FROM BORGATE TO METRO-BOROUGHS. THE CHANGING CLAIMS FOR JUST PLANNING IN ROME

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The paper seeks a reflection upon the consequences of urban development on the practice of just planning. City change involves a complex reworking of the urban fabric, expanding boundaries, substituting people, and transforming places. Thus, the paper discusses the issue of justice in modern urban policies of Rome adopting a historical and geographical retrospective view. The overall purpose of the paper is in fact to offer a conceptual frame that may lead to a comparison.
The first paragraph set the case for such a discussion, identifying the characters of a spatial model that articulates issues of justice and planning in different zones of the city. Just policies are a varied set of heterogeneous initiatives; consistently changing over time, inextricably woven to the political role of a collective agent.
The second paragraph contrasts the struggle of an historic urban *borgata*, with the apparent quietness of a late metro-borough in the widespread city (Cremaschi, 2011), discussion of some contentious claims for urban justice. However, these are situated cases, and not immediately comparable.
Their juxtaposition helps in fact to highlight, in the next paragraph, how the changing spatial scale alters their claims for justice in planning. Our main thesis is thus that a historical perspective is needed in order to discuss the issue of justice in modern urban policies; besides, the changing spatial scale and the current rescaling process, is profoundly altering the claims for justice in planning, putting citizens and planners in front of new challenges.
In conclusion, the paper points out that a sort of centrifugal drive has in fact designed new geographies of spatial injustice. Today, fast growing municipalities deal with social conflicts, environmental concerns and cultural diversity in a piecemeal way, lacking both a general framework for interrogating urban change, and a collective actor to question its effects.

1. Spatial justice in the urban evolution of modern Rome

The history of urban planning in post-war Rome is a fascinating example (accurately investigated by Italian urban historians[1], though less known internationally) of a contentious policy field.
The argument postulates that justice in planning is better understood if one imagines that a sort of zoning process has historically articulated urban political issues. Roughly, a conceptual zoning results from the combination of positioning in space and time; and of representing either directly through *collective action,* or indirectly through *narratives*. This quick articulation leads to analyse four areas, the city s core and three concentric belts of neighbourhoods.
This simple model provides a sharp spatial interpretation of the social geography of the city that makes sense of major urban trends. While the city core, and the peripheral rim are fully urbanized, densely built, and heavily populated, the external zones are far wider, sparsely built, and interspersed by large natural or agricultural areas.
These zoning articulates in fact several distinctive phenomena (for instance, the growth of population: Cremaschi 2010), and corresponds to different phases of the city s growth. doubled in size between the 30s and 50s, and almost again before the 80s. Land and housing markets have steadily overheated, creating enormous profits and corruptions. Beside, urban

[1] For notorious examples see: Insolera, 1962; Parlato 1970; Benevolo 1977, 1992.

planning in Italy has been dealt with mostly locally, often by the local elites, rarely by progressive government. The growth of the population of Rome has stopped since the mid-70s, and change occurs primarily through the displacement of middle classes and (later) of immigrants from the core area of the city to the surrounding municipalities.

Namely, a profound articulation of the 20th century models influenced the production of these city zones: the metropolitan model used in fact to define core and periphery, while the incumbent post-metropolitan evolution is at the origin of the scattered and external communities.

More precisely, the urbanization process has come to define different spatial settings. These spatial settings differ by form, construction process, actors involved, and constraints posed to collective action, social and cultural profile:

