Path Dependence and Social Reciprocity in an Unplanned Neighborhood

Path dependence e rapporti sociali in un quartiere non pianificato

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 # Social reciprocity |
 # Unplanned development |
 # Participatory photography |

 # Reciprocità sociale |
 # Sviluppo non pianificato |
 # Fotografia partecipatoria |

In Pineta Sacchetti, an unplanned neighborhood on Rome's periphery, a unique developmental history has engendered invisible assets of placemaking that allow it to overcome poor physical design. Theoretically speaking, this phenomenon embodies path dependence as a means to social reciprocity. In our research, we initially thought that the neighborhood was unfriendly to children and elders based on its design characteristics, but we then found that a strong social layer compensated for them. In that social layer we uncovered slow flow, shared history, sense of place, and norms of reciprocity as the invisible assets that overcome poor design.

Introduction

Pineta Sacchetti, a Roman postwar community, highlights the promises and pitfalls of an unplanned neighborhood. Using standards outlined by the World Health Organization and UNICEF, we assessed this neighborhoods child and age friendliness. These standards emphasize the importance of physical form and structural accessibility. Being self-built and developed without a central plan, Pineta Sacchetti has many struggles of consistency and quality of its physical environment. Ultimately based on widely accepted standards, this makes it both inaccessible and child and age unfriendly. However, we through our research we found an active social layer that atoned for these

flaws in maintenance and design. Its unique assets of placemaking makes for invisible assets that create a positive feedback loop of social reciprocity. This social layer, in part in spite of and in part because of the physical layer, helps make Pineta Sacchetti a favorable and accessible place to live.

Methodology
To conduct our study of Pineta Sacchetti, our research utilized two primary methods of inquiry: observation and engagement. In studying the physical, demographic, and statistical, we utilized observation data collected through a variety of methods documented below. Similarly, our photo essay, photovoice, questionnaires and intercept interview work were conducted through engagement with the residents of Pineta Sacchetti.

Photo Essay
Through an original photo essay, we sought to visually explore Pineta Sacchetti's identity and accessibility across generations. There is a substantial literature on visual anthropology, whose primary aim is to qualitatively catalog bodily expressions, space in human behavior, and the choreography of culture (Collier 2003). Our research primarily hinges on the second of these, as we investigate the nature of space and neighborhood identity. Alongside intergenerational placemaking and place attachment, neighborhood identity formed the crux of our visual, qualitative research. When conducting a community study, "photographs showing spatial relationships and the visual character of homes offer sociometric understandings, qualifications of affluence and poverty, older areas and new development, and often social subdivisions within a community" (Collier 2003, pp. 235–6). In our case, we sought to assess neighborhood identity formation in public spaces. With this medium, we depicted Pineta Sacchetti's intangibles as experienced by its inhabitants.

Photovoice
Our photovoice research is inspired by Sancar and Severcan's (2010) participatory photography work in the Bodrum peninsula Turkey, and our methodology is resultingly similar to his. After initially contacting the Casa del Parco library, as they provide various services for children, our team was referred to the Scuola Media Sisto IV, where administration and staff were readily willing to help us in our research.

Twenty disposable cameras with 27 photos each were distributed to children at Scuola Media Sisto IV by an instructor. Twenty students across two classes, who all live within Pineta Sacchetti, were asked to participate. Students range from age 11 to age 13. The cameras were accompanied by a worksheet that provided children with structured requirements for the first ten photos on the film roll, which are used in our analysis. The worksheet, which is matched to each camera, provides further prompts for children to identify the locations and subject matter of their photographs. Providing structured photo prompts to participants will give more guidance to student, and produce an outcome that is easier to analyze and compare. These photo prompts draw directly from the participatory photography exercises of Dr. Jon Severcan, as well as international frameworks for child friendly cities.

We accompanied the return of the photographs with a workshop with the students, with conversations to further elicit perceptions of place attachment in the neighborhood. This exercise, accompanied with the workshop, attempts to better illuminate children's territorial ranges, perceptions of historical and cultural sites of significance, and where the children feel safe.

Interviews and Questionnaires
A similar worksheet to that which accompanied the cameras as part of our photovoice exercise was utilized to elicit elder's perceptions of their neighborhood. Created specifically for the members of the local Centro Anziani (Senior Center), we collected 13 responses following a Friday afternoon dance program. Utilizing both on site translation and retroactive translation, these responses were used to further qualitatively inform our engagement with the elderly.

The Physical Layer
The physical profile of Pineta Sacchetti is dominated by features that would prompt an impression of child and age unfriendliness. Many streets have narrow sidewalks, sidewalks on only one side, or no sidewalks at all. There are few public spaces, and the majority of the ones that do exist are institutional buildings, and not fully public. In contrast, since the majority of the traffic is on the outer areas of the neighborhood where the primary roads are, there is less need for sidewalks in the area. Less flow in the core of the neighborhood allows pedestrians to feel safe and converse on street corners.

Fig.2_ *The Photoessay provided narratives about the neighborhood's social character and informed our research design. This tree sits on a property passed down through generations. Photo: Gray Brakke.*

This helps to maintain the strong village-like character described constantly by interviewees and community actors. The interviews we have conducted in the neighborhood have indicated that the neighborhood is in fact quite desirable for children and the elderly. Despite hilly topography, poor transit connectivity, inconsistent streets and sidewalks, and aging housing stock, almost all of Pineta Sacchetti's aging population decide to stay in their homes.

Being self built and developed, Pineta Sacchetti's land use is homogeneously residential. The area of study consists of 0.55 square kilometers, containing 525 lots with over 95 percent of the neighborhood made up of residential or mixed-use housing. Commercial and institutional uses are generally relegated to the periphery represented by pink and orange, with the majority added to the southeast, mid-west regions alongside the retrofitted metro stops. This makes a very visible residential core represented in both dark and light blue with-in the boundaries. In terms of child and age friendliness, these mixed use facilities consist of hairdressers, underground grocery stores, pharmacists, and few cafes and restaurants, meaning most of the amenities necessary to daily life are well within walking range of citizens. As a self built and developed neighborhood, public green space was not given priority within the dense residential core. Other than the large Pineto Regional park shown in green in the far right outside of our research area, the only true public space open continually within our boundaries is the small Piazza Pio IX shown in yellow. It is a small concrete piazza at the heart of a seven road intersection that is regularly occupied by all ages. The institutions in this neighborhood make up for the lack of internal space by having both late closing times and regular activities such as concerts and parties open to all residents. The implications this lack of internal public space would be the inaccessibility of institutions or green space to people living on the far west or south of the boundaries as the park or piazza would require a lot of travel which is

not child or age friendly. But with transportation hubs on the periphery and organic blocks, Pineta Sacchetti has minimal traffic flow that mitigates this inaccessibility by making the sidewalks and streets safe and easy to walk on to access these peripheral public or semi-public spaces.

The Social Layer

One critical invisible asset of Pineta Sacchetti's child and age-friendly social layer was shared history among its inhabitants. Such history endows Pineta Sacchetti with a supportive community and strong institutional structures. These processes have largely occurred as a result of historical path dependence: as Mahoney (2000) notes, path dependence occurs when "an institutional pattern—once adopted—delivers increasing benefits with its continued adoption, and thus over time it becomes more and more difficult to transform the pattern or select previously available options."

Fig.4_ *Pineta Sachetti is characterized by 4-6 story apartment buildings and hilly topography. Photo: Gray Brakke.*

Here the process of path dependence has developed through the aforementioned shared history, which in turn produces place attachment. The place attachment then results in communal and institutional norms of reciprocity. For Pineta Sacchetti, this pattern means that the increasing benefits of retelling a shared history translate into a community and institutions that support the social needs of children and elders. By sharing history, reciprocal interactions are strengthened across social groups and institutions.

This local history gave residents a strong sense of pride and ownership over the neighborhood; two anecdotes from Pineta Sacchetti highlight this point. First, we once encountered one house with a lemon tree in front, and the owner came out to tell us that the tree was planted by her grandfather when he built their house. This story reinforces an intergenerational attachment to the neighborhood and its history, to which many residents are palpably connected as a result of its self-built nature. Second, to protect their regional park, the community had to unite against private developers through the 1970s and 1980s and successfully staved off the threat of development. This shared sense of history provides the neighborhood with strong social reciprocity. This history is even being imparted upon new generations and new inhabitants in the neighborhood, as we found in our photovoice workshop that almost every child was excited to share anecdotes from Pineta Sacchetti's history.

Related to its shared history, another strong invisible asset of Pineta Sacchetti's social layer is a strong sense of place. Placemaking greatly informs Pineta Sacchetti's success through its ability to create place attachment, similarly engendering a strong sense of ownership over the neighborhood. Again, path dependency can be held responsible. As Pineta Sacchetti and its institutions develop as discrete places with discrete identities, residents buy into their ideological power. Mahoney (2000) writes that in this framework,

"once a given institution is contingently selected, the institution will be reinforced through processes of increasing legitimation." In Pineta Sacchetti, the residents collectively selected an institutionalized identity through history and sense of place. This identity is institutionalized through community hubs like the local school and through placemaking initiatives. As revealed by the nodes of activity chosen by children and elders in our research, these institutions and their relationship with sense of place are crucial for the children and elders of Pineta Sacchetti.

Sense of place in Pineta Sacchetti has been reinforced throughout its history and by its institutions. Some important incidences of this sense of place revealing itself have been the renaming of the neighborhood's piazza and the work of a local street art group. The main piazza in Pineta Sacchetti, Piazza Pio IX, only recently acquired its name. Formerly, it was called Piazza di Primavalle, referencing the nearby *borgata* out of which Pineta Sacchetti grew. Collective resident efforts led to its renaming, which attempts to reclaim for Pineta Sacchetti an identity independent of neighboring Primavalle. This new name represents the institutionalization of Pineta Sacchetti's independence and thus the strengthening of its ideological power for its inhabitants, particularly given the importance of the physical space that the name represents. Other elements of the neighborhood that our research uncovered as important were the murals created by local street art group Pinacci Nostri. They were one of the most frequent subjects of the photovoice exercise. Pinacci Nostri attempts to connect the neighborhood with its history through street art, empowering its independent identity and sense of place. In turn, these efforts legitimate the power of Pineta Sacchetti and thus its social cohesion as well.

A final element of Pineta Sacchetti's social layer that we uncovered was its norms of reciprocity. Tying together shared history and sense of place, the social layer of Pineta Sacchetti creates norms of reciprocity among its in-

habitants through path dependence. Norms of reciprocity exhibit a moral code that bind together communities regardless of background, allowing for the initiation of social interactions (Gouldner 1960). Eventually, these norms of reciprocity create iterative behaviors that encourage common property regimes among the inhabitants of Pineta Sacchetti. As a result, they form social bonds that cohere them across generations and provide social supports. These social supports are what contribute to the child and age friendliness of Pineta Sacchetti's social layer. Furthermore, they characterize what many in the neighborhood described as a village-like atmosphere. The fact that Pineta Sacchetti has been able to retain this atmosphere is largely path dependent in that it is based on its founding as a peripheral village of the city.

One of the most common impressions of Pineta Sacchetti that we found was that it was like a small village within the larger city of Rome. Many residents expressed comfort in the neighborhood for precisely this reason. Through its history, Pineta Sacchetti has shifted from a village, to a peripheral area, to being a full part of Rome's urban fabric. Had it not been for these beginnings, the neighborhood would not have developed the strong social layer that it has today. Furthermore, without this strong social layer, it would not be able to develop the institutions and norms of reciprocity that allow it to compensate for poor physical design vis-à-vis child and age friendliness. Indeed, our photovoice workshop with children and questionnaires with elders were a testament to this fact, with most respondents citing it as one of Pineta Sacchetti's most important invisible assets. Essentially, given the neighborhood's poor physical design, Pineta Sacchetti's vulnerable child and elderly populations rely upon its invisible assets created by path dependency and social reciprocity.

