

from a two speed city to a city for the few

Rome is a capital city of 2.5 million people, known worldwide for its historical heritage and the presence of the Pope. After tumultuous growth in the post World War II era (+60% population increase in 1951-1971), its demography remained almost constant until the '90s when city users started to substitute residents and the proportion of foreigners increased (to 10% in 2009).

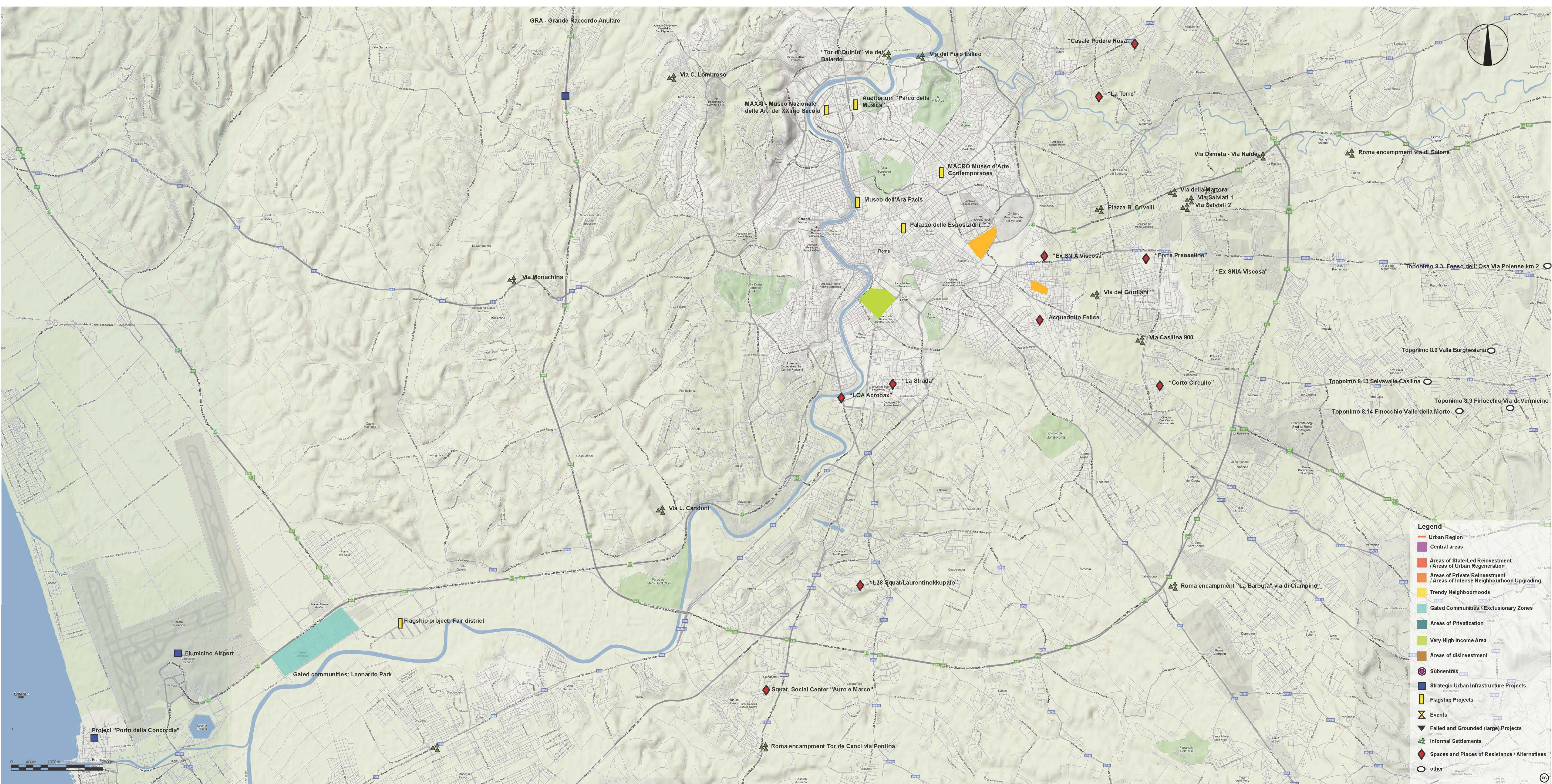
Meanwhile, the city's economy went through two major transitions. In the '70s, a modern service sector emerged alongside the traditional structure based on public administration and construction. In the following two decades, Rome progressively split into two separate urban worlds with different locations in the city. The year 1993, in which mayor Rutelli was elected, marks the transition from a two speed city towards a city for the few. The old protagonists of the city's economy joined the younger service sector in a deadly partnership for the future of at least half of the Roman people. Indeed, under Rutelli's mandate the so-called "Roman model" was inaugurated, and it still dominates the city's decision making notwithstanding the shift to a right wing majority in 2008. Incidentally, Rutelli still sits on the city council and it was him who proposed Rome's candidature for the 2020 Games.