a) The city ancient core and its dense popular neighbourhoods (late 19th, early 20th century). The core area changed the most, as scholarly research recorded, adding to the ancient Rome new vernacular neighbourhoods, residential areas of the new elites, government office districts including university and ministries, museums and ceremonial buildings, and eventually turning everything in the mass-tourism scene. Today, the predominant affluent population raises post-material claims for the quality of life, and an appreciation for public space. Often, these claims combine with a more radical defence of the commons, not unusually encountering the struggle of minority groups for recognition and justice;
b) The working class peripheral ring (20th century, mainly post WW2) has come to surround the city centre. During the first half of the XX century, the city has been invested by a massive immigration wave. The lack of appropriate planning strategies and housing policies led historically to massive speculation (Insolera, 1993), during and after the Fascist regime; and eventually, to the establishment of the largest informal housing sector in Europe. *Borgate* are thus the crucial offspring of the urban development of Rome in the first half of the 20th century, resulting in a divided city with a strong social, functional and physical gap (Ferrarotti, 1970). The socially homogenous post WWII working class neighbourhoods have been the cradle of all urban political conflicts, though receiving less attention from researchers, and are today ageing rapidly and on the verge of gentrification. These are the area of the traditional redistributive claims, a sort of an early right-to-city movement, which strongly affected the political life of the Capital (and in a way of the country).
c) The post-industrial, loose collection of outer estates across the main circular ring road (GRA). These area hosts a mix of extreme conditions, the poorest neighbourhoods, interspersed by Social Housing Estates and by spot settlements of refugees and Roma. In fact, during the last quarter of the 20th century, first public agencies, then private promoters, built up a scattered collection of outer estates. No doubts that these areas does not support an organized mobilization, even less so for social justice. It rather corresponds to the political space of individual mobilization, sometimes invested by right wing political entrepreneurs.
d) Finally, the last ring hosted suburban communities that have been invested by metropolitan flows, and converted into the new metropolitan neighbourhoods. These settlements have been renamed metro-boroughs. In fact, the fast growth of metropolitan area has often changed the destiny of neighbouring townships, which become attractive for a highly mobile population. These areas mix local folks, new young families and international migrants, who tend to commute on a broader geographical scale though they may set a claim on local welfare services. However, these fast growing municipalities deal with social conflicts, environmental concerns and cultural diversity in a piecemeal way.

The contemporary story of Rome, as sketched trough the simple zoning scheme, asserts precisely that a claim for spatial justice has been formulated in the 60s, and has become integral part of the political manifesto of the Communist Party and other left-wing political groups, that later arrived to govern the city in a progressive coalition.

This claim was supported by the image of the divided city and brought to a local political manifesto stressing the centrality of urban issues, thus profoundly different from the traditional position of Socialist and Communist parties. The political priorities of the main left party, the Italian Communist Party, were reoriented towards urban issues, and a concern for the quality of life.

In particular, urban informality was included in the political agenda, influencing backwards politics and policies. Eventually, both leftists and Christian-social activists coalesced in a civil rights movement that forced an agenda for urban rehabilitation. Urban claims (housing, schools and transport), rather than labour, reframed the political agenda.

In fact, post-war political action concentrated upon the Borgate. A consolidated feature of the city, they indicate precarious, sometimes informal and illicit settlements (self-)built to respond to the growing urbanization and to the displacement of people due to the vast program of city renewal brought about, in particular, by the fascist regimes. Known for the typical strong solidarity of close communities, they have been the cradle of early urban protest movements, having in turn influenced the trajectory of left parties[2] (Berlinguer, Della Seta, 1960; Foa and Natoli, 2014). Since then, Rome has offered in fact a unique collection of a political reflexive practice of urban struggle, well before Lefebvre s writings, and late fame: earl of the 50s; more divisive and contentious issues in the late 70s; late squatt current through fragile insurgent movements fostering a more balanced approach to both the metropolis and the environment.

In addition, the main narratives changed over time. The main narrative seeking to capture the process of city change has been based upon the image of the two cities, the first corresponding to a bourgeoisie, which was central in both spatial and political terms, and was able to influence in particular the flow of public resources; the second, to a populace relegated to the physical and political margins. The divide between the city centre and the peripheral districts was the grand narrative of the 1970s, a spatial metaphor that has ever since oriented the leftist understanding and policies of the city.

Over the past forty years, since the first leftist government of 1975, Rome has changed radically. Today the city is no longer poor and magnificent as Pasolini wanted. The capi the agglomerative core of the region, since urban development has structured a vast urban field almost coincidental with the region. In the meantime, the post-war economic boom had brought about a new sense of wellbeing and optimism. Eventually, the expectations of people went well beyond the administration s capacity, and it was unable to fulfil even the origi Under represented social needs, often reframed on wider or smaller scales (transport and urbanity, for instance), both improper and unusual for political action. Sudden confrontations often explode, contrasting old class solidarity and xenophobic mobilization. Even more importantly, the political space has been restructured along these patterns of metropolitan organization. Since then, the history of the Roman periphery has been the history of a divorce between the declining commitment to collective policies and growing claims for individual wellbeing.