Conclusion

Through methods of participatory research, which engaged local institutions and neighborhood residents, we uncovered information about the use and quality of life in the neighborhood that an analysis of its physical features alone would not reveal. This focus on both physical and social conditions is vital to understanding the dynamics of a place that has now grown as the result of a central plan or cohesive design. Slow flow, shared history, sense of place, and norms of reciprocity are the invisible assets that help mitigate and overcome the poor design of the neighborhood. Despite being physically unfriendly to those most vulnerable, these assets and the norms of reciprocity help to reinforce the village mentality and lifestyle that the residents are deeply grateful for. The social layer of this community helps to make Pineta Sacchetti a favorable place to live and age in place. This however, does not mean that design should be discounted or continuously ignored. As the population ages it will be important to both strengthen and reinforce the social and physical layers--and not just the physical as the literature would recommend.

Nodi sociali
1 Scuola Primaria Andrea Baldi
2 Centro Anziani
3 Piazza Pio IX
4 Casa Del Parco

Fig.5_ *Social nodes, identified through Photovoice, interviews and questionnaires, were important to the neighborhood's child and age friendliness.*

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Roma,
Città Universitaria
de La Sapienza,
durante l'evento
"La Sapienza è dei
Piccoli"
Serena Muccitelli

"Epiphanic" peripheries, re-appropriation of the city and dwelling quality

Periferie epifaniche, riappropriazione della città e qualità dell'abitare

@ *Carlo Cellamare* |

Le periferie, e soprattutto quelle romane, sono spesso associate all'idea del degrado. In realtà, la realtà delle periferie è molto più complessa. In primo luogo esistono molte situazioni diverse di periferia. Inoltre è superata la semplice dicotomia centro-periferia e l'idea di Roma come un centro storico circondato da una corona di periferie degradate. Ancor più bisogna discutere l'idea stessa di degrado e la sua associazione automatica alle periferie. Le periferie sono luoghi molto vitali, ricchi di iniziative e di protagonismo sociale, dove il senso di appartenenza può essere molto forte, così come le progettualità e le capacità di autorganizzazione. Sono, allo stesso tempo, laboratori sociali della convivenza e luoghi di produzione culturale. La qualità dell'abitare è qui associata alla qualità delle relazioni sociali. I problemi e i conflitti però non mancano, spesso associati ad una assenza delle istituzioni e della politica. Non bisogna quindi cadere in un "romanticismo" della periferia, quanto lavorare per una valorizzazione delle energie sociali, delle progettualità locali e del protagonismo degli abitanti al fine di superare i grandi problemi ancora esistenti. Questo pone compiti impegnativi all'urbanistica ed un suo ripensamento.

"Epiphanic" peripheries and quality of dwelling

Suburbs, especially in Rome, are generally associated with the idea and the image of deprivation. This is the image that the media communicate the most and that in the collective imagination has become a *cliché*, often exploited for political purposes (in the pejorative meaning of the term). Such image seems to define a living environment where the quality of dwelling is particularly low, especially for those weaker age groups and social situations most in need, such as children, young people, elderly, young mothers and in general parents in the care ages.

This scenario contrasts with some "epiphanies" that may happen to those who get to know the suburbs, in depth, and through fieldwork, as observed by the Cornell University working groups of the Cornell in Rome program. Their work helps to show a different and more complex reality of the Roman suburbs. Events and situations that, in some cases, are reported by media in a surprising tone: people opposing the Corviale building demolition and who are not intending to abandon the neighborhood, the inhabitants of Tor Bella Monaca and surroundings that oppose the master plan for the regeneration of the neighborhood of Major Alemanno, etc.

However, there are facts and situations, perhaps less impressive from the communication point of view, but certainly more important in the life of such neighborhoods, which characterize their everyday life, organization and social relations in ways that could be considered very different from the above mentioned *cliché.*

A few examples, characterized by a strong focus on the quality of living rather than the efficiency of the city, can tell enough. In Borgata Borghesiana and Borgata Finocchio - on the eastern outskirts of Rome (18 km along Casilina Street) - after a long struggle lead by citizens, a great quality public park was built, the *Collina della Pace*, a place very symbolic and well maintained by the inhabitants, which represents the dignity of the area [Fig. 1]. During the summer of 2017, in Tor Bella Monaca, the collaboration within the inhabitants led to the creation of a temporary little swimming pool for the children of the neighborhood. Moreover, in Tor Bella Monaca neighborhood, a group of young mothers managed to activate a recreation center, through squatting and rehabilitating an abandoned little building in a green area. Many others could be examples of the collaborative attitude of the citizens, and of their spirit of coexistence. Particular attention is paid to the dimension of daily life, with a special focus on the younger generations, children and parents, the elderly, the places of care, sociality and leisure time.

Thus, paradoxes arise. Places seemingly "deprived" are actually livable for their inhabitants. In some interviews with residents of Cinquina, a neighborhood that was born illegally in the northern outskirts, it was clear that no one would had left his neighborhood in order to move in the new residential district close to the centrality of Bufalotta *Porta di Roma*. The latter, indeed, is considered unlivable with respect to Cinquina, where the quality of social relations, the sense of belonging, the level of familiarity between the inhabitants and the livability of the spaces is high, despite the shortage of services and equipment, such as green areas. Moreover, the proximity of the mall was awful. [Fig. 2]

Many considerations can be done from such case studies. We will here only mention a few of them, referring to other texts for further discussions (Cellamare, ed., 2016b, Ilardi, Scandurra, eds, 2009, Ferrarotti, Macioti, 2009). Firstly, in Rome (but I think it is valid in general) there is not only one deprived periphery, but many diverse peripheral neighborhoods, from the former illegal settlements to the new "centralities" (planned by the 2008 Masterplan), from the public housing neighborhoods to the bourgeois ones, from the gated communities to the gentrified historical areas, within a panorama that becomes increasingly metropolitan, a "city-territory" (Caudo, 2016; Cellamare, ed., 2016b; Balducci, Fedeli and Curci, eds, 2017; Clough Marinaro, Thomassen, eds, 2014). In this context, the historic center is just a small part of the city. The second observation is that even the most deprived suburbs (such as Tor Bella Monaca) are places of great vitality, rich in human and social resources, initiatives, and projects (Cellamare, ed., 2016a). Indeed, in the Roman panorama (also in comparison the historic center) they are often the most vital places, though problematic.

In many ways, Rome "is" its periphery. Not only for its extension, but also for the vitality and the character of the urban contexts. We must then recognize how the "centre-periphery" dichotomy no longer makes sense, especially if

Fig.3_ *Ex SNIA – Viscosa lake (Prenestina area).* [Credits: Marco Gissara]

associated with a periphery = deprivation equation (Fregolent, ed., 2008; Caudo, 2016; Cellamare, ed., 2016b)

We also recognize a sort of values' overturning, above all with regard to a supposed modernization. For example, some of the fascist historical neighborhoods (named *borgate*, such as Tufello or Primavalle), once considered as an emblem of degradation (indeed its inhabitants did not want to be recognized as such), are currently considered quality places where to live. Therefore, much depends on the urban models of coexistence and dwelling, as well as the value of sociability, social relations, hospitality, etc.. As Cacciari stated (2004), we are often more interested in the dimension of hospitality and of "city as a mother" rather than the efficiency of the urban machine. The importance of these dimensions becomes even stronger when we take a multigenerational planning approach, more careful to the needs of different ages and social conditions (children, youngsters, mothers and parents undergoing care, the elderly, etc.) , but also to the dimension of their cohabitation and therefore to the sense of community and mutual acceptance. Multigenerational planning requires an integrated approach and confirms a strong focus on an often forgotten layer, that of the social dimension (see Warner above, as well as Andriola and Muccitelli in introduction), as stated in many integrated and interdisciplinary approaches to planning (Scandurra, 2007, Sandercock, 1998, 2003).

Multigenerational planning requires the need to build rich and complex living environments from the social and living point of view, contexts favorable to all ages and to social life, with special attention to the organization of daily life. Many suburbs are therefore interesting from this point of view. Firstly, because there may be problems of social disease and therefore they question us about the urgency of intervening. Secondly, because often there are places rich in sociability and attempts to respond, often autonomously, to social needs and the request of community. In this, the suburbs can be

"epiphanic", even if one must always have a critical look in the reading of the processes that go through them.

To deconstruct the idea of degradation
The concept of deprivation should be deconstructed in order to be linked to the values of inhabiting a place. There is no physical decay, which, according to a logic of social Darwinism (or social determinism), is associated with a social and cultural degradation. Physical decay (which may be related to the building or urban scale) can lead to social discomfort, adding other problems, as is the case of some residential public housing neighborhoods. Very often social energies, solidarity and collaboration are committed precisely to contrast this kind of situation.

Dwelling quality and livability depend primarily on other factors, often immaterial, such as the sense of belonging, forms of coexistence, processes of community building, cultural production dynamics, social solidarity and hospitality. Relations among those play a crucial role, as well as the collective construction of a place and forms of self-organization. Not so paradoxically, patterns of living in a neighborhood like Bufalotta Porta di Roma (marked by a poor collective life and the impressive presence of a great mall) appear to be degraded and degrading (Cellamare, 2017a), while the sense of belonging may result extremely strong in other neighborhoods, not well considered, such as Pineta Sacchetti (see Brakke, Visnauskas, Dañobeytia, Blandon, Glasser above). The contemporary architectural design, more conditioned by the market dynamics, seems to support and favor social models based on individualism and social upgrading. On the contrary, a fascist *borgata*, despite its very low architectural and building quality, was designed considering values of coexistence and of a human scale built environment (Villani, 2012; Petaccia, Greco, 2016; Liguori, 2017; Cellamare, 2017b).

Sense of belonging, forms of appropriation and self-organization
Many Roman peripheral neighborhoods are thus characterized by a deep sense of belonging (Cellamare, De Angelis, Ilardi, Scandurra, 2014). A first reason is linked to the long and difficult history that led to their construction, often in the absence of everything and frequently marked by many struggles to be recognized or to get the essential missing services and facilities. Another reason can be found in the citizens' necessity to build their houses by themselves, especially in illegal settlements. For example, those settlements' generation and development represented a real epic for its inhabitants and created a strong connection, especially among the first settlers, who now are the older part of the population. More generally, the big season of the home struggles has indelibly marked many neighborhoods.

The continuing need to cope with a weak public administration still leads to the establishment of a good cooperation attitude within the inhabitants and to a deep sense of belonging. Although this is a substitute function of public administration, and this is a problem, the connection between the citizens is very important. Most part of the green areas of Rome's neighborhoods has been built in this way and they have now become symbols and common spaces of reference and meeting. [Fig. 3]

Beyond particularly important processes, everyday practices are often important in this sense.

The increased number of local committees and associations in Rome is another important indicator that the redevelopment of the living contexts for which the citizens are engaged is another factor that create a sense of belonging, even if limited to some more motivated and involved inhabitants. Recently, we recognize the wide spread of practices and processes of space re-appropriation, not only in Rome and in Italy but also all over the world and in many different forms (Cellamare, Cognetti, eds, 2014; Hou, ed., 2010). Such experiences reveal the desire to restore the meaning of places and of coexistence, beyond the interventions imposed from above or in contrast to the hetero-direct social patterns of living and cohabitation, dictated by modernization and neoliberal logic. So many house squatting experiences (such as the Porto Fluviale settlement) are, in this sense, real cultural and social laboratories of coexistence (Pisano, 2013). [Fig. 4] Rome is a context where forms of appropriation and self-organization are growing and developing continuously (S.M.U.R., 2014).

The traps of a "romanticism" of re-appropriation
A different view of the urban situation together with the awareness of practices and processes qualify city life should not close our eyes on existing problems, nor trigger a sort of "romanticism" of space re-appropriation and of the sense of belonging.

In Rome, degradation has been naturalized; the conditions of degradation (from a physical point of view, services, transport, etc.) are now part of citizens' daily life who have learned to live with these situations and now consider them normal. They have also often experienced the lack of response from public administrations to reporting (even serious) issues or even the impossibility of communicating with them. All this generated a sense of resignation, added to the need to respond independently to existing problems and to the discussed "do-it-yourself city".