The Roman model has allowed the city's economy to expand substantially in recent years. In 2001-2005, Rome's GDP was growing much faster as compared with the rest of Italy (+6.8% versus a national +1.4%). However, the Roman model is characterized by both social exclusion and spatial polarization which are typical of two-speed development. The only difference between the current and previous periods lies in the scale of the two phenomena. In the last decade, spatial polarization has surpassed the municipal borders to increasingly involve the territory of the province. Gentrification of inner-city neighbourhoods, along with a general worsening of living conditions in the periphery have resulted in the displacement from Rome of tens of thousands of people. While Rome's population was stagnant (if not declining – data are highly controversial on this topic), the province has known unprecedented growth (+2.3% per year in 2001-2005). As for social exclusion, the increase in average income per-capita was associated with the decrease of the median value at the provincial level.

model proved unable to empower its inhabitants if they did not own a bit of real estate, which would allow them to cope with the rise in housing prices and the increasingly "flexible" job contracts.

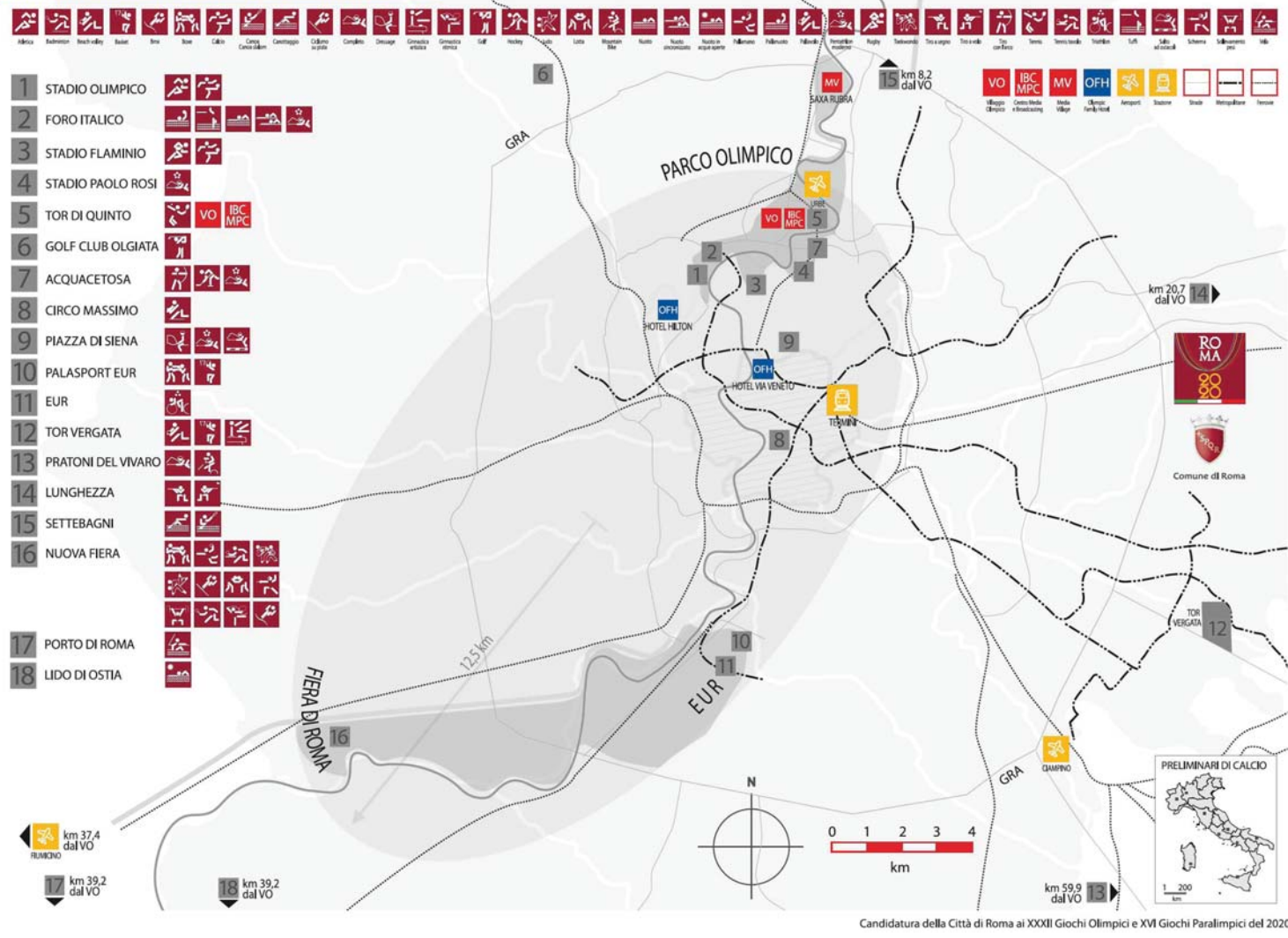
In conclusion, the new renaissance in Rome, made internationally visible by a series of flagship projects, was not for all Romans. Notwithstanding the effort made by the city to facilitate people's participation in local decision making, the Roman

