dismantle convention where necessary, and expand understandings and struggles affirming thousands of liberated kinds of homes.

Acknowledgments

I had been working on this book, on and off, for more than a decade. This means much life and many projects intersected its development, and I will never be able to give justice to all of it in only a few lines. So I focus here on the most immediate entanglements.

The European Research Council supported the substantive development of this book through my project Inhabiting Radical Housing (grant no. 851940). At the same time, core ideas were nurtured at Durham University (during my PhD) and, years later, at the Urban Institute in Sheffield. I am indebted to these institutions for providing me with the time and resources for this work. But these wouldn't mean much without the attentiveness and intellectual stimuli colleagues have shared with me along the way. Thank you to Francesca Governa, without whom I wouldn't have had the chance of becoming an academic; Ash Amin, who showed me how to love intellectual labor with great patience, care, and insight; Colin McFarlane, from whom I have learned much intellectually and around the job of being an academic; Stewart Clegg, for providing me the space to pursue my ideas in my time at the University of Technology of Sydney; Tatiana Thieme, for a sisterhood that comes back anew every year; and then, with much love to them, thanks to my colleagues at the University of Sheffield, who provided a shared sense of purpose and the confidence to experiment and explore. My gratitude to John Flint, Ryan Powell, Beth Perry, Vanesa Castán Broto, Jon Silver, Simon Marvin, Aidan While, and all the early career postdoctoral fellows for what we shared and built together. Along a similar line, I want to thank the members of the Beyond Inhabitation Lab at DIST, Polytechnic of Turin, the PhD candidates I advise in the UK and Italy, and the team of postdoctoral researchers currently working with me. I am privileged to share intellectual and political labor with all of you.

An early version of this book benefited from the comments of some of the colleagues listed here, and ideas were tested in several academic and activist settings across the years. I am thankful to those who provided invitations and engagement. I want to recall a few in particular. The first thank you goes to the late Josie Jolley, an incredibly talented PhD scholar with whom I had the fortune of discussing ideas around "home" and learning from her own writing. The second goes to my friend Kiera Chapman, who proofread a very different version of this book but gave me the crucial confidence to fully embrace a way of thinking beyond binaries. Then, to Katherine Brickell, for her meaningful writings on (un)homing, home violence, and their multiscalar politics, and for her generous and insightful reading of my work. A special thank you to Ananya Roy: beyond what I have learned from her scholarship and her direct actions, and beyond the daily inspiration she provides with her doings through the Unequal Cities Network, I am thankful to her for pushing me hard to reconsider ideas, to rewrite, to commit further. All errors remain mine, but without Katherine and Ananya, I would have liked this book less. Thank you to production editors Liz Smith and Michael Trudeau, editorial associate Laura Jaramillo, copyeditor Karen Fisher, book designer Matthew Tauch, and the marketing team at Duke. A special thank you note to my wonderful editor, Courtney Berger, who believed in the core ideas of my proposal, supported me throughout, and gave me the confidence to pursue this work.

Much of my thinking around housing politics is derived from grassroots experiences, to which I hope this book will contribute. I am indebted to houseless friends and research participants in Italy and beyond, and in particular, for the ideas developed in this book, thank you to Amos and the late Paolo and Pancrazio—who many years ago made Turin's streets and their biopolitical diagrams legible to me. Gratitude also goes to my *Radical Housing Journal* comrades, particularly Melissa Fernández Arrigoitia, Mara Ferreri, Melissa García-Lamarca, and Erin McElroy, with whom we shared much work to envision, construct, and nurture a new global infrastructure for emancipatory housing knowledge. Similarly, thanks to my comrades in the Common Front for Housing Rights in Bucharest (albeit the struggles we shared are not part of this volume, I am thankful for what I have learned with you) and thanks, too, to those individuals and groups, all across Italy and beyond, who support direct actions and organizing to keep Frontex out of our universities, and those who fight, on an everyday basis, to abolish it altogether. Liberating home in Europe today also requires that.

Finally, a line of something more profound than gratitude goes to my brother AbdouMaliq Simone because, since the end of my PhD, he has always

been there—physically, emotionally, intellectually—with concrete gestures of care in an academic realm often spurred by those, without expecting anything in return. But Maliq needs to be also thanked for his intellectual project, a politically charged but soft-spoken relentless search for those nonapparent surrounds where life is rendered possible and impossible, those interstices where one can trace the insurgence of lives beyond what the pastiche of sociological thinking has made of them. Thank you for those storylines, brother.

Grazie to Marina and Antonio for your unconditional love and unbounded sacrifices. *Grazie* to Leo, for putting up with me, for shaking my depression when it needs to be shaken, for pushing me to write this thing, for nurturing the tempo of our becoming, for just being there and being you. I dedicate this book to my nieces Bianca and Laura and my sister Silvia—inspiring women affirming their liberation.

INTRODUCTION. The Problem of *Lessness*

"Sans" is a short story in French, written in 1969 by Samuel Beckett, later translated into English under the title "Lessness." It is composed of sixty sentences, ordered into paragraphs that, according to Beckett, follow a random structure.[1] The result is a narrative in which chunks can be reordered at pleasure without the whole losing its meaning; a story that still conveys its effect when it is messed up. The text depicts "a small grey upright body standing among the ruins of a refuge in an endless grey expanse."[2] The body does not do much but is charged by fragments of passing light, by the beats of a heart, by a landscape of sand, ash, and holes, even by a "blank mind."[3] In encountering it, in reading "Sans," we are charged too: the effect produced is one of anguished fear, an expanded tension arising from the way a body dwelling in a vast gray plateau is affected by the elements.

Little body same grey as the earth sky ruins only upright. No sound not a breath same grey all sides earth sky body ruins. Blacked out fallen open four walls over backwards true refuge issueless.

No sound no stir ash grey sky mirrored earth mirrored sky. Grey air timeless earth sky as one same grey as the ruins flatness endless. In the sand no hold one step more in the endlessness he will make it. It will be day and night again over him the endlessness the air heart will beat again.[4]

The claustrophobic experience of "Sans" can be lived and felt over and over again, no matter how its structure is aligned. Even though its sentences can be rearranged in more than 8.3×10^{81} permutations—and an online project allows a reader to do this—the effect produced will always be the same.[5] Here are three sentences randomly arranged by myself:

No sound no stir ash grey sky mirrored earth mirrored sky. It will be day and night again over him the endlessness the air heart will beat again. Light refuge sheer white blank planes all gone from mind.