There are different kinds of traps hiding in the risk of "romanticism". Firstly, physical degradation and the shortage or lack of facilities and services (from healthcare to school, from social support to transport, from green to public spaces, etc.) are a tangible problem. Inhabitants have learned to live with it and bear it. They have found alternatives. However, it remains a problem that makes places, in some cases, unlivable, especially after the further crisis phase of 2008 (Mantovan, Ostanel, 2015; Fregolent, Savino, eds, 2014; Cipollini, Truglia, 2015).

Some problems, such as housing, are essential for human dignity and people often have to answer to such problems with informal solutions. Squatters use to tell clearly they would have chosen not to occupy if they had a home. Very often, the search for alternative solutions is developed in contrast of institutions (which, conversely, do not seek alternative solutions) and thus adding adverse conditions, risk and discomfort. Secondly, social disadvantage and lack of income lead to painful situations for families and the contrast to criminal behaviors, such as pushing drugs in public spaces, leads to daily struggles (with the risk of suffering violence) with considerable conflicts and high social costs (Caritas Italiana, 2007; Caritas Roma, 2017).

In addition, we have to consider that even in neighborhoods that have seen or still see social activism and forms of cooperation (such as public housing), social solidarity is weakening. When some minimum

comfort conditions are reached or the minimum levels of service are attained, the willingness to collaborate in collective struggles and social solidarity come to an end, especially with the passing of generations. Finally, the sense of belonging is associated with different "public cultures" (Cancellieri, Ostanel, 2014). Social behaviors and attitudes should therefore be carefully evaluated because they respond more and more often to the emergence of neoliberal models, to proprietary and private logics that question the sense of the public interest. When competitiveness prevails to solidarity in the "do-it-yourself" city, who cannot overcome the problems autonomously fall behind (potentially leaving space to the "survival of the fittest" law).

The uncomfortable tasks of urban planning
Urban planning has to face some uncomfortable tasks, perhaps not considered in the traditional approach. Firstly, it is necessary to reframe the city (and its physical space) starting from a reflection (and a public debate) on the patterns of living and on the models of coexistence and urbanity, not simply following the logic of efficiency and modernization (Scandurra, 2016). Secondly, it needs to be considered that physical components (spaces, services, facilities) are not disconnected from the social and cultural components, and therefore that it is necessary to take an interdisciplinary approach (Cognetti, Padovani, 2016; Cellamare, ed., 2016a) and develop an integrated project (that is what many rhetoric on urban regeneration keep repeating). Indeed, often the social and the cultural components are those, which make urban regeneration succeed. Therefore, it is so relevant a special attention to urban practices and the conditions of dwelling in everyday life. It is a central node for a planning that would like to be multigenerational.

Then, it is very important to give value and promote citizens' energies, projects and social protagonism, both to enhance and strengthen the sense of belonging, and because their ideas are often the best ones for the regeneration of the neighborhoods.

Finally, we need to think not only to simple top-down physical interventions, but also to organizing regeneration processes and paths that develop over time and involve people: those are at the same time empowering processes capable of enhancing spaces re-appropriation and of generating collaboration and mutual learning between residents and institutions[1].

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Roma,
*Parco Urbano
del Pineto*
Gray Brakke

TOD: un racconto fra sostenibilità e accessibilità

TOD: a tale between sustainability and accessibility

@ *Nicola Vazzoler* |

 # TOD |
 # Mobilità |
 # Accessibilità |

 # TOD |
 # Transit |
 # Accessibility |

Transit Oriented Development (TOD) is a New Urban approach conceived by Peter Calthorpe and Doug Kelbaugh in the USA in the late twentieth century. In 1993, after the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU), TOD and Traditional Neighbourhood Development (TND) gave rise to New Urbanism (NU). TOD suggests: growth on a regional level through compact development and integrated mobility; concentrated market, residence, work and services near local public transport stops; pedestrian-friendly networks that connect local destinations; diverse housing types; preservation of open spaces; a focus on public spaces; infill and redevelopment along transit corridors within existing neighbourhoods (Dittmar et al. 2004).
This paper outlines a tale about TOD: the historical context, how the model developed by Calthorpe and Kelbaugh works, its features (smart trends and sustainability), and accessibility issues raised by TOD.

TOD è l'acronimo di *Transit Oriented Development*, un approccio *new urban* pensato da Peter Calthorpe e Doug Kelbaugh sul finire del secolo scorso, negli Stati Uniti. Nel 1993, il TOD assieme al *Traditional Neighborhood Development* (TND) da vita al *New Urbanism*[1] (NU), dopo il *Congress for the New Urbanism* (CNU). Il TOD propone di: organizzare la crescita a livello regionale attraverso sviluppi compatti e integrati con la mobilità; concentrare il commercio, la residenza, il lavoro e i servizi nei pressi delle fermate del trasporto pubblico locale (TPL); creare reti di strade pedonali che colleghino direttamente le destinazioni locali; fornire un mix di abitazioni diverse per tipo e costo; conservare lo spazio aperto extraurbano; porre lo spazio pubblico al

1_ *Conosciuto anche come Neotraditional Urbanism.*

PEDESTRIAN POCKET

HOUSING   BACK OFFICE   RETAIL   DAYCARE   OPEN SPACE
1,000 UNITS   425,000 SF   150,000 SF   + FACILITIES   8 ACRES
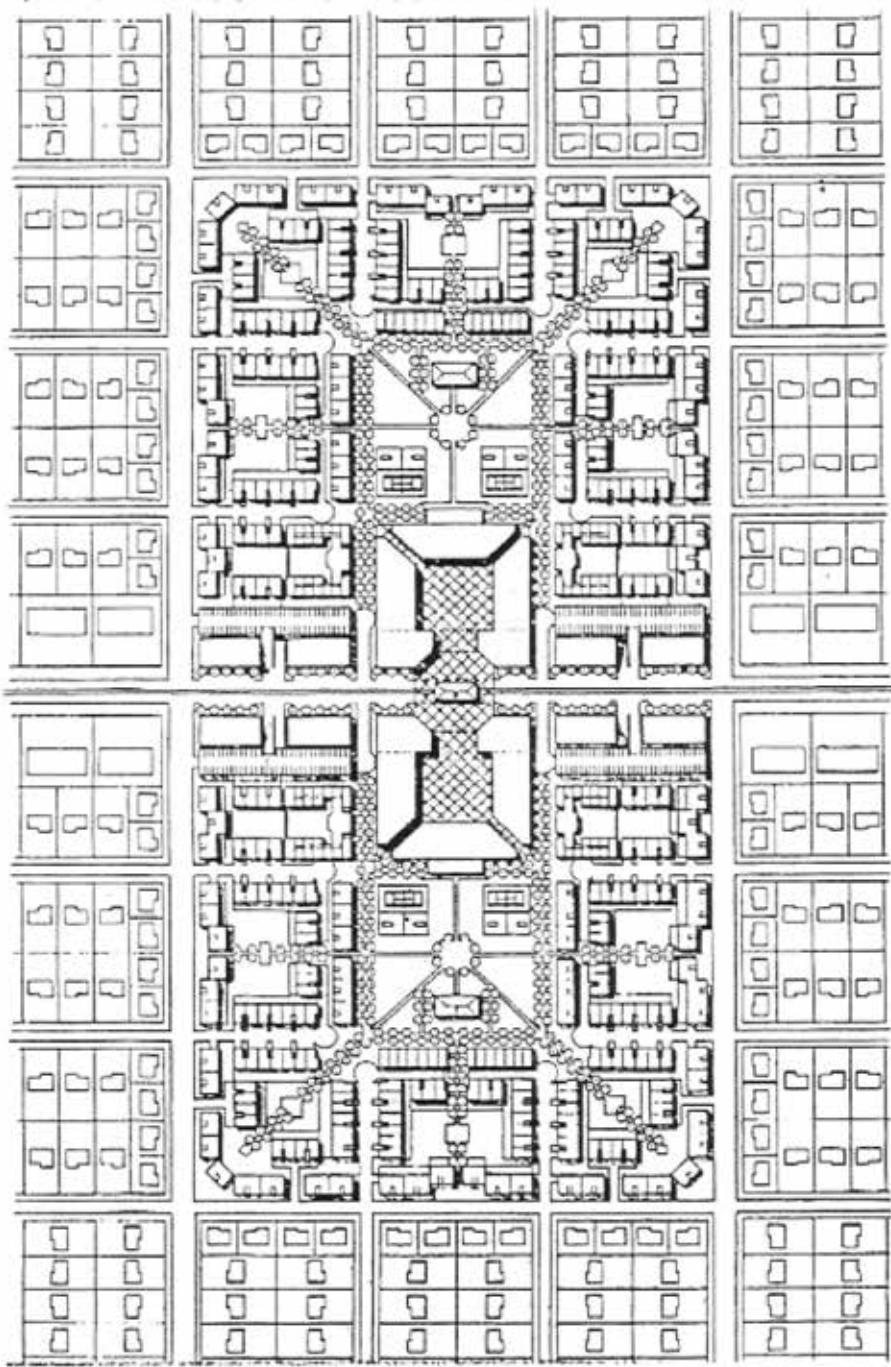
centro del progetto; incoraggiare l'*infill* e la riqualificazione lungo i corridoi di transito entro i quartieri esistenti (Dittmar et al. 2004). Il presente contributo propone un racconto del modello ideato da Calthorpe e Kelbaugh, attraverso un percorso che mette in sequenza: il contesto storico di riferimento, il funzionamento e i caratteri fondativi del TOD (un accenno alle tendenze *smart* e al carattere sostenibile del NU), alcune declinazioni di accessibilità che il TOD suggerisce.

Lo scarto post-moderno

Il pensiero *New Urban*, nato negli anni '80, si presenta con forme e nomi diversi (NU, TND, TOD, *Urban Villages*, *Urban Renaissance*, *Smart Growth*, ecc.), a seconda che ci si trovi su continente europeo o americano, ma in generale si osservano principi progettuali condivisi: una forma urbana compatta, centri e confini ben definiti, varietà nella proposta dei trasporti, un tessuto misto e a grana fine, tipi residenziali diversi, spazi pubblici attraenti e funzionanti e strade che favoriscano l'uso da parte dei pedoni (Grant 2006). L'approccio *New Urban* si è posto in netto contrasto con la produzione urbanistica corrente, poco sostenibile, e con la tradizione modernista che proponeva, in particolare, una netta separazione funzionale e fisica fra le parti.

Per Lyotard (1984) la postmodernità è una condizione culturale che ha accettato il fallimento dei grandi sistemi interpretativi e ha proposto prospettive fra loro eterogenee rinnegando le verità assolute. Entro questa cornice di cambiamento, deviazione, scarto, si sono prodotte dagli anni '50/'60 visioni urbane alternative[2] a quanto fino ad allora adottato, fra queste si ricordano: l'"estetica aperta" del Team10[3] (Ellin 1999) che includeva nella progettazione la prospettiva degli utenti sostenendo un cambio nell'approccio agli studi urbani e bypassando i principi universali proposti nei CIAM (Welter 2005); il "*Movement for the reconstruction of the European city*"[4], componente del neo-razionalismo migrata negli anni '70 in nord Europa (Leon Krier[5] e Maurice Culot fra i più importanti portavoce) per la quale la città preindustriale diventava un modello di resistenza contro i principi della pianificazione funzionalista e un'alternativa al corrente sistema basato sul profitto (Ellin 1999). Le teorie di Krier e Culot diventarono riferimenti del pensiero *New Urban* così come alcune riflessioni sviluppate da Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch e Cristopher Alexander che dagli anni '60 produssero importanti critiche alla produzione edilizia post bellica[6]. In particolare Jane Jacobs, nel suo libro "*Death and Life of Great American Cities*" del 1961, criticava le forme urbane generate dalla pianificazione modernista e sosteneva che la "vitalità urbana" deriva da densità, mix di usi e quartieri diversificati (Grant 2006; Porta 2002).

