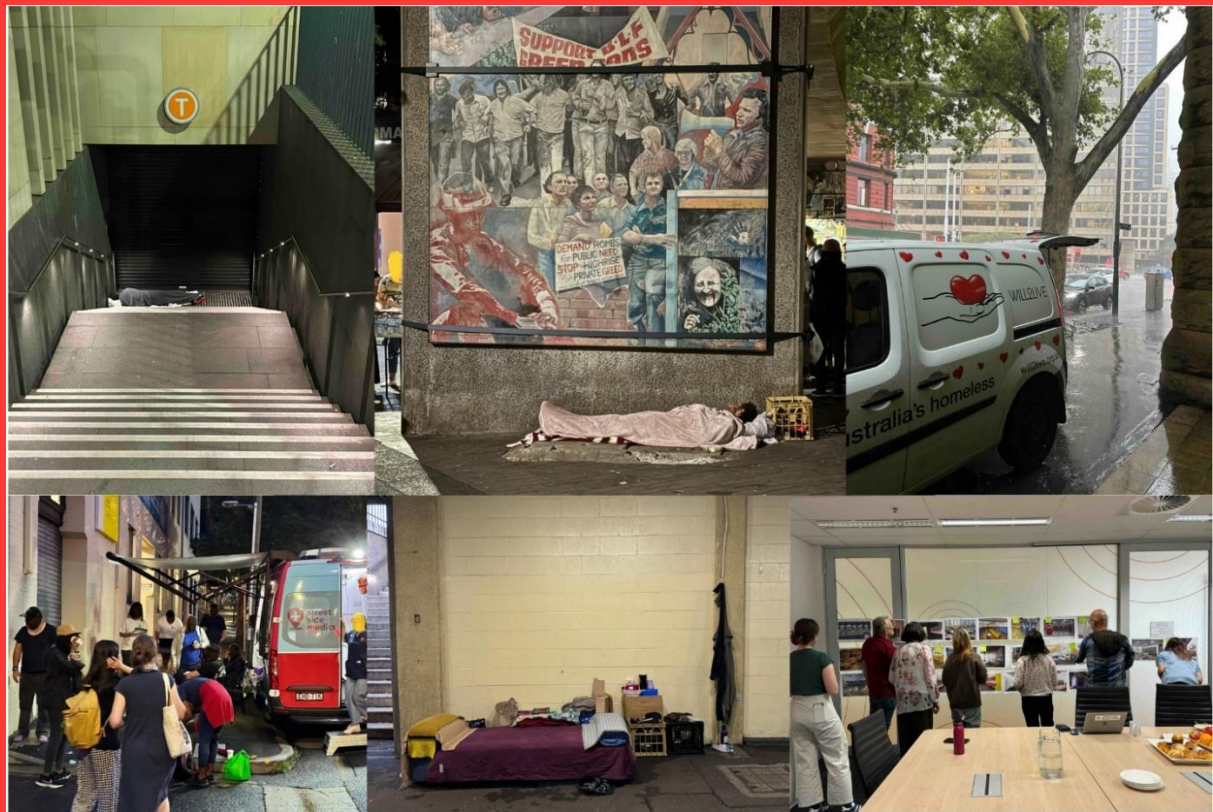


Care in Transit:

Designing for Passengers, Transport Operations and Homelessness Support



Project 6-041

Literature Review

July 2026

Supported by:



Inclusive Design
Creating places where people thrive.



Acknowledgement

The Research Project team would like to acknowledge the amazing opportunity provided by TfNSW and the iMOVE CRC to work on such a pressing issue through this project. This initiative is a testament to the Department's values, culture, and commitment of care for the public good and the public interest. It also is a profound statement about TfNSW's international leadership and innovation.

We thank all the people, organisations and groups who assisted us with this work by entrusting us with their stories, hopes, concerns and ever thoughtful and considered feedback.

TfNSW Service Design Team, TfNSW Research Team, TfNSW Project Group
iMOVE CRC
La Trobe University research and administrative support teams
Street Care
Justice and Equity Centre
City of Sydney

Our list can only ever be partial, but the imprints of all who participated are still present within these pages.

Our greatest hope is for 'Care in Transit' to motivate change that improves the lives of people living precarious, who are unhoused and rough sleeping, and bridging their worlds with those of the broader public transport community.

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Citation

Szyplewicz, M.; Menih, H.; Rudner, J.; Donovan, J.*; Cooper, K.; Woodcock, I.^; Xie, J. (2026). *Care in Transit: Designing for Passengers, Transport Operations, and Homelessness Support – Literature Review*. La Trobe University.

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This research is funded by iMOVE CRC and supported by the Cooperative Research Centres program, an Australian Government initiative.



Australian Government
Department of Industry,
Science and Resources

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Centres Program

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	Care in Transit Scholarship	1
1.1	Methods	1
1.2	Structure of this review	3
2	Right to Public Space	4
2.1	Right to the City	4
2.2	Infrastructures of Neglect and Hostility	4
2.3	Infrastructures of Care	6
3	Policy Context	8
3.1	Intergovernmental responses to homelessness	8
3.2	Legal and regulatory context for public spaces	9
3.3	Sustainable design and placemaking	9
3.4	Inclusive and culturally responsive approaches	10
3.5	NSW System Coordination and Outreach Strategies	11
3.6	TfNSW Strategic Frameworks	11
4	Stakeholder Landscape and Inter-Organisational Care	12
4.1	Shadow Economies of Care and Governance in Transit	12
4.2	Governing Through Partnerships	13
4.3	Stakeholder Landscape	13
4.4	Care Through Stakeholder Relationships	15
5	Care in Place and Inclusive Station Design	19
5.1	Spaces and Materialities of Care	19
5.2	Care-Oriented Design	20
5.3	Inclusive Station Design	21
6	Care in Transit Case Studies	23
6.1	Europe	23
6.1.1	Case study: HOPE in stations (Homeless People in European Train Stations)	24
6.1.2	Case Study: Roma Termini (Rome, Italy)	25
6.2	Canada	33
6.2.1	Case study: Toronto Transit Commission (TTC)	33
6.3	United States	34

6.3.1 Case study: SEPTA – Hub of Hope (Philadelphia)	34
6.3.2 Case study: LA Metro – Mobile Outreach (Los Angeles)	35
6.4 Australia	35
6.4.1 Case study: Community Connectors (Dandenong Station, Melbourne)	35
6.4.2 Case Study: Moore Street Accredited Services Site, Perth	36
6.4.3 Case study: Coordinated outreach at Central Station, Sydney	37
Conclusion	39
References	41

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Care and support services in the Roma Termini precinct	26
Figure 2: Exterior of the Help Centre at Roma Termini	27
Figure 3: Interior of the Help Centre	27
Figure 4: Phone charge space in waiting area	27
Figure 5: Outdoor area used for socialising	28
Figure 6: Registration desk and outside space	29
Figure 7: Laundry facilities	29
Figure 8: Laundry schedule sign	29
Figure 9: Sleeping area for long-term residents	30
Figure 10: Token operated shower system	30
Figure 11: Bathroom and shower facilities, with designated space for clothing	30
Figure 12: Activity schedule for residents	31
Figure 13: Upstairs area with meeting and staff rooms	31
Figure 14: Caritas Roma at Roma Termini	32

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Nature of Relationship	17
Table 2: Characteristics of Relationships	17
Table 3: Summary of HOST and HART outreach models	38

GLOSSARY

BART – Bay Area Rapid Transit

CALD – Culturally and linguistically diverse

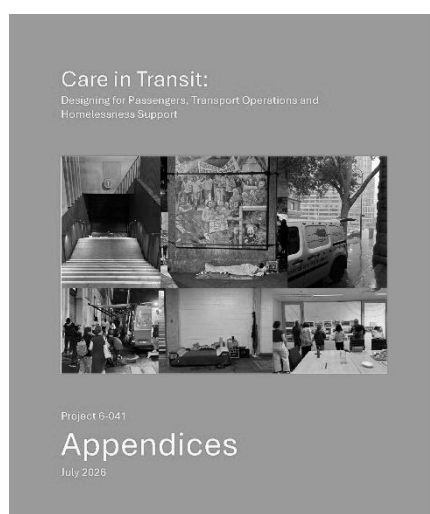
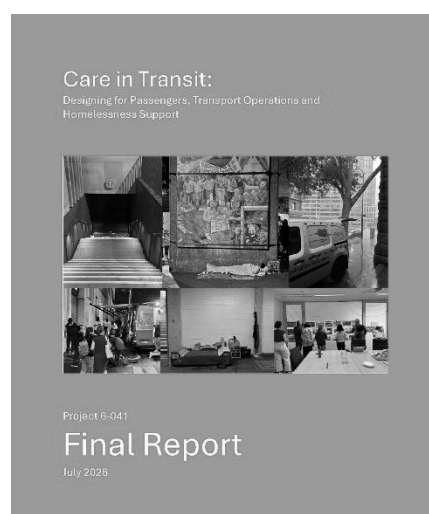
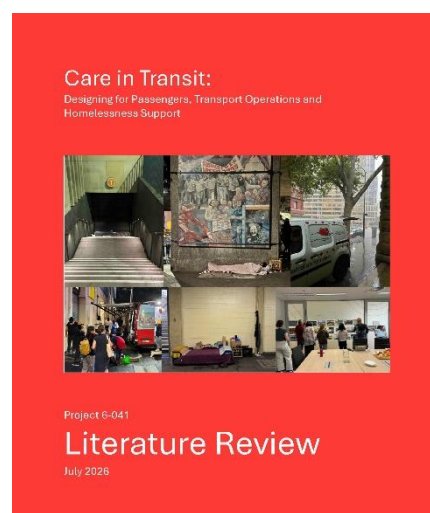
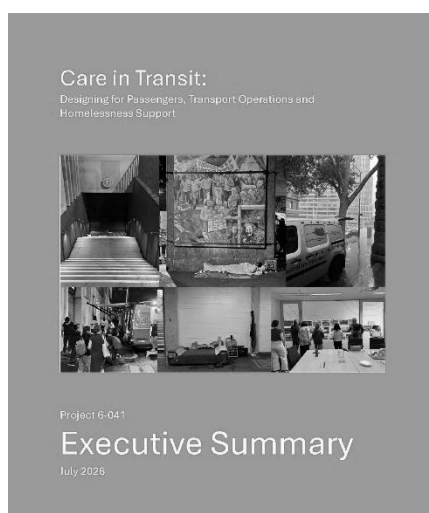
CCTV – Closed Circuit Television

CPTED - Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

DCJ – Department of Communities and Justice

HART – Homelessness Assertive Response Team
HOPE – Home Options and Pathways to Employment
HOST – Homelessness Outreach Support Team
JEC – Justice and Equity Centre
LA – Los Angeles
LAPD – Los Angeles Police Department
M-DOT - Multidisciplinary Outreach Team
MVS – Mobile Voluntary Service
NGO – Non-government organisation
NSW – New South Wales
NZZ – Neue Zürcher Zeitung
OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONLUS - Organizzazione non lucrativa di utilità sociale
PATH – People Assisting the Homeless
PLP – People living precariously and/or sleeping rough
RFI – Rete Ferroviaria Italiana
SCOPE - Safety, Cleaning, Ownership, Partnership, and Engagement
SDG – Sustainable Development Goals
SECL – SouthEast Community Links
SEPTA – Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority
SHS – Specialist Homelessness Services
TAM – Transport Asset Management
TfNSW – Transport for New South Wales
TTC – Toronto Transit Commission
UITP – Union Internationale des Transports Publics
UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme
US – United States
WMATA – Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority

This literature review is a companion report to the *Care in Transit: Designing for Passengers, Transport Operations and Homelessness Support* Final Report. It presents the scholarly and grey literature that informed the wider project and provides the evidence base for its approach to station design and stakeholder coordination. The broader research methodology, fieldwork findings and recommendations are presented in the Final Report.