Italy	301'338Km2	* Inhabitants	60'325'805
Urban Region	1'285Km2	* Inhabitants	2'500'000



- Legend**
- Urban Region
  - Central areas
  - Areas of State-Led Reinvestment / Areas of Urban Regeneration
  - Areas of Private Reinvestment / Areas of Intense Neighbourhood Upgrading
  - Trendy Neighbourhoods
  - Gated Communities / Exclusionary Zones
  - Areas of Privatization
  - Very High Income Area
  - Areas of disinvestment
  - Subcentres
  - Strategic Urban Infrastructure Projects
  - Flagship Projects
  - Events
  - Failed and Grounded (large) Projects
  - Informal Settlements
  - Spaces and Places of Resistance / Alternatives
  - Other





Flagship Project Roma 2020 Olympic Games



Dimensions
The games will involve several locations in Rome, mostly situated on the Tiber's floodplain. New constructions will consist of 360,000 m2 of residences, 100,000 m2 of offices and 100,000 m2 of facilities, and will result in the urbanization of 100 ha on the north river bank.

Project costs
Candidature: 0.6 billion USD
Organization: 2.8 billion USD
Constructions: 19 billion USD

Investors
Public bodies and private enterprises.
To date the promotion committee includes representatives of Rome's Industry Association, Chamber of Commerce and several stock companies (Unicredit, Caltagirone, Alitalia, Ferrovie dello Stato, Mediaset, Radio Dimensione Suono, Medusa Film, Anonima Petroli Italiana, Lottomatica, Bulgari, Jumbo Grandi Eventi).

Architects
to be decided

Description / Reason for this choice / Background context
Candidature for the 2020 Games provides the city with the opportunity to boost urban development of the Tiber floodplain, so far restricted to private land on the south side. The city's new fair district (p 90 ha expo hub) and the Leonardo Park (5 millions m2 belonging to Caltagirone) were built there in the 2000s. The Roma 2020 project proposes the development of the publicly owned areas on the north side. However, the south side is also involved, as the fair's pavilions will host part of the Games and a new cycling track will be constructed there. Moreover, the Games will contribute to the expansion of the Fiumicino Airport.

Significance for NMM
Roma 2020 demonstrates the local government continued commitment to urban development as an "economic engine" for the city, and is designed to provide real estate developers with investment opportunities. According to the candidature dossier, the public costs for the project will be low, but loss of public areas and ecologically valuable sites is not accounted for. Employing the usual NMM rhetoric, it is said that Roma 2020 will create thousands of new jobs and an increase wellbeing "even" for those living in the periphery. And of course, the natural environment will benefit from the new development. As a journalist wrote, the Tiber floodplain "will finally be freed from its sad hydrogeological lot". As for CO2, while the city insists on its strong commitment to reducing greenhouse gas emissions, the many flights associated with the Games are completely ignored.

Stakeholders and their interests
Roma 2020 is likely to mobilise all stakeholders who have direct or indirect interests in the elimination of regulations that so far have prevented the urban development of flood and coastal plains. This will certainly include the Benetton group, the major shareholder of Aeroporti di Roma S.p.a., since the Fiumicino airport expansion is presently hindered by the popular resistance to the building of a new highway crossing the Tiber south of Rome and the development of the Mediterranean coastal plain. Indeed, Benetton also owns 4400 ha of coastal plain north of Fiumicino (Maccarese), and a project already exists to double the size of the airport on that land.

Deals
Roma 2020 constitutes a step towards the abandoning of the public/ecological perspective underlying the 1982 Tiber Project, which sought to protect the floodplain and increase river public access. The land in question is almost entirely public and is fundamental to the river ecology. According to the financial mechanism outlined in the candidature dossier, private funding will be compensated with ownership of buildings and facilities constructed for the Games. As a result, public access to river banks will be restricted. Since 2000, media's demonization of the 5.000 people living in precarious dwellings on the Tiber banks has paved the way for such privatization.

Impacts
Roma counts 250,000 empty dwellings, there is an endemic lack of local services and public transport, and flooding is a recurrent phenomenon on the coastal plain and along its rivers. The 2020 project will result only in additional residential buildings, a bigger airport and the complete sealing of the northern Tiber floodplain. Moreover, after the Games private investors will appropriate the new development constructed on public land.



Synthesis over all four projects and out look

In 2008 the right-wing coalition won the elections at both municipal and national levels and in 2010 it also took power in the Lazio region. At present only the provincial government remains in the hands of left-wing parties, but its power over planning decisions is very limited. Notwithstanding those changes and the current economic recession, it is hard to detect any substantial revision of Rome's approach of spatial planning and urban policy in general. The old problem of how to guarantee adequate infrastructures and public facilities to all neighbourhoods is still at the fore. This was the main reason for preparing a new master plan in 1993, but very little happened on the ground in the years that followed. The failure of the previous municipal government to provide housing, social services and transport to the periphery was the most important issue successfully raised by the right-wing in the 2008 elec-



Dimensions
Roma's URPs focused on 11 of the most socially and economically deprived neighbourhoods, scattered across the city's periphery, where more than half million people live. Almost 500 interventions are planned, including new constructions and rehabilitation works.

Project costs
Total investments required: 1,796 million EUR
Regional funding: 87 million EUR

Investors
Public bodies and private developers.

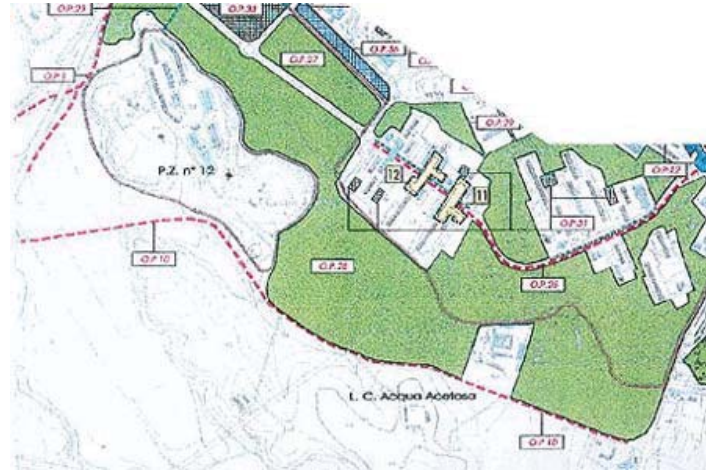
Architects
Municipal technical staff for the programs' preparation
Architects hired by private developers

Description / Reason for this choice / Background context
The URPs' initiative was launched in 1995 following the enactment of the national law 493/93, which introduced the possibility of public-private partnership into planning regulations (art.11). URPs were aimed at providing additional or improved public facilities to neighbourhoods which were predominantly comprised of social housing. In most cases URPs also serviced the informal settlements nearby, and sought to integrate them into one urban fabric.
To date, only a few of the planned works have been carried out by employing funding available under other municipal initiatives (i.e., programs for green area improvement, new parking lot construction or urban square rehabilitation). Indeed, the URPs' design was completed by 2000 but the Lazio Region has still not convened the parties for the final deal.

Stakeholders and their interests
Local real estate SMEs were supposed to be the most interested parties. However, this was true only where the land to be assigned to them as compensation for the public works they were asked to carry on was already owned by the city. In most cases, that land was still in private hands. The URP mechanism put those landlords in an extremely strong position since the location of both public facilities and new development was almost always predetermined by the existing urban fabric.

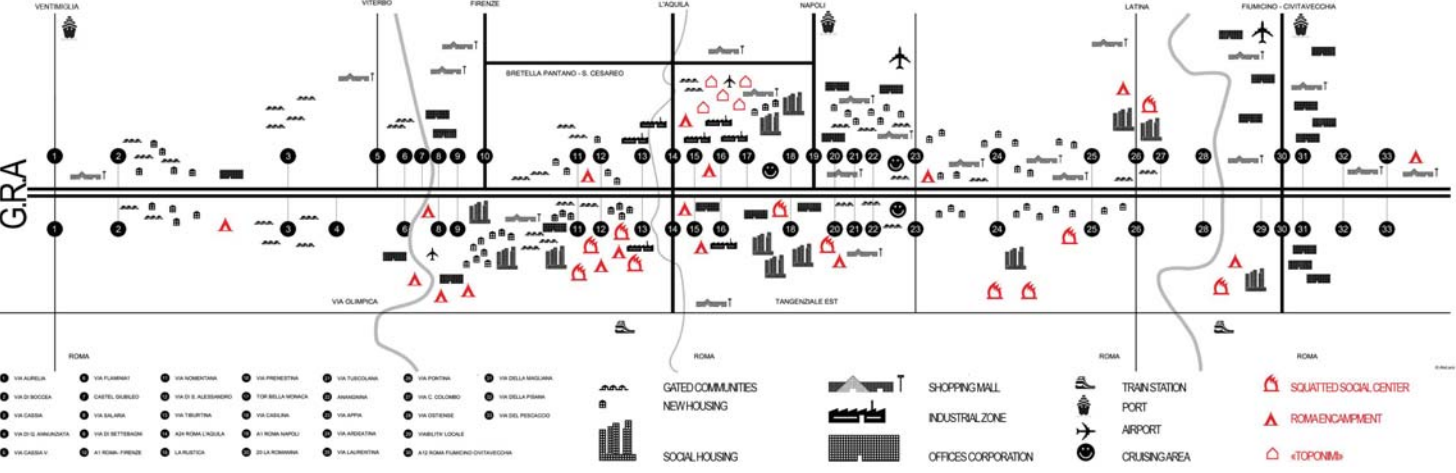
Deals
There are several reasons for the project's failure. One widespread problem was municipal staff's lack of capacity to negotiate effectively with developers. But in many cases the position of both the city and the developers was too weak in comparison to that of landlords. The PRUs' mechanism was unable to provide the local government with an effective substitute to traditional expropriation.
Delays in decision making by the Lazio Region also played a role. Calculations for return on investment were made in 2000. The Region approved the first URPs only in 2006 but, after the 2007 financial crisis, none of the developers involved were still available to make a deal on the basis of the 2000 figures. However, it is hard to say how much of developers' attention was diverted from URPs by other more profitable opportunities created by the 2000-2006 real estate boom.

Impacts
The URPs' failure entailed severe consequences for both the inhabitants and the municipal decentralized bodies (ward) charged with local management. Those inhabitants helplessly watched the deterioration of their neighbourhoods, while housing prices soared up and new buildings shot up around them. The wards have lost all hope for a positive end to the URP story, and must confront on daily basis popular distrust which has resulted from so many broken promises.
A positive outcome of the URPs' failure is that many badly designed works have remained undone. Indeed, the URPs' procedure does not include an effective mechanism to avoid the possibility that developers will cut costs by allocating insufficient money to architects.



THE SUBURBAN CITY OF THE RING

Leaving the historic center of Rome, past the ring road, you are immersed within the metropolis. A strange hybrid cluster, located at the geometric center of the Mediterranean and composed of many landscapes. Despite the presence of dual capital - an important cultural center, touristic and religious - the territory of the city was populated by many settlements, that don't want to become part of the city but instead try to make a system together. A system of small districts traversed, mediterranean, slopy, hybrid and ground ranging from the hills to the seashore, through the lakes to the north and south of the city, forming the habitat of atomized "suburban city of the Ring".
Despite the recent industrial development along the highway infrastructure, the habitat of the Roman metropolis is characterized mostly by its fun areas, and institutional abuse.
Different locations distributed throughout the territory, which tell an ironic reality: in the "City of God" (Pasolini) live the Pope's summer residence in Castel Gandolfo with the first and only legal Italian Nativist area; few hundred meters apart a giant shopping mall from the ruins of Ostia Antica; the "radical chic" enclave of Directors of Cinecittà is attached to the degraded Torvaldian houses, inhabited by immigrants; the new exclusive "Port of Rome (Yachting Club)" is living happily with Idroscalo slum dwellers.
Any exclusive enclave of contemporary (tertiary centers, technological, tourist or residential) eventually fails: we're not in "Eden Olympia", in scary but perfect artificial world of production described by JG Ballard. We are in the middle of the Mediterranean, where the deviance is home for thousands of years, where the "devil's" dance naked in Capocotta, the territories of the President of the Republic, close to the Pope, more or less on the beach who saw the landing of Aeneas.



Informal Settlements Urban Regeneration Project (Toponimi)

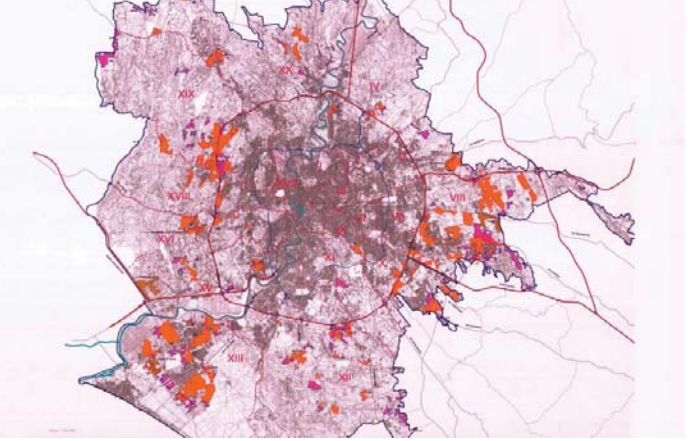


Reason for this choice and Significance for NMM
In a city like Rome, whose sudden growth was almost never "governed" or planned, the NMM creates huge social, economic and political unbalances. As a consequence, the weakest part of the city's population suffers from marginalisation, and is constantly deprived of any bargaining strength or political power. In this context, the informal part of the city has always represented a self made measure to cushion the effects of social exclusion, although at the same time it represents one of the weak points of these urban processes.
This informal aspect represents one of the main historical and more peculiar characteristics of the city. Today's informality expresses itself in many different aspects and multifaceted styles: there is the urban informality of the Toponimi and of the Idroscalo, and there is the presence, also the historical, of the migrants and Roma shanty towns. This whole corpus of practices, that we will define as self-made urbanism, is a Roman widespread phenomenon which sieges and runs through the new metropolitan mainstream.

The Toponimi
Purpose: Urban regeneration of informal settlements.
Dimensions: The area covered by the 86 project is of 1,573 ha.
Inhabitants involved: 86,947

Description:
One of the aspects of self-made urbanism is the practice of building without building permits. This is a phenomenon that goes back to the early XXth century but has taken a steady impetus after the end of WWII and particularly during the 1960's and 1970's. Informal building activity has its roots in the historical problem of affordable housing in Rome. As such it may be understood also as an urban practice fuelled by necessity. The phenomenon is not under control and thus is continuing even in the recent times.

For the city of Rome, like many other urban agglomerations in the center-south of Italy, informal building activity is a widespread practice. In all their typological variety, areas characterized by informal building activity constitute between 1/4 and 1/3 of the entire built area as well as in terms of population. In its historical evolution, the phenomenon has shifted qualitatively: from necessity to convenience (in relation to a high standard housing model but cheaper). The shift has transformed the phenomenon from a real and proper family necessity into one of pure land speculation. Three national amnesties (1985, 1994, 2003) have de facto justified informal building activity and have contributed to transform it into an organized model of urban development outside formal planning and from any form of management of the territory.



Toponimi: a definition.
Toponimi are the last recovery project of urban areas built without building permits. In Italy, these are the second generation of recovery and legalisation plans which concern the informal houses built until 1994. These projects for the rehabilitation and creation of infrastructures have been promoted and financed by the same local people who built the settlement and who are organized as associations and consortia (subsequently reviewed and approved by the Municipality Council). On the one hand, the new administration structure leaves more room for the political participation of citizens in this settlements. On the other hand the micro conflicts are now mainly negotiated in within the community by the local associations and consortia and then implemented by private enterprises. This procedure provides considerable benefits to the municipality of Rome and can be understood as a general trend of downscaling of the welfare state.

Description of the project:
Borghesiana is situated between Via Prenestina and Via Casilina in the eastern quadrant of the city of Rome. The entire eastern sector of the city has a high concentration of informal urbanism built without building permits. At Valle Borghesiana there are about 10,000 people and the plan of revalorization includes the increase of resident population up to 12,000.



Informal Settlements Idroscalo and Roma encampments



The eviction of the Idroscalo
Purpose: Eviction of the inhabitants of the informal settlement of the Idroscalo of Ostia Roma
Dimensions: 10 ha.
Inhabitants involved: ca. 2,000

Description:
Idroscalo is a fifty years old informal settlement of about 2,000 located at the mouth of Tiber River. The community lacks primary services and, given its topography below sea level, every winter risks of being wiped out by river floods and sea storms. City officials of different political persuasions have allowed this community to grow and to take roots in the territory but have placed its residents as invisible citizens. Indeed the City of Rome considers Idroscalo a true non-place, neither periphery nor city: an urban limbo to be used periodically as a reservoir for votes during election years or simply as a laboratory to experiment coercive policies of containment and control.
In fact, Idroscalo is a legitimate part of Rome with it problems as well as potentials. Contrary to many legitimate parts of the city, Idroscalo consists of a lively social fabric made of face-to-face interactions and a peculiar way of inhabiting space which challenges mainstream planning, urban design, and architecture. The majority of residents want to stay in their self-made homes and have been pressing City officials for fifty years to see their right to live in a safe and clean environment: all to no avail. In fact the community is currently under a renewed attack from the city and from powerful construction lobbies which have unilaterally decided to develop the area into one of the largest private marina in the Mediterranean. The 23rd February 2010 began the destruction of this informal settlement and the eviction of its inhabitants. The inhabitants trying to fight this eviction with various strategies. Self-Made Urbanity believes that the future of the area does not necessarily depend on the forced removal and dispersion of its residents. In fact a non-intrusive design would accommodate the need for development, strengthen the unique identity of this area, transform the residents from invisible citizens to active participants and, finally, would transform the urban policies of Rome from repressive to democratic.

The newcomers: migrants and Roma
Purpose: Roma encampments in Rome: placement and future relocations.
Dimensions: Unspecified
Inhabitants involved: estimated ca. 7,000 - 10,000

Description:
Italy has never implemented a national policy plan for Roma and Sintì, therefore all initiatives toward members of these groups have been delegated to local governments: Regions, Provinces and Municipalities. During the early '80s, 13 of the 20 Italian Regions have provided with a corpus of Regional laws which have literally institutionalised the phenomenon of the Roma encampments.
The 2009 Municipality of Rome's "Plan for Nomads" which is based on the idea of a "maximum number of Roma for Rome, foresees the existence of only 13 authorised encampments, all situated outside the GRA. Such plan has been planned by the left wing administrations1 and enacted by the right wing one, thus demonstrating a substantial unity of view on this matter.
These informal dwellings inhabited by Roma and migrants were in some case the same old shanty towns inhabited by internal Italian migrants arrived in Rome since the Unity and which have been later on occupied by migrants coming from our most immediate peripheries: the Balkans and the Maghreb. It is the case of the many shanty towns of the early '90s now destroyed.
In some other cases these dwellings have been created and maintained by local institutions (authorised encampments), or simply "tolerated" (non-authorized encampments).
Today in Rome official data register 18 of these dwellings2, three of which have been destroyed during the early months of 2010 (see map).
The characteristics of these settlements are that of a new modern ghetto: the hyperghetto, "characterised by double relegation on the basis of race and class and reinforced by a state policy of welfare withdrawal and urban abandonment" (Wacquant 2008).
This withdrawal and gradual erosion of the welfare state as a mechanism of social inclusion has been replaced by policies of surveillance, in order to control and confine a "problematic" sector of the population, thus offering a securitarian response to social problems.

1 See: Comune di Roma (1996) Condizioni di accesso ai campi. (Ordinanza Comunale N. 80, 23/1/1996) and Comune di Roma - Commissario Straordinario per l'Emergenza Nomadi (2009) Il Piano Nomadi. See: http://www.comune.roma.it/news/immigrazione/CommissarioStraordinarioEmergenzaNomadi2009/2009/02/20090220nmm04%2020.pdf (Accessed March 2010).
2 There is lack of significant data on both Roma presences and on the effective number of dwelling



entire developed area. In addition, the great majority of them voted for the new mayor.
By avoiding the costs of legal construction, they were able to accumulate some funds and now have an interest in increasing the value of their properties by investing in urban regeneration. Last but not least, they know how to make money with real estate (i.e., not complying with work safety rules, or renting to irregular immigrants). However, they have already proven to be an uncomfortable negotiating partner, as they appealed to the administrative court to abolish a new regional regulation which imposed a special tax for the addition building rights that the municipality can grant in case of regeneration.
As for the big flagship projects Roma has become acquainted with in the last two decades, they are simply postponing, waiting for the downward real estate trend to end and for a favourable opportunity for urban expansion come back, probably just in time for the Roma 2020 Games.

NMM Poster Rome
SMU-research & Silvia Macchi
Silvia Macchi (urban researcher): Olympic games and Urban Regeneration Programs (URPs)
SMU-research
Antonella Perin: coordination
Carlo Cellamare (urban researcher) and Antonella Perin (architect): Urban Regeneration Programs Toponimi
Alessandro Lanzetta (architect): The suburban city of the Ring
Ferro Trabaldi (urban researcher): Idroscalo di Ostia
Monica Rossi (anthropologist): Roma encampment and Squatted Social Center
Alessandro Lanzetta: design
Antonella Perin and Susanna Perin Workshop
for more information http://smu-research.net/