Tendenze smart

Sul finire degli anni '80 i modelli di sviluppo correnti, che producevano dispersione insediativa, cominciarono a destare preoccupazioni di carattere ambientale. Negli Stati Uniti, dove già dagli anni '70 si cercava una soluzione alla dispersione insediativa (Ingram et al. 2009), si avanzarono ipotesi di sviluppo spaziale più sostenibili. È però con gli anni '90 che qui si affermò lo *Smart Growth* (SG) ovvero un movimento di crescita alternativo (Burchell et al. 2000; Grant 2006; Ingram et al. 2009) in cui progettisti, amministratori, *developers*, ecc. definiscono e promuovono modelli di sviluppo urbani più compatti, una maggiore tutela dell'ambiente e un miglior uso dei mezzi di trasporto, favorendo i pedoni, l'uso di biciclette e mezzi alternativi in opposizione allo *sprawl*.

Lo SG reitera i principi del NU, ponendo però meno attenzione al design (Grant 2006).

Il NU è un movimento di riforma urbana nato da esperienze anni '80 con l'obiettivo di sperimentare una forma di pianificazione e progettazione urbana multi-scalare. Rifacendosi alla città tradizionale, il NU cerca di opporsi allo *zoning* funzionalista e alla proliferazione suburbana (Rispoli 2012; Ellin 1999). TOD e TND sono modelli fondamentali del NU, nello specifico: il TOD concepito da Calthorpe e Kelbaugh lavora a una scala territoriale e intende ridisegnare la dispersione suburbana intervenendo sugli insediamenti esistenti o investendo su nuovi sviluppi lungo le linee di trasporto pubblico al fine di produrre sacche[7] concentrate, ovvero aree a uso misto di densità medio-alta che includono abitazioni a prezzi accessibili e uffici (Ellin 1999; Thomas&Cousin 1996); il TND, di Duany e Plater-Zyberk, è successore della *Neighborhood Unit* formulata nel 1929 da Clarence Perry per il *New York Regional Plan* (Duany&Plater-Zyberk 2011) e promuove insediamenti localizzati, compatti e pedonali di dimensioni finite ispirati ai tessuti urbani prebellici (Ellin 1999; Thomas&Cousins 1996; Neuman 2005). Il CNU del 1993, fra i cui fondatori troviamo anche Duany e Plater-Zyberk, è il principale ente che promuove lo sviluppo di quartieri basati sulla "Carta del CNU" del 1996 e sul "codice urbano" (*Form-based code*) che costituisce l'elemento di raccordo tra scale di progetto (Rispoli 2012). La Carta, al fine di ridurre la congestione del traffico, aumentare l'offerta di alloggi a prezzi accessibili e rallentare lo *sprawl*, sostiene la pianificazione regionale, progetti urbani contestualizzati e mix funzionali. Contemporaneamente fornisce linee guida per il progetto urbano riguardanti la conservazione, la sicurezza stradale, la bioedilizia e il recupero di terreni abbandonati.

Il modello

Il TOD considera quindi le implicazioni della sostenibilità entro una forma urbana che, incorporando elementi teorici provenienti dalla tipicizzazione europea, dal regionalismo critico, dall'*advocacy planning* e dalla consapevolezza ambientale ed energetica, assume le caratteristiche di un quartiere pedonale delimitato, contenuto e vivace (Ellin 1999). La proposta di Calthorpe e Kelbaugh[8] è legata al riconoscimento dei limiti economici e ambientali dei modelli di sviluppo. Calthorpe suggerisce che il TOD può essere una risposta alle trasformazioni di cui è esso stesso espressione, ovvero "*the transformation from the industrial forms of segregation and centralization to the decentralized and integrated forms of the post-industrial era. And perhaps, TOD[9] express the positive environmental and social results of a culture adjusting itself to this new reality*" (Calthorpe 1989, p.356).

Il modello utilizza il sistema di trasporto pubblico (in particolare lo spostamento su metropolitana leggera) come *driver* di sviluppo e su di esso struttura il territorio e i quartieri integrati ad una fermata di trasporto: Calthorpe descrive la sacca "*as a balanced, mixed-use area within a quarter-mile or a five-minute walking radius of a transit station. The functions within this 50- to 100-acre zone include housing, offices, retail, day care, recreation, and park. (…) People have a choice: walk to work or to stores within the TOD[10]; take the light rail to work or to shop at another station; car pool on a dedicated right-of-way; drive on crowded freeways*" (Calthorpe 1989, p.352). L'intento quindi è quello di creare un ambiente di vita che attraverso un mix di usi, che supportano a loro volta una varietà di mezzi di trasporto (piedi, bus, metropolitana leggera, auto – meglio se condivisa - ecc.), offre diverse

7_ Pocket: TOD è conosciuto anche come Pedestrian Pocket.
8_ Come spiegano Dittmar et al. (2004) al TOD viene associata anche la ricerca del Prof. Robert Cervero di Berkeley che si è concentrata sul rapporto tra transito e sviluppo metropolitano sottolineando il rapporto tra la forma urbana e tipo di transito più adatto.
9_ L'autore nel testo parla di PP.
10_ L'autore nel testo parla di PP.ne fra città e campagna.

possibilità di scelta. A una scala più ampia il trasporto pubblico (la metropolitana leggera) non verrebbe più utilizzato per collegare aree a bassa densità abitativa con le aree commerciali del centro ma piuttosto servirebbe per collegare diversi nodi decentralizzati ad alta densità e specializzati. Il traffico pendolare centro-periferia verrebbe spezzato in una moltitudine di movimenti multidirezionali e ridotto nella consistenza perché uffici, negozi, servizi e abitazioni sarebbero concentrati nei pressi delle stazioni. Il TOD lavora lungo le linee di trasporto con nuovi quartieri oppure innestandosi nei sobborghi esistenti, recuperando materiali urbani inutilizzati. Tale revisione dei tessuti urbani alla scala territoriale rientra all'interno di uno schema tipico del NU: il "transetto" che propone l'idea di un gradiente del costruito che va dal più rurale al più urbano e diventa un codice di regolamentazione. Il transetto promuove un modello urbano composto da una sequenza di ambienti abitabili che soddisfano una gamma di bisogni umani. Il riferimento esplicito è il lavoro di Alexander Von Humboldt[11], il *Natural Transect*, una sezione geografica disegnata alla fine del XVIII secolo e che mostra una sequenza di *habitat* dove piante, animali e minerali prosperano in rapporto simbiotico (Duany&Plater-Zyberk 2011)[12].
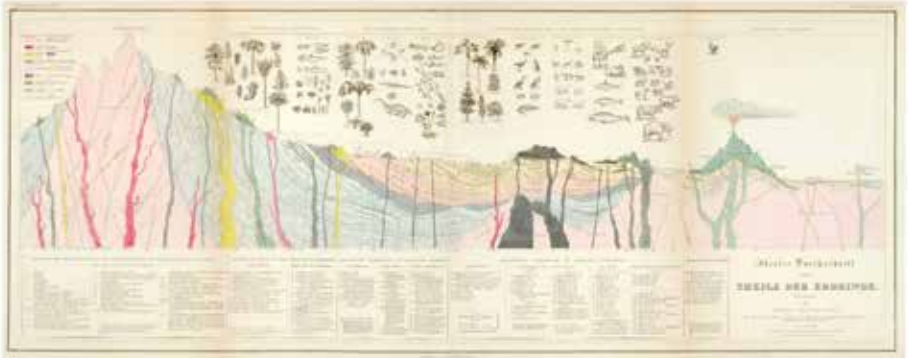
Accessibilità

La descrizione del modello apre al tema accessibilità e che si spinge oltre l'intento di rendere facilmente raggiungibili, a piedi o col trasporto pubblico, le dotazioni e i servizi concentrati in un'area ben definita. È possibile infatti ampliare il ragionamento e abbozzare alcune possibili declinazioni del tema che il modello, così com'è stato descritto dagli autori, suggerisce.

Nel TOD lo spazio pubblico non è più solo il luogo del mezzo privato: "*Mobility and privacy have increasingly displaced the traditional commons, which once provided the connected quality of our towns and cities. Our shared public space has been given over to the car and its accommodation, while our private world has become bloated and isolated. As our private world grows in breadth, our public world becomes more remote and impersonal. As a result, our public world becomes more remote and impersonal*" (Calthorpe 1989, p.356). La diminuzione dell'uso dell'automobile, unita alla volontà di restituire valore urbano allo spazio pubblico, rende lo spazio pubblico fruibile e sicuro perché osservato e vissuto 24 ore su 24. Le strade, per esempio, non sono più solo il luogo dello scorrimento dell'auto ma anche della socializzazione, animate dalle abitazioni e dalle attività. La strada viene progettata quindi attorno al pedone, non vi è più una netta separazione fra luoghi della circolazione e luoghi dello stare, come auspicato invece dalla pianificazione modernista. Un atteggiamento coerente con i principi del NU e con quanto auspicato dai teorici di riferimento, fra i quali Jane Jacobs.

Il TOD intende poi fornire a ciascun tipo di famiglia un'abitazione che soddisfi le singole esigenze a prezzi accessibili: coppie con o senza figli e *single* trovano spazio nelle *townhouses* e nei duplex con giardino e garage inclusi mentre gli anziani in edifici tradizionali a due o tre piani, dotati di spazi privati e comuni, posizionati vicini ai parchi, alle stazioni e ai negozi così da eliminare i problemi di marginalizzazione tipici di queste fasce di età. I diversi tipi edilizi adottati, generalmente bassi e compatti, edificabili secondo le proprie possibilità economiche, sono fra loro mixati e giustapposti ad aree verdi destinate al gioco e all'incontro, le trame dei percorsi pedonali innervano la "tasca". Questo non solo garantisce l'accesso a case appropriate da parte di differenti utenze ma aiuterebbe a reintegrare gruppi sociali e di età marginalizzati

11_ *Il ricorso alle teorie ambientaliste ed ecologiche alle volte sembra essere utile alla sola legittimazione delle scelte teoriche e progettuali (Grant 2006).*

12_ *Interessante osservare come il tema degli ambienti di vita posti in rapporto fra loro, e in sequenza entro una sezione territoriale, non è un tema nuovo nella disciplina urbanistica. Alcuni anni prima il Team10 propone un ragionamento sulle associazioni comunitarie e umane nello spazio e nel tempo, partendo da una reinterpretazione della Valley Section di Patrick Geddes (anche in questo caso lo sguardo si sposta al mondo dell'ecologia). Come suggerisce Welter (2005), quello che Geddes vedeva come un'evoluzione storica delle forme di comunità il Team10 lo interpreta come una contemporanea dispersione di insediamenti umani, ai quali viene sovrapposta la "scala delle associazioni" un diagramma concettuale che mette in relazione le diverse parti sparse sul territorio: tutto è parte di una struttura, anche le piccole comunità.*

RURAL | | | | | | | | | TRANSECT | | | | | | | | | URBAN

| T1 NATURAL ZONE | T2 RURAL ZONE | T3 SUB-URBAN ZONE | T4 GENERAL URBAN ZONE | T5 URBAN CENTER | T6 URBAN CORE ZONE | SD SPECIAL DISTRICT |

ISOLATE VILLAGE TOWN CITY TOWN VILLAGE ISOLATE

SCALE OF ASSOCIATION

4 3 2 1 2 3 4

FIELD
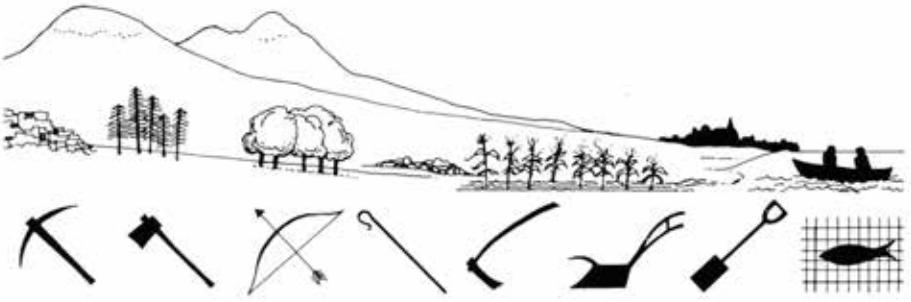
(Calthorpe 1989). Il TOD quindi include nella progettazione il mixaggio so-
ciale (proponendo tipologie abitative di diverso tipo e a prezzi diversi) ma
anche aspetti generazionali dedicando parte del ragionamento alle necessità
delle fasce di età più avanzante per limitare processi di esclusione (come si
muovono e di che cosa hanno bisogno?).