1 Care in Transit Scholarship

Train stations are designed primarily as places of movement, but they also function as places of refuge and connection for people experiencing homelessness. Stations can provide shelter, access to basic amenities and transport to services or employment. This creates a particular challenge for TfNSW: although it is not a homelessness service provider, it manages the environments in which care and outreach may occur and must respond to the needs of People Living Precariously (PLP) without compromising safe and effective transport operations.

The design and (re)development of train stations and their surrounding areas have primarily focused on enhancing accessibility, service quality, infrastructure safety and network efficiency. However, as the social role of train stations is better understood, the emphasis on inclusive design has increased alongside critical discussion about what this means in practice. The social contract of a caring society is regaining legitimacy, despite the logics of neo-liberal and capitalist economies.

This shift in approach reframes place for PLP in the urban fabric. It advances a caring politics that situates empathy at the centre of decision-making across physical, social and organisational infrastructures (Chatzidakis et al., 2020). It also "...engenders new concepts of belonging, citizenship and rights..." through which states, as well as communities and individuals, are called upon to contribute toward "...a sense of solidarity, toward all its inhabitants" (Chatzidakis et al., 2020, p. 68).

Extending current approaches to inclusiveness, this project examines how TfNSW can create space for the respectful and effective support of rough sleepers who seek shelter in transport precincts. The aim is to do so without compromising the customer experience or deterring public transport use. The findings will inform TfNSW's role in broader government efforts to address homelessness and precarity in public spaces.

As a first step in helping TfNSW scope the possibilities and limits of care within inclusive design, a review of scholarly and grey literature was conducted and is presented here. The review aimed to identify the main theoretical constructs, research methods and useful case studies within existing international and national literature on how station design either includes or excludes people experiencing homelessness. The outcomes illuminated directions for design principles and a stakeholder framework for TfNSW in relation to homelessness in public spaces.

1.1 Methods

The literature review developed iteratively in response to the limited literature identified through the initial search and themes emerging from the wider research. The planned method for conducting a systematic scoping review needed to be amended, primarily due to the scarcity of existing literature on the topic (an issue also encountered by Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2021, in their studies of 50 transit systems in the United States [US]). Therefore, the literature review process involved various steps, which are outlined here.

The research team completed a formal scoping review utilising a systematic search strategy. The initial search included the key terms 'homeless AND design AND train stations' in both the La Trobe University library search engine and the ProQuest Art, Design and Architectural Collection

database for the time period of 2014 – 2024 (10 years and a few months). The search resulted in very few articles, and thus another search was conducted in Google Scholar with the same key terms and time period. Again, there was a scarcity of articles, and so the research team extended the time frame back to 2004 (20 years and a few months).

The first 10 pages of Google Scholar search results, each listing 20 articles, were assessed for inclusion in this review. The number of relevant articles decreased significantly after four (4) pages, with only one (1) or two (2) relevant articles identifiable by the eighth (8th) page and none after pages nine (9) and ten (10). A review of the titles, abstracts and contents identified 76 documents for further review. Many of these articles did not specifically address urban design principles for PLP or matters related to PLP and train stations. This initial scoping review demonstrated that there was a scarcity of literature on this topic and that relying solely on these articles would not provide sufficient knowledge to inform this research study.

The research team also sought to include grey literature to augment the scholarly literature and to find relevant information that may not have been published in academic journals. These grey sources included policies, books, master's and PhD dissertations. The Analysis & Policy Observatory (APO) (<https://www.apsacademy.gov.au/resources/apo-analysis-and-policy-observatory>) and Overton policy databases (<https://www.overton.io/>) were used to search for relevant policies.

The research team expanded the literature review to include sources related to other topics that became important during other stages in the research process. These additional topics included:

- The notion of 'care' which became important once the research title changed to 'Care in Transit';
- Literature pertaining to public spaces to learn from broader knowledge that could be applied to the context of train stations;
- Literature discussing models of service delivery for people experiencing homelessness with a focus upon inter-organisational networks and collaborations that go beyond traditional specialist homelessness services;
- Australian and international case studies that could provide example models to TfNSW.

Targeted supplementary searches were undertaken to identify literature relevant to these additional topics. This process involved an initial search for relevant articles using key search terms within the La Trobe University library search engine. The identified articles were reviewed for relevance. References cited in relevant sources were followed up, together with materials written by key theorists on each topic. Sources most relevant to the review and, where possible, the Australian context were prioritised.

The research team then analysed the literature identified through the processes outlined above by extracting information relevant to the research question and organising it into themes, which form the sections of this review. The following sections summarise the key information obtained from the overall body of literature, which provided crucial background material to inform subsequent field studies and recommendations for TfNSW.

In addition, the research team searched for relevant models to develop case study examples for TfNSW by following up on information provided in scholarly and grey literature, reviewing news articles for leads, and contacting key organisations and networks in Australia and internationally.

The information collected through this process is presented in the final section of this literature review.

1.2 Structure of this review

This literature review is organised into five thematic sections, followed by a concluding summary. The review is structured as follows:

- Right to Public Space
- Policy Context
- Stakeholder Landscape and Inter-Organisational Care
- Care in Place and Inclusive Station Design
- Care in Transit Case Studies

The review begins with the right to public space, drawing on right-to-the-city scholarship to consider the claims of people experiencing homelessness to public space, alongside the emergence of hostile design responses and care as a counter-framework.

The policy context section then examines how homelessness is addressed through government policy in Australia and how this shapes the scope of TfNSW's role.

The stakeholder landscape and inter-organisational care section considers how care for PLP is organised across agencies and services and examines the models of collaboration between them.

The section on care in place and inclusive station design brings together theoretical literature on care in urban space with practical literature on inclusive transport design.

The final substantive section presents Care in Transit case studies, drawing on Australian and international transit systems to illustrate how these principles have been applied in practice. A concluding section then draws together the key implications for TfNSW's approach to care in transit.

2 Right to Public Space

The introduction of the *NSW Protocol for Homeless People in Public Space* (Department of Communities and Justice, 2022) the assertion of citizenship for people experiencing homelessness, and their right to use public space (Whiteford, 2008). Ensuring inclusivity in urban environments, public spaces and public infrastructure requires a re-orienting of principles toward social justice and care. This section engages with the concept of ‘rights to the city’.

2.1 Right to the City

Lefebvre’s (1967) treatise on the ‘right to the city’ challenges capitalist systems by asserting that all people have a right to participate in the production and transformation of cities, inscribing their aspirations on spatial, material and political environments. Marcuse (2009, 2014) argues that such cities are founded on “...concepts such as justice, equity, democracy, the full development of human potential or capabilities, to all according to their needs, from all according to their abilities” (Marcuse, 2009, p. 193).

In Fainstein’s (2014) view, social justice is based on ensuring democracy, diversity and equity. This cannot just be achieved through collaborative planning and design approaches that elicit and balance stakeholder interest; change must be backed by re-distributive policy, material improvement in everyday life, and effective advocacy from professionals within planning and affiliated professions. Although there has been a shift toward more just approaches to urban inclusion in some government policy, economies, cultures and urban infrastructures are slower to change.

Actualisation of urban citizenship is patchy with conferral of rights based on economic power, compliance with implicit behavioural norms and explicit standards as defined by civil and criminal law, by-laws and other policy instruments. Australian scholars Fincher and Iveson (Fincher et al., 2014; Iveson, 2006; Iveson & Fincher, 2008) have observed that these rights are often tightly controlled by a complex set of formal and informal codes distinguished by age, gender, ethnic or cultural diversity, faith, and ability. Therefore, at the intersection of imagination and reality are assumptions about who belongs where, as well as when, why and how they are allowed to use public space.

PLP and those who are unhoused challenge societal norms because they have rights to the city even with their non-conforming presence and occupation of liminal space. Regardless of adherence to formal or informal codes of conduct when seeking to meet their basic needs e.g.: housing, food, money, medical care, social connection, PLP using public space are simultaneously hyper-visible and invisible. As Haynes’ (2023, pp. 37-41) analysis of visibility literature highlights, visibility is a relationship of power with ‘hyper’ representing the ‘othering’ that occurs with difference and the ‘in’ marginalisation.

2.2 Infrastructures of Neglect and Hostility

Cities are socio-technical systems in which infrastructure includes the material and socio-structural processes that create inequality through uneven distribution of wealth, infrastructures and access (Alam & Houston, 2020). As Berlant identifies, “infrastructures, thus, are a vector which organise social lives and which enable (or constrain) particular forms of sociality and life

to flourish” (2016, p. 393). In Australia, there is only a tentative flirtation with ideas of redistribution of wealth, inclusive of finance, infrastructure and political influence.

For urbanists supporting democratisation and PLP rights to the city, the failures of more than thirty years of laissez-faire market approaches are obvious. The rising number of the ‘precarariat’ and stories of the employed homeless has focused attention on the need to care for the ‘deserving poor’ (Bullen, 2015). This has opened discussion on matters related to the closure of boarding houses, hostels and other accommodations that are often substandard but play a role in urban life for people in need, as well as regulations that limit camping in public spaces. Yet deeper policy transformation is not occurring, and support for PLP continues to be relegated to social services rather than meeting material needs like housing. These challenges are evident in Sydney as gentrification opens doors for those who are more economically capable, and re-development of places, including around train stations grapple with the meaning of affordable diverse housing and social housing, the latter of which may or may not be actualised.