Of this tumultuous process of growth, two distinctive social and spatial formations have emerged, post-war *borgate,* and late *metro-boroughs*.

Table 1 The zoning of justice claims and policies

[2] Being a government city, and lacking an industrial working class, Rome (sometimes describes as a colonial c

	Central monumental area	**Working class periphery**	**Post-industrial outer ring**	**Metro-boroughs**
Position in Time and Space	*1870-1975, the construction of the metropolis*		*1975, onwards, the post-metropolitan evolution*	
	19th and early 20th century core areas	Between 1915 and 1975, 60 years of continuous development and demographic growth	In the last quarter of the 20th century, both public and private promoters built up a scattered collection of outer estates	Beginning of 21st century,
	Elites and vernacular neighbourhoods, business districts and tourist scenes	Early social estates, dense neighbourhoods and informal settlements, all rapidly ageing and on the verge of gentrification	a mix of extreme conditions: poor and affluent suburbs, interspersed Social Housing Estates and by spot settlements of refugees and Roma	suburban communities that have been invested by metropolitan flows
Representation through collective actions and narratives	*Political mobilization around left parties, trade unions and parish churches for public services*		*Diffuse yet not politically structured urban and environmental awareness*	
	Traditional redistributive claim; early representation by social movements, especially in the *borgate* and working class neighbourhoods. Post-material demands of participation and recognition; claim for the commons, quality and a better environment (right to the city)		Under represented social needs, often reframed on wider or smaller scales (transport and urbanity, for instance), both improper and unusual for political action. Sudden confrontations often explode, contrasting old class solidarity and xenophobic mobilization	
	The *Capital* city, the modern, liberal city that ought to cancel the rule of the Popes	The *divided* city, a city divided by the social conditions of the affluent core vs the poor ring	The *scattered* city, one that the polycentric strategy of the 2005 plan should reorganize	The (post-) *metropolitan* city, a yet undefined vehicle for mutual adjustments

2. Comparing a borgata with a metro-borough

To shed light on the consequences in terms of spatial justice of the described phenomenon of urban change two case studies are discussed, belonging to two different historical and spatial zones. The first one is Pigneto, a neighbourhood of the eastern periphery of the city on the borderline between dynamics of degradation and trajectories of trendification considered as a *borgata*. The second is Riano, a small municipality in Rome metropolitan area, which has almost doubled its population in the last ten years, mainly because of an influx of people moving off Rome city core, in other words a *metro-borough*.

2.1 The working-class borgata

Pigneto[3] is a neighbourhood of nearly 50.000 inhabitants located in the oriental periphery of Rome, in the Municipio[4] V. It was a working class neighbourhood, spontaneously developed at the beginning of the twentieth century around local industries.
The majority of inhabitants were workers, railwaymen, artisans, many of whom were immigrants from southern Italy attracted by the labour opportunities during fascism and after the war. The characteristics of this area, dense in relational bonds, inspired many of the cinematographers

[3] The area s boundaries are ambiguous, because they include simultaneously a large territ variety of neighbourhoods and sub-zones within it. Boundaries change according to the perspective, whether it be administrative, historical or that of inhabitants perception. Depending on which these different definitions is deployed, Pigneto either includes or does not include the neighbouring areas of Prenestino and Torpignattara. For the purpose of this research it is considered the triangular area, squeezed by two major roads (both of Roman origins) the Prenestina and the Casilina, and crossed by Via del Pigneto which connects Piazza Caballini to Via dell Acqua Bullicante

[4] Rome Council is divided in fifteen administrative districts called Municipi which have management and financial autonomy.

representative of Italian neo-realism. The neighbourhood was the setting for Pasolini s w particularly *Accattone* (1961) and his novel *Ragazzi di Vita* (1972), both of which describe the extreme poverty of these zones.