"Sans" is crisscrossed by a diagrammatic power in which the arrangement of things is the source of happenings. Yet, through the recurrence of its key repertoire of phrases and its obsessively fragmented syntax and schizoid tempo, happenings in "Sans" always stay the same. This is a particular type of inertia, playing at the level of affect: it is different in kind from the logic of the *Gattopardo*, where an incredible amount of purposive effort is made to "change everything so that nothing changes."[6] Despite being strategic in its outline (it is, after all, the output of a writer's pen), "Sans" is able to acquire a life of its own, an ability to affect others that stays the same despite huge possibilities of variation. In encountering it, we bypass the logic of traditional narrative, with its forward propulsion, to be charged and rewired by its permeating lack, by its engraving of hollowness on our bodies. Ultimately, the diagrammatic power of "Sans" is about subsuming all possibilities of becoming in its endless recurrence, and, for the ones who get into its arrangement, it is about becoming subject-of that exhaustive becoming too.[7]

The upright gray body populating the "Lessness" plateau seems lost. In there, right in the middle of a land that does not provide but only takes, one is hardly in a place one could call home. Beckett speaks of "scattered ruins," of a "refuge" that is long gone. The subject of "Lessness" is folded inside out, rounded in—as if the individual is subsumed and completed in—the formation of the vast gray plateau they inhabit: "all sides endlessness earth sky as

one no stir not a breath. Blank planes sheer white calm eye light of reason all gone from mind." In such an arrangement, *lack* is not the missing property of a mind, of a subject or a land; instead, it becomes the constitutive power-to and power-from; in other words, it is both what is produced and what produces, what is offered and what is taken. In "Sans" there is no escape, not because something is holding the gray body from escaping but because (ontologically) there is nowhere else to go. "Lessness" reproduces its infinite possibilities and permutations to always serve the same finite outcome: excruciating exposure to hollowness, on a plateau that sometimes might get easier (milder wind, fewer fragments, easier prose) but ultimately always folds into its enduring reproduction of lack.

In this book, I am interested in taking the problem of lessness seriously and in treating it as Beckett does: not as a province of an otherwise functional plateau, but as a plateau of life in and of itself. This means conceiving of lessness and of its diagrammatic power beyond dichotomous understandings of possession. In such a reading, lacking something is not a status opposite to having that thing but part of a peculiar instantiation of life, where having can be subsumed into lacking and vice versa: a plateau where the underlying grammar through which things are arranged speaks of subtraction, annihilation, extraction, no matter what its provisional arrangements smell or look like. Such an understanding is contrary to what we are commonly used to in thinking about lessness. In the English language, *less* is always *less-than*: an appendix defining a status opposed to a fuller extent. You are, you own, you do, you look, you dream, or you mean *less* than that—*less* than the next person. The status of the less in its common acceptations (well beyond English) is one of opposites—that is, one squarely rooted in binary thinking. Less, understood in the common way, knows little of the ways in which Beckett wrote about it in "Sans." If the latter is a nonescapable diagram, the former implies a possibility of betterment, even if only ideally so.

In the following pages, I am interested in challenging this common understanding of the less, and in reading lessness as an entire world of its own: a world populated with binaries rather than a binary itself. In sneaking through the (un)makings of lack in this way, I aim to reapproach important couplets of our times such as home/homeless, saved/lost, and possession/dispossession, not as inherently alternative one to the other but as coherent expressions of a wider sphere founded upon a shared affective and political economy (a lessness, as I explain later, rooted in the functions of expulsion and extraction). The common resolution of those couplets—the moving, for instance, from dispossession to possession—does not bring one outside lessness but unfolds

within it, and it is functional to the maintenance and reproduction of its power equilibrium and internal reproduction. In thinking about lessness in this way, I aim to challenge the common resolution of those couplets but also to indicate that a genuine politics of liberation from lessness needs unavoidably to go beyond lessness itself. This might seem obvious. But for the most part, in the immanence of our collective dealings with matter and subjects of lack, current solutions to lessness are crafted within its expulsive and extractive logic—not beyond them. The upright gray body Beckett speaks about is helped, loved, and cared for (in the best instances, of course) still within diagrams of subtraction, control, and extraction: in lessness, becoming less and being helped out take forms and praxis squarely mirroring the annihilating diagrammatic politics of that plateau.

The only possibility for liberation, in this context, would be for the gray subject to go beyond lessness tout court and, in doing so, to go beyond itself too: it would mean to arrange for another plateau, to become another subject. The book, therefore, does not propose adjustments but argues for walking away from the table: opening up a drawer, taking up a new slate, writing a different story; one defining its characters not in an oppositional reading to lessness but in their capacity to extend beyond their supposed otherness. Such a move requires the deep intensification, rather than the resolution, of collective struggles. As I argue at a later stage, echoing anarchist sensitivities, this means conceiving a revolutionary process necessary to encompass lessness as the end on its own, rather than conceiving the termination of lessness as the end point of revolution. In other words, the book argues that cracking through lessness will never be completed, and it must never be completed: liberation from it lies within our collective capacity to constantly fight beyond—in an affirmative way and not simply against—its reinstantiation. One, in this sense, will never really put the word *end* in writing a story without lessness: to be cracked, the diagram must be left open beyond sixty options and their thousands of painfully equal permutations.

There have been important contributions in recent years advocating for similar all-encompassing, yet forcefully processual, redrawings. For the likes of Escobar on design, Gago on feminist politics, Ferdinand on decolonial inhabitation, Rolnik on financialized housing, Roy on poverty politics, or Gilmore on racialized incarcerations, the concern is not just around (policy) solutions to a defined set of issues but to transcend entire systems of oppression and related modes of thinking, theorizing, and discussing. Intersecting these conversations, I situate my contribution at a particular nexus, one where the binaries of lessness are particularly salient and have, perhaps, become even

more so in the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic. The book focuses on the constitutive crossroads of home and its defined other, homelessness.[8] As I expand upon later, I do not conceive of lessness as limited to this juncture. The affective and political economy of constituting others as subjects of lack—what I refer to as expulsion—and the related appropriation of a varied set of values from it (extraction) well encompass what generally and most commonly is defined as home and homelessness. Yet I find this particular juncture important in its capacity to offer a privileged access point, both to explore the logic of lessness at the heart of most people's concerns (home) and to propose a radical politics of inhabitation arising from the embodied experiences of those currently defined as unhomed.

At the most basic level, in common discourse, to be homeless is to lack something: a permanent and secure abode, but also social respectability, ontological security, and the material and relational means allowing one to flourish in life. Homelessness, to go back to Beckett, seems equal to the plateau of "Lessness": a land defined by intersecting sociocultural and economic factors that profoundly affect bodies, reproducing seemingly endless stories of agony and loss. The sand, light, and ash of Beckett's story become phenotypical and material orderings—that is, racial, gendered, and economic classifications—of bodies defined as other, as home-less. The vast gray plateau of "Sans" is replaced with the neoliberal city, where dispossession takes place under the shadow of broken refuges, of thousands of lost, more secure pasts. These homes have vanished in financialized schemes, and all that is left are ruins, violent racialized orderings, "ash grey sky mirrored earth mirrored sky." As in "Sans," on the plateau of homelessness, things do not stay still, and yet they remain the same. The terrain shifts, according to the way that the story is rearranged. Homeless individuals are studied, helped, depicted, moved, placed, intervened upon, medicalized, jailed, and freed. Yet they are not lacking in agency: they too do all sorts of things. Being upright, in their circumstance, means dealing with both the orderings intersecting their lives and with the governmentalities of their context. Their stillness is of an active kind, as they respond to new permutations of their experiential conditions and new arrangements of their story. This is at least how many homeless men and women have described their lives to me: as a perennial struggle and trauma to endure and cope with their condition of lack, a state where things never seem to change, where energies get lost in complex and detached mechanisms that nonetheless substantively impact on personal experience. The number of individual permutations a life can follow in this state of homelessness is infinite, but violence and trauma are common and permanently present.