With gentrification comes a desire to protect investments, and the vestiges of past policy goals and approaches to homeless via hostile architecture are present. The debates about the management of homelessness in the city in the 1990s and 2000s were centred on criminalisation and social exclusion within public space (Clarke & Parsell, 2020; Rosenberger, 2020). Rather than care, the emphasis of policy and its implementation was driven by ‘revanchist’ politics aimed at re-territorialising space by authorities through fortified urban landscapes (MacLeod & Ward, 2002). Such politics embedded in the neoliberalisation of the city, initially pioneered in the US, particularly Los Angeles (LA) and New York, before spreading to other cities in the global North. Importantly, Australia and New Zealand adopted revanchist politics only to a limited extent, as there was greater recognition of the need for care in governing homelessness (Clarke et al., 2019). The governance of homelessness within revanchist politics was characterized by various punitive responses and urban design practices focused on spatial exclusion, supported by anti-homeless laws and policies (O’Keeffe, 2025; Popovski & Young, 2023; Starolis, 2020; Young & Petty, 2019).

Anti-homeless laws can be defined as laws that criminalise behaviours associated with being homeless. Examples include laws against sleeping, camping, begging, loitering, or sitting in public spaces. These laws often lack viable alternatives, making compliance virtually impossible for those affected (Skolnik, 2016). Consequently, instead of addressing the root causes of homelessness, they exacerbate the challenges faced by individuals in vulnerable situations. Anti-homeless policies encompass broader strategies adopted by governments that deal with homelessness, such as outreach strategies that focus on enforcement rather than support, e.g., ticketing and fines (Adams, 2014) and public space management that uses banning or ‘cleansing’ homeless people from public, e.g., removing encampments (Goldfischer, 2020). These policies often invoke control under the pretence of security to manage social order in urban environments (Bonnet, 2009). Recent discussions in Queensland indicate that many still view this approach as a viable option.

Surveillance, particularly through CCTV, is frequently employed to regulate city spaces, redefining ‘public’ space as ‘private’ or ‘semi-private’ or ‘quasi-public’ contributing to the broader privatisation of the public domain (Doherty et al., 2008). Additionally, as part of these strategies, instances of ‘hostile design’ or ‘hostile architecture’ are prevalent in urban environments,

intended to discourage certain behaviours – and ultimately banning specific individuals from public spaces (Rosenberger, 2020).

2.3 Infrastructures of Care

The roots of care theorising emerged from early feminist critique by Fisher and Tronto (1990; Tronto, 2010) who sought to problematise care as women's work, and to render care as a worthy and integral focus for the philosophy of a 'good life'. Care, they noticed was the glue of society, but invisible to investigation. Echoing the democratic cries of urban citizenship, recognition of care was and is viewed as a democratising practice.

Fisher and Tronto's (1990, p. 34) seminal definition identified care as:

... a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our world so that we can live it in as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web.

Care permeates everything that we do, and as Tronto (2010) asserts, it is a process, not a product. Care in its composite parts, comprise caring about (paying attention to the world), taking care of (responsibility for care activities), care-giving (maintenance and repair), care-receiving (Fisher & Tronto, 1990), and caring with (Tronto, 2010). 'Caring with' has become a focus in advocating for co-creating care dynamics in which power is more evenly distributed.

Alam and Houston (2020) assert the need for situational, flexible and responsive care that supports equal rights even if there is inequity and an uneven distribution of power. They argue that a feminist ethic of care is essential for developing democratic infrastructures that "form multiple collectives of social relations that serve a diversity of and interests experiences" (Alam & Houston, 2020, p. 3). These forms of care are effective because they shift reproduction of uneven power through relations of care-provision to support 'care with' by supporting engagement and agency by those in need to access resources they need.

Turning the focus to policy, Lancione's (2014, p. 30) examination of the assemblages of care offers some insight into how unintended consequences of policies enacted spatially can contribute to relations of power that affect people in need, resulting in "normative spectacle broadcast every day on the street". Actions like queueing for help produce a particular urban aesthetic that influences self-perception and that of onlookers, supports a stressed or emotionally unpleasant environment, and actions to dissociate or distance from a situation that do not reflect participants' self-images (Lancione, 2014, p. 30).

He (2014, p. 37) identified three key elements that need to be considered by government when designing policy for people experiencing homelessness based:

1. Reframe language and discourse that allows for living with 'dignity and integrity amidst poverty'
2. Support positive, flexible and open relations that avoid codified practices that can complicate or negate the ability to provide care
3. Consider how all other elements (trans-material culture) ameliorate or hinder care such as transit cards, ID cards, waiting rooms, etc.

While the trajectory of inclusion is clear, for organisations to engage in cultural change and implement the advice being proffered, they still need to identify what care means in the context of their strategic and operating objectives, and how they will engage with other stakeholders.

Tronto (2010) suggests that engaging with care requires focusing on needs, which automatically raises questions about:

- Whose needs are to be met by whom?
- Who will determine who needs what?
- What is the role of professionals in determining needs?

Arguably, organisations need to address these questions prior to engaging with their stakeholders to facilitate clarity and communication. Communication has been identified as a central tenet of success. Tronto (2010) asserts that care and its implementation within agencies should:

- emerge from open discussions goals and purpose
- comprise standardised and routinised processes
- recognise the role of and needs of staff in caring roles
- respond to diversity of people and their needs.

Specifically, the focus should be on:

...first, a clear account of power in the care relationship and thus a recognition of the need for a politics of care at every level; second, a way for care to remain particularistic and pluralistic; and third, that care should have clear, defined, acceptable purposes (Tronto, 2010, p. 162)

Care is positioned as both a relational practice and an organisational responsibility. For public agencies, supporting care requires more than adopting inclusive language or changing the practices of individual staff. It also requires clarity about purpose and the creation of institutional arrangements that allow care to respond to different needs. This, in turn, raises the question of how responsibility for care is distributed across the organisations and stakeholders involved.

3 Policy Context

Addressing homelessness in public spaces is a shared responsibility across all levels of government. Under the National Agreement on Social Housing and Homelessness (Department of Social Services, 2024), the Commonwealth places primary responsibility on states and territories for responding to homelessness. To be effective, this responsibility must extend beyond social service and housing departments to include all agencies whose operations intersect with public space, service delivery, and community wellbeing. As a result, departments like TfNSW are well placed to contribute to intergovernmental collaboration with other state agencies.

This approach reflects a broader shift across government agencies towards shared action in areas of intersecting social need. It is reinforced not only by TfNSW's status as a signatory to the *Protocol* (2022), but also by a growing body of federal, state and local policy aimed at enabling inclusive and integrated placemaking in public environments. These initiatives highlight the importance of collaboration beyond traditional service portfolios.

These guidelines fit into a landscape of policies and protocols that address homelessness and transit. Key features in this landscape include intergovernmental strategies, legal obligations, and design frameworks that shape how transport precincts can support PLP. While TfNSW is not a direct service provider, it plays an enabling role through its influence on infrastructure design, operational policy and interagency coordination. The following policies inform how station environments can be planned and managed as places of care, connection and inclusion.

3.1 Intergovernmental responses to homelessness

National, state and local governments share responsibility for addressing homelessness. Their coordinated strategies increasingly recognise train stations and transport precincts as key locations for service access, engagement and care

National Agreement on Social Housing and Homelessness (2024)

Establishes a coordinated approach between federal, state and territory governments to fund and deliver homelessness services and housing initiatives.

Homelessness NSW Strategy 2023–2028 (and Draft 2025–2035 Update)

Outlines actions for early intervention, crisis response and long-term housing, with emphasis on place-based, multi-agency collaboration. A forthcoming update (Draft NSW Homelessness Strategy 2025–2035) expands this approach by linking housing with health, justice, disability and social services to deliver more integrated and system-wide responses (NSW Government, 2024).

City of Sydney Homelessness Action Plan (2020)

Targets local service coordination and public space responses in areas such as Central Station and Wentworth Park, where PLP are frequently present.

Protocol for Homeless People in Public Places (2022)

The protocol and its guide (2024) provide a trauma-informed, person-centred guide for frontline staff such as rail officers, police, and council rangers on appropriate responses when engaging

with people experiencing homelessness. It offers guidance on de-escalation techniques, seeking consent, providing information about local services, and documenting referrals¹.

3.2 Legal and regulatory context for public spaces

Public transport environments are governed by legislation that guides how shared spaces are regulated. These laws influence how agencies manage safety, access and amenity while upholding the rights and dignity of all users.

Law Enforcement (Powers and Responsibilities) Act 2002

Empowers authorised officers to issue “move-on” directions where there are risks of obstruction, harassment or safety issues in public areas.

Summary Offences Act 1988

This prohibits unauthorised camping, obstruction of traffic and offensive conduct in public places; contraventions can attract fines or seizure of property.

Local Government Act 1993

This allows councils to regulate “unauthorised structures” (such as tents or semi-permanent encampments) on public land. Councils typically issue local policies around station forecourts, including signage, impoundment procedures and community safety plans.

Rail Safety (Adoption of National Law) Act 2012

This requires rail operators to maintain safe operations. While not homelessness-specific, stations must manage track trespass, obstruction and passenger safety—which can trigger move-on or referral under the Protocol.

Disability Discrimination Act 1992 & Anti-Discrimination Act 1977 (NSW)

These ensure that outreach and station design comply with accessibility standards and cannot discriminate against anyone on the basis of homelessness or disability status or other protected characteristic.

3.3 Sustainable design and placemaking

TfNSW recognises that transport precincts are not just functional spaces but also civic environments that shape social experience. These frameworks inform the design of places that support mobility, safety and wellbeing for all users, including PLP.

Future Transport Strategy 2056 (2018)

Introduces the “Successful Places” concept, promoting integration of transport and land use to deliver both movement and community outcomes.

Central Precinct Strategic Framework (2021a)

¹ While the original protocol was introduced in 1999, the most recent version was updated and published by the NSW Department of Communities and Justice in June 2022.

Reimagines Central Station as a connected, inclusive and vibrant public precinct that supports diverse users and functions.

Better Placed (2017)

Government Architect NSW's design policy emphasises people-centred design, contextual fit and long-term public value.

Beyond A to B: Urban Design for Public Transport and Precincts (2024a)

Offers guidance on shaping inclusive and responsive transport precincts through principles of place-making, safety and community connection.

Transport Sustainability Plan 2021

Aligns TfNSW's design and planning with broader environmental and social sustainability goals, drawing on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The plan highlights the role of public transport in supporting inclusive access, reducing inequalities and fostering sustainable cities and communities.

3.4 Inclusive and culturally responsive approaches

Inclusive design frameworks guide the creation of environments that meet the needs of all users, particularly women, gender-diverse people, Aboriginal communities and people with disability, who may experience public space differently. These frameworks support a transport system that is accessible, safe and responsive to the needs of diverse users.

NSW Guide to Gender-Inclusive Placemaking (2024d)

Provides actionable strategies to improve safety, inclusion, and comfort for women, girls, and gender-diverse people in public spaces and transport hub precincts.

Safer Cities Program – Great Places Toolkit (2024c)

Includes tools for co-designing welcoming, inclusive, and community-informed public environments, with a focus on enhancing safety in public spaces and transport hubs.

TfNSW Principles and Framework for Aboriginal Engagement (2022)

Supports culturally respectful design and planning through meaningful Aboriginal community engagement, ensuring that transport projects are inclusive and reflective of Aboriginal perspectives.