Per David Harvey (2010) la cultura postmoderna vede la città come frammen-
tata, un *collage* di forme del passato e del presente sul quale sembra essere
sfuggito il controllo. Alla pianificazione sembra essere preferito il disegno
urbano. Il TOD propone, invece, alla scala territoriale uno sguardo sistemati-
co, non si concentra cioè solo sul singolo quartiere ma cerca di ristabilire un
"ordine" a livello metropolitano. Infatti il modello è destinato a formare una
rete i cui nodi, le sacche, variano notevolmente fra loro in base ai diversi con-
testi in cui vengono applicati e all'offerta proposta (alcuni nodi potrebbero
fornire centri commerciali, altri centri culturali, ecc.). L'aspetto interessante
è che i nodi sono connessi fra loro da aste di mobilità che permettono agli
utenti un facile accesso a risorse di portata sovralocale sparse sul territo-
rio, anche a distanze notevoli. Il TOD inoltre, sembra appropriarsi del *collage*
postmoderno e, intervenendo sull'esistente, mette a sistema anche i centri
urbani maggiori, il patrimonio e le aree destinate a uffici o al commercio
esistenti, garantendo l'accesso alla rete anche a quella fetta di popolazione
residente nello *sprawl* e non a stretto contatto con i nuovi quartieri.

Applicazione?
Il TOD nasce quindi con l'intento di superare l'approccio funzionalista e le
patologie determinate dai modelli di urbanizzazione che hanno generato lo
sprawl[13]. Calthorpe e Kelbaugh, come visto, avanzano un modello che può
essere descritto attraverso alcune declinazioni di accessibilità: alle dotazioni
e ai servizi, facilmente raggiungibili a piedi o con il TPL; allo spazio pubblico,
una riconquista della strada urbana; alla casa, una reintegrazione dei grup-
pi sociali svantaggiati; alla città, una messa a sistema dell'area metropolita-
na. Il TOD va applicato ex novo (più impegnativo perché secondo gli autori
poco sostenibile economicamente, Calthorpe 1989) o adattato all'esistente.
Quest'ultimo approccio comporta la predisposizione di un progetto urbano,
integrato con una strategia di mobilità più ampia, che metta in campo di-
versi strumenti. Il modello TOD non si materializza solo per l'aderenza di un
quartiere ad un nodo dei trasporti. Il modello andrebbe governato da attori
pubblici e privati che lo sostengono con politiche e progettualità utili a: favo-
rire il trasporto pubblico e limitare l'uso del mezzo privato, eliminando così
le congestioni del traffico; produrre mixaggio sociale, salvaguardando così le
fasce più deboli dall'espulsione; produrre mix funzionale favorendo deter-
minati servizi rispetto ad altri; pensare, progettare e manutenere uno spazio
pubblico che permetta la socializzazione; ecc. Quindi affinché l'adattamento
funzioni, o ancor prima prenda avvio, vi è la necessità di una condivisione di
strategie, obiettivi e progettualità a più livelli, anche fra i cittadini. E proprio
nel recupero (inteso sia come riciclo di aree abbandonate sia come ripensa-
mento di quartieri abitati, siano essi parte dello *sprawl* che del centro con-
solidato) che il TOD potrebbe abbandonare i formalismi *new urban* per con-
frontarsi con le diverse condizioni contestuali (fisiche, sociali e ambientali).
Con un processo di adattamento alle singole resistenze locali il modello as-
sume caratteristiche processuali, progettuali e formali diverse e conduce ad
una contaminazione degli stili di vita esistenti (fra cui quelli sostenuti dalla di-
spersione insediativa) piuttosto che ad una loro sostituzione / eliminazione.

Fig.2_ *Confronti, dall'alto:
un esempio di "Natural
Transect", concepito per la
prima volta da Alexander Von
Humboldt nel '700 (fonte:
pinterest); il "Urban to Rural
Transect" di Duany A. e
Plater-Zyberk (http://www.
dpz.com); la Valley Section
di Patrick Geddes (https://
transect.org/natural_img.
html); "Scale of Association"
del Team10 (http://www.
team10online.org/team10/
text/doorn-manifesto.htm).*

13_ *In questo senso il temine
urbanism presente nel mo-
vimento di riforma urbana
entro il quale il TOD ricade,
il NU, mostra la particolare
attenzione che gli studi urba-
ni e la pratica hanno comin-
ciato a mostrare riguardo alla
dispersione insediativa. "Non
sembra un caso, allora, che il
diffondersi del termine urba-
nism in paesi anglofoni, dove
ci si è tradizionalmente riferiti
a questo genere di pratiche
con le parole design (urban,
city design) e planning (city,
town, urban, regional, spatial
planning), sia concomitante
con l'affermarsi della preoc-
cupazione per lo sprawl e con
la proliferazione degli studi
sui suoi effetti e le sue cause"
(Gabellini 2010; p.54).*

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Living Next to a Transit Node: A Livability Audit of Age-Friendliness

Abitare vicino a un nodo di trasporto: valutare la qualità della vita per bambini e anziani

@ Madeleine Galvin |

This article seeks to determine how proximity to a major transit node affects livability for residents, especially children and elders. The results of this neighborhood analysis are relevant for planners interested in how Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) might impact neighborhoods, and how local communities might be safeguarded by good design and effective policy. This research attempts a holistic examination of a portion of the San Giovanni neighborhood of Rome by comparing two of its areas. A livability audit was used to judge these areas based on their physical quality and has indicated two main results: proximity to a major transit node jeopardizes livability for children and elders, and primarily benefits the active population, as well as those transiting through the neighborhood. Results from this neighborhood analysis are of interest due to the recent opening of the San Giovanni stop on the Metro C Line, and the expected increase in connectivity that will result from this extension. San Giovanni illustrates the promises and pitfalls of TOD, as its successful spaces are able to balance strong neighborhood communities in addition to hosting important transit infrastructure and citywide services. On the other hand, the neighborhood's failed spaces indicate what can go wrong when this balance is not found.

Introduction

San Giovanni is a dense, connected, central Roman neighborhood that has a number of characteristics of a Transit-Oriented Development, even though it was not originally designed to be a major transit node. As a result of these characteristics, the neighborhood experiences both the positive and negative effects that can arise from this type of development, as it is extremely well connected, but doesn't necessarily cater to the needs of its elderly and youth populations. In the effort to plan for a wide range of ages, it is important to explore how and why a Transit-Oriented Development could negatively impact a community, which is what this article seeks to achieve.

Conceptual Framework

Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) aims to maximize access to public transportation, create vibrant communities, and reduce automobile dependency (Dittmar & Ohland 2004). Often, TODs fail to satisfy all of these objectives, negatively affecting quality of life in a neighborhood. These shortfalls directly impact children and elders, as TOD often favors commuters of working age (Cervero 2004). This article explores how the negative impacts of TOD on a community can be mitigated.

Deni Ruggeri's *Field Audit for Measuring Livability* (2015) was used to investigate the impacts of TOD on this neighborhood. Issues of congestion and pollution, maintenance of public space, and presence of community services were identified as the most salient differences between the two areas. These findings were later confirmed in interviews with over twenty-five residents.

Lynch maps (1960) were used to determine the territorial range of the residents interviewed. This provided information on the mobility of differently aged residents, the presence or lack of quality services within the local area, and the role of transportation in accessing these services. These characteristics are direct features of livability, as mobility is often a result of physical characteristics, such as unbroken sidewalks and adequate crosswalks (Rosenberg et al. 2013), while services are often responsible for giving a neighborhood character and vibrancy.

San Giovanni History and Statistical Background

San Giovanni is just outside of the Aurelian Walls, to the southeast of the historical center. It was originally planned in the 1909 *Piano Regolatore di Roma*, which gave it some of its original residential character. In the 1962 master plan, the city was laid out in an intensely developed transit network that created eighteen different centers around Rome (Morassut 2005). For its infrastructural characteristics and its central location, during the remainder of the 20th century, the neighborhood was overlaid with over nine different bus lines, as well as an extension of the Metro Line A, which transformed San Giovanni into one of these centers. These transit developments have changed the nature of the neighborhood and created a significant node of connectivity at the Porta San Giovanni. Thousands of people pass through this node every day to get from the Roman periphery to the city center, creating a large influx of transient users to San Giovanni. As mentioned above, this neighborhood analysis is comprised of two study areas; a primary area that is adjacent to a transit node, and a secondary area that is further away, providing a basis for comparison. These areas have a much higher population density than the city itself, with an average of 20,910 residents per square kilometer in 2011 compared to an average 2,032/km^2 for the entire city. In addition, these areas have experienced much quicker population growth, averaging 4.8% in the 2011 ISTAT data, while the city grew comparatively slowly at 2.8%. The dense and fast-growing population of San Giovanni is primarily concentrated along Via Gallia, a bustling hub of commercial activity connecting the two areas.

The eastern edge of the study area, which is formed by the Via Magnagrecia, connects to two high volume arterial roads in the southwest, the Cristoforo Colombo and Marco Polo, and the Via Prenestina to the east. As such, this edge has become a highway in disguise; it diagonally links these auto arteries and creates issues of heavy traffic in the neighborhood.
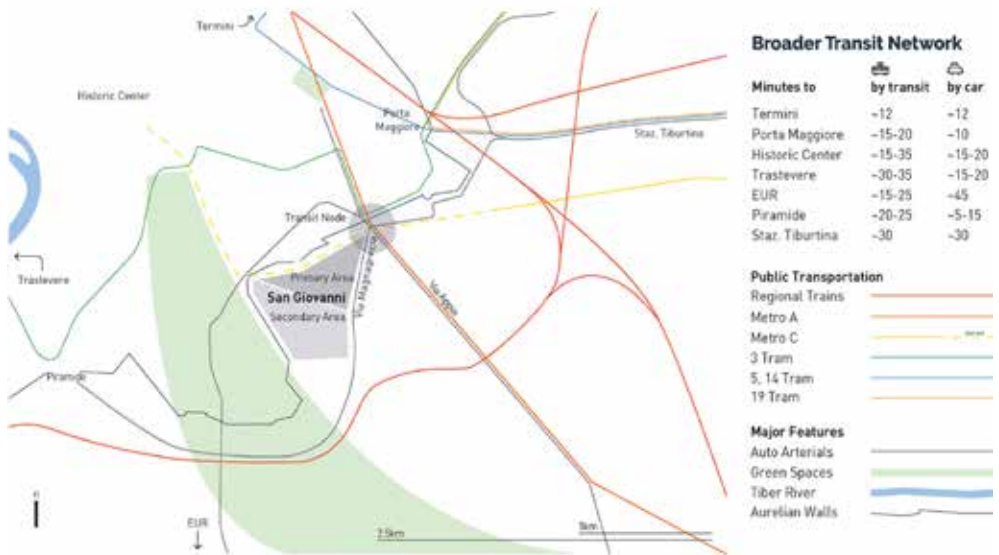
Broader Transit Network

Minutes to	by transit	by car
Termini	~12	~12
Porta Maggiore	~15-20	~10
Historic Center	~15-35	~15-20
Trastevere	~30-35	~15-20
EUR	~15-25	~45
Piramide	~20-25	~5-15
Staz. Tiburtina	~30	~30

Public Transportation
Regional Trains
Metro A
Metro C
3 Tram
5, 14 Tram
19 Tram

Major Features
Auto Arterials
Green Spaces
Tiber River
Aurelian Walls

Methodology
This analysis was conducted in three overarching steps. The first consisted of research on San Giovanni's origins, planning, and development to understand the neighborhood as it is today. This included an assessment of its physical character and a walkability survey of its sidewalks and intersections, as well as historical research, all done in February 2017.

The next portion of the analysis consisted of a service inventory. Data for this was collected from Google Earth and the Roma Capitale website. On-site research and interviews with residents and shopkeepers helped revise and substantiate this data. Individual services were then mapped based on their target audience, which was either community members or transient users. Interviews took place over the span of March and April of 2017.

Finally, the livability audit, Lynch maps, and resident interviews were used to determine how livability of an area impacts children and elders' patterns of movement in their neighborhood and come to conclusions about how transit developments have impacted the San Giovanni community.

Livability Audit
In conducting the livability audit (Ruggeri 2015), the twenty-eight questions were answered at ten different places in the neighborhood, five in the primary area and five in the secondary area. These questions were divided into six different categories that reflected the physical quality of the neighborhood. The places for the audit were chosen to parallel each other in both areas to provide the most accurate possible results. The specific spaces audited were piazzas, residential intersections, schools, main transit streets, and markets. Averages for both the primary and secondary areas and the total possible livability scores were calculated.

Quality	Score	Total Possible Score
Imageability	1.68	4
Transparency	1.7	3
Enclosure	1.45	4
Human Experience	1.3	4
Vitality	1	2 2/3
Connectivity	0.533	2 2/3

Livability audit results for the primary area of San Giovanni

Quality	Score	Total Possible Score
Imageability	2.14	4
Transparency	2.15	3
Enclosure	1.45	4
Human Experience	1.65	4
Vitality	1.33	2 2/3
Connectivity	0.733	2 2/3

Livability audit results for the secondary area of San Giovanni

The most prominent result is that across five of the six categories analyzed, the livability of the secondary area is higher than that of the primary. While the built form is similar across the two areas, there was a greater sense of safety, maintenance, and "eyes on the street" in the secondary area of San Giovanni. For children and elders, this is particularly indicative of their comfort level in the public spaces of their neighborhood. In addition, the quantity of street-based social and commercial interaction was much greater in the secondary area. The livability of the primary area was greatly affected by the poor maintenance of their only designated public space. This has caused the space to often be empty, or only used for unsavory activities.

Over twenty-five interviews were conducted with residents, local shop own-

ers, and community leaders to get their insights on San Giovanni. From these interviews, a variety of themes became apparent. These can be divided into congestion, maintenance of public space, and a shift in community services.

Congestion

Traffic was by far the most commonly mentioned issue in the interviews. Generally, this subject came up when asked if residents liked their neighborhood or thought that anything needed to change. Most people were happy with their neighborhood and described it as tranquil, but disliked the heavy flow of traffic, particularly at intersections and along the Via Magna Grecia. Some elderly residents expressed their desire to take the bus, but they said it would be too slow given the amount of traffic on the major roads that the buses often take.

Heavy traffic also tends to reduce the mobility of children and elders more than other age groups. In a study by Giles-Corti et al, it was found that congestion and a lack of intersections impacted whether children felt safe and comfortable walking to school on their own, even when the school was in their own neighborhood (2010). This is particularly significant in the primary area, which is bounded by several heavy traffic corridors. These have also negatively impacted the air quality around the Via Magna Grecia. Smog in the area is bad for families with young children, and is often most pronounced during the mornings and late afternoons when people are commuting to work by car.

Public Space

Public space has been found to be instrumental in creating strong communities because if it is maintained well, it can increase the frequency of human interaction and provide residents with a common gathering space (Pretty et al. 2003). There is a definite lack of public space in the primary area of the San Giovanni neighborhood, due primarily to the construction of the Metro

Line C along the Aurelian Walls. This construction has overwhelmed the area, causing a build-up of trash around its edges, which used to be green spaces. The one public space that remains is poorly maintained and usually full of trash and broken bottles.

In contrast, the secondary area has a well-kept public space along the Aurelian Walls that provides an engaging outdoors environment for people of all ages. This is a result of the work of a community-based group, the *Comitato Mura Latine*, which has protected and advocated for this space. In addition, the *Comitato* has improved the quality of the sidewalk space by implementing a program with local schools in the secondary area to create murals for the exterior of the community market. This has brought art to the streets of the neighborhood and has created a desirable space for public interaction.

Fig.4_ *Services Map of San Giovanni, map made by Brooke Shin.*

Shift in Community Services

The mental and physical health of elders is dependent on their ability to participate in social, economic and civic affairs (WHO 2002). Elders, who generally have more limited mobility, must rely on their neighborhood to provide opportunities for this type of inclusion. The primary area of San Giovanni lacks spaces in which elders can meet informally to receive the social benefits that they need. Longstanding services that have provided this opportunity for social interaction, such as community markets, are swiftly being taken over by commercial enterprises, such as B&Bs, hotels, and clothing shops. This is due to the primary area's proximity to the transit node at the Porta San Giovanni, which has attracted numbers of transient people, such as tourists and commuters, and increased the demand for commercial services, which often do not satisfy the needs of the child and elderly residents.

Conclusion

The primary area's proximity to the transit node at the Porta San Giovanni has had detrimental effects upon the surrounding community. Residents and users of this area have expressed on multiple occasions their desire for certain transit-related aspects of the community to change. Their testimonies aligned with the physical assessment of the livability audit. The three recurring and most detrimental themes that became apparent during the analysis include congestion, maintenance of public space and a shift in the service mix. City planners must actively work to counteract these issues with more efficient design and policy changes. The concentration of traffic on high-volume corridors, such as the Via Magnagrecia, should be addressed with more a strategic distribution of the public transit load by way of dedicated bus lanes. Community organizations that have shown their dedication and effectivity, such as the Comitato Mura Latine, should be allowed to host events that strengthen the community, as well as implement larger infra-

structure that increases the quality of the park. In addition, the municipality can augment community service provision by providing rent-free space for neighborhood events. Although this might decrease municipal revenue at first, this investment in children and the community will pay off in the long-term. While these policy measures have significant and complex considerations, they have potential to ameliorate the consequences of transit proximity that severely decrease neighborhood livability for children and elders. The short-term challenges of implementing these suggestions can be significant, but the potential repercussions of inaction on behalf of these vulnerable populations are far more severe.

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Roma,
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Exercising the 'Right to Tufello' by Local Institutional Actors

Esercitare il "Diritto al Tufello"

@ *Tishya Rao* |
@ *Ehab Ebeid* |
@ *Graham Murphy* |
@ *Edna Samron* |

Right to the city |
Local institutions |
"Cross-boundary"
collaboration |

Diritto alla città |
Istituzioni locali |
Collaborazione
"cross-boundary" |

This paper explores the role of local institutions and grassroots efforts in practicing the 'Right to the City' in the low-income, public housing neighborhood of Tufello, Rome. Four local institutions and their work are explored - Ennio Flaiano Library, Defrag, Tufello Market and Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano- using interviews with their enthusiastic employees and volunteers. It tries to understand their strategy of achieving the 'right to Tufello' and in creating a stronger and more inclusive community for its residents, particularly children and the elderly. It is argued that these grassroots efforts would not be as successful without the legal recognition of these institutions and the assistance by city authorities in combating socio-economic issues like poverty, drugs and crime. Therefore, these urban spaces are defined as "invited spaces" instead of "invented spaces" because of its successful establishment through "cross-boundary" collaboration.

Introduction

The 'Right to the City' is a concept frequently invoked and championed in policy circles today. It describes the collective right of city dwellers to influence urban processes and reshape their city and was first conceived by Henri Lefebvre, who is thought to be the progenitor of the idea (Purcell, 2014). Purcell outlines varying *versions* of the idea of the 'right to the city' across academic, policy and activist circles. Several values are shared by virtually all those versions: the right to the city is derived from the everyday experience of being an urban dweller, as opposed to their legal citizenship. Therefore, the goal is often to encourage urban policies that promote justice and inclu-

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sion at the city and the neighborhood level by identifying and emphasizing the importance of the use value of urban spaces over and above their exchange value (Purcell, 2014). This idea is particularly important for the effective inclusion of disadvantaged or disenfranchised groups, including low income families as well as children and the elderly.

Claiming the right to the city is usually perceived as a bottom-up endeavor, which can take the form of citizen practices that transcend established civil and legal frameworks, with the goal of increasing access to public resources and achieving socio-economic equality (Miraftab, 2004). This implies a pre-existing divide between the visions of city leaders and the needs of the community. Urban policy and design not aligning with the needs of the community often leads to fragmentation, discrimination and poor quality of life. Thus, community members and institutions find it necessary to take action — claiming their right and attempting to reshape the city often without legal ground.

It is important to question whether the right to the city can be achieved without overstepping political authorities, and instead initiate a 'cross boundary dialogue' between the two actors (Frug 2001). Tufello, a peripheral neighborhood in Rome is a model example of achieving a collaborative relationship between municipal governmental bodies and community actors. Top-down planning and grassroots initiatives work together to enhance residents' quality of life in a low-income public housing neighborhood, in hopes of building a stronger community and overcoming threats of socio-economic issues, including a history of drug use. In Tufello, the built environment provides for spaces for interaction and designates service centers, while local institutions strive to provide an array of services and cultural activities that are multigenerational and inclusive. Thus, the two categories appear to intersect through conscious and coordinated efforts to meet the demands of

seniors and of families with children, without creating competition for resources between generations (Warner and Choi 2015).

This article first provides a contextual background of Tufello and the social, economic and demographic threats that it faces. It then explores the role of some local institutions in building a stronger community on top of its physical planning, and the extent to which cross boundary dialogue between authorities and the public has made it possible to do so. We argue that bottom-up efforts by local institutions complement physical design, and would not be as successful if they were not recognized and supported by city authorities through political acceptance and infrastructural provision.

Methodology
The research incorporated different types of methodologies to create a holistic representation of "The Right to the City" and the child and age friendliness of Tufello. City maps and photographs were used to identify existing institutions and spaces in the neighborhood. And verbal interviews were conducted with various community stakeholders, including the director of a local municipal library, a volunteer at an NGO and elderly residents, with questions revolving around public space use, community initiatives and public housing.

Semi-Public Space in a Public Housing Neighborhood
Tufello is a peripheral neighborhood located at the edge of Rome's 16th quartiere -- Montesacro -- in Municipio III. Built as one of the twelve officially designated borgate during the fascist regime, the neighborhood saw successive stages of public housing development between the late 1930s and the 1970s, accompanied by the development of nearby service and institutional buildings, as well as public spaces and public housing communal court spaces. The neighborhood has retained its public housing character

Fig.2_ *Caption: Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano strives for multigenerational programming through partnering with schools and other organizations. Credits Ehab Ebeid, Edna Samron, Graham Murphy, Tishya Rao.*

Fig.3_ *Caption: Defrag's services include workshops, counseling, concerts and a recording studio. Credits Ehab Ebeid, Edna Samron, Graham Murphy, Tishya Rao.*

with low ownership rates. It has developed a notable leftist and anti-fascist identity, as seen in the political orientation of local institutions, and legible in the neighborhood's streets and building walls.

Today, Tufello comprises of a large elderly population, as a large portion of the current residents are among the original occupants of public housing complexes when the neighborhood was first settled in the 1940s. In 2011, approximately 26% of Tufello's residents were over 65 years old (ISTAT, census 2011) and aging faster than the rest of Rome. Tufello also has many children and teenagers who commute there because of the high concentration of schools in the area. Therefore, as a large population of children and the elderly live or visit the neighborhood, services catering to their needs, such as child care, sports centers and social centers are necessary.

While Tufello's neighborhood design is dominated by socially-inclusive public housing complexes, the rise and integration of cultural, commercial and institutional functions has created a mixed-use neighborhood. These include a market, shops, a soccer field, a gym, and cultural centers. However, with only one poorly maintained park, Tufello lacks safe public open spaces. The housing complexes solve this issue as they enclose or are adjacent to characteristic green courtyards. These spaces are semi-public because they form a transition between the private realm of the home and the public realm that is the street. They provide an important space for communal interaction, which we argue has contributed to the neighborhood's strong sense of identity. Besides varying in their design, they are also maintained to different degrees. We have found that the most well-maintained among them are maintained through individual and collective efforts from residents, either in hiring gardeners and maintenance staff with their own funds, or in maintaining the spaces themselves.

Active Institutions

Local institutions in Tufello are diverse and include many formal ones such as a local public library and market, senior centers, and social and cultural centers. Less formal institutions exist too, like residential community groups working towards maintaining public housing complexes and courtyards. Through our research we have found that formal or otherwise, institutions play an essential role in improving the quality of life of Tufello residents and ensuring their "right to Tufello". In fact, we were met with high enthusiasm to collaborate by the local public library, which gave us the chance to learn about the impactful work of the various local institutions. Much of the active local participation by institutions stems from the neighborhood's strong political identity, as well as their vision of overcoming socio-economic issues such as poverty, drug use and unemployment through their services and activities.

It is important to note that the successful history of grassroots efforts in Tufello is not solely based on active local participation. It is also because local authorities have recognized and/or supported these local efforts by politically accepting them and providing them with spaces and infrastructure, despite being formed outside legal frameworks. Most of these institutions were formed out of a municipal-local partnership, where both actors have recognized the need of residents and demonstrated a dialogue across sector boundaries. Therefore, Tufello's institutions comprise and occupy invited spaces -- as opposed to invented ones -- therefore creating urban spaces that are "occupied by grassroots [efforts] and their allied non-governmental organizations that are legitimized by donors and government interventions" (Miraftab, 2004).

Four active institutions in Tufello played a key role in the success of the collaborative process, operating as invited spaces: a) Ennio Flaiano Library, b)

Fig.4_ Caption: The Tufello market acts as an important social space for the neighborhood's elderly. Credits Ehab Ebeid, Edna Samron, Graham Murphy, Tishya Rao.

Defrag, c) Tufello Market and d) Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano. These entities provided safe and productive spaces for people to meet and feel a part of the community. Here we look at how they have been successful in claiming 'rights to Tufello' to build a stronger and more inclusive community for children and the elderly through their unique services and passion for change.

Ennio Flaiano Library

The library in Tufello strives to engage people of all ages. This is particularly true for children and elderly populations. Through a partnership with local schools, the library leads classes where students conduct fieldwork in the area in and around Tufello, and lead educational workshops for younger students in the library. Additionally, it hosts career orientation workshops for high schoolers, through "Alternanza scuola-lavoro", a national educational career orientation program. By providing a space for newspaper reading, for example, the library attempts to draw the area's elderly population to a safe, social and integrated space.

The amount of engagement and enrichment that the library provides should not be entirely surprising. Libraries are often leaders in building multigenerational programs and cross-agency partnerships (Warner and Choi, 2015) in the United States. In fact, Ennio Flaiano Library's programs are notable all over the city for their work in the low-income neighborhood of Tufello. The library supports its low-income constituency by supplementing some of Tufello's shortcomings. Apart from the regular books and videotapes offered at the library, study rooms and desktop computers are provided to the public. Moreover, the library caters to people of special needs by offering a collection of tactile books.

Defrag

Associazione Defrag, short for defragmentation in English, is a nonprofit institution that was established by concerned community members to combat many social ills in a Tufello then plagued by drug problems, by creating a safe, productive space for teenagers living and visiting the neighborhood.

Defrag can be considered a model of a successful grassroots organization in Tufello. There are primarily two reasons for this. Firstly, the organization is a perfect example of an invited space, initially founded by claiming the under-utilized basement of a local high school in Tufello, which was then legitimized by donors and government support (Miraftab, 2004). Secondly, Defrag has broken the socio-economic divide between Tufello and its surrounding neighborhood by conducting concerts, exhibits, educational workshops and psychological counseling to families who could not get access to such services otherwise. Therefore, Defrag and Tufello has now become a well-known destination, because of its strong support for children and their families.

Market

Tufello's covered market was completed in 1958. Over the years it has been forced to evolve due to pressure from grocery stores and supermarkets opening in surrounding areas. To compete, the Tufello Market remains open seven days a week. This is uncharacteristic of traditional covered markets in Rome. The market may have been prone to losing customers due to its proximity to the Porta di Roma Mall (the largest in Italy) as well as the recent opening of Jonio Metro station nearby, which acts as a services nod, but the market has remained a vibrant commercial center in Tufello despite the competition.

The Tufello Market has preserved its customer base thanks to Tufello's large elderly population, who are responsible for taking care of the household, including shopping for groceries. The central location of the market and its fresh produce has made it possible for the elderly to visit regularly, and

Fig.6_ *Caption: Design, infrastructure and housing provision are not sufficient to creating a strong community, and should be complemented by the work of local associations and institutions. Credits Ehab Ebeid, Edna Samron, Graham Murphy, Tishya Rao.*

meet other elderly citizens of the neighborhood. Thus, the market has also become an important social space for building relationships and creating a stronger, inclusive community for Tufello's senior citizens. The market also hosts the office of the Municipio III civil registry, as well as other services including beauty parlors and kitchen supply stores. Therefore, Tufello's market also increases accessibility for the elderly to other services by providing them all under one roof.

Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano
Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano was established by the occupation of a former abandoned boiler building to keep teenagers off the streets and away from drugs by instilling discipline through contact sports like karate, kickboxing and gymnastics. The location is rather symbolic of a new lifestyle as, during its abandonment, the boiler building was used as a drug den. Though the *palestra*'s legal position in its occupation of the boiler building is not clear, it the process of negotiating their status with ATER, the public housing agency which owns the building, is an example of "cross- boundary dialogue" between city authority and Tufello residents (Frug, 2001).

The name of the gym is also symbolic and has ties to the neighborhood's rich political character. The gym's name honors the young anti-fascist activist Valerio Verbano who was killed at the age of 19 in nearby Montesacro. Also unconventional for a gym, the palestra articulates a theoretical framework through which its work is conducted: it seeks to establish sports as a human right, and to ensure that people have access to exercise, health and well-being without being "subjected to the cruel logic of the free market". A combination of political struggle and improving quality of life led the gym to create a sense of ownership through community-initiated activities and an inclusive community, especially for the children of Tufello.

Achieving the 'Right to Tufello' through Cross-Boundary Collaboration
Tufello's built form provides ample space for communal interaction and sets the possibilities for the neighborhood's mixed-use public housing complexes. Tufello has faced many challenges, however, which it cannot successfully address while relying solely on its built form. These include an ageing demographic, a low homeownership rate, a relatively high unemployment rate, a history with drug issues, and pressure on local services from infrastructure projects in the form of the Galleria Porta di Roma Mall and the Jonio Metro Station.

The neighborhood shows to be able to respond to these challenges, through its institutions, which complete the puzzle through local efforts and cater to the needs of the community's most vulnerable. They are conscious of these challenges, and aware of their individual and collective goals in addressing them. The four institutions in Tufello – *Ennio Flaiano* Library, Defrag, Tufello Market and *Palestra Popolare* – are ideal examples of this.

Besides their consciousness of their roles, the four institutions exhibit an uncommon collaborative relationship across institutional boundaries and with municipal government bodies. The Tufello Market and the Ennio Flaiano Library are examples of city initiated urban spaces that are thriving because of continuous public engagement. Defrag and *Palestra Popolare* on the other hand, showcase institutions that were once established outside of the legal framework, but are now highly successful with the recognition and support

of political authorities. In this they show that governmental bodies' relationship with grassroots efforts need not be combative. But instead, through this collaboration, a new form of lifestyle can be formed where the promotion of justice and inclusion (Purcell, 2014), particularly of disadvantaged groups such as children and the elderly, is recognized and the 'Right to Tufello' is achieved.

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Roma,
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Pratiche informali e istituzioni.
Per una politica dell'attenzione

Informal practices and institutions. Towards a politics of attention

@ *Giovanni Attili* |

 # Pratiche informali |
 # Istituzioni |
 # Politiche dal basso |

 # Informal practices |
 # Institutions |
 # Bottom-up policies |

Cities are places where a renewed social activism is growing in unprecedented ways. Inside a wide spectrum of different urban collective movements, many practices are "informal" actions of re-appropriation: practices that challenge property and normative regimes in the attempt to recover a multiplicity of spaces that have been dismissed by modernity. These practices are islands of resistance but also incubators of new imageries: organizational experiments that are potentially able to build the city even out of an institutionally recognized framework; symbolic and material tactics of spatial sense-making; a net of molecular and minute writings that transgress the text of the planned city; the result of a capillary battle with power mechanisms.
These forms of social mobilization can potentially increase the environmental and social quality of life in urbanized environments. But they need to be supported. In this perspective they represent a crucial challenge for institutions. What role could institutions play in this respect? What kind of tensions need to be explored between social practices and institutional powers? Can public policy promote urban inclusion by legitimizing these self-guiding society expressions?

Potenzialità latenti

La città, intesa come ambito privilegiato del divenire, è costellata di spazi indecisi che hanno perso la loro funzione originaria e che vivono, sospesi, in attesa di una successiva risemantizzazione. Tali spazi rappresentano delle potenzialità latenti di trasformazione. Potenzialità che vengono spesso attualizzate attraverso una presa in carico da parte di gruppi di cittadini con l'obiettivo di sperimentare nuovi modi dello stare insieme, nuovi linguaggi capaci di ri-nominazione e prefigurazione, nuovi dispositivi sociali dove produrre piccoli esercizi di riabilitazione alla gioia. Si tratta di occasioni per sfidare l'*autismo*
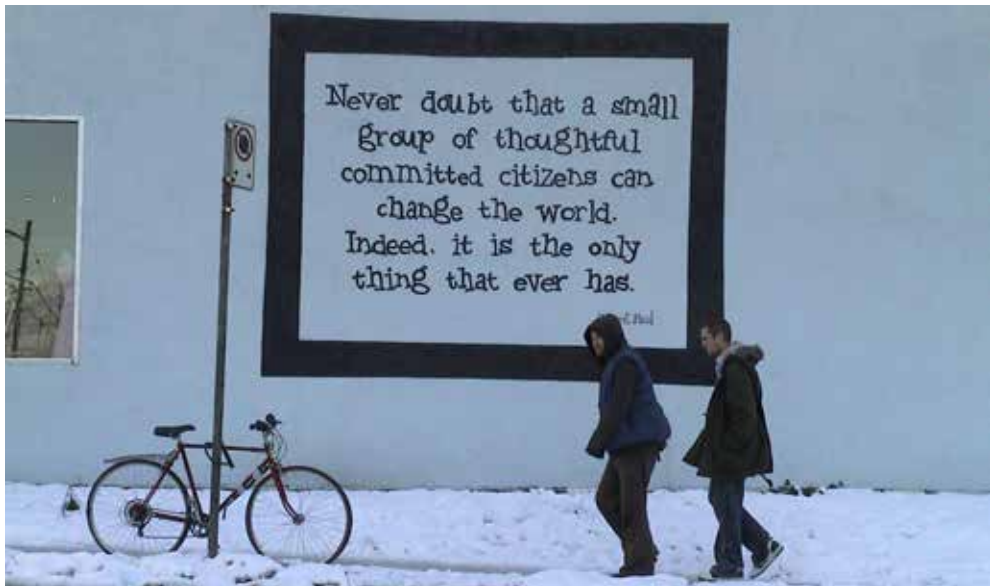
corale (Arminio 2013) che contraddistingue, in termini sempre più significativi, l'orizzonte contemporaneo.

In questa cornice le città sono diventate incubatrici di un rinnovato protagonismo sociale. Molti abitanti hanno costruito reti, associazioni e comunità di pratiche con l'obiettivo di: applicare principi di solidarietà ed equità alle proprie forme di consumo (gruppi di acquisto solidali); sperimentare dispositivi di sostenibilità ambientale e sociale (filiera corta, orti urbani); combattere la monetarizzazione del vivente attraverso la predisposizione di pratiche di scambio gratuite (banca del tempo) o attraverso l'utilizzo di servizi di finanza etica; inventare forme virtuose di consumo/commercio (come nelle botteghe del commercio equo e solidale); ripensare lo spazio urbano in una prospettiva ecologica (attraverso forme di risparmio energetico e uso di energie rinnovabili); far prevalere gli spazi di vita su quelli del profitto (attraverso forme di auto-organizzazione e di recupero di spazi dimessi o residuali); immaginare nuove forme di produzione (attraverso la presa in carico/reinvenzione di fabbriche abbandonate); rivendicare e costruire un più consapevole diritto alla città (attraverso l'occupazione di abitazioni o il ridisegno collettivo di spazi pubblici); ripensare la cultura come bene comune, non mercificabile (attraverso la reinvenzione di teatri salvati alla rottamazione). Inoltre, rispetto agli importanti cambiamenti demografici che investono le nostre città, tali esperienze sono potenzialmente capaci di rispondere a esigenze multigenerazionali, offrendosi al contempo come spazi d'interazione per categorie diversificate di utenti.

Molte di queste pratiche si configurano come dispositivi di riappropriazione dal basso: pratiche informali che sfidano i regimi proprietari e normativi nel tentativo di recuperare una molteplicità di spazi

urbani scartati dalla modernità. Isole di resistenza ma anche incuba-
tori di nuovi immaginari. Si tratta di forme di vita e sperimentazioni
organizzative che sono potenzialmente capaci di produrre "progetti
di territorio" (Magnaghi 2010) anche al di fuori di una cornice istitu-
zionalmente riconosciuta: tattiche materiali e simboliche di appro-
priazione/significazione dello spazio (de Certeau, 1990); un fascio
di scritture, plurali e molecolarmente diffuse, che trasgrediscono il
testo della città pianificata; il risultato di un corpo a corpo con i dispo-
sitivi di potere (Agamben 2005). Si tratta di veri e propri progetti di
trasformazione dell'urbano che vengono attivati da una molteplicità
di soggetti "poetici in quanto poietici": costruttori, artefici, autori di
atti pratici ed etici che ispirano un discorso plausibile in favore di un
certo scenario di possibilità future.

In questa cornice molti spazi urbani (abbandonati, sospesi o minac-
ciati) diventano oggetto di riappropriazione collettiva e di reinvenzio-
ne da parte di popolazioni eterogenee. Si tratta di una tendenza che
si sta sempre più radicando all'interno delle nostre città offrendosi, in
termini quantitativamente rilevanti, come occasione di ripensamen-
to delle modalità di costruzione dell'urbano. Questi spazi, infatti, pos-
sono trasformarsi in incubatori di interazione sociale all'interno dei
quali è possibile costruire *convivialità* (Illich 1974), *valore di legame*
(Caillé 1998) e *valore condiviso* (Porter, Kramer 2011) come possibile
risposta all'egemonia capitalistica. «In questa rigenerazione di inter-
stizi della città si può scorgere una domanda di condivisione dello
spazio-tempo urbano, liberato dal valore di scambio e riconsegnato,
grazie alla partecipazione attiva degli abitanti e alla loro *opera*, al suo
valore d'uso» (Bergamaschi 2012, p.7). La strada è quella orientata
alla costruzione di beni ad alto contenuto relazionale, contestuale e
cognitivo (Magatti 2012). Un modo per reclamare un diritto alla città
attraverso la trasformazione della città stessa. Il diritto alla città infatti
non può essere concepito come la possibilità di accedere a ciò che
già esiste; piuttosto si configura come il diritto a cambiare l'esisten-
te attraverso la reinvenzione della vita urbana secondo modalità più
conformi ai nostri desideri (Lefebvre *et al*. 1996).

È dunque necessario esplorare attentamente quest'insieme di pra-
tiche che trasformano la città dal basso, intercettarne la portata ed
eventualmente intervenire per sostenere le loro potenzialità trasfor-
matrici. In questo senso è necessario anche ripensare al ruolo delle
istituzioni in una funzione non oppositiva ma di comprensione e so-
stegno rispetto al ribollire informale capace di produrre nuovi pro-
getti di territorio.

Con una premessa importante. E' necessario evitare di cadere nelle
semplificazioni ideologiche che vedrebbero nell'informale un tutt'u-
no indistinto formato da pratiche necessariamente virtuose. Non tut-
to l'informale, infatti, si presenta sotto forma di un agire informato da
valori progressivi e condivisi. L'agire sociale è, infatti, spesso informa-
to da atteggiamenti individualisti, potenzialmente escludenti rispetto
ad altri soggetti territoriali. I suoi effetti di luogo rischiano di delimi-
tare possibilità di fruizione e di accesso finendo con l'implementa-
re un discutibile processo di privatizzazione dello spazio; in altri casi

alcuni processi informali possono innescare processi di darwinismo sociale a danno dei soggetti più deboli; in altri casi ancora si tratta di pratiche che, a dispetto delle intenzioni, si mostrano conniventi con un modello neoliberale di sviluppo che a parole dicono di volere contrastare.

Fuoriuscire da una certa retorica agiografica permetterebbe, dunque, di nominare, distinguere, contestualizzare ed eventualmente sostenere alcune (non tutte) pratiche informali capaci di produrre progetti territoriali realmente trasformativi; progetti volti ad un miglioramento della dimensione e della qualità pubblica dell'urbano.
Per fare questo è necessario discernere tra quelle pratiche che sottraggono dimensione pubblica e quelle invece che la producono in termini di spazi, beni, servizi. Naturalmente il carattere "pubblico" di un bene è oggetto di valutazioni controverse. La dimensione "pubblica" di un bene non costituisce un carattere intrinseco del bene stesso né si configura come l'esito di un'azione intenzionale o di un'imposizione normativa (uno spazio per esempio non diventa pubblico per progetto o per decreto). Il carattere pubblico di un bene è piuttosto legato alla molteplicità di relazioni che la sua fruizione instaura ed è spesso il sottoprodotto eventuale di pratiche sociali finalizzate ad altro (Crosta, 1998).

Politica dell'attenzione
In questa cornice si delinea un nuovo ruolo per le istituzioni chiamate a sviluppare una "politica dell'attenzione" proprio nei confronti di quelle pratiche informali ad alto contenuto relazionale e pubblico. Parliamo di un approccio difficile che esige attenzione e apprendimento continui: una capacità di discernimento di natura squisitamente politica. Tale approccio si basa sulla necessità di riconoscere che una serie di "risorse, saperi, conoscenze, esperienze, capacità e abilità necessarie per affrontare i problemi pubblici non sono più esclusivamente concentrate all'interno delle istituzioni formalmente deputate a svolgere tale compito" (Cottino, Zeppetella 2009: 14). Quello che deve essere messo al lavoro è un principio di sussidiarietà capace di legittimare e sostenere quei soggetti territoriali (non istituzionali) che sono in grado di rispondere a bisogni collettivi. Un principio capace di riconoscere che l'azione pubblica non è appannaggio esclusivo delle istituzioni bensì di tutti quei soggetti capaci di produrre pubblico.

Tale approccio non esautora l'azione istituzionale. La riempie di altri contenuti e finalità. Se l'obiettivo è la valorizzazione di queste pratiche, le istituzioni devono capire quando e come eventualmente intervenire a loro sostegno. In questo senso le istituzioni devono, con intelligenza e sensibilità, riuscire a muoversi all'interno di un fragile equilibrio tra il lasciar essere e l'intervento diretto, tra il rispetto di quello che succede in un luogo e l'azione che modifica e interviene sui processi (Lanzoni 2006).

Il "lasciar essere" è funzionale a mantenere integra la forza propulsiva di pratiche che si auto-organizzano nel territorio: pratiche inattese, foriere di un cambiamento possibile proprio perché si sviluppano

al di fuori del seminato istituzionale; pratiche che hanno la capacità di modificarsi in maniera adattiva rispetto al contesto in cui vengono a inserirsi; pratiche che mettono in gioco il valore della differenza poiché, offrendosi plurali, riescono a trasgredire il paradigma unitarista della domanda politica incarnata dallo Stato (Crosta 1998).

Alcune di queste pratiche, tuttavia, se non opportunamente sostenute sono destinate al fallimento. In molti casi, infatti, rischiano di trasformarsi in semplici manifestazioni di testimonianza destinate a esaurirsi e a non incidere significativamente sui processi di trasformazione urbana. Alcune importanti intuizioni che provengono dalla società civile, in mancanza di sostegno istituzionale, rimarrebbero inesplorate così come le competenze e le progettualità diffuse molecolarmente nel territorio rischierebbero di morire per consunzione. In questi casi l'intervento accorto delle istituzioni diventa necessario. L'obiettivo è di perseguire il consolidamento di "progetti di territorio dal basso" altrimenti destinati a perdere di vitalità e quindi a esaurirsi. Superata la fase iniziale in cui viene capitalizzato l'impegno e l'entusiasmo volontaristico dei soggetti coinvolti, molte pratiche infatti perdono forza, si sbrindellano. In questa cornice le istituzioni dovrebbero riuscire a strutturare il "saper fare" che emerge in maniera spontanea nel territorio soprattutto sul piano della sostenibilità economica (Cottino, Zeppetella 2009), ma anche attraverso la rimozione di ostacoli di tipo amministrativo e la risoluzione di criticità tecnico-organizzative.

Naturalmente il tipo d'intervento deve essere attentamente misurato per evitare il rischio di un'istituzionalizzazione forzata e di una cristallizzazione/sclerotizzazione delle pratiche stesse. In questo senso le istituzioni dovrebbero verificare la praticabilità d'interventi puntuali ma leggeri, capaci di consolidamento ma al tempo stesso attenti a non smorzare la carica vitale di queste micro-azioni di trasformazione territoriale.

In questo tipo di processo, non sono solo le pratiche territoriali a beneficiare del sostegno delle istituzioni. Anche queste ultime ricevono qualcosa in cambio. Innanzitutto riescono a offrire, attraverso il coinvolgimento di soggetti terzi, servizi che altrimenti non riuscirebbero a erogare. In secondo luogo possono imparare ad apprendere dalla creatività diffusa e dalle forme d'intelligenza collettiva e territoriale, traendo spunti per l'individuazione di domande sociali ancora non codificate e mettendo al lavoro gli insegnamenti che tali pratiche mettono al lavoro.

Non si tratta, dunque, di celebrare ideologicamente l'informalità, quanto di saper riconoscere ad alcune forme di attivismo sociale e di civismo di prossimità orientati alla costruzione di pubblico (spazi, servizi, beni) un ruolo propulsivo e generativo. Una risorsa potenziale per quelle istituzioni che si predispongono ad accogliere la possibilità di una trasformazione.

Queste riflessioni segnano i contorni di "un cambiamento nel modo di concepire la sfera pubblica stessa: da ambito di discussione e di

implementazione di competenze prestabilite, a campo di esercizio delle capacità disponibili a livello locale e di ricerca di nuove possibili sinergie tra diversi attori. Si tratta di una visione potenzialmente di ricca di implicazioni operative, in particolare per quanto riguarda il ruolo "abilitante" che converrebbe che le Pubbliche Amministrazioni assumessero nella progettazione di alcune politiche pubbliche" (Cottino, Zeppetella 2009, p. 13).

E' in questa cornice che è possibile sperimentare forme di sinergia e di collaborazione tra istituzioni e società, basate su muto apprendimento (Friedmann 1987) e valorizzazione di reciproche competenze. Sono necessarie delle pre-condizioni per cui tali sperimentazioni possono andare a buon fine: innanzitutto l'intelligenza delle istituzioni (Donolo 1997). In secondo luogo la capacità di rinunciare a frammenti di sovranità: sovranità dei gruppi sociali che rivendicano il diritto di soddisfare autonomamente alcune loro esigenze; sovranità delle istituzioni nel pensarsi come unici "provider" di servizi. E' necessaria poi un'auspicabile combinazione di interessi che, seppur informati da motivazioni potenzialmente divergenti, possano confluire nella costruzione condivisa e innovativa di sperimentazioni socio-ambientali. E' infine importante considerare la condizione del diritto non come un limite invalicabile per l'azione istituzionale ma come una cornice normativa suscettibile di reinvenzione attraverso la messa al lavoro di una immaginazione politica.
A partire da una manifesta incapacità nell'intercettare nuove domande sociali e nel rispondere in maniera efficace a quelle esistenti, si configura per le istituzioni un compito importante: legittimare un attivismo informale attraverso un processo di valorizzazione della capacità della società a guidare se stessa. Si tratta di un compito difficile che vibra della tensione tra potere costituito e potere costituente, tra sfera normativa e forme di vita. Un compito tuttavia ineludibile se si vogliono generare sinergie virtuose all'interno di un rinnovato progetto di città.

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Roma,
Borgata Trullo
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Apparati
Others

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Parole chiave / Keywords

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