And yet sometimes, some people do get out—or so we are told. Some do get better. Some do get back home. This getting home is supposed to be the line of flight, the breakthrough. It is the moment in which the upright gray body moves at a different tempo, when their chains break and they leave the plateau to the notes of John Denver's "Take Me Home, Country Roads." The road cutting across the plain fades to black, the sound of a roaring engine, rolling credits, The End. From there, we are told, they will enter into a different life arrangement, another story made of alternative orderings and governmentalities. They will be on a plateau different from that which Beckett writes about, in a narration that is not included in the sixty diagrammatic sentences of his story. They will seek, and perhaps succeed in their pursuit of, happiness, like Will Smith in the homonymous movie: moving from *absence of* to *presence of*; from homelessness to home. The affective and replete presence of home, where sweet memories dwell, "dark and dusty, painted on the sky," is there to comfort them, and all of us, in that transition. Here I am not talking of the return to the home one might well have escaped from, but the idealized portrayal of a home one can project oneself toward. That home is made possible because the many oppose its psychological, political, economic, and social impossibility. That home exists because its absence is to be fought as the negation of a desired state, a loss of security, the lack of a form of care that is supposed to ground who we are into the world. That home is conceived as the way out of lessness, the solution to it. But is it? In this book, I essentially argue that that home is not a solution to anything; instead, it is the problem. That happiness, unless it fundamentally alters the parameters upon which mainstream ideals of home are founded, shares much with lessness rather than departing from it. In this book, I argue that, under current conditions, there is no walking out of the plateau of lessness, no transition: just a violent home that encloses its supposed negation in individualized narratives of salvation.

Choosing the tensioned binary of home/homelessness as my point of departure is strategic: in discussing it, my goal is to explicitly go beyond what is currently made of this couplet, in a methodological attempt to break through its power and signal liberatory formations. The thesis is that there is no home worth going back to and no salvation for the homeless within the current understanding of home. In this volume, home and homelessness are not opposites but matter of the same. This entails reading Beckett's "Lessness"—as one among many possible metaphors offered by art—as a representation of home as a whole, of home and homelessness, or, to introduce a term I rely upon to signify the concomitant reading of the two, of home(lessness).[9] This logic enables two important moves. First, in home(lessness) there is no return home

from homelessness and, crucially, no capacity to become homeless. Being at home is conceptually on a continuum with not being at home. There is only one plateau. Second, the factors intersecting the upright gray body (violent sociocultural and racialized histories, economic inequalities, the urban biopolitical machine and its various ruins) do not concern the few but the many (which is different than saying their violence is experienced by the many; see below). Following this, the capacity of the diagram of home(lessness) to (re) produce lack would affect all its dwellers, shaping everybody who is assembling life through its means. Lessness moves from being a metaphor for a condition affecting a particular population (the gray bodies) in certain spaces (an exceptional plateau) to becoming an affective predisposition of the general arrangement of things, a capacity that resides in all kinds of worldly arrangements.[10] The only way to get rid of homelessness, in this case, would be to imagine and construct a completely different story of home.

Would Housing All the Homeless in the World Be Enough to End Homelessness?

Globally, housing futures do not look bright. As UN-HABITAT and other international agencies report, each year millions of people face forced eviction from their homes. A staggering 1.6 billion people are inadequately housed.[11] Forecasts that consider the increase in global population and rising urbanization suggest that housing precarity will continue to grow in scale, while commentators and scholars alike agree that urban and housing crises—in the form of massive displacement, gentrification, and uneven development—are the new normal.[12] As Natalie Osborne reminds us, "our cities are increasingly inequitable and precarious places," and this tendency is only likely to increase in years to come.[13] What does it mean, then, to think and to write about the binaries of home and homelessness, or the insurgent power of housing precarity, when our present condition seems to foreclose possibilities of sustainable provisioning and resistance? Would it not be more serious to reinforce the message of housing for all, and to fight that battle, instead of arguing for a broader reenvisioning and a more radical outline?

I am writing this book convinced that the only way forward—in the sense of being the only way to stay meaningfully alive—is through a global fight for housing justice. And yet I also believe that a radical fight for housing justice, in order to achieve its goal, needs to recenter the question of the kind of home it is fighting for. This is a thin and difficult line to navigate, because it brings with itself questions around the meaning of housing justice and, more fundamentally,

questions around the meaning of thinking of home and homelessness beyond their conventional binary reading. After all, if people are rallying behind policies like Housing First, it is because they want to end homelessness and provide homes. If organizers are occupying, stopping evictions, and advocating for public housing, it is because they want to stop precarity and poverty when it comes to dwelling. From these perspectives, stating that being at home and being homeless are matter of the same would seem to be a neoliberal fantasy: a narration spurred by the entrenched suffering and traumas of living in precarious dwelling conditions. But a deeper reading is possible: a transversal approach inviting one to stay close to the interstices of home(lessness), where the makings of home and its supposed other are somewhat fuzzier, dangerously slippery, and, therefore, productively unstable. In what follows, I expand on the meaning of this by clarifying three core tenets of this book: its treatment of housing precarity; its effort to experiment with a renewed grammar of home(lessness); and its ethnographic approach.

ON PRECARIOUS HOUSING

It is of crucial importance to clarify one thing straight away. In refusing to see home and homelessness as distinct, the book does not dismiss the different ways in which their same foundation is experienced—that is, the ways in which home(lessness) is lived and felt. The experience of living rough, or in a violent household, or under the constant threat of eviction, has experientially nothing in common with the privilege I currently have as a white man, typing this book in the comfort of the apartment I live in, in shared love with my partner, with a working heater and a relatively stable mortgage, backed by a secure salary. These experiences are not only temporally and spatially specific, but they also have much to do with longer structurations intersecting forms of violence, extraction, expulsion, and embodiments. Encompassing the home/homelessness binary is not about flattening what Robert Desjarlais has called the sharp "cultural, historical, political and pragmatical forces" shaping the experience of housing precarity.[14] The making of that precarity needs to be carefully centered, not only to avoid its epistemic annihilation and desubjectification, but also because that experience provides the foundation for its own liberation (see below, on the minor).

Thinking about home(lessness) does not mean we are all homeless in the canonical sense of the world. Far from it. It means we are all at home, and the home is really violent and needs to be burned down. Not adjusted, not solved, not fixed—but burned down. It means to say that the sharpest experiences of

home(lessness), including but not limited to sleeping rough, living in camps, prisons, violent households, gendered and cisnormative spaces, and racialized lives, are not taking place in realms separated from the idyllic pastures of safe homes unless the latter are conceived and lived entirely beyond lessness—that is, outside racial capitalism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, nationalism, financialized housing, settler colonialism, and other common forms of expulsion and extraction (chapters 1 and 2). Those experiencing the harshest intensities of lessness are very much part of the same logic sustaining mainstream ideologies and the practice of home; they are very much part of the same affective political economy. What we currently conceive as homelessness takes place well within the logic supposedly there to solve it or offered as a solution to it (home, sweet home!).

The distinction between the experience and the substratum of that experience is fundamental here. I do not experience housing precarity, but I am very much part of the mechanisms perpetuating it. For instance, I own a credit card, and I have a mortgage—both tools fueling a logic of financialization around housing that, ultimately, is a source of much precarity. Even replacing both, I would not distance myself too much from the reproduction of precarious dwelling under contemporary racial capitalism. I would still be salaried to do a job within a whitening institution structured around forms of epistemic privilege that have colonized, and medicalized, the other of home—creating forms of professionalization and expertise that, ultimately, extract their sustenance from someone else's struggles. Also, five years ago, my partner and I decided to marry in a civil union for the bureaucratic advantages it brought us as economic migrants. Notwithstanding our everyday shared queer politics, in doing so, we validated a cultural institution founded upon patriarchal structures that do so much in shaping the violent experiences of precarious homes. I could go on. But also, I could find alternatives around my credit card; I could leave academia; and my partner and I could divorce, while still being together. The key question is not if these things could happen—because they might indeed happen—but to ask: what is the other plan? In other words, the key question is not to solve these as isolated tensions, as a series of problems/solutions locked in their binaries (the neoliberal quest to ameliorate oneself). The key question is rather how to go beyond those couplets, how to break them, how to push beyond their role in reproducing far more excruciating lives in home(lessness).

The trauma of "continuous displacement," as Catherine Robinson puts it, and the entrenched forms of dispossession structuring it, are not equal to the common meaning of being at home; however, the latter is founded upon perpetuating those logics.[15] Put simply, home is not extraneous to displacement and

dispossession, but possible because it displaces and it dispossesses (see chapter 2). Navigating this fine line across experiences and their substratum is difficult, especially if done from the standpoint of the academy, which has done much to colonize all experiences, to reduce them to pastiche for sociological analysis, and, as a number of decolonial thinkers have powerfully argued, for extractive representation. And yet I take the risk of navigating this line precisely because in recentering the common substratum of home(lessness), I aim to recenter the political within its most traumatic experiences. Advancing a joint understanding of the two means to decolonize homelessness from home as well as imagining a home that does not need an otherness to be defined. By refuting the way in which we have been made to think about home and homelessness as a binary, my goal is to resist the depiction of the trauma and suffering of precarious dwelling as abnormal. Instead, I want to argue that through the intensities of home(lessness), a terrain of resistance is already in the making, as a contestation that points toward more than bare survival and fights for autonomous ways of thinking and doing home. The aim of this book is to work with the liberatory politics of those experiences, as defined by their own tempo and their own becoming(s).

ON A GRAMMAR FOR HOME(LESSNESS)

Others have pointed at the need to rethink the relationship of home and homelessness from the ground up.[16] Peter Somerville has provided some helpful provocations in this sense, albeit without showing how certain functions of home are reproduced and maintained through the othering of homelessness.[17] Lindsey McCarthy has taken an inspiring step closer, and her careful work shows how a sense of home can be constructed in homelessness, and vice versa, problematizing binary readings of the two terms.[18] Earlier geographical work from the 1990s on rough sleeping and street life, such as that of Veness and Ruddick, along with the later work of Blunt and Dowling and especially of Katherine Brickell, has shown how a sense and praxis of home can be attained and upheld in unconventional circumstances, challenging any clear conceptual distinction between homelessness and home.[19] April Veness, in particular, explicitly called for a renewed understanding of the two terms in order to look at "the personal worlds of marginal people without assuming that these people and the places where they live must fit prevailing definitions of home and homeless."[20] But recognizing that there is something problematic about the ways in which these two terms relate is not, on its own, liberatory. It is also necessary to explore how the prevailing definitions of home are not only

produced but coconstituted and maintained through the home/homelessness binary.

A critical account along these lines was proposed by anthropologist Craig Willse in his 2015 book *The Value of Homelessness*, where he brilliantly shows the role played by both social services and social sciences in the reproduction of the "homelessness industry" in the United States (a term used to indicate that broad spectrum of professionals, and their institutions, working around homelessness). Similar accounts can be found in other contributions pushing conventional homelessness thinking, from anthropology (in the works of Robert Desjarlais, Vincent Lyon-Callo, and especially Teresa Gowan) to geography (in Ananya Roy's work on dispossession, Raquel Rolnik on financialized housing, Catherine Robinson on the trauma of displacement, and AbdouMaliq Simone on the uninhabitable), social psychology (Kim Hopper's critique of institutionalization, echoing the works of antipsychiatrists such as Franca Ongaro and Franco Basaglia, which are relevant to the Italian context I explore in this book), political theory (for instance, Hagar Kotef on settler-colonial homemaking), and philosophy (such as in Judith Butler and Athena Athanasiou's conversations on the embodiments of dispossession).[21] Most of their concerns resonate with mine, and in the coming pages I intersect a heterogeneous set of critical and liberatory literatures to expand on these contemporary debates. The conceptual grammar emerging from this journey is explored in chapter 1, but it can be summarized here in three points.

First, the book explores the constitutive makings of home(lessness), focusing on two functions underpinning, and reproducing, the home/homeless business: expulsion and extraction. The first part of this volume illustrates how mainstream ideas of home depend on the expulsion of the other and the ways in which this is the basis for the extraction of a sense of security, entitlement, and belonging. This othering is not merely conceptual but practical: it is managed and reproduced by cultural, economic, political, and knowledge industries that depend on these twin functions. In an effort to stay close to the production of the home/homeless divide, this book follows Ash Amin's call to critique not only the "framing" of the other but the "bordering practices" that surround them, an approach powerfully extended by the work of Mezzadra and Neilson, and their notion of "borders as method."[22] When it comes to the plane of home(lessness), borderings that signify the home/homeless dichotomy comprise both violent understandings of home (of multiple types, e.g., anthropocentrism, racialization, heteronormalization, and capitalization) and mainstream cultural understandings of homelessness as they unfold in institutional policy, charitable management, knowledge production, and expertise.

As will be clearer in a second, I use the Italian case to ground and present this critique.

Second, the book argues that at the intersection of home(lessness), there is a concrete chance to articulate a renewed and liberatory politics of home. What does it mean to work with the notion of home(lessness) not only critically, but radically: as a way to stay with the problem and do something concrete about it? How to rethink the intensities of home(lessness) beyond the limits of conventional ideas of destitution? The book draws on housing movements around the globe to show that the fight for housing is populated by more than a mere request for shelter. The latter is present, of course, but it is often not reduced to a manageable endpoint: what is being demanded is something beyond the standard idea of home. Instead, many are already using the housing question as a radical starting point through which to articulate a different way of dwelling in the world. Being able to see how these fomentations become political—that is, how they become a shared matter of concern through which thoughts and actions are articulated—is an epistemological problem: a problem of how one sees and makes sense of what it means to inhabit the world. It is a matter of learning how to read home(lessness) in an affirmative fashion, beyond the narrow and repressive interpretations of the homelessness industry. The book therefore offers a micropolitics of inhabitation, which is presented in chapters 6 and 7, and is recalled in the remaining parts of this introduction.

Finally, thinking through home(lessness) is about considering the (re)production of expulsive and extractive praxis that not only keeps the other at bay, but constitutes the other as the only possible way to constantly (re)constitute home itself. Such a critique is at the same time a conceptual, empirical, and political exercise. The grammar instantiated by this book is therefore an attempt at signaling a praxis, or at least a method of inquiry and of action: it is about dealing with how to think, enact, and change home(lessness), not simply to reconsider how one can study it. In chapters 3, 4, and 5, where I ground the discussion ethnographically, I aim to illustrate how a set of ideals of home is reverberated and made operational, both in everyday localized practices of poverty management in Italy (chapter 4) and in the global discourse bolstering new solutions to the problem of homelessness (chapter 5). But the journey from home to its other is not a circular progression that will bring the reader and this writer back home—that is, to an evaluation of shortcomings that can be fixed in order to instantiate more progressive homelessness policies. The journey is a departure from home through the back door of homelessness: it is about undoing home via the gateway of its home-less other, to put aside the shared diagrammatic politics of the two and imagine anew. This is why,

ultimately, I see the grammar of this book as a form of praxis, a point to which I dedicate chapter 7.

ON A MINOR ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

I am convinced that the diagrams of home(lessness) cut through many locales and histories. And yet, it is only through a discussion attentive to specific formations that a critical form of translocal theorizing can come to the fore: expulsion and extraction, and their related processes of subject formation, are temporal and context specific. For this reason, the ethnographic discussion presented at the core of this book focuses mainly around a loosely defined geographical and historic signifier—Italy—and, for the more detailed ethnographic narration, a slightly more specific locale, the city of Turin.[23] From there, I will connect to translocal aspects of the diagrams of home(lessness) across the Atlantic and beyond. Ultimately, Italy or Turin are no more representative of a trend than any other place I spent time investigating homelessness in. The choice of this starting point is simply strategic: it has to do with my ability to unfold some of the salient boundary formations with a minimum degree of grounding and detailing.[24] Most of my recent work has been focused on Romania and Bucharest—which will serve as the ground to expand the arguments proposed here, in a separate book—however, I have decided to go back to Italy also to confront the uneasiness I feel around my own experience of being at home. This being said, the book does not offer a comprehensive sociology of home, housing, and related assemblages (such as the family) in the peninsula, but a profiling of the home(lessness) machinery in the country, a narration that aims to showcase a method of inquiry around the colonies of home and its subjects, rather than providing an exhaustive critique of the case.

Central to such a method of inquiry—which is discussed at length in chapter 6—is a minor understanding of socio-ethnographic critique and of its political project. The minor, here, is not understood as the minoritarian or the small but as a method through which established configurations are challenged from within. In this sense, homelessness is not the minor—not only is it not that numerically, but it is not even in the sense of being a matter of marginalized groups. Homelessness is, on the contrary, what Deleuze and Guattari would call a "molar" formation: a configuration belonging to the majoritarian, to institutional power (which, in this case, is also a power of knowledge production), through which biopolitical processes of subject formation occur (what the two philosophers called "segmentation"). On the face of this molarity, the minor would be the endeavor of cracking through those processes of

subject formation from their interstices, or their inner makings. For the feminist geographer Cindi Katz, thinking through the minor does not lead to a theory explaining, or attempting an explanation of, matter such as structure/agency, or center/margins.[25] Rather, the minor is a way of looking at the problem of how one deals—conceptually and pragmatically—with violent molar formations cutting across different strata of life. Does the minor advocate for a reform of the molar or, instead, is it about finding a language and a pathway to cut across the molar itself and go beyond it?

Deleuze and Guattari wrote that the minor "no longer characterizes certain literatures, but describes *the revolutionary conditions* of any literature within what we call the great (or established)."[26] For them, the minor is a method to embrace and boost those conditions, which, as Hardt and Negri remind us, are multiplicitous: there is not a single minor but a series of struggles that can intersect, and work together, in a minor fashion (a point made, albeit with a different conceptual grammar, also by Nash).[27] But how does one actually define the "fight from within"? For Deleuze and Guattari, the three key tenets of a minor approach are, first, for a minority to work with "a major language"; second, for "everything in [that effort to be] political"; and third, for "everything [in that effort to have] a collective value."[28] What I take from their exposition of the minor is an invitation to stay close to what Katz has called the "interstices" of theory making and of action, and to use those as a way to work through experiences, assemblages, and their power, which need to be understood as a collective matter, even when they are reduced to individual manifestations.[29] It is important to stress that in this context, the minor is not only a method of inquiry but also a method of action: it is both the analytics used to ethnographically investigate the home(lessness) land and the milieu upon which the political proposition of the book is advanced. And it could not be otherwise: the sole use of these concepts is to do some work, not to explain and enclose.[30]

I expand on this use and understanding of the minor in chapter 1, since it is strictly connected to the search for a grammar of home(lessness). Here, I would simply like to stress some nuanced differences this modality of thinking bears vis-à-vis a more conventional political-economy analysis of homelessness and home. The importance of situating processes historically and spatially, and of grounding analysis within them, is inescapable for both.[31] But if, as Amin and I have recently argued, a certain attention to the ground of social processes has always been central in critical spatial thinking, the minor distinguishes itself in its strategic positioning—that is, in its attempt at staying close to borders and liminalities to theorize, to propose, and to execute its political

plan.[32] Such an orientation implies three things. First, it means to advocate for an analysis of expulsion and extraction attentive to following what Simone and Pieterse call "storylines"—that is, stories connecting different places and lives.[33] In ethnographic terms, this is about centering experiences in their going beyond themselves (in their collective formations) at the core of the ethnographic project. The difference with a more conventional political economy analysis of everyday life is the tendency of the latter to subsume experience into wider social facts and molar structurings. Staying with the minor means to conceptually and empirically focus on how a storyline unfolds. The hypothesis, in such a move, is that the latter will point, often implicitly so, to places other than the molar. In relation to the focus of this book, I follow Simone in his call to occupy a middle terrain, between the conventional way of looking at home/homelessness and a position that would normalize the uninhabitable: "How can we operate somewhere between the tightening standardization of habitation—with all its pretences of producing and regulating new types of individuals—and making the uninhabitable a new norm, where value rests in what can be constantly converted, remade, or readapted? Such a middle is not so much a new regime, imaginary, or place; rather, it is a way of drawing lines of connection among the various instances and forms of habitation, in order to find ways of making them have something to do with each other beyond common abstractions."[34]

Second, notwithstanding what I have just said, a critical approach to minor ethnography always has to return to the molar. This is coherent with the broader attempt of Deleuze and Guattari to write a processual political economy of subject formations within contemporary capitalism (an effort that has clear limits too; see chapter 1). For them, "molecular escapes and movements would be nothing if they did not return to the molar organizations to reshuffle their segments, their binary distributions of sexes, classes, and parties."[35] This of course mirrors the Marxist project, with a perilous caveat: the minor ethnographic effort can more easily and problematically slip into the romanticization of those "molecular escapes." Both within the realm of conventional ethnographic detailing of the urban margins (think, for instance, of Duneier's *Sidewalk*) and within literatures more explicitly inspired by notions of assemblage (especially in Anglophone human geography), a critical return to the molar is rarely there.[36] In staying close to the interstices and struggles of everyday life, minor ethnography can easily lose track of its own path—that is, it can lose track of its project, which necessarily must be political (returning to the molar) and collective (because politics is a matter of being concerned about processes of subject formation, which are always a collectivity—see chapter 1).

To fight the romanticization of relative deterritorializations and escapes, processual minor thinking needs to reconnect more profoundly and explicitly with other forms of critical thinking, with which it has much to share. In doing so, and therefore in recentering its orientation toward the molar while holding its micropolitical ground, minor thinking can then fully exert its third distinctive point—that is, an invitation to read the minor (the interstitial, the liminal, the in-between) not only as an analytical and a lived and felt locus of human suffering but also as a concrete, immanent ground for a form of revolutionary becoming that proposes its standalone affirmation. Here, I believe, the minor breaks with the historic and scalar entrapment of Marxism, because it does not seek staged transitioning, nor does it focus on replacing the molar (even if just momentarily so). The aim is to stay and perdure in between, to use the interstices as a way to, prefiguratively, construct our future present in the here and now, affirmatively so. The minor embraced in this book is therefore of an autonomous kind, being defined in relation to contextual histories and subjects but also transversally rooted in a micropolitics of liberation (chapters 6, 7).

In this book, working with the minor means situating much of the empirical discussion in Italy and in Turin, which are some of the grounds relevant to the writer and therefore apt for embodied reflection and theorization. But it also means to bring into productive conversation a feminist sensibility of the embodiment of housing precarity, a processual take on the assemblage of the social, and an autonomous political outlook to challenge conventions on where to look for, and how to enact, solutions for the home(lessness) problem. The approach proposed here is not a tout court alternative to cognate fights that aim to encompass the makings of lessness, but it does have its own specificity, which may or may not intersect other political projects, as I clarify in the concluding chapters of this book.

The Horizon of the Housing Political

I agree with Madden and Marcuse when they state that "a truly radical right to housing . . . would not be a demand for inclusion within the horizon of housing politics as usual but *an effort to move that horizon*."[37] In the book, I argue that, in order to envision such a new horizon and to imagine new housing futures, one needs to get closer to housing precarity anew. Only then will it be possible to widen the scope of our struggle from housing to home. But getting closer to housing precarity is not a self-explanatory endeavor. It is, on the contrary, fraught with violence of its own. If home(lessness) is really a matter of shared underlying processes of expulsion and extraction, a renewed way of

looking within its most intense experiences of dispossession must know nothing of current sociologies of homelessness, of current approaches to solving it or saving its subjects, of current interventions to patch it up. Getting closer to housing precarity means to take the minor politics of the latter seriously, to get beyond the (epistemic and material) framework currently entrapping the insurgent power of that politics within the home/homelessness binary. Billions of urbanites worldwide challenge the entrenched homely habitus around them on a daily basis. Their resistance consists in their shifting, frail, and continuous struggle with forms of (cultural, material, economic) bordering, a struggle that is about finding a (literal and metaphorical) space to become, without having to fit in with a system that so obviously does not work. This is not about being resilient in a given status quo but about articulating modes of being that involve mundane acts of resistance and care and thereby question prevailing forces and modalities. Moving the horizon of the housing political is about finding nonextractive ways of working with those interstitial forms of radical care and to consider them political—a concern of and for life—beyond prevailing definitions of politics.

Defining what kind of home one envisions beyond home(lessness) is a task that pertains to collectives, not a writer like myself, in the isolation of my room. So I am careful, in this volume, to avoid a checklist of what an ideal liberated home would look like, a benchmark that, by all means, would simply reproduce the entrapment of a totalizing sense of home and would stay too uncomfortably close to lessness. After the exposition of why and how home and homelessness are made of the same, which takes place in parts I and II of the book, in part III I focus on the wider meaning of liberating home rather than on its form. Coherently with the need to produce affirmations in order to get beyond the binaries of lessness, I define *liberated* as that capacity to allow for emancipatory desires of habitation to emerge and take place in the world. Such a capacity is not the end point of the revolutionary effort but the ongoing struggle to affirm, from the interstices of home(lessness), that another way of inhabiting the world is possible. So, liberating home, in this book, is situated within the intense experiences of housing precarity (it starts from there, from its embodiments), and it is about allowing for emancipatory assemblages to emerge. Once again, the form and content of those arrangements is not for me to enlist. Focusing on the liberatory as a capacity that needs to be excavated and enabled, rather than defined a priori, is coherent with an understanding of the minor as method: the minor is a way to write from within, not a specification of what should be written.

At the same time, as we have seen, the minor must entail an attack on the molar. Seeing liberation as a process—more precisely, as a way of enabling

formations that do not need to be enclosed in their definition—is about saying that if the home needs to be burned down and rewritten again, the most pressing thing to do is to strategize on how that can happen. How can one enable a liberatory capacity to instantiate another kind of home? Staying closer to my departure point—the intensities of housing precarity under home(lessness)—in chapter 7, I illustrate what an initial strategy in this sense might entail. Three movements are discussed. First, deinstitution through the praxis of striking. The focus here is on deinstitutionalizing and fighting against the industries currently caring for the "other" of home, which include much of the current service provision for the homeless, as well as knowledge production around them. Second, reinstitution through radical caring. Here the focus is on allowing ourselves to relearn how to care for inhabitation and its struggles, and to constitute, on that basis, a universal approach to housing focused on dwellers' control. The apparent resonance of this point with some current progressive policies—most notably, Housing First—is demystified in chapter 5, while its grounding in autonomous practice, with potential links to current Black organizing for housing justice, is unpacked in chapter 7. Third, institution through affirmation, which is focused on considering occupation and grassroots organizing as a viable alternative to interventions focused on policy change. Institution is therefore about bypassing state inertia and prefiguratively enacting a liberatory politics of home in the here and now. Deinstitution, reinstitution, and institution work toward the liberation of a desire for a thousand different homes to emerge, rather than proposing a new home. Their potential multiplicitous ends are the core of their liberatory affirmation, also evoked by the suffix *-statuere*: to put in place, to establish, to cause, to stand. The shared ethos of these moves reverberates the politics of thinkers such as Colin Ward, for instance, when he said that one shouldn't really make plans about housing but develop "an attitude" that "will enable millions of people to make their own plans."[38]

What people will do, once that attitude is liberated, needs to stay unspecified, but, crucially, the ways one liberates attitudes provide not only a stand but also a clear sense of direction. As I clarify in the book, deinstitution, reinstitution, and institution propose and enact moves that explicitly counter expulsion and extraction. The first is about a deinstitutionalization of homelessness, to counter the routine maintenance of the other of home (expulsion), through which appropriation and value taking can be enacted (extraction). The second is to make such deinstitutionalization a decolonization too, which again can be done only affirmatively, through a different kind of reinstitution of housing policy and politics back to dwellers. The third is about crafting other diagrams of home away from institutions of power (which are necessary for the first two

moves). In this last move, collective and autonomous forms of radical care are centered to institute an everyday praxis spurred by the functions of lessness. The plateau emerging from these moves, arranged right through the interstices of our shared home(lessness), knows nothing of the latter.

Outline

The remainder of this book is composed of seven chapters that follow storylines across the land of home(lessness). The most empirical chapters are grounded, as I said, in ethnographic work I undertook in Turin for my PhD as well as in continuous research that I have been doing in the past decade on housing, homelessness, and notions of home in Italy and across the Atlantic. They are written in a way that mixes anecdotes, social media analysis, ethnographic insights, and theory, because I am conscious that the community of people interested in homelessness is varied, with different interests and languages. This calls for heterogeneous approaches and experimentation, not for specialization and dogmatism.

Chapters 1 and 2 provide a basic relational lexicon to first navigate and then go beyond the binaries of home(lessness). Lessness is discussed as an affective becoming and a political economy, reproducing subjects that are considered and managed as less than the normal other, while at the same time being functional to the reproduction and sustenance of that homely normality. The grammar proposed in the two chapters is a first step toward the explanation of why providing housing to all the homeless in the world would not be enough to end homelessness and, as well, to sketch what the politics of home that needs to complement that effort is. Concretely, the chapters discuss notions of borderings, of the extractive and expulsive diagrams constituting those, and of their power to (re)produce subjects and normative becomings (the concept of ritornello is deployed to illustrate the circulatory linkage between home and homelessness). These concepts are presented before the ethnographic material simply for the sake of analytical clarity, but they do not emerge from a place other than the encounters with people living in precarious housing conditions, and the struggles I have encountered in the past decade or so. I am presenting them as tools allowing me to think with the recursiveness of certain subject formations and the politics cracking through those, better than is done by what the heavily compromised catalog that the sociology of home and homelessness currently has to offer.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 explore how our current modalities of governing homelessness are really no different from those governing our homes. Chapter 3

explores two diagrams of home in Italy: patriarchy and racial capitalism. Discussing the formation of these diagrams and how they fueled the central ideology of home in the country, the chapter provides grounding to discuss how these diagrams and their power are linked to particular ways of managing the other of home (chapter 4), which ultimately reverberate beyond Italy (chapter 5, where I also discuss the ways in which my proposal differs, substantially, from Housing First). Taken together, chapters 4 and 5 stress how current approaches to end homelessness sit squarely in the reproduction of the ritornellos of home(lessness) highlighted in chapter 2. This second part of the book concludes with a renewed call for a more daring plan: to think of homelessness not as the other of home, and not as a problem to be fixed in the light of home, but to follow and support those that are already, in the everyday of their precarious dwelling conditions, trying to get beyond that binary.

Chapter 6 focuses on why starting from homelessness to liberate home not only makes sense but also might be a viable way to complement other approaches that are trying to radically reform our ways of inhabiting the world. Central to this endeavor is an epistemological task: seeing the political within everyday experiences of housing precarity; staying close to the collective concerns about home emerging from there; finding ways of coming together as accomplices; and tracing paths that are transversal to what is taken as the given projection of home, starting from within these interstices. Conflating attention to these precarious becomings with a romanticization of poverty is a desperate attempt to safeguard the violent epistemic knowledge granted by forms of specialization and expertise, which is founded on the silencing of the poor. If one takes the trauma and suffering found in the intensities of home(lessness) seriously, then no such silencing is possible: instead of bringing subjects back home, it becomes imperative to recognize that many don't want any such return. Instead, they want to demolish the systemic violence of home and build anew. Grasping this requires us to go beyond the matrix of help, salvation, and building individual capacity (radically beyond, in a sense, what institutional approaches advocate for).[39] It requires an understanding of the use value of housing as multiple and fundamentally open to forms of becoming. This is, as intersectional housing movements recognize, a question of retrieving the experience and knowledge of those precarious dwellers who are already using housing struggles as a gateway to more profound changes: it entails micropolitical attention to the ways in which one dwells in the world and to forms of inhabitation that are detached from, and opposed to, the expulsion and extraction structuring current ideals of home.

Chapter 7 addresses the question of how to work with the micropolitics the previous chapter ended on. How to work from the interstices, and, from there, how to get beyond the binaries of lessness? It illustrates the political proposition of the book, covering the three parallel moves of deinstitution, reinstitution, and institution of which I have spoken. The chapter also discusses how, in signaling these moves, the book does not aim to reinvent the wheel. Each one of these is, in one way or another, already present in the struggle for housing justice across geographies in the world. Deinstitution has been on many progressive homelessness practitioners' minds for a long time; reinstitution is there in the quest to care for more just ways of living on the planet; practices of institution are foundational to collective grassroots organizing worldwide. And yet the articulation of these three is not usually brought to the fore as a way to end homelessness via ending home. These moves are for the most part taken and thought of in isolation from one another. In chapter 7, I try to work with them together, and I discuss how the isolated take of one over the other lends itself to being subsumed by the ritornellos of home(lessness), as shown, for instance, by the common dismissal on behalf of radical housing movements of the plights of the nonpoliticized urban poor. The conclusion provides a summary of the main propositions and returns to the necessary work of accompliceship to be carried forward by those holding the epistemic privilege around notions and policies of home and homelessness today.

Notes

PREFACE

1 I use the term *bisexual* strictly in a nonbinary sense, and I recognize myself in the definition provided by Robyn Ochs: "I call myself bisexual because I acknowledge that I have in myself the potential to be attracted—romantically and/or sexually—to people of more than one gender, not necessarily at the same time, not necessarily in the same way, and not necessarily to the same degree." "I Call Myself Bisexual Because . . . ," Robyn Ochs's website, posted October 9, 2020, https://robynochs.com/2020/10/09/i-call-myself-bisexual-because.

INTRODUCTION

1 "Lessness" is composed of 120 sentences in total, but the second half of the story is a rearrangement of the first 60 sentences.

2 Drew and Haahr, "Lessness."

3 Beckett, "Lessness."

4 Beckett, "Lessness," 14–15.

5 See Mads Haahr and Elizabeth Drew, "Possible Lessnesses," accessed December 23, 2022, https://www.random.org/lessness.

6 Here I am referring to the 1958 novel by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa.

7 Subject-of, rather than "subjected to," precisely because the power of recurrence comes from the whole arrangement of things—not from a center.

8 A nexus that, nonincidentally, was also central in the opera by Beckett. Who better to depict homelessness than Estragon and Vladimir, men who have to sleep in a ditch, waking up waiting for a better future that never arrives?

9 I see Samuel Beckett's story as a pointer to envisioning this: art, after all, is to be used to reveal and contest the nonapparent faces of being. I am not tied to this story in any particular way. I am using it as an illustration of two otherwise rather abstract points: first, the sheer power of lack, absence, desperation, loss, and other similar affections, as something diagramming a whole politics of life; second, the

need to conceive what lies beyond that politics as something true in itself, affirmative of its own liberatory power that knows nothing of the colonies of lack.

10 Deleuze, "Bergson, 1859–1941."

11 UN-HABITAT, "Forced Evictions."

12 Kothari, "The Global Crisis of Displacement and Evictions"; Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*; Rolnik, *Urban Warfare*; Lees, Shin, and López-Morales, *Planetary Gentrification*.

13 Osborne, "For Still Possible Cities," 2.

14 Desjarlais, *Shelter Blues*.

15 Robinson, *Beside One's Self*.

16 One superficial resemblance that might fall in this category can be found in research showing how one can be homeless at home. However, notwithstanding the importance of these contributions in challenging normative ideas of home and homelessness, I haven't encountered any that attempt to rework the ontological foundations of these notions and their functions, as this book does.

17 Somerville, "Homelessness and the Meaning of Home"; Somerville, "Understanding Homelessness." Ultimately, Somerville's understanding of home and homelessness flattens a binary reading only nominally, as shown by a critical reading by Lindsey McCarthy on the *unheimlich* of homelessness.

18 McCarthy, "(Re)Conceptualising the Boundaries."

19 Veness, "Neither Homed nor Homeless"; Ruddick, *Young and Homeless in Hollywood*; Blunt and Dowling, *Home*; Brickell, "'Mapping' and 'Doing.'" These are different contributions, but united by their effort in showing how homely belongings can be found within what Veness has called "un-homes" or Ruddick has understood as "heterotopias" of homelessness.

20 Veness, "Neither Homed nor Homeless," 337.

21 Desjarlais, *Shelter Blues*; Lyon-Callo, *Inequality, Poverty, and Neoliberal Governance*; Gowan, *Hobos, Hustlers and Back-Sliders*; Roy, "Dis/Possessive Collectivism"; Rolnik, *Urban Warfare*; Robinson, *Beside One's Self*; Simone, "The Uninhabitable?"; Hopper, *Reckoning with Homelessness*; Basaglia, *L'istituzione Negata*; Kotef, *The Colonizing Self*; Butler and Athanasiou, *Dispossession*.

22 Amin, *Land of Strangers*; Mezzadra and Neilson, *Border as Method*.

23 What is meant by "Italy" and "Turin" is, without question, highly contested. This is not the case of current topographical and/or nationalistic contestation, but a simpler reference to what Doreen Massey would call the complicated topologies making up any place, or the even more (because explicitly vitalist) "mechanospheres" of the urban (see Massey, *For Space*; and Amin and Thrift, *Arts of the Political*).

24 For details, see chapter 3.

25 Katz, "Towards Minor Theory."

26 Deleuze and Guattari, *Kafka*, 18.

27 Hardt and Negri, *Empire*; Nash, *Black Feminism Reimagined*.

28 Deleuze and Guattari, "What Is a Minor Literature?" 17–18.

29 Katz, "Revisiting Minor Theory."

30 This is at least how Deleuze sees the notion of "concept" but also, albeit coming from a different tradition, how feminists like Nash see the relevance of thinking relationally and politically about intersecting struggles.
31 Deleuze and Guattari, through their notion of "abstract machines" (essentially, another way of calling for diagrams), were very clear on stressing both the historic and situated nature of the latter and their capacity to "abstract" (or "extract," as Guattari for once more clearly has it) events from history.
32 Amin and Lancione, *Grammars of the Urban Ground*; Boano, *Progetto minore*; Katz, "Towards Minor Theory"; Deleuze and Guattari, "What Is a Minor Literature?"
33 Simone and Pieterse, *New Urban Worlds*.
34 Simone, "The Uninhabitable?," 145.
35 Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 219.
36 Duneier, *Sidewalk*.
37 Madden and Marcuse, *In Defense of Housing*, 197.
38 Ward, *When We Build Again*, 120.
39 Watts and Fitzpatrick, "Capabilities, Value Pluralism and Homelessness," is an example of the problematic teleologies of homelessness this book aims to transcend.

1. THE SUBJECT AT HOME

1 Miller, *Home Possessions*.
2 De Boeck, "'Divining' the City."
3 Blunt and Dowling, *Home*, 277.
4 This is true both for the most political aspects of home, as I illustrate later in the chapter, but also for its most mundane affairs. In this latter sense, home becomes in the everyday, through ideas of what counts as comfortable, and its instantiations through concrete objects and dispositions. The work of cultural anthropologists such as Miller (*Home Possessions*) or Rybczynski (*Home*) on the ways in which homely belongings are assembled and made sense of culturally provides important insights in this sense.
5 Brickell, "'Mapping' and 'Doing' Critical Geographies of Home."
6 Massey, "A Place Called Home?," 13.
7 Escobar, *Designs for the Pluriverse*, 133.
8 Escobar, *Designs for the Pluriverse*, 110.
9 Hill Collins, "It's All in the Family," 64.
10 Baker, "Shelter in Place."
11 Blunt and Varley, "Introduction."
12 Mezzadra and Neilson, *Border as Method*.
13 Mezzadra and Neilson, *Border as Method*, 22.
14 Mezzadra and Neilson, *Border as Method*, 31.
15 Mezzadra and Neilson, *Border as Method*, 32.
16 Mezzadra and Neilson, *Border as Method*, 32.
17 Mezzadra and Neilson, *Border as Method*, 32.
18 Amin and Lancione, *Grammars of the Urban Ground*. For inspiring earlier contributions, see also Roy, "'The Shadow of Her Wings'"; Oswin, "An Other Geography."
19 Mezzadra and Neilson, *Border as Method*, 33.