Disability Inclusion Action Plan 2018–2022

This plan outlines TfNSW's commitment to creating an inclusive transport system that caters to the needs of people with disabilities. It focuses on improving accessibility across various transport modes and infrastructure.

3.5 NSW System Coordination and Outreach Strategies

Intersectoral Homelessness-Health Strategy 2020-2025

Sets shared priorities for improving health outcomes for people experiencing or at risk of homelessness, including integrated care, improved access to primary care, workforce capability and collaborative governance (South Eastern Sydney Local Health District et al., 2020).

Assertive Outreach Practice Guidelines (2021)

Issued by the NSW Department of Communities and Justice, these guidelines support consistent, respectful and coordinated outreach to people sleeping rough, particularly in high-contact public settings such as transport hubs.

3.6 TfNSW Strategic Frameworks

Corporate Plan 2024–25, Beyond A to B (2024a), and Transport Sustainability Plan 2021

These documents reinforce TfNSW's commitments to accessibility, inclusion and safety in transport environments. Framing transport as part of the broader care system allows TfNSW to contribute to place-based strategies that balance mobility with inclusion and safety. This aligns with the NSW Government's broader commitment to interagency collaboration and recognises that complex challenges require coordinated action across organisations.

4 Stakeholder Landscape and Inter-Organisational Care

Facilitating care in complex environments requires collaboration across organisations whose mandates can differ in focus, philosophies, goals, and resources. Whether intentional or reactionary, organisations involved in care as a core or auxiliary purpose, are inextricably drawn into shadow economies of care as formal or informal participants. Effective navigation of participation relies on nurturing effective respectful partnerships. Understanding stakeholder engagement in this context demands a multi-dimensional view, i.e., one that considers roles and responsibilities, influence and function, and strategic and operational value.

This chapter draws on established frameworks from the governance, stakeholder engagement, and collective impact literature to analyse how stakeholders participate in, shape, and are shaped by care systems. It explores how partnerships are formed, relationships are managed, and institutional arrangements either support or constrain care within public infrastructures.

4.1 Shadow Economies of Care and Governance in Transit

While campaigns for re-distributive policy are mounted and debated to create a future urban ideal, PLP require material improvement now. These improvements, however tenuous, are provided through shadow economies of care. Marcuse (2009) indicates that the existence of shadow economies is inherent to urban structures. He (Marcuse, 2009, p. 195) observes there are sectors that are motivated by and operate within a monetised system, but

...rely on solidarity, humanity, the flexing of muscles and the development of creative impulses, for their own safety. They will need to draw resources from the for-profit sector, preferably democratically and openly through government, but their own driving force will be found in general principles that are radically different from those motivating the for-profit economy, and principles that can have increasingly wider visibility and appeal.

These shadow economies function alongside and often within formal public systems, drawing in a wide range of stakeholders whose roles are shaped by mandate, capacity, and context.

Within these shadow markets the boundaries between domestic/community, market and bureaucratic forms of care are transformed by publicly exposing private and institutional activities and combining them through the services that are delivered e.g.: food, clothing, housing assistance. The identification of these domains helps to underscore the significance of this blurring. Domestic and community care, which are usually located within the home and neighbourhood, are characterised by an automatic commitment to help individuals flourish within societal arenas based on a set of shared standards of justice, equality and trust (Fisher & Tronto, 1990). In other words, the non-profit motivations noted by Marcuse.

In contrast, market approaches to care are based on exchange values that determine the care products on offer, including services that were formerly in the domestic or community domain e.g.: aged care (Fisher & Tronto, 1990; Tronto, 2010). Acting as a safety net for market processes, bureaucratic care creates uneven services of assistance for those who are disadvantaged; these are characterised by intra-institutionally standardised and routinised processes e.g.: Medicare or housing subsidies. These two domains are essential for contributing resources into the system.

Train stations bring together intersecting systems of care, where different practices become visible in everyday interactions. These practices – whether structured, incidental, emergent, or regulated – interact within a shared infrastructure that includes people, policies, spaces, and social norms which shape what kinds of care are possible and for whom. This complexity requires governance structures that can support coordination while recognising the multiple ways care is organised, negotiated, and experienced.

4.2 Governing Through Partnerships

The gaping holes between systems are reliant on thinly stretched systems of governance who work within the train stations across the network (Clarke & Parsell, 2020). These systems are valuable for formalising structures of care, governing and monitoring them, as well as providing aim. Conversely, these systems can also subsume care practices into different technologies of containment, punishment and rejection as the work of Clarke and Parsell (2020) demonstrate.

Governance in this context is often not a single authority but a distributed system of overlapping jurisdictions, shared responsibilities, and improvisational routines. Public and private operators, outreach organisations, and passengers all participate in producing or negotiating care.

Scholarly and grey literature indicated that flexible, on-site delivery of outreach social services are integral to successful projects addressing PLP across transport networks. This approach challenges existing regulatory frameworks, market strategies, and the varying roles of public and private spaces within their communities.

As such, governance must not only address formal policy-making but also the material, spatial, and interpersonal arrangements that enable (or constrain) care. Place-based responses, for instance, require deliberate coordination between policy authorities and grassroots providers who operate with different timelines, tools, and epistemologies.

Key recommendations include:

- Developing governance models for care in public spaces and places.
- Supporting partnerships for effective delivery of care services, inclusive of PLP.
- Effectively communicating about the importance of communicating care and associated risks to both government and media.
- Managing conflict by implementing strategies within and across care environments.
- Managing risk by developing protocols to address the inherent unpredictability involved in care.
- Incorporating technologies of care e.g.: CCTV and other supportive design features.

These recommendations highlight the need for collaborative approaches to care in transit, where responsibility is shared and effective support depends on trust, adaptability, and strong relationships.

4.3 Stakeholder Landscape

The stakeholder environment encompasses various groups, including government agencies, non-government organisations, transport staff, and community groups. These stakeholders operate across different levels and geographies, with their roles and relevance shaped by location, jurisdiction and purpose.

Roles and Responsibilities

Stakeholders in complex systems can be meaningfully classified based on their roles and responsibilities, rather than merely by sector or identity. This functional classification enables a more practical understanding of how various actors contribute to system-level outcomes and collaboration.

Drawing on frameworks such as Collective Impact (Kania & Kramer, 2011), Institutional Analysis and Development (Ostrom, 2005), and broader stakeholder engagement models (AccountAbility, 2015; UNEP et al., 2005), stakeholder roles may be grouped as:

Stakeholder roles can be grouped as:

- **Decision-makers:** those responsible for guiding overall vision, strategy, and governance, and for making or influencing funding and policy.
- **Delivery partners:** organisations or groups implementing services on the ground.
- **Backbone or hub:** positions or organisations leading coordination and networking with deep local knowledge.
- **Influencers:** actors with high legitimacy and capacity to shape decisions and discourse.

This typology mirrors systemic governance literature, emphasising interdependencies among actors and the feedback loops between policy, operations, and lived experiences (Ngampravatdee et al., 2023; Salignac et al., 2017).

Influence and function

Stakeholder engagement is not only about being present in a system but also about the nature and scope of influence. The AA1000 Stakeholder Engagement Standard (AccountAbility, 2015) encourages organisations to differentiate stakeholders by their ability to affect outcomes and the legitimacy of their interest. This enables more purposeful and values-aligned engagement. Stakeholders may contribute strategically, operationally or symbolically depending on their proximity to the issue, their expertise, or their relational position within the system (UNEP et al., 2005).

Strategic and operational value

Stakeholder engagement is strengthened through tiered or relational approaches that reflect interest and contribution. According to the Stakeholder Engagement Manual (UNEP et al., 2005), stakeholders may be grouped into four modes of engagement based on their relevance and involvement:

- Collaboration involves stakeholders with both high interest and high value. These relationships are ongoing, reciprocal, and central to decision-making.
- Coordination includes stakeholders with medium to high interest and value. These relationships are structured through regular interaction and shared planning.
- Cooperation refers to stakeholders with moderate value but limited engagement. Involvement is typically occasional or project-specific.
- Co-existence applies to stakeholders with low interest or alignment. Interaction is minimal and largely informational.

This layered model enables more deliberate resource allocation, supports more effective relationship management, and enhances alignment between stakeholder input and system-level goals (Ngampravatdee et al., 2023; AccountAbility, 2015).

4.4 Care Through Stakeholder Relationships

There was a small but useful corpus of scholarly work focusing on stakeholder relationships in the social and public service arenas (Bryson et al., 2023; Cornforth et al., 2014, Salignac et al., 2017) such as health, legal and housing, some of which included a focus on homelessness (Cornes et al., 2014; Fleury et al., 2014; Foley et al., 2023; Macfarlane et al., 2024; Thirkle et al., 2024). This work identified the factors hindering inter-organisational relationships, as well as those supporting effective work and outcomes.

Successful inter-organisational relations within social purpose systems are founded on relationships of trust, faith and commitment that seek to achieve a collective impact. As Salignac et al. (2017, p. 91) explain:

...collective Impact is best conceptualized as a method for network-based collaboration rather than a distinct methodology or philosophy and emphasize the importance of the relational aspects of interorganizational collaboration.

Salignac et al. (2017) identify that a social purpose system comprises multiple players who are addressing wicked problems in which the whole is different to the sum of its parts. Players or stakeholders, hold conflicting views of the problem(s) and solution(s) which affects inter-organisational action. Furthermore, policy constraints and resources change over time with attendant need for new knowledge and behavioural change.

Colvin et al. (2021, p. 629) expands on challenges through their research that identified three key areas that adversely affect inter-organisational collaboration:

- **Process and procedural** issues comprise the costs of organising and logistics, uncertainty for understanding different organisations' services and processes, the organisational bureaucracy that dictates how collaborations can be conducted, staff turnover, and the extent to which information can be shared.
- **Engagement** addresses matters related to communication, negotiating roles and resources, different professional perspectives, different agency goals, developing trust and developing a shared vision.
- **Environmental matters** concern policy changes, inter-organisational competition and complexity.

Ultimately, social problems require solutions broader than project-based approaches and thus require deeper and longer-term ties to overcome issues of coordination, service overlaps and gaps. In the case of transport authorities, however, they are not necessarily considered a natural collaborator in organisational networks assisting people living precariously or addressing homelessness.

Focusing on social ties and patterns of organisational relationships, work by Fleury et al. (2014) and Thirkle et al. (2024) highlighted that service provision for people experiencing homelessness is diverse. Their inter-organisational relationships tend to be ad hoc, with larger multi-services attracting more funding and acting as hubs for smaller and less diverse services. There also

tended to be service clustering e.g.: ties between similar services like accommodation were stronger and contact more frequent than ties with different types of services.