The area well represents the dualism of the urban evolution of Rome, because it was born outside the town plan, in a fragmented way to a point that it has been defined as an (Severino, 2005). The first nucleus where formed by self-built housing organized in *spontaneous borgate*. In the 1930s appeared other neighbourhoods realized by Rome s governorshi back to that period are both the Borgata Gordiani, a settlement of very rudimental single storey houses (almost shacks) meant to host temporarily low-income inhabitants evicted from the city centre, and the *villini* area, a sort of garden city, characterized by low density, high quality, detached-housing, built for state employees and railways workers. The zones in between these formal and informal nucleuses have been filled up for subsequent additions by high-density housing, tall apartment buildings (6-8 floors) mainly part of the speculation of the 60s an

From an economic point of view, the population was traditionally employed locally in the transport sector and in industry, but the majority of the factories closed down with deindustrialization process during the 1960s and 1970s. Historically, the neighbourhood showed considerable vitality in commercial enterprises, which made it self-sufficient. During the nineties there was a significant reduction of the local traditional shops following a wider national trend which saw corner shops hit by the competition of large retailers, and following the progressive trajectory of decay of the neighbourhood. Since 2000, this trend has been counterbalanced by the growth of ethnic businesses, and the reconversion of some commercial premises into pubs, restaurants and other nightlife venues, located in a relatively confined area in the west closer to the city centre.

Table 2. Demographic data of Pigneto and Riano. Source: Roma Statistica, 31 dicembre 2013; demo.istat 31 dicembre 2013

	Population	Pop density (res/Kmq)	Ageing index (>65/<14)	Foreigners (%)
Pigneto	47.680	20.289	202	18%
Riano	10.155	399	93	16%

Demographically, it has an ageing population, testified by an ageing population index that in 2000 was almost the double the city average. Today, the growing number of immigrants who tend to be younger counterbalances this trend. The area is one of the most multi-ethnic in Rome, with a percentage of foreign residents that has increased from 2% in 1991 to 18% today, well beyond the city average (12%). The main nationalities are Bangladeshi and Chinese.

Another influx of young population has been provided by the new creative class , young people, students and artists, who began to move into the neighbourhood in the late 1990s, attracted by the romantic heritage of Pasolini, and the cultural connotations of the neighbourhood (Annunziata, 2011).

2.2 The metro-borough in the widespread city

Riano is instead a small municipality located along the northern border of Rome City Council. Historically it was a village based on agriculture, with the main nucleus dating back to XII century clinging onto a tuffaceous hill.

Just after WWII it begun a modern activity of tuff quarrying, and Riano was interested by Italian immigration, hosting workers from other regions. Also thanks to that, the population growth increased especially after 1951, and the town developed spontaneously. The absence of any planning regulation and the particular orography of the tuffaceous area characterized by peaks and valleys resulted in an extremely fragmented settlement lacking of a clear fo high-income gated community was also established, made of low-density villas and facilities. The

quarries and related plants occupy a large part of Riano, while the rest is mainly agricultural land interspersed with scattered houses.
The two traditional economies, agriculture and mining, had progressively shrunk and today the major job source for Riano s inhabitants is represented by the City of Rome whic far. In the last 10 years Riano saw a significant increase in the population, passing from 6.486 residents in 2001 to 10.155 in 2014. This growth is mainly due to people who moves its residence from Rome to the Province, looking for more affordable way of life, commuting daily for work.
Among them, there has been a relevant component of foreign immigrants, attracted both by the housing affordability and also by the availability of jobs in the construction sector, which was flourishing together with the progressive expansion of the metropolis. In 2014 foreign residents in Riano were 1.596, that is to say the 15,7% of the population. Immigrants are coming from 66 different countries and the 60% is represented by a single group, the Rumanians.

3. Today s geographies of spatial injustice

3.1 Halfway between disadvantage and gentrification
In the Italian planning discourse, the word describing the essence of spatial injustice is *periferia* - peripheral neighbourhood. The term *periferia* pinpoint the distance of an area from the centre, both in physical and functional terms. Describing Pigneto as a *periferia* today is not completely appropriate, if considered that the city has grown so extensively that such distance has reduced considerably, even if in relative terms.
However, issues of spatial injustice seems to be still up-to-date. The urban evolution of the area, as described above, had cumulative consequences that led to a degree of disadvantage that is still visible. In particular, the lack of a master plan also meant a general lack of public spaces in terms of accessible green areas, playgrounds, squares, cultural and community spaces etc. and today the few public spaces are characterized by neglect and lack of maintenance, which sum up the disrepair of the poor quality built environment. The massive construction of high-rise housing in the 70s onwards meant that the area became the densest in Rome (table 2), but with a very low service provision in comparison to that.
Another common indicator of spatial injustice is that of socio-spatial segregation. Fainstein in its seminal book Just City warns about the risk of segregation, and advocates for neighbourhoods porous and internally diverse. Several authors depict segregated neighbourhoods as the spatial expression of social exclusion (Murie and Musterd, 2004). In the case of Pigneto-Torpignattara is not correct to think at the area as segregated. It is true that some strong boundaries (the railways, the aqueduct) contributes to isolate physically the area. However, rather than being characterised exclusively by social deprivation, the neighbourhood is internally mixed, with some parts badly-off and in decline and others, more well off. Also from the viewpoint of ethnic diversity, immigrants presence is extremely varied (in terms of nationality); the general incidence of foreign resident on total population is still relatively low, with the exception of some concentrations.
The piecemeal growth, combining formal and informal, public programs and speculation, housing and productive spaces, resulted in a strong differentiation in terms of housing types and tenures, commercial vitality and the social profile of the population. In the last 15 years a process of trendification of the area has started, with the opening of a considerable nu leisure venues. Even if scholars do not agree if it is completely correct to talk about gentrification (Annunziata, 2011), it is true that this process started to attract new population which enriched even more the internal diversity. At the same time, the trajectory of the neighbourhood is far to be predetermined: together with the trendification begun also a serious issue and consumption, which according to the inhabitants brought back the neighbourhood to the level of social emergency of the 80s.

3.2 Urban growth without urbanity

In the last 15 years, a strong process of metropolitan expansion has invested Riano. This trend reflected the wider phenomenon of re-localisation of Rome inhabitants outside Council boundaries, in the small towns of the first ring, and further out, along major transport corridors. Dissimilar to other realities, Riano had a very small vacancy ratio, less than 5% in 2001. That meant that together with the population, there was also the housing growth with an increase of 51% in a decade. These are impressive figures, if considered that only two other towns in the province have similar percentages of building production.

The houses growth did not correspond to an increase of the services and an upgrade of the infrastructures, in particular mobility ones. The town plan designed in 1999 had clearly underestimated the growth and it expanded the original urban settlement spontaneously born and consequently lacking any formal and structural elements.

The result was a built up area where houses respect fairly construction standards, but there is not a clear urban form. The neighbourhoods are nearly accessible, with under-dimensioned roads, often lacking basic elements and street furniture such as parking spaces, sidewalks and appropriate public lighting. The urban deficiency concerns also sociability and gathering spaces, such as parks and squares. For culture and leisure, Riano s inhabitants depend entirely on for example for cinemas, theatres, libraries or bookshops. In other words, it is lacking an urban infrastructure of open and collective spaces so important for daily encounters among diverse people (Amin, 2002; Iveson and Fincher 2011).

A research of the Rome Province denounces a similar situation all over the towns of the first ring, witnessing that this expansion process is not assuming the character of a metro[5] but instead that of a *periferia* (Provincia di Roma, 2010, p.6). The overall urban deficiency and the dependence from Rome suggests that Riano is at risk of suffering in the future from the classical ills of deprived peripheries: housing speculation, weakness of the urban infrastructure and social malaise.

The economic and functional dependence of Riano from Rome means firstly a high pressure over transportation. This seem to be an issue of spatial justice considering the higher dependence over public transportations of lower income groups and vulnerable categories such as specific age groups (elderly, minors) and immigrants. Public transportation become an important challenge to manage at the metropolitan level. Riano is a stop of a light railway that connects Roma with Viterbo, this line is frequently congested, and users complain about overcrowding and malfunctioning. Given this situation, it is not astonishing that public transports become places of friction, in particular when overcrowding lead to forced contact between diverse populations. Accessible and efficient public transportation is at the same time a social question and an issue of environmental sustainability considering the level of pollution produced by a town of commuters strongly reliant on private cars.

There are also other consequences of the uneven growth of Riano on the environment. The massive housing expansion permanently affected one of the most important assets of the area: the natural landscape. The town plan has been subsequently modified by zoning variances, which involved also part of the rural land, through a process of questionable legitimacy. In particular, a housing development of 117 villas organized in 16 agricultural hamlets was bui within Zone E (agricultural zone) for a total of 1.319.509 square metres (131 acres)[6].

This happened because of the strong demand for single-family houses surrounded by greenery exercised by new-inhabitants, following the dream of home ownership unreachable in the City Capital, but also attracted by a countryside life style. On the contrary, foreign immigrants tent to occupy a different housing stock in the metropolisation process: they are almost exclusively in

[5] In the sense of an area organized in a polycentric way and thereby capable of offering job opportunities, to contain commuters flows, ensuring a multidirectional mobility, to locate services in catchment areas.

[6] This complex is today the subject of an investigation of an alleged abuse.

private rent, in the more affordable houses of the old town, which was progressively abandoned for better living conditions.
Considering also the presence of a gated community, it is reasonable to wonder if the metro-boroughs can be considered the setting of new forms of spatial segregation. The percentage of immigrants in the old town is particularly relevant, more than 40%, but it is not a ghetto. Migrants are extremely mobile in these areas, the old town represents often an entry point, an intermediate house, and then they change gradually residence, looking for a home better suited to their needs. It is also important to stress how the concentration in the old town is not perceived negatively neither by immigrants themselves who describe it as a place of inclusion, functional to stabilization, nor by Italians who recognise the beneficial outcome of such phenomenon. Immigrants are enacting a spontaneous process of re-population of the old town, with positive gains in terms of revitalization of the urban space, but also in terms of management and upgrade of the built environment. Instead of segregation, it seems more appropriate to talk about a process of differentiated geographies, consequence of a phenomenon of residential insertion completely driven by the market, in which Italians are land consumers, while immigrants are existing stock re-users.
Riano and its surroundings resulted to be a convenient place to relocate not just the population, but also other issues that the city of Rome is trying to handle. An example of that is the tentative to use the exhausted quarries for the new Rome s dump. That decision was strongly opposed the local community supported by the Council. The official reasons behind the opposition where environmental, the proved risk of groundwater pollution, but there was also a strong NIMBY movement relative to the proximity of the site to the urban settlements, at the risk of devaluation of lands that could be interested by the housing expansion. The opposition was finally successful thanks to the wide mobilisation of all citizens, also migrants, and the organization of dozens of demonstrations, assemblies and sit-in. The mobilization was disruptive and Riano was reported as a model of civil strife.

4. Planning for justice in Rome s metropolis

4.1 Empowering a powerful community

The highest pick of decline for Pigneto was in the 80s when the consequences of de-industrialisation, neglect and abandonment were more evident. In the same period, the left-wing city government begin a policy of rehabilitation of the periphery and legalizat city. Pigneto was individuated as a target area, with the aim of reversing some of the issues of injustice as individuated above.
Since the mid 90s to the 2000s, a series of initiatives of regeneration we mobilizing funding through public-private partnerships and thanks to the use of new planning tools such as PRIU (Programme of Urban Rehabilitation) and CdQ (Neighbourhood Contract)[7] (Fioretti, *forthcoming*).
The objective of such programmes was to overcome the socio-spatial polarization and enhancing the quality of the neighbourhood for the local community by making the fragmented urban fabric more permeable, refurbishing the public space and creating new services and meeting points. In other words, there was a commitment in terms of redistribution, giving those material assets the local community lacked.
Furthermore, following a wider process at the Council level the Neighbourhood Contract promoted citizens participation in the designing process, demonstrating a commitment to democracy, and acknowledging the importance of just processes besides just outcomes.
It is important to specify that the Council involved almost exclusively representatives of local networks: associations, unions, neighbourhood committees, self-organized social centres (Allegretti, 2004). Pigneto has a socio-cultural context with a strong history of activism, thanks

[7] Area-Based Initiatives acting in neighbourhoods affected by multiple deprivation.

to the presence of organized groups that over time had carried on many campaigns for raising the livelihood of the area, ascribable to the right to the city tradition. These g wing tradition since the neighbourhood was working-class, particularly active in the antifascism and a theatre of clashes during the Resistance.
Thanks to that (and to the harmony in that period of political views among the Council, the Municipio and the local political arena, all the three left wing) the participation process was relatively smooth and successful. On the other side, that constituted a strong limit for reaching a wider scope of citizens, especially most marginal groups and those people who usually tend not to participate, such as migrants[8].
The Council seemed to recognise the ongoing spontaneous market-led processes of transformation, incorporating in the regeneration private interventions as well. The idea was that of providing for a strong public infrastructