The other "Bangla-Town": Marginality in the centre of Rome

Francesca Piazzoni[1]

Abstract

Poor immigrants in cities across the world challenge exclusion by appropriating and transforming urban spaces. Scholars have tended to explore these migrant urbanisms by focusing on low-income, "marginal" districts that remain separate from prime spaces like historic downtowns. This paper widens such a focus by analysing how Bangladeshi immigrants inhabit the touristic centre of Rome, an iconic space designed to normalise—and capitalise upon—dominant constructions of who belongs to the Italian city. Roughly 2,000 immigrants eke out a living in Rome's centre by selling trinkets to tourists. Drawing from observations and interviews, I detail how diverse vendors emplace their own Rome by working, hiding, praying, and relaxing in its iconic landscapes. Contingent, and yet persistent, the urbanisms enacted by the vendors destabilise normative logics of identity and call attention to prime spaces as potential arenas of insurgency.

Keywords: Migrant urbanisms; street vendors; Bangladeshi immigrants; public space; heritage; Rome

Migrant Urbanisms: the case of Rome

Scholars have amply shown how, in regions of the global North, neoliberal urban governance, institutional racism, and rampant xenophobia render the lives of immigrants of colour especially precarious (Çağlar and Schiller, 2018; Hall, 2018; Yuval-Davis et al., 2018). Immigrants, however, are not passive victims: they confront exclusion by inscribing their needs, tastes, and habits into a city's fabric. Suzanne Hall (2015) has named *migrant urbanisms* the social and spatial arrangements that newcomers fabricate as they seek to make a city their home. At times migrant urbanisms emerge out of organised protests and advocacy (Leitner and Strunk, 2014; Garbin and Millington, 2018). At other times, when they lack organisational power, resources, or the intention to confront authorities directly, immigrants challenge oppression through more ordinary, yet equally political, *encroachments* of space (Bayat, 2000). While the urbanisms that emerge as immigrants work, move around, or simply enjoy leisure time may not constitute intentional acts of resistance, they nonetheless challenge dominance by disrupting normative constructions of who belongs to the city (Miraftab, 2016; Rios and Watkins, 2015; Main and Sandoval, 2015).

Migrant urbanisms have transformed Rome, a city where immigrants' presence has doubled since 2000.[2] In the context of restricted immigration policies and increased xenophobia, scholars have analysed how immigrants inhabit Rome by shaping its social and physical landscapes (e.g. Montagna and Grazioli, 2019; Nur and Sethman, 2016; Smith, 2015). Special attention has been given to Bangladeshi migrants whose presence has increased in Italy since

---

[1] Francesca Piazzoni, University of Liverpool, School of Architecture, United Kingdom. E-mail: piazzoni@liverpool.ac.uk

[2] Registered immigrants in Rome currently amount to 382,577 people, or roughly 13.5% of the total population. This percentage has doubled since 2000, when immigrants amounted to 6% of the population, and is higher than the national average of 8.5% (IDOS, 2020).

the 1990s, and who now compose the third largest immigrant group in Rome. Scholars have especially focused on Torpignattara, a district that hosted domestic working class migrants in the 1920s and has become home to many Bangladeshi families since the early 2000s.

Proudly renamed "Bangla-Town" by its Bangladeshi residents, the Torpignattara district has become a symbol of multicultural Rome in public and scholarly discourses (D'Ambrosio and Pastori, 2019; Pompeo, 2011; Priori, 2012a). Scholars have analysed migrant urbanisms in Torpignattara, showing how Bangladeshis mobilise against racism (Montanari, 2018; Priori, 2014), how they occupy spaces to satisfy religious needs that policymakers neglect (Artero and Chiodelli, 2019; Russo, 2018), how Bangladeshi women negotiate ideas of belonging (Bisio, 2013; Carnà and Rossetti, 2018), and how children's education brings together parents of diverse backgrounds (Broccolini, 2014; Cristofori, 2011; Vereni, 2014).

But Bangladeshi immigrants also inhabit the "historic centre" of Rome, the iconic *centro storico* that attracts 15 million tourists every year, encompasses the Vatican state, and is home to national and international institutions. Roughly 1,000 Bangladeshi men daily occupy this center of power by selling trinkets to tourists. They compose the largest group of immigrant street vendors, who are otherwise predominantly from Senegal, Romania, and China. Lacking, in most cases, licenses or regular immigration statuses, Bangladeshi vendors are exposed to continuous risks of fines, confiscation of merchandise, incarceration, and deportation.[3]

Most itinerant vendors who work in Rome's *centro storico* have no licenses. Yet, public discourses almost exclusively target vendors of colour as spoilers of an authentic Rome. And patrollers tend to chase down Bangladeshi and Senegalese vendors while letting white sellers be. Racially based exclusion speaks to constructions of Italy as a "white nation" that have long oppressed people of color (Giuliani and Lombardi-Diop, 2013). These constructions both reflect on and shape built environments that normalise colonial legacies of violence and death (Frangi, 2019; Scego, 2019).

Institutional efforts to remove deprived people from the *centro storico* also typify neoliberal policies that have progressively made the centre of Rome an exclusive playground for tourists and elites (Celata and Romano, 2020; Lelo et al., 2019). Since the early 2000s, policymakers have deployed a rhetoric of decorum that entails banishing "undesirables" from public spaces (Battistelli et al., 2018; Castelli, 2019). This trend culminated with the Deliberazione n. 43 (Resolution No. 43) of July 2019, a city law that demands municipal patrollers to remove "inappropriate" people such as loiterers, anyone "indecently" dressed, as well as vendors without licenses.

Against attempts to render marginalised publics invisible in the centre of Rome, the very presence of vendors becomes political in that it challenges dominant ideas of who has the right to occupy and be visible in the city. In what follows, I analyse how Bangladeshi vendors emplace their own Bangla-Town in the heart of Rome by occupying, sensing, and transforming the *centro storico*. After briefly clarifying my methods, I describe how seniority on the streets and immigration status create hierarchies between "established," "senior," and

---

[3] Vendors risk fines of 5,162 euros and confiscation of merchandise for vending without a license (D.L. 114/1998). They can be fined from 168 to 680 euros for "illicitly" occupying public spaces (Art. 20, Street Code). For selling counterfeit merchandise, vendors can be detained from 6 months to 4 years and fined up to 35,000 euros (D.Lgs. 685/1994). Vendors who are detained and found to have an irregular immigration status can be fined up to 30,000 euros and repatriated (L. 189/2002).

"recently arrived" Bangladeshi sellers. I then detail how these diverse vendors inhabit Rome's center not only by selling merchandise and seeking refuge from police raids, but also by praying, relaxing, and socialising with other people. The vendors' emplacements and sociabilities destabilise dominant logics of identity and enable alternative geographies of belonging. These dynamics, I conclude, complicate established narratives of prime urban spaces as sites of uncontested oppression.

Methods

Immigrant vendors work across 30 vending areas in the centro storico (covering approximately1.5 square miles). While I also engaged with police officers, residents, and tourists, in this article, I focus on data collected through 28 in-depth interviews with Bangladeshis and numerous conversations with vendors of other nationalities (predominantly Italian and Senegalese) between 2016 and 2018. Rifat, a Bangladeshi resident of Rome for 10 years who worked as a cultural mediator in a hospital, was my interpreter during the interviews. We initially approached vendors in the public spaces where they worked. Word of mouth soon helped us to recruit other respondents. Interviews were conducted outside of working hours (before 10:00 a.m. or during police raids), lasting between 45 and 90 minutes, and occurred in spaces of the vendor's choosing: in cafes, hideouts, or vending locations themselves. Open-ended questions aimed at investigating vendors' histories, impressions of the city's spaces, relationships with other groups, and aspirations for the future.

As I discussed elsewhere (Piazzoni, 2020), my privileges—of a white Italian working in the United States at the time—made my relationships with the vendors inherently hierarchical. I sought to use this privilege to empower the vendors where I could. In time, and thanks to Rifat's mediation, the vendors began to see me as an ally who could translate documents, interject with police, and exchange money. Some vendors left merchandise with me during police raids. In a context in which regulations are complex and enforced discretionally, I worked with the legal association A Buon Diritto to inform vendors on the risks they run and help them seek out advice. My evolving relationships with the vendors prompted me to change methods during fieldwork. For example, I began conducting part of the interviews while walking to make it easier for the vendors to describe their practices and perceptions. I further added a section on religious practices after it became clear to me that this was a topic on many of the vendors' minds.

Heterogeneity among Bangladeshi vendors

Bangladeshi vendors comprise a heterogeneous group of men with different needs and aspirations. Some of the data I collected confirm previous studies on Bangladeshi immigrants in Italy and Rome (Della Puppa, 2018, 2019; IOM, 2017; Priori, 2012a, 2017). For example, most of my interviewees had arrived in Italy after passing through multiple countries (many recent arrivals had come via Libya). Many owed money to the people who had organised their journeys, had wives and children in Bangladesh, and sent remittances home whenever possible. My interviewees' work habits were also similar to those detailed by scholars who first described Rome's Bangladeshi vendors in the 1990s (King and Knights, 1994; Knights and King, 1998). Vendors started selling around 10:00 a.m. and continued for 7 to 13 hours. Each vendor earned between 10 and 25 euros a day, for a monthly income of anywhere between 350 and 850 euros.

A commonly heard narrative among white Romans is that a "mafia" network provides vendors with merchandise and tells them where to sell. My data illustrated a different picture. The vendors I interviewed chose where to buy their merchandise, which might be anything from selfie sticks to cheap shawls or roses (which were considered "safer" because police do not confiscate flowers). Seeking to sell items for 3 to 10 times their cost (to earn 30 to 100 euros a month), vendors hoped to make profits even in the event of weekly police confiscations of their merchandise.

But my investigation also revealed two little-known aspects of Bangladeshi immigrants in Rome. One concerns the fact that most interviewees (24) lived in central areas rather than in Torpignattara/Bangla-Town or the Esquilino district—known since the 1990s as an "immigrants' gateway" (Banini, 2019; Mudu, 2006; Prato, 2016). In fact, 17 of the interviewees lived in the generally affluent Borgo, Prati, and Flaminio districts. These sellers stayed in overcrowded apartments, often in the basements of elegant buildings just a few minutes walk from iconic landmarks. A place in a room shared by up to 11 men could cost between 130 euros (in an upper bunk bed) and 150 euros in units where as many as 25 people shared a restroom.

While most Romans would expect immigrants to live in known "multicultural" areas like Esquilino or Torpignattara, they would hardly imagine Bangladeshi vendors to reside in much more affluent, central districts. And indeed, the wealthy residents of these districts often ignored—or chose to ignore—the Bangladeshis' presence in their building. Seeking to make themselves invisible, Bangladeshis modified the most intimate rhythms and habits of their lives. For example, they tended to avoid using restrooms at night, cooking and eating aromatic foods, entering their apartments in groups, or spending time in the streets around their building.

A second aspect that emerged from my interviews is that most vendors not only rarely visited the Bangla-Town/Torpignattara district, but also actively disliked it as they felt overwhelmed by the presence of too many compatriots. Many of the vendors also avoided areas such as Termini, Testaccio, or San Lorenzo, where they had experienced abuse by Italians or other immigrants.

These two facts—that most of interviewees lived in wealthy areas and avoided visiting Torpignattara/Bangla-Town—pushed the vendors to spend most of their time in central Rome. The vendors as a group were, however far from monolithic. Within the vending community, the power of each individual on a given street was affected by immigration status and seniority in the job. I identified three subgroups of vendors who differed in how they occupied and perceived the spaces in which they worked. The largest group comprised 17 "established" vendors who had moved to Rome between 2 and 15 years earlier and lacked regular immigration status. Risking deportation and incarceration if caught by the police, the established vendors avoided working between 2:00 and 4:00 p.m., when they believed controls were more frequent. At the same time, established vendors were relatively influential among other sellers given their numbers, regular presence on the street, and relatively young age. Their "privilege" allowed these established vendors to occupy the best spots in each area (those that were close to escaping routes, well maintained, and constantly crowded by tourists), but the Bangladeshi vendors had to negotiate for these perquisites with sellers of other ethnicities who had similar seniority on the street. Established vendors tended not to go to Torpignattara unless they attended special events such as children's birthdays or, more

sporadically, group prayers. Nine of the established vendors reported that they stayed away from Bangla-Town because they owed someone in that area money or had been abused by compatriots living there. Five other vendors from this subgroup claimed to dislike Torpignattara because its distinctive "Bangladeshi character"—the smells, signage, and people—remined them of the "poor" conditions they had tried to escape by coming to Europe.

Another subgroup of interviewees was comprised of 6 "seniors:" vendors in their mid-fifties to seventies who had regular immigration status and had lived in Italy anywhere from 7 to 25 years. Laid off from agricultural or industrial jobs during the recession, seniors turned to vending as a last resort. Like the established vendors, most of the seniors reported feeling estranged from Bangla-Town. The friends they had once known living in Torpignattara had either moved on (mostly to England) or now ran businesses, exhibiting signs of upward mobility that often left the senior vendors still in Rome's city centre feeling embarrassed. Despite being too old to compete with younger immigrants for other occupations, these seniors generally felt more at ease on the streets than established vendors because of their regular immigration status. Nevertheless, they preferred to occupy marginal selling spots as a means of avoiding conflicts with established colleagues. When police raids occurred, seniors tended to move only a few steps away until the police left, all the while continuing to sell. This strategy allowed them to compensate for their lower earnings by working longer hours.

 Five vendors composed a third subgroup of men who arrived from Libya less than a year before my fieldwork began. Two of these "newcomers" lived in a state-led immigration facility near Rome, one stayed in a church structure in the Esquilino district, and two were minors who lived with relatives in Prati. Seniors and established vendors tended to ostracise newcomers, arguing that they congested the streets. This hostility was rooted in the perception that newcomers enjoyed special privileges as they lived in rent-free in immigration facilities and, in the case of minors, had an easier path to regularisation. Antagonism from other vendors tended to push newcomers towards undesirable vending spots. Given their relatively secure legal position, however, newcomers could move into the spots left vacant by established vendors during their break from 2:00 to 4:00 p.m., or immediately after police raids. Moreover, the Torpignattara/Bangla-Town district generally appealed to newcomers. The same "Bangladeshi character" that seniors and established vendors tended to find oppressive represented an affective net of familiar tastes, signs, and languages to newcomers.

Urbanisms of survival and belonging

Established, senior, and newly arrived vendors create their own geographies by appropriating spaces and negotiating power with other groups. As I discuss below, vendors construct urbanisms of survival and belonging by selling, hiding, praying, and relaxing. These activities are primarily driven by necessity. Yet, while vendors do not resist dominance intentionally, by marking space with their bodies and practices, they nonetheless challenge patterns of control and exclusion.

Selling. My interviews revealed that the ability of each vendor to occupy a good spot for business depended on hierarchies within the Bangladeshi community as well as on relationships among vendors of different ethnicities. Conflicts emerged especially between Bangladeshis and Senegalese migrants, who composed the second largest group of vendors. A recurring trope among the Senegalese vendors was that Bangladeshis could count on both

a "less racist" attitude of Italian institutions and loans from their compatriots. Some also expressed the belief that Bangladeshis behave irresponsibly on the streets—for example, by running away from the police without concern for people surrounding them, thereby placing Senegalese vendors at higher risk of arrest. For their part, Bangladeshis complained about competition from Senegalese vendors, who tended to approach tourists directly. Bangladeshi vendors generally avoided this approach because of language barriers, and a reluctance to be perceived as begging for money.

These conflicts did not prevent established Senegalese and Bangladeshi vendors from cooperating. Established vendors of various origins, for example, would exchange text messages to warn each other about policing activities. They also united in their efforts to prevent newcomers from occupying good spots. And while white Italian vendors generally considered themselves more entitled to sell than their immigrant counterparts, many organised alliances with established Bangladeshis and Senegalese. In Via della Muratte, two Bangladeshi vendors, along with another vendor from Senegal and one from Italy, claimed "responsibility" for the street and were accepted by police as being in charge. They occupied prime selling spots, pushed out the "troublemakers" in their ranks (e.g., people who drunk and pickpocketed), and reassured officers when they passed by.

Hiding. Being able to escape police raids was a priority for all, particularly the established vendors with uncertain immigration statuses.[4] Rome's intricate urban fabric and solidarity among vendors made it easy to hide during police raids and return soon afterward. Narrow lanes, churches, tunnels, and courtyards served as strategic hideouts. Pieces of urban furniture such as trash cans, sewer covers, and bushes became precious pockets where vendors could leave merchandise not only during police raids, but also at night, when most vendors lacked space to safely store goods at home.

Sellers also camouflaged their merchandise within the messy cityscape of Rome. For instance, vendors would leave bags next to uncollected garbage or behind benches for tourists, confident that no one would notice them. Vendors also relied on solidarity from others in the tourist industry when seeking refuge from police raids. A few tour guides, for example, allowed vendors to stand on the front rows of their groups in order to hide from patrolmen. Shop assistants of several chain stores welcomed vendors in their shops during police raids, and some street artists also helped vendors by using their bodies during performances to shield merchandise.

Praying. If Rome's ubiquitous Catholic churches offered refuge from policing, they could hardly satisfy the spiritual needs of vendors who are predominantly Muslim. Lack of Muslim spaces of worship is not unique to the city center. Policymakers ostracise places of worship throughout the city (Moroni et al., 2019), forcing people to pray in "informal" and sometimes

---

[4] I should mention that police officers were not uniformly perceived as playing a negative role in the vendors' lives. On one hand, some interviewees reported increasing abuse during the period when I conducted my fieldwork, when a far-right xenophobic government was emerging at the national level. If at the beginning of my investigation I was told that municipal police occasionally threw away vendors' documents, a few months into my fieldwork, state police and the Carabinieri forces had begun chasing off vendors in the name of "anti-terrorism" measures. By August 2018, immigrant and native vendors spoke of increasingly frequent beatings and expulsions of Bangladeshi and African vendors. But on the other hand, the majority of my interviewees reported feeling somewhat safer in the center than other city districts as a result of the police presence. Some vendors believed that patrolmen were inclined to turn a blind eye toward the vendors and at times prevented rogue colleagues from committing abuses. As an indication of this greater sense of security, most vendors reported remaining in the city center during their free time because the presence of police and security cameras made them feel safer.

unsafe prayer rooms (Ciocca, 2018; Russo, 2018). In the centro storico, vendors would at times gather on mezzanines or in storage areas or basements of Bangladeshi-run shops.[5] Interethnic and cross-religious solidarities helped vendors to find spaces for worship. For example, a Catholic Italian proprietor opened his café's bathroom and storage area for vendors to use for ablutions and prayers, and a Lebanese Jewish shop owner hosted a few trusted vendors on Friday afternoons.

Vendors equally found privacy by praying in iconic, crowded public spaces. Some recited group prayers in poorly maintained green areas located nearby touristic landmarks. Others felt safer remaining among the crowds. A few vendors, for example, prayed individually in front of the Colosseum in the belief that the iconicity of that space—which ensured the constant presence of tourists and their cellphones—would protect them from police or attacks by civilians. The vendors' prayers often drew the attention of Muslim tourists. At the end of his rituals, a senior vendor was frequently approached by visitors who, after hearing his story, would offer to buy merchandise.

Relaxing. Rome's iconic sites provided vendors with spaces where they could eat, talk with friends, or video chat with families. Since the food in cafés and restaurants is too expensive, a few Bangladeshi cook-entrepreneurs organised a lunch delivery system for 2 or 3 euros a meal. After picking up their food close to vending locations, some sellers would eat alone in public spaces, while others would sit in chain restaurants such as McDonalds or Burger King. During the interviews, several vendors spoke of enjoying anonymity among the crowds while eating, and "not feeling like vendors" for a while.

Bustling piazzas and churchyards also provided spaces for vendors to meet with friends. Bangladeshi vendors and compatriots employed in nearby shops, for example, ate daily on the steps of a church on Via del Corso around 1:30 p.m. Other people who worked in the center saluted the vendors' gatherings as a familiar sign of their daily routine. One patrolman, for example, interpreted the Bangladeshis' regular meetings as proof that they were "true Romans," unlike the "hordes of tourists" coming and going each day. Coffee breaks also generated interethnic encounters on multiple levels. Two Senegalese women would deliver 50-cent cups of coffee across the city center. Vendors of all origins as well as street artists would gather around their cart to buy coffee and chat. A café near the Angelo Bridge is another regular meeting place where vendors and shop owners would discuss—and generally complain about—the lack of business opportunities.

Paradoxically, vendors did not always perceive the securitised nature of historic Rome as an infringement on their safety. Instead, they generally pointed to the level of security, including surveillance cameras and a visible police presence, as factors that increased their sense of safety. One vendor worked in a spot where he was under surveillance cameras. Heeven remained there while taking a break, despite having no residence permit, because he believed that the cameras would assist the police in case he was robbed.

---

[5] Over the past decade, Bangladeshi entrepreneurs, many of whom are former vendors, have opened convenience stores throughout the city center, a kind of business that could be opened without special permits and with few restrictions (D.L. 114/1998). Residents' complaints (many with racial overtones) against these so called "mini-markets" have led to a 2018 city regulation preventing new openings of convenient stores (Deliberazione n. 47, 2018). Although new mini-markets cannot be opened, existing ones consolidate Bangladeshis' presence in the center, providing prayer rooms to compatriots and a few trusted immigrants from other countries—primarily Senegal.

Another reason the vendors appeared to choose the city center as a place to relax is that it provided a desirable backdrop to their video chats with friends and families back home. Rome's renowned landscapes resonated with transnational communities. One 17-year-old newcomer said he liked to video chat with his mother in front of the Saint Peter Basilica in order to reassure her of his "successful future." Another vendor, who had been living irregularly in Rome for 5 years and did not want to disclose his precarious housing situation to his family, chatted with them from Piazza Navona, which in his mind conveyed an image of "European success." A senior vendor kept a selfie of himself at the Colosseum as his phone's screen saver and Facebook profile picture. Usually struggling to make ends meet in Piazza del Popolo, the vendor liked to look at that image to remind the world, and himself, that he had, after all, made it to Italy.

Marginality at the centre of Rome

The symbolic—and economic—value of "historic Rome" relies on tourist-friendly depictions of the city as a place of canonical beauty, a pristine historic site inhabited by white, wealthy Italians. Immigrant vendors confront these conceptions of Rome by emplacing urbanisms of survival and belonging. Destabilising dominant logics of identity, the vendors assert difference at the core of dominant landscapes. They complicate widespread narratives of Rome's *centro storico* as a "Disneyfied bubble," or a "fake" city that misrepresents "real" Romans and their struggles (e.g., Berdini, 2008; Clough-Marinaro and Thomassen, 2014; D'Eramo, 2017).

Not despite, but rather because of the iconicity and securitised character of public spaces, immigrant vendors feel relatively safe and spend time in the center. Bangladeshi vendors construct their own Rome within Rome by appropriating spaces where they can hide, seek protection under surveillance cameras, pray near monuments, and relax among the crowds. These practices generate micro-geographies of conviviality between people who would be unlikely to interact elsewhere in the city. Diverse vendors meet for coffee. Tourist guides and store assistants protect vendors during police raids. Business owners let vendors pray in their shops. And some police officers and vendors chat and joke with each other.

The Bangla-Town in the center of Rome shows how migrant urbanisms can exist and resist within prime, affluent areas. This kind of marginality at the centre, I suggest, deserves systematic attention within studies of migrant urbanisms. Urban scholars of immigration have increasingly expanded their focus from "gateway" metropolises to mid-tier cities, suburban areas, and rural territories. Many of these studies, however, have continued to focus on known "multicultural" enclaves, markets, and religious facilities. At the same time, increasing attention has been given to how "ordinary" spaces in public transit, chain restaurants, or parks function as *contact zones* (Pratt, 1991) where diverse people encounter and possibly learn to respect each other. This paper has complicated such a binary focus on either multiethnic sites or ordinary places of encounter. It has drawn attention to the symbolic, and thus political force that migrant urbanisms acquire in iconic landscapes.

By suggesting that migrant urbanisms potentially plant seeds of insurgency at the heart of power, I do not intend to romanticise the precarious lives of Rome's vendors. Nor do I attribute political intentions to their fragile emplacements. All the vendors I met would very much prefer to have more stable, less dangerous jobs and decent housing. What the case of Rome demonstrates is, on the one hand, how iconic landscapes spatialise uneven relations of power by marginalising oppressed people further. On the other hand, the Bangla-Town that

vendors activate in the center of Rome reveals how prime spaces can serve as privileged sites of everyday resistance. Historic downtowns such as the *centro storico* not only bring together diverse people who would normally never mix. They also convey symbolic, normative values that amplify the political significance of the encroachments of subaltern groups.

Migrant urbanisms can penetrate crafted landscapes of power. They can assert a right to occupy and use spaces against dominant logics of belonging. Those seeking to design policies and spaces of empowerment for marginalised immigrants are well advised to give more systematic attention to these kinds of urbanisms, and the ways in which prime spaces act as arenas of insurgency. This shift of focus can help empower immigrant groups to use and transform a city not only at its margins, but also at its powerful core.

References

Artero, M., & Chiodelli, F. (2019). Migration, Religion, and Residential Segregation at the Urban Level: The Case of Muslim Migrants in Rome and Milan. *Sociological Inquiry*, 1-24.

Banini, T. (2019). *Il rione Esquilino di Roma: Letture, Rappresentazioni e Pratiche di uno spazio Urban Polisemitico*. Roma: Edizioni Nuova Cultura.

Bayat, A. (2000). From 'Dangerous Classes' to 'Quiet Rebels': Politics of the Urban Subaltern in the Global South". *International Sociology*, 15(3), 533-557.

Battistelli, F., Galantino, M. G., & Ricotta, G. (2018). La Sicurezza urbana e la Questione Rom. In E. D'Albergo, & D. De Leo, *Politiche Urbane per Roma* (p. 83-98). Roma: Sapienza Università.

Berdini, P. (2008). *La città in vendita. Centri storici e mercato senza regole*. Roma: Donzelli.

Bisio, N. (2013). Le Donne Bangladesi a Rome. Come si Trasforma una Comunità. *Storia delle Donne, 9*, 49-69.

Broccolini, A. (2014). Torpignattara/Banglatown: Processes of REurbanization ad rhetorics of Locality in a suburb of Rome. In M. Isabella, & B. Thomassen, *Global Rome: Changing Faces of the Eternal City* (p. 81-98). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Çağlar, A., & Schiller, N. (2018). *Migrants and City-Making: Dispossession, Displacement, and Urban Regeneration*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Carnà, K., & Rossetti, S. (2018). *Kotha. Donne Bangladesi nella Roma che Cambia*. Roma: Ediesse.

Castelli, F. (2019). Bodies in Alliance and New Sites of Resistance: Performing the Political in Neoliberal Public Spaces. In R. Shusterman, *Bodies in the Streets: The Somaesthtics of City Life* (p. 177-194). Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Celata, F., & Romano, A. (2020). Overtourism and online short-term rental platforms in Italian cities. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1-20.

Certeau, M. d. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Ciocca, F. (2018). La presenza musulmana nella citta' di Roma. In *Osservatorio Romano sulle Migrazioni* (p. 274-282). Roma : Istituto di Studi Politici "s.Pio v".

Clough-Marinaro, I., & Thomassen, B. (2014). Introduction. In I. Clough-Marinaro, & B. Thomassen, *Global Rome: Changing Faces of the Eternal City* (p. 1-20). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Cristofori, S. (2011). "Non esce pensiero se non c'è possibilità. La Bangla Accademy, il Tempo delle Donne, e il radicamento familiare probashi. In F. Pompeo (A cura di), *Pigneto-Banglatown* (p. 93-118). Roma : Meti Edizioni.

D'Ambrosio, G., & Pastori, V. (2019). Dinamiche Insediative della Comunita' Bangladese a Roma. In IDOS, *Osservatorio Romano Sulle Migrazioni* (p. 284-287). Roma: Centro Studi e Ricerche IDOS.

Della Puppa, F. (2018). Ambivalences of the emotional logics of migration and family reunification: emotions, experiences and aspirations of Bangladeshi husbands and wives in Italy. *Identities, 25*(3), 358-375.

Della Puppa, F. (2019). Bodies at Work, Work on Bodies: Migrant Bodies, Wage Labour, and Family Reunification in Italy. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 1-19.

D'Eramo, M. (2017). The not so Eternal City. *New Left Review, 103*, 77-103.

Frangi, S. (2019). Il crimine dell'innocenza. Monumentalità "innocua" e continuum neo-coloniale IT/ENG. *Short Theatre: VISIONEDINSIEME*, p. 14-19.

Garbin, D., & Millignton, G. (2018). 'Central London under siege': Diaspora, 'race' and the right to the (global) city. *The Sociological Review, 66*(1), 138–154.

Giuliani, G., & Lombardi-Diop, C. (2013). *Bianco e nero. Storia dell'identità razziale degli italiani.* Milano: Feltrinelli.

Hall, S. (2015). Migrant Urbanisms: Ordinary Cities and Everyday Resistance. *Sociology, 49*(5), 853-869.

Hall, S. (2018). Migrant margins: the street life of discrimination. *The Sociological Review, 9*(5), 968-983.

IOM. (2017). *Current migration trends from Bangladesh to Italy.* International Organization for Migration.

King, R., & Knights, M. (1994). Bangladeshis in Rome: a case of migratory opportunism. In W. Gould, & A. M. Findlay, *Population Migration and the Changing World Order.* Chichester: Wiley.

Knights, M., & King, R. (1998). The geography of Bangladeshi migration to Rome. *Population, Space and Place, 4*(4), 299-321.

Leitner, H., & Strunk, C. (2014). Spaces of Immigrant Advocacy and Liberal Democratic Citizenship. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 104*(2), 348-356.

Lelo, K., Monni, S., & Tomassi, F. (2019). Socio-spatial inequalities and urban transformation. The case of Rome districts. *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*, 1-11.

Main, K., & Sandoval, G. F. (2015). Placemaking in a translocal receivingcommunity: The relevance of placeto identity and agency. *Urban studies, 52*(1), 71–86.

Miraftab, F. (2016). *Global Heartland. Displaced Labor, Transnational Lives, and Local Placemaking.* Indianapolis, Indiana: University of Indiana Press.

Montagna, N., & Grazioli, M. (2019). Urban commons and freedom of movement The housing struggles of recently arrived migrants in Rome. *Citizenship Studies, 23*(6), 577-592.

Montanari, A. (2018). Invisible youth mobility: the Bangladesh population in Rome. *Belgeo, 3.*

Moroni, S., Chiodelli, F., Porqueddu, E., & Botta, A. (2019). Immigrants, mosques and religious pluralism. Challenges for urban design and planning. In T. Banerjee, & A. Loukaitou-Sideris, *The New Companion to Urban Design* . New York: Routledge.

Mudu, P. (2006). The New Romans: Ethnic Economic Activities in Rome. In D. Kaplan, & W. Li, *Landscapes of the Ethnic Economy* (p. 277 - 292). Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield.

Nur, N., & Sethman, A. (2016). Migration and Mobilisation for the Right to Housing in Rome: New Urban Frontiers? In P. Mudu, & S. Chattopadhyay, *Migration, Squatting and Radical Autonomy: Resistance and Destabilisation of Racist Regulatory Policies and B/Ordering Mechanisms* (p. 78-92). New York: Routledge.

Piazzoni, F. (2020) Visibility as Justice: Immigrant Street Vendors and the Right to Difference in Rome. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*. 1-16.

Pompeo, F. (2011). *Pigneto-Banglatown Migrazioni e conflitti di cittadinanza in una periferia storica romana.* Roma: Meti Edizioni.

Prato, G. (2016). *Beyond multiculturalism: views from anthropology.* London: Routledge.

Pratt, M. L. (1991). Arts of the Contact Zone. *Profession*, 33-40.

Priori, A. (2012a). *Romer probashira. Reti sociali e itinerari transnazionali bangladesi a Roma.* Roma: Meti Edizioni.

Priori, A. (2012b). Murrghi, patron e padroni. speculazione, esclusione sociale e differenza culturale fra migranti Bengalesi a Roma. In F. Pompeo, *Paesaggi ell'esclusione. Politiche degli spazi, re-indigenizzazione e altre malattie del territorio romano* (p. 45-55). Novara: De Agostini.

Priori, A. (2014). La difesa dello spazio: Le aggressioni ai bangladesi in un quartiere della periferia romana. *Archivio di Studi Urbani e Regionali, 110*, 95-114.

Priori, A. (2017). Bangladeshi Multi-Scalar Im/mobilities: Between Social Aspirations and Legal Obstacles. *New Diversities, 19*(3), 29-42.

Rios, M., & Watkins, J. (2015). Beyond "Place": Translocal Placemaking of the Hmong Diaspora. *Journal of Planning and Education Research, 35*(2), 209–219.

Russo, C. (2018). Musulmani di Roma. Spunti di riflessione da una etnografia. In C. Russo, & A. Saggioro, *Roma città plurale. Le religioni, il territorio, le ricerche* (p. 285-371). Roma: Bulzoni.

Scego, I. (2019). Decolonize Rome. *Short Theatre: VISIONEDINSIEME*, p. 5-10.

Smith, M. (2015). Multilingual Practices of Senegalese Immigrants in Rome: Construction of Identities and Negotiation of Boundaries. *Italian Culture, 33*(2), 126-146.

Vereni, P. (2014). Foreign Pupils, Bad Citizens. In I. Marinaro, & B. Thomassen, *Global Rome: Changing Faces of the Eternal City* (p. 99-113). Bloomington, : Indiana University Press.

Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, G., & Cassidy, K. (2018). Everyday Bordering, Belonging and the Reorientation of British Immigration Legislation. *Sociology, 52*(2), 228–244.