Housing, legal/criminal justice, health, emergency, local government and other services were identified and included, however, informal service provision provided by other public authorities such as libraries and transport authorities were missing (Fleury et al., 2014; Thirkle et al., 2024). This could partly be explained by the ties being studied, much of which is organised by referrals (making and receiving) and more formal service provision (direct delivery, intervention to service users, or receiving of specialist services and/or interventions from other services).

As homelessness is a complex social problem that requires multifaceted attention, homelessness services have continually evolved to be delivered through broad networks of service providers that combine to address the needs of people experiencing homelessness. Such networks tend to bring together government departments and community service agencies to provide assertive outreach support that brings services to locations where people are physically located (Mackie et al., 2019; Parsell & Watts, 2017). Many of these networks have been established as ‘place-based’ initiatives, which are “**intentionally spatially-targeted** policies that ... are **place-sensitive** to local conditions and opportunities, involve **multi-level governance** and focus on **cross-sectoral policy** action” (OECD, 2025, p. 17, emphasis in original).

In the past 15 years, collective impact models have increasingly been utilised to establish collaborative networks of organisations working together to end homelessness, both internationally (Abdel-Samad et al., 2021) and in Australia (Skinner, Tually & Goodwin-Smith, 2022; Westoby & Walsh, 2014) e.g.: City of Melton (Myeza, 2019), Fremantle (Irwin et al., 2021), St Kilda (Middendorp, 2018), Wodonga (Habgood et al., 2021) and the Northern Rivers region (Neale et al., 2012), amongst others (Habgood et al., 2021).

The Advance to Zero methodology is an interagency model aiming to achieve a ‘functional zero’ number of people homeless in a population, which has been implemented in some locations in Australia, known as ‘Zero Projects’ (McMahon & Pattison, 2021). Whilst these projects face challenges such as housing stock availability, worker shortages, and pressured service systems, these models show promise in providing a framework for interagency collaboration to address homelessness within geographic localities (McMahon & Pattison, 2021; Neale et al., 2012). Though transport authorities have not typically been formal partners within these collective impact approaches, there is commentary on the important role that public authorities and public services, such as libraries, can make to such networks of supports (Abdel-Samad et al., 2021; Terrile, 2016).

Australian research highlights the importance of having a network of ‘eyes on the streets’ in locations that PLP frequent, especially for the purposes of updating ‘Known by Name lists’ which assist specialised assertive outreach workers to locate people with no fixed address (Stambe et al., 2024). As Terrile (2016, p. 136) notes, ‘[t]he partners needed for collective impact may not be just the social service providers typically included in homelessness continuums of care’. Therefore, there appears to be a place for transport authorities to formally participate in such collaborative networks, given the importance of train stations as public places that PLP frequent.

Transport authorities need to consider implementing a much more collaborative approach to use of their facilities by people living precariously and their service providers to ensure a more

appropriate level of reciprocity, shared ideas, information and funding for addressing social problems like homelessness (Table 1). While more effort at collaboration is required, cooperation and coordination remain essential as care and design for transport operations, passengers and services supporting people living precariously is expressed at multiple levels.

Operational challenges and opportunities arise for station staff working with passengers, people living precariously who use the site, and service providers. These include tactical matters such as intra- organisational, inter-organisational communications that address recurrent and regular conflicts, as well as more unique and infrequent incidents. In addition, there are strategic considerations such as external policy change e.g.: the NSW Protocol for Homeless People in Public Places, internal policy shifts, as well as executive level imperatives.

Table 1: Nature of Relationship

Relationship	Organisational Objectives	Formality	Time Frame	Resources	Example
<i>Cooperation</i>	Independent	Informal	Shorter	Minimal funding, information sharing, contact	Situational
<i>Coordination</i>	Independent	Semi-Formal	Medium	Shared funding and information	Projects
<i>Collaboration</i>	Interdependent with Mission & tasks beyond orgs	Formal	Longer	Reciprocity, shared ideas, information and funding, frequent contact	Social Problems

(Table based on Salignac et al., 2017, p. 94)

Establishing and nurturing quality relationships for collective impact is determined by supporting structures, processes and environmental factors (Table 2). However, this needs to be directed by an overarching strategic aim, executive leadership from participating organisations and supported by a ‘backbone’ organisation that plays a driving role via administrative duties, coordination, communication and funding opportunities, as well as through local knowledge of issues and programs (Salignac et al., 2017, p.101).

Table 2: Characteristics of Relationships

Characteristic	Description
<i>Structural</i>	Commitment to common mission Governing Structure Ways of working: values, imperatives, target groups, planning Clearly identified roles, responsibilities Evaluation mechanisms.
<i>Procedural</i>	Mechanisms for planning, evaluating, escalating and advocating Open and frequent communication Conflict management Effective, trust-based informal relationships

<i>Authorising environment</i>	Executive buy-in, stakeholder support and resources
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(Table based on Salignac et al., 2017, p. 94; Macfarlane et al., 2024, p. 7)

The literature shows that effective inter-organisational care depends not simply on the number of organisations involved, but on the quality and durability of their relationships. For TfNSW, this means moving beyond ad hoc contact towards clearer roles, regular communication and participation in place-based networks supported by an appropriate coordinating body. Such arrangements would enable more consistent responses while retaining the flexibility required in complex station environments.

5 Care in Place and Inclusive Station Design

Transport environments are not neutral settings. Their physical design, management and everyday operation shape who can access them, how people are treated within them, and whether they support dignity, safety and care. For people experiencing homelessness, features such as shelter, toilets, seating, signage, staff practices and connections to services can determine whether a station functions as a supportive public environment or reinforces exclusion. Understanding care in transit therefore requires attention to both the social relationships through which care is provided and the spatial, material and institutional conditions that enable or constrain it.

5.1 Spaces and Materialities of Care

Concern about the social consequences of how urban spaces are designed and managed has long influenced planning and design scholarship. Earlier research frequently focused on punitive and exclusionary responses to homelessness in public space. From the late 2000s, however, scholars increasingly argued that this emphasis overlooked the diverse spaces in which care is provided by social services and charities (Clope et al., 2007; Johnsen and Fitzpatrick, 2010; DeVerteuil, 2014). This contributed to a broader recognition of care-oriented interventions within urban environments (Clarke and Parsell, 2020).

Research on urban care has examined how care is produced in particular locations, including drop-in centres, households, food cooperatives, parks, libraries and museums (Power and Williams, 2020). These environments have been described as spaces of care. Rather than being defined only by their physical form or formal purpose, spaces of care emerge through relationships and practices between people. Their development and continuation depend on people's willingness to respond to others and on the receptiveness of those involved in these interactions (Conradson, 2003).

Spaces of care can therefore be understood as environments that support caring practices involving both human and non-human entities (Mee, 2009). The physical and material qualities of a place influence how care can be provided, received and experienced. Buildings, public spaces, facilities and other environmental features can support or constrain caring relationships and practices (Conradson, 2003; Milligan, 2003).

This understanding has been extended through the concept of materialities of care, which considers how objects, infrastructure and built environments shape caring practices (Power, 2019). Pavements, strollers, cars, housing and buildings are not simply the background against which care occurs. They can influence or mediate relationships between people and may themselves perform a caring function (Ngurra et al., 2019). Care is also shaped by spatial and temporal conditions and by the values embedded in government, policy and contracts (Power, 2019; Power and Williams, 2020; Power et al., 2022).

Urban care literature has considered a wide range of subjects, including people experiencing homelessness, asylum seekers, social housing tenants, children, artists and environmental advocates. These groups are recognised not only as recipients of care but also as active participants in caregiving relationships (Power and Williams, 2020).

These ideas are directly relevant to transport environments. Stations and interchanges are shaped by physical infrastructure, operational practices, institutional responsibilities and everyday interactions between passengers, staff and people experiencing homelessness. Examining care in transit therefore requires attention to how these elements work together and whether they support or hinder care in practice.

5.2 Care-Oriented Design

Built environments influence not only comfort and wellbeing but also how people are perceived and treated. Montgomery (2013) observed that less pleasant surroundings can cultivate distrust and limit the opportunities available to people associated with them. Environmental quality can therefore shape social interaction as well as individual experience.

A substantial body of research identifies the benefits of exposure to nature for physical and emotional health and for coping with the stressors of urban life (Maas et al., 2009; Khazan, 2015). These effects may be especially significant for people experiencing disadvantage or poor mental health. Roe and Aspinall (2011) found that the restorative effects of nature were greater among people with poorer mental health, while Maas et al. (2006) found that less affluent groups received greater wellbeing benefits from open space than more affluent groups. Weinstein et al. (2015) also linked exposure to nature with stronger community cohesion and reduced crime. Lagune-Reutler et al. (2016) found that seeing mature trees could reduce perceived waiting times.

Together, these studies suggest that environmental quality is not merely an aesthetic consideration. It can affect stress, social relationships and how people experience time in public spaces. Access to nature and other restorative environmental features may therefore help create conditions that are more conducive to care.

These findings raise a further question: what a care-oriented environment should actively provide for people whose relationship to public space is already precarious, a question responses to homelessness address directly.

Drawing on Noddings' (2002) ethics of care, van Leeuwen (2018) argues that responses to homelessness should be organised around several principles:

1. Focus on Needs:
 - Addresses basic human needs beyond temporary shelter.
 - Emphasises the importance of permanent, safe, and dignified housing.
2. Dignity and Identity:
 - Recognition that a stable home is crucial for personal dignity and identity.
 - Emotional stability and self-respect are tied to having a place to call home.
 - A recognition of the centrality of self determination
3. Variety of Housing Solutions:
 - Advocates for diverse housing options, such as communal living that balances privacy with community support.
4. Legitimate Coercion – some coercion may be necessary to:
 - Encourage acceptance of housing options.

- Require community contributions.
 - Mandate treatment for severe mental health issues.
5. Respectful Relationships:
 - Promotes dialogue and respect for individual autonomy, fostering collaborative relationships.
 6. Attentiveness to Individuality:
 - Tailors responses to unique circumstances, avoiding one-size-fits-all solutions.
 7. Building Social Networks:
 - Focuses on re-establishing social connections to combat isolation, with care workers facilitating support.
 8. Non-Stigmatising Engagement:
 - Treats individuals with empathy and dignity, fostering trust through personal interactions.

Davis (2004), writing specifically on architecture for people experiencing homelessness, translates comparable commitments into physical design principles:

1. **Inclusivity:** Creating welcoming spaces for all, including the homeless, with clear navigation and universal design.
2. **Safety and Security:** Prioritising safety with well-lit areas, secure entry points, and crime prevention measures.
3. **Flexibility:** Designing adaptable spaces that meet diverse needs, serving as shelter, dining areas, or resource centers as needed.
4. **Sustainability:** Using sustainable practices like energy efficiency and green spaces for a healthier environment.
5. **Community Integration:** Fostering community engagement through shared spaces and partnerships with local organisations.
6. **Dignity and Privacy:** Providing personal space, privacy features, and hygiene amenities to respect individuals' dignity.
7. **Accessibility to Services:** Ensuring easy access to essential services like healthcare and employment support within or near the designed spaces.

The shift towards care-oriented responses to homelessness reflects growing recognition of the complexity of needs involved (Hurst, Teixeira and Davies, 2025) and highlights the relationship between people and the environments they occupy (Martin et al., 2023). Housing stability is increasingly treated as a foundation for recovery and wellbeing, while the design of the physical environment is understood as part of how care is supported in practice. These principles point towards a more holistic understanding of care in urban contexts, which the following section applies to the context of transit stations (Power, 2019).

5.3 Inclusive Station Design

The care-oriented approach outlined above is closely aligned with inclusive design, which considers how environments can respond to a diverse range of users. In transport settings, inclusive design aims to ensure that people can access, navigate and use stations safely and independently, regardless of age, ability or circumstance. The British Standards Institution (2005)

defines inclusive design as the creation of mainstream products and services that can be used by as many people as reasonably possible without specialised adaptation.

Transport for London (2021) identifies four core components of inclusive design: accessibility, legibility, permeability and wayfinding. Accessibility involves reducing barriers for passengers with mobility limitations and other access needs. Legibility refers to creating environments that are intuitive and easy to understand. Permeability supports clear movement through a station precinct while giving users choice and control over their journey. Wayfinding provides navigational clarity through appropriately placed and understandable information.

Inclusive station design extends beyond individual physical features. UITP (2023) considers the full passenger journey, from station entrances and concourses to ticket gates, corridors, platforms and exits. Examining this journey as a whole helps identify where barriers, congestion or uncertainty may arise and where improvements are needed. It also draws attention to how stations connect with the surrounding urban environment through accessible entrances and well-designed pedestrian routes.

Shelter at station entrances and exits is a simple but important feature, particularly where passengers wait or transfer between transport modes. Awnings and covered canopies provide protection from the weather and can improve the experience of waiting. Temporary installations, such as community art or information stands, may also make waiting areas more engaging and strengthen connections with local organisations, businesses and services.

Toilets are another critical but contested aspect of station inclusivity. Public toilets have historically excluded vulnerable groups, particularly people with disabilities (Price, 2017; Clarkson et al., 2003). Despite being necessary for participation in public life, they can remain sites of stigma and exclusion. Inclusive planning must therefore recognise the diversity of users and address assumptions relating to hygiene, independence and bodily control.

Station operations and management also shape inclusive outcomes. UITP (2023) highlights the role of trained staff in supporting navigation and reducing congestion, particularly around gates, ticket machines and other high-traffic areas. Communication training can help staff assist people with different needs, while pictograms and diagrams can support users who face language or literacy barriers. Multilingual assistance can provide additional support but should complement clear and universally understandable information.

Third-party services can further expand the role of stations and respond to changing user needs. Examples include parcel lockers, co-working facilities, pop-up retail and cultural activities. These services can broaden how stations are used and strengthen their relationship with the surrounding community.

Inclusive design should be embedded from the beginning of the planning process rather than added after a station has been completed. Clarkson et al. (2003) emphasises the value of involving diverse users from the outset. Participation by people with lived experience of disability or marginalisation can reveal barriers and needs that may not be apparent through technical expertise alone. Co-design and user-centred design should therefore continue throughout project development, from initial concepts to delivery and evaluation.

6 Care in Transit Case Studies

There is a significant lack of research on homelessness within public transport settings in Australia, highlighting the importance of this project. While international studies on the topic are scarce, the Australian context remains particularly underserved. Existing research tends to focus on broader aspects of homelessness in public spaces, primarily examining governance approaches, punitive measures, crime and safety, and space management.

One example is the encampment situation on Flinders Street outside Melbourne's central train station in January 2017. The case illustrates the complex interplay between visibility, public perception, and the city's response. The City of Melbourne developed a new Protocol to address rough sleeping in collaboration with Victoria Police and homelessness service providers. Critics argue that the Protocol was intended to regulate the presence and conduct of homeless individuals while maintaining a facade of support, thus essentially strengthening punitive measures and prioritising urban aesthetics over addressing the root causes of homelessness (Young & Petty, 2019).

A similar scenario unfolded in Sydney, where a homeless camp in Martin Place was dismantled in 2017 following the passage of the Sydney Public Reserves (Public Safety) Bill 2017, which granted police additional powers to remove individuals unlawfully occupying public land (Dulaney, 2017).

While studies like Rahaman et al. (2016) assess the design quality of train stations in relation to personal safety using Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles, they do not specifically address homelessness. Their findings indicate that staffed stations have higher safety scores compared to unstaffed ones, suggesting that increasing staff presence and enhancing maintenance are essential for creating safer transit environments.

Additionally, research by Clarke et al. (2019) in Cairns shows that urban surveillance can serve a dual purpose: while it is often associated with punitive measures that exclude marginalised individuals, it can also facilitate access to essential services for homeless people. However, the lack of focused studies on homelessness in public transport settings in Australia remains a critical gap that needs to be addressed.

This review seeks to address this gap by examining a range of case studies, both local and international, that demonstrate how care and coordination can be integrated into transit environments. These examples reflect diverse models, including station-based teams and multi-agency outreach initiatives, highlighting the potential for more integrated responses to homelessness in transport precincts.

6.1 Europe

In recent years, homelessness has become increasingly visible in Europe, partially due to the refugee crisis. More individuals are living precariously in public spaces or on the streets, and an increasing number are relying on emergency accommodations (Leterme & Develtere, 2023). However, research specifically addressing homelessness around public transport in Europe remains scarce, with only a few studies from the early 2010s.

6.1.1 Case study: HOPE in stations (Homeless People in European Train Stations)

The HOPE in Stations project (<https://www.zsi.at/project/hope-in-stations/>), funded through the European Commission and implemented from 2010 to 2012, was one of the first coordinated efforts to improve support for people experiencing homelessness in and around major European train stations. The project operated in five cities: Rome, Paris, Brussels, Berlin and Luxembourg. It aimed to address the role of train stations as places that can function both as temporary refuge and as sites of exclusion

HOPE focused on improving living conditions for homeless individuals who frequented stations, while also promoting cooperation among a diverse group of stakeholders including railway companies, local authorities, NGOs, health services and police. It recognised that train stations are not only transport nodes but also social spaces where vulnerabilities become visible and require structured intervention.

Two core interventions emerged from the project:

- The introduction of a designated reference authority, first piloted at Roma Termini, to serve as a liaison between station operators and local homelessness services. This body helped formalise cooperation, support referrals and clarify roles across sectors.
- A staff training program for railway employees, security teams and commercial tenants to build understanding of homelessness and promote respectful, informed engagement.

At Roma Termini, this model helped stabilise relationships between Trenitalia², NGOs and local service providers. Help desks and shared protocols were established, leading to more consistent coordination of social support on station premises (Kesselring, Bohonnek & Smoliner, 2012).

Evaluation of the HOPE project found that:

- Formal collaboration significantly improved tolerance and responsiveness among station users, shopkeepers and staff.
- Formalising partnerships between railway authorities, NGOs and local service providers was essential for building trust between institutions and ensuring accountability. Rather than relying on informal relationships or personal commitment from individual staff, structured agreements helped clarify roles and supported the consistent delivery of assistance to people experiencing homelessness.
- Balancing compassionate support with public safety was essential. The project showed that effective responses to homelessness in stations required not only social interventions like outreach and care, but also clearly coordinated safety protocols. These included the presence of trained staff, communication between stakeholders, and agreed procedures for managing difficult situations. This dual approach helped ensure that stations remained safe and functional public spaces while also respecting the rights and dignity of people experiencing homelessness (Carminucci, 2011; Kesselring et al., 2012).

² Trenitalia is Italy's primary train operating company, responsible for passenger rail services. It is a subsidiary of Ferrovie dello Stato Italiane (FS Group), the state-owned parent company that oversees national rail infrastructure and transport strategy.

The HOPE initiative marked an important step in redefining the role of European train stations in urban social care and offers a valuable precedent for contemporary efforts to embed support services in transit environments.

6.1.2 Case Study: Roma Termini (Rome, Italy)

This case study is based primarily on fieldwork, including a site visit to Roma Termini and a meeting with a representative from Europe Consulting ONLUS conducted in May 2025 (<https://www.europeconsulting.it/>). Images and notes were taken by one of the team members (M. Szpielewicz) and are supplemented by publicly available sources and service documentation.

Roma Termini is Italy's busiest railway station and one of the largest in Europe, covering approximately 225,000 square metres and serving over 150 million passengers each year across 32 platforms (Grandi Stazioni Rail, n.d.; Rete Ferroviaria Italiana [RFI], n.d.). The station is governed through a shared structure: Rete Ferroviaria Italiana³ manages the infrastructure, while Grandi Stazioni Rail⁴ is responsible for the commercial spaces and public areas.

Within and just outside the station, several services support people experiencing homelessness and marginalisation. Figure 1 shows care and support services in the Roma Termini precinct, including the Help Center within the station premises, Binario 95 on the disused Track 95, and Caritas services located adjacent to the station.

A large proportion of service users are migrants, with some estimates suggesting they account for up to 70% of those accessing support at the station. These include:

- The Help Centre, which provides orientation and assistance in accessing city services
- Binario 95, a day and night facility offering accommodation, social support and reintegration pathways
- Caritas Roma, which offers meals, medical care, and overnight shelter.

³ Rete Ferroviaria Italiana (RFI) is the state-owned company responsible for managing Italy's railway infrastructure, including tracks, stations and signalling systems. It is a subsidiary of Ferrovie dello Stato Italiane (FS Group).

⁴ Grandi Stazioni Rail is a company within the FS Group that manages the commercial and passenger services of Italy's 14 largest railway stations. It leases and oversees public and retail spaces, including Roma Termini.

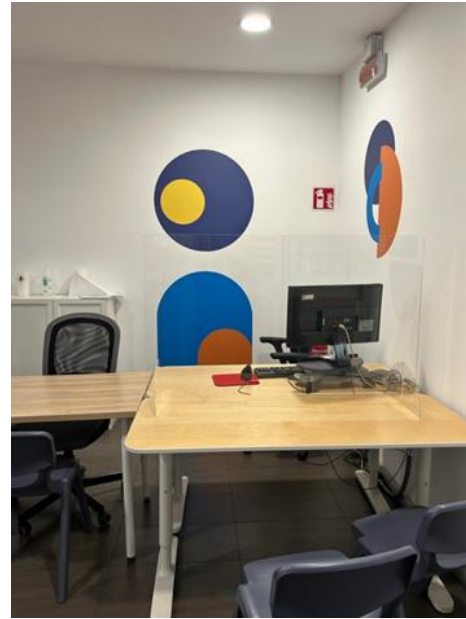


Figure 2: Exterior of the Help Centre at Roma Termini Figure 3: Interior of the Help Centre

In 2016, the installation of ticket gates, repurposing of space for commercial use, and physical changes to the station layout meant that the Help Centre became inaccessible to people without tickets. It was relocated to Via di Porta San Lorenzo 5, on railway-owned land just outside the main passenger areas. While technically still part of the station infrastructure, the new site is less visible and accessible, especially to rough sleepers. This change significantly reduced informal referrals from police and diminished the Help Centre's immediate presence in station life.



Figure 4: Phone charge space in waiting area

Social Secretariat

The Social Secretariat operates as an integral part of the Help Centre, offering personalised assistance to people navigating Italy's often complex administrative systems. This service is especially vital for individuals without identity documents, who are otherwise excluded from public services such as healthcare, housing, and employment.

Support includes helping users obtain ID cards, register with the health system, complete bureaucratic procedures, and attend municipal or immigration appointments. The Social Secretariat is also responsible for identifying the specific needs of each person and connecting them with appropriate city or third-sector services. It continues to operate at the Help Centre's current location and forms the first step in longer-term support pathways coordinated with other services such as Binario 95 (Binario 95, n.d.).

Binario 95: A Bridge Between the Station and Social Reintegration

Shortly after the Help Centre was established, Europe Consulting identified a key challenge: many people experiencing homelessness remained at the station throughout the day due to a lack of alternatives. In response, Binario 95 (<https://www.binario95.it/sostieni-i-nostri-progetti/>) was opened in 2006 near Via Marsala as a day centre to offer a more stable and supportive environment.

By 2009, with the support of additional space provided rent-free by RFI, the service was expanded to include overnight accommodation. This allowed for closer engagement with individuals through continuous, day and night support. Binario 95 today offers a range of integrated services:

- daytime and overnight accommodation, including 11 beds in individual sleeping cubicles,
- showers, laundry facilities, lockers and hot meals,
- social work, psychological counselling, and individualised support plans,
- mental health outreach and activities to promote daily structure and participation.

The service operates under a clear transitional philosophy. It is not a permanent shelter but a 'bridge' between life on the street and longer-term reintegration. Entry is based on individual agreements and behavioural rules, including the requirement that individuals not be under the influence of drugs or alcohol when accessing the facility. These rules are designed to maintain a stable and safe environment for all users.



Figure 5: Outdoor area used for socialising



Figure 6: Registration desk and outside space

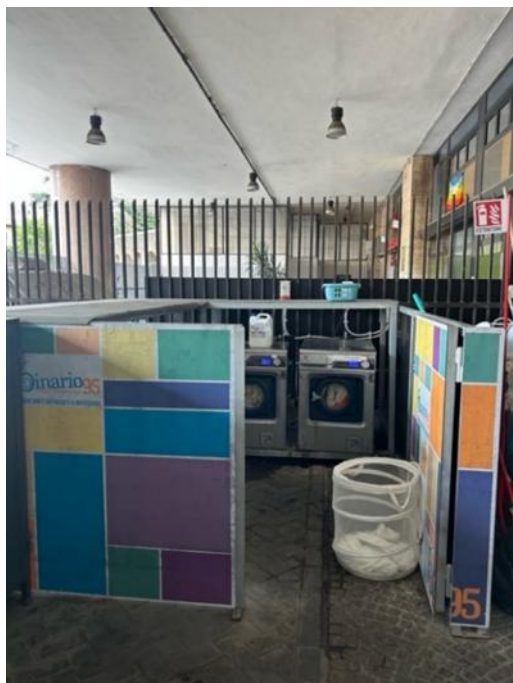


Figure 7: Laundry facilities



Figure 8: Laundry schedule sign



Figure 9: Sleeping area for long-term residents Figure 10: Token operated shower system



Figure 11: Bathroom and shower facilities, with designated space for clothing

binario95 **LE ATTIVITÀ DI BINARIO 95**

Mese: **MAGGIO**

Lunedì Monday	Martedì Tuesday	Mercoledì Wednesday	Giovedì Thursday	Venerdì Friday	Sabato Saturday	Domenica Sunday
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

Figure 12: Activity schedule for residents



Figure 13: Upstairs area with meeting and staff rooms

Since 2022, Binario 95 has included a dedicated mental health programme, Area 95, in collaboration with Caritas Roma. This initiative brings mental health professionals directly into the service, strengthening support for individuals with complex needs (Binario 95, n.d.). Binario 95 has allocated spaces upstairs with rooms and staff spaces, where activities such as psychological consultations and case management take place.

Caritas Roma

Caritas Roma operates a major support hub for people experiencing homelessness just outside Roma Termini, in the Via Marsala area. Its facility offers a range of essential services, including emergency overnight accommodation, meals, and access to basic medical care. The organisation focuses particularly on individuals facing chronic poverty, migration-related vulnerability, and prolonged periods of social exclusion (NZZ, 2022).



At the core of Caritas' operations is the Ostello Don Luigi Di Liegro, a hostel that provides beds, hygiene facilities, and hot meals to those without stable shelter. Staff and volunteers also support guests in accessing longer-term assistance and legal or administrative aid. Located in close proximity to other services like Binario 95 and the Help Centre, Caritas plays a key role in a broader, informal support network surrounding the station (NZZ, 2022).

Figure 14: Caritas Roma at Roma Termini

Integration of services and infrastructure

The model at Roma Termini is built on an inter-agency collaboration between public and non-profit organisations. Railway companies provide rent-free space within or near the station to social organisations, including Caritas and Europe Consulting. The municipality plays a supporting role by offering limited funding and contributing to the coordination of social policy.

Europe Consulting is responsible for running both the Help Centre and Binario 95, which offer practical assistance, case management and reintegration pathways. Caritas complements this work by providing emergency support such as shelter, food and medical care. Financial and in-kind support comes from multiple sources, including:

- Municipality of Rome (public funding and policy coordination)
- State railway companies (providing rent-free space)
- Private grants (e.g., Enel Foundation)
- Other donors (e.g., IKEA, which has provided furnishings, equipment and support for shelters and housing projects at and around the station).

The collaboration between railway authorities, local government and non-governmental organisations represents a shared model of responsibility for addressing homelessness in a major public transit hub. The division of roles allows for flexibility and responsiveness while keeping services embedded in the station environment. Together, these efforts form a coordinated network of station-based services that address basic needs while supporting long-

term reintegration – illustrating how major transit hubs can become spaces of inclusion and care, not just movement.

6.2 Canada

Like Europe, Canada is increasingly adopting outreach-based strategies to respond to homelessness in public transport settings. While transit authorities have traditionally focused on mobility and safety, growing social pressures are prompting a shift toward more holistic approaches that incorporate social and health services. This case study draws on publicly available documents and a stakeholder consultation with TTC representatives in 2024.

6.2.1 Case study: Toronto Transit Commission (TTC)

The Toronto Transit Commission (TTC), Canada's largest transit agency, has become a national leader in addressing homelessness and related challenges on public transport. Recognising the growing presence of individuals using transit as temporary shelter, TTC has expanded its focus to include complex social issues such as mental health and substance use.

In 2023, the TTC introduced a Community Safety, Security and Well-being Plan (<https://www.toronto.ca/community-people/public-safety-alerts/community-safety-wellbeing-programs/community-safety-well-being-plan/>), developed in partnership with the City of Toronto and community organisations. The plan focuses on:

- Enhancing high-visibility staff presence and incident response
- Supporting individuals with complex needs, including people experiencing homelessness
- Coordinating system-wide safety initiatives through community partnerships.

As part of the strategy, TTC is piloting a Multidisciplinary Outreach Team (M-DOT) in collaboration with LOFT Community Services (<https://www.ttc.ca/riding-the-ttc/Updates/TTC-Safety>). M-DOT staff are embedded within the transit system and use a case management approach to connect vulnerable individuals to health, housing, and social services. The pilot has been extended through March 2025 (Toronto Transit Commission, 2023b).

In parallel, TTC continues to evaluate its safety model through training, infrastructure improvements, and data monitoring. A public-facing dashboard tracks key indicators, including wellness checks, incidents, and customer satisfaction (Toronto Transit Commission, 2023a). TTC has also sought international insights by consulting four American transit agencies: New York City Transit, WMATA (Washington DC), BART (San Francisco), and SEPTA (Philadelphia). These discussions highlighted the importance of balanced approaches that prioritise outreach and de-escalation over enforcement.

Collectively, these initiatives mark a shift toward a more compassionate and coordinated model of transit safety, where public transport systems are recognised as important spaces of care and connection.

6.3 United States

Homelessness is a visible and escalating concern across US public transport networks. According to a national survey, 91% of transit agencies identified it as a challenge, with approximately one third of agencies, particularly those operating in large urban systems, considering it a major issue (Boyle, 2016). The COVID-19 pandemic further intensified these pressures, especially in regions already facing chronic housing shortages such as California.

Research from the Institute of Transportation Studies at UCLA, particularly the 2021 report *Homelessness in Transit Environments* (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2021), indicates that the issue is more prevalent in the United States than in Europe. This difference is often attributed to the comparatively stronger social policies and welfare systems in many European countries. The report also emphasises that homelessness in transit environments cannot be addressed by transport agencies alone. Instead, it calls for coordinated outreach involving housing services, health care providers, social support agencies, and transit authorities working in partnership.

In response, two dominant outreach models have emerged:

- Centralised hub-based model: services are clustered in a fixed location, often inside or adjacent to major stations.
- Flexible mobile outreach model: outreach teams move through the transit system, engaging people where they are and offering support in real time.

While neither model can be considered a definitive 'best practice', both approaches align with international literature that emphasises the importance of a caring and coordinated outreach strategy to enhance the public transport environment for everyone, including rough sleepers, transport customers, those living precariously and transport staff (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2021).

6.3.1 Case study: SEPTA – Hub of Hope (Philadelphia)

The Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) operates one of the most well-known examples of a centralised model: the Hub of Hope. Located in Suburban Station, beneath Philadelphia's City Hall, the facility began in 2011 as a small walk-in centre and expanded in 2018 to over 11,000 square feet to accommodate increasing demand (Project HOME, n.d.).

The Hub complements SEPTA's broader system-wide initiative known as SCOPE (<https://www.septa.org/safety/scope/>), which stands for Safety, Cleaning, Ownership, Partnership, and Engagement. This program focuses on improving safety and wellbeing across the transit system by combining outreach, enforcement, cleaning, and customer engagement strategies (SEPTA, 2022). Staffing includes social service and medical personnel. The Hub incorporates principles of trauma-informed care in its approach to service delivery. Annual operating costs are approximately \$1 million, excluding health services, with additional fundraising generating up to \$3.5 million per year. In 2019, the centre recorded over 100,000 visits from approximately 4,000 individuals.

Although the program has significantly improved access to care and stability for many service users, challenges remain. These include difficulty tracking individuals after referral, limited capacity for long-term follow-up, and occasional tensions with nearby businesses and commuters. SEPTA has also identified the need for future design upgrades to better reflect trauma-informed practice.

6.3.2 Case study: LA Metro – Mobile Outreach (Los Angeles)

Los Angeles Metro has taken a different path, focusing on mobile outreach embedded throughout the system. Working with PATH (People Assisting the Homeless) and multiple law enforcement partners, LA Metro deploys outreach teams (<https://www.metro.net/riding/metro-homeless-outreach/>) to high-need locations such as Union Station. Services include engagement, de-escalation, shelter referral, and assistance with transitions into temporary housing. Key partners include:

- PATH, which provides professional outreach and case management staff,
- LAPD's HOPE Teams, LASD's MET teams, and Long Beach Police's QoL teams, which combine public safety with social care,
- LA DOOR and the Dream Centre, which offer supplemental outreach without cost to Metro.

PATH alone dedicates 25 to 35 full-time outreach workers to this program. Funding is provided through a \$4.9 million agreement with the Los Angeles County Department of Health Services. Unlike Philadelphia's model, LA Metro does not operate a fixed facility, instead relying on a system-wide response designed to meet people where they are.

Programs like Operation Shelter the Unsheltered, launched in 2020, have improved service engagement, especially through repeated contact. Ongoing data collection enables LA Metro to assess the comparative success of different programs, with PATH's housing placement outcomes standing out. More recently, LA Metro is also piloting the use of unarmed civilian ambassadors to offer non-confrontational first contact for individuals experiencing homelessness (ABC7 Los Angeles, 2021).

Despite these efforts, there are some challenges that limit the program's impact. A critical shortage of affordable housing across Los Angeles County continues to limit the impact of even the most effective outreach. In addition, inconsistent service hours and staffing difficulties, especially during evening shifts, make it harder to maintain continuous engagement.

These two models reflect a growing awareness across US transit agencies that public transport is not only a site of mobility, but also one of vulnerability and care. By shifting toward collaborative and outreach-oriented strategies, these agencies are beginning to redefine the role of transit spaces in supporting the urban unhoused.

6.4 Australia

In Australia, transport-related homelessness has received comparatively limited attention within public policy or academic research. However, a small number of recent pilot initiatives suggest a growing recognition that transit precincts are important social spaces, particularly in urban and suburban areas where services converge and disadvantage is visible. These programs, often led by local councils or not-for-profit organisations in partnership with transport authorities, reflect a shift away from enforcement-based responses toward place-based, trauma-informed care models.

6.4.1 Case study: Community Connectors (Dandenong Station, Melbourne)

In 2023, Metro Trains Melbourne and SouthEast Community Links (SECL) launched the Community Connectors pilot program at Dandenong Station, a major suburban interchange in

Melbourne's southeast (<https://secl.org.au/wellbeing/communityconnectors/>). The program was designed to address high levels of anti-social behaviour and support individuals in the precinct experiencing complex social challenges including mental health, substance use, housing insecurity, and family violence.

The initiative involved assigning two trained Community Connectors to the station environment during weekday afternoons over a 12-month period. These staff offered immediate support, de-escalation, and referrals to a broad network of local services, while also providing practical aid such as emergency relief, transport cards, and information.

Major outcomes of the pilot included (South East Community Links & Metro Trains Melbourne, 2024):

- Over 3,300 engagements with community members
- 188 referrals to services including mental health, alcohol and other drug (AOD) support, youth housing, and emergency relief
- 54 incidents de-escalated and harm prevented in 49 additional situations, including five involving self-harm
- Flexible casework support provided to 50–60 individuals, with 18 engaging in intensive case management.

The program also included a staff training component for Metro employees, covering topics such as de-escalation techniques, local referral pathways, and understanding the settlement journeys of migrants and refugees. This training aimed to build capacity among frontline staff to respond with greater empathy and cultural awareness.

Evaluation findings noted a general improvement in perceptions of safety at the station. While overall anti-social behaviour incidents declined by 11% during the pilot, reporting of incidents during program hours increased, likely due to higher visibility and earlier intervention. Feedback from passengers, staff, and stakeholders was largely positive, highlighting both the immediate benefits of the program and its potential for adaptation to other high-needs locations (Metro Trains Melbourne, 2024).

Although the program remains limited in scale, the Community Connectors model demonstrates a new approach to integrating social support into public transport ecosystem. Its focus on harm reduction, proactive engagement, and service coordination offers an emerging example of care practice in Australian transit settings. A second Community Connectors program has since been launched at Frankston Station, with similar aims of improving safety and wellbeing through place-based outreach (Metro Trains Melbourne, 2024).

6.4.2 Case Study: Moore Street Accredited Services Site, Perth

This case study is informed by a consultation with staff from the City of Perth, supplemented by publicly available reports and policy documents. While few Australian initiatives operate directly within transport systems, the City of Perth offers an important example of how local government can support coordinated outreach near public transit environments. In 2018, the City launched its Homelessness Outreach Project to address fragmented and unregulated service delivery to people experiencing homelessness. At the time, over 80 groups were providing food, clothing, and other support across the city, often in ad hoc and uncoordinated ways. This created

confusion, duplication, and pressure on public infrastructure and safety services (City of Perth, 2022; Shelter WA, 2023a).

The Moore Street Accredited Services Site (<https://perth.wa.gov.au/community/community-services-and-facilities/homeless-services>), located adjacent to McIver Train Station, operates six days a week including weekday evenings and Sunday mornings. It provides basic amenities and hosts a rotating schedule of accredited providers offering food, health care, clothing, and access to mobile hygiene services. The City of Perth supplies essential infrastructure including lighting, toilets, power, and contracted cleaning and security, creating a safer and more functional environment for service delivery (City of Perth, 2022).

A central feature of the Moore Street model is its formal accreditation system, administered through a public application process. Providers must demonstrate appropriate insurance coverage, risk management practices, and adherence to volunteer conduct standards. This process improves safety, predictability, and accountability for both service users and the broader community (Shelter WA, 2023b; City of Perth, 2022; City of Perth, n.d.).

While not directly integrated with transit authorities or station personnel, the Perth model illustrates how public space management, local government coordination, and investment in basic infrastructure can significantly improve the delivery of care for people experiencing homelessness, particularly in busy areas near major transport hubs. The initiative illustrates the role of urban governance and inter-agency collaboration in supporting care in public space.

6.4.3 Case study: Coordinated outreach at Central Station, Sydney

This case study is informed by a consultation with staff from HOMES NSW and is supported by publicly available resources on the HOST and HART outreach models in inner-city Sydney. Central Station in Sydney is one of the few public transport locations in Australia where outreach to people experiencing homelessness occurs through a coordinated, place-based approach. The site is included within the operational area of the Homelessness Assertive Response Team (HART), a multi-agency collaboration that delivers structured outreach and support across high-priority areas of the inner city.

The HART model brings together partners from Homes NSW, local health services, peer outreach teams, specialist homelessness organisations, and local government. Coordination is supported through recurring patrols, case conferencing, and shared information platforms, with the aim of providing timely and trauma-informed engagement. The Homelessness Outreach Support Team (HOST), operated by Homes NSW, plays a central role in housing access and has been instrumental in initiating engagement at Central Station through informal collaboration with transport staff.

The table below outlines the distinct roles, governance structures, and partnerships of the HOST and HART models, which work alongside each other to support coordinated outreach at Central Station and across other inner-city locations.

Table 3: Summary of HOST and HART outreach models

Model	HOST	HART
Type	Government-led, direct outreach program	Multi-agency coordination model
Governance	Operated by the HOST team within Homes NSW (under DCJ)	Coordinated by a coalition of services including City of Sydney and DCJ
Key Role	Provides direct assertive outreach to rough sleepers, including access to temporary accommodation and support toward housing	Coordinates multi-service outreach activities to improve communication, consistency, and access to services
Established By	NSW Government (in response to the 2017 Martin Place rough sleeping crisis)	Formed by City of Sydney and key service providers in 2015 in response to concentrations of rough sleeping in the inner city
Funding Source	Funded through Homes NSW (DCJ)	No dedicated funding; supported by member organisations with contributions from City of Sydney and DCJ
Key Partners	HOMES NSW staff (inner-city specialist team)	City of Sydney, DCJ, HOST, local health districts, SHS providers (including unfunded services)
Police Involvement	Not a core partner – police attend only in high-risk incidents. Transport-linked patrols (e.g. Central Station) are non-police and led by HOST and health staff	Not a structured partner – police may attend incidentally but are not embedded in HART outreach

Although there is no formal agreement with Transport for NSW, frontline station staff have supported outreach activity at Central through localised coordination and safety planning. The approach prioritises relationship building and voluntary engagement with ongoing opportunities for connection to housing, health care, and social services. While not delivered through a dedicated transport partnership, the work at Central Station illustrates how inter-agency collaboration and operational flexibility can enable consistent care in a major public transport precinct.

This example highlights how HART's site-based model can operate effectively within complex public settings like Central Station, supporting consistent, trauma-informed care in a transport environment. The Central Station response reflects the strengths of the HART model in adapting to specific places of need. It offers a practical example of care-focused outreach embedded within an active transit setting, supported by multi-level partnerships and a collective commitment to reducing rough sleeping (Homelessness NSW, 2017).

Conclusion

This review has shown that transport environments are not only places of movement. They are also public spaces in which people seek shelter, meet basic needs and connect with services and other forms of support. For people experiencing homelessness, access to these spaces is shaped by wider questions of urban citizenship and the right to public space. Design and management practices can support this access, but they can also reinforce exclusion through hostile environments, surveillance and enforcement.

Care provides an alternative framework for understanding the role of transport environments. It directs attention to how people are treated and to the physical and institutional conditions that make supportive responses possible. In this context, care is not limited to direct service provision. It is also expressed through the design of stations, access to facilities, staff practices and the arrangements that allow different organisations to work together.

The policy context places TfNSW within this broader system of care while also defining the limits of its role. TfNSW is not responsible for resolving homelessness or replacing specialist services. It does, however, manage spaces in which people experiencing homelessness and support organisations regularly interact. Its contribution therefore lies in creating conditions that enable respectful engagement, access to support and coordinated responses, while maintaining safe and effective transport operations.

The case studies demonstrate that transport agencies cannot address homelessness in isolation. More developed responses combine transport management with outreach, service access and partnerships across government and community organisations. Although the models vary according to local conditions, they consistently show the value of clearly defined responsibilities, sustained relationships and approaches that move beyond crisis-driven or enforcement-led responses.

Overall, the literature supports an approach in which stations are understood as part of a wider infrastructure of care. For TfNSW, this means considering care within station design and management while strengthening its role within inter-organisational networks. These insights helped shape the broader *Care in Transit* project and highlight the importance of the fieldwork and applied research presented in the Final Report, particularly given the limited Australian literature on homelessness in transport environments.

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