



#14

Planning for all generations

Per una pianificazione multigenerazionale

Edited by GU | Generazione Urbana

settembre_dicembre 2017
numero quattordici
anno cinque

URBANISTICA 
giornale on-line di
urbanistica
ISSN:
2531-7091

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ISSN 2531-7091



La qualità scientifica del Quaderno è garantita da una procedura di peer review ad opera di qualificati referees anonimi esterni.

Progetto grafico / Nicola Vazzoler

Impaginazione / Giulio Cuccurullo

Data di pubblicazione: Roma, gennaio 2018

In copertina:

Roma, Parco degli Acquadotti.

Foto di Serena Muccitelli

edito da



con il supporto di



per informazioni



#14

settembre_dicembre 2017
numero quattordici
anno cinque

september_december 2017
issue fourteen
year five



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a cura di / edited by GU | Generazione Urbana

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

@ Carlo Cellamare |

Periferie epifaniche, riappropriazione della città e qualità dell’abitare

Peripheries |
Sense of ownership |
Self-organization |
Dwelling |
Interdisciplinarity |
Urban practices |

Periferie |
Senso di appartenenza |
Autorganizzazione |
Abitare |
Interdisciplinarietà |
Pratiche urbane |

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.



Fig.1 Borgata Finocchio, Collina della Pace park - Carlo Cellamare.

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 led 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.



Fig.2 _ Porta di Roma mall in Bufalotta district - Carlo Cellamare.

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 have 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, Maciotti, 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 institutions¹.

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¹ This theme refers to a wide debate under way on a review of the forms of territorial governance, on the introduction of forms of agreement and collaboration with the inhabitants and their associations, on the regulations of common goods, with respect to which there are numerous experiences in course.

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QUADERNI

#14

settembre - dicembre 2017
numero quattordici
anno cinque

URBANISTICA tre
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2531-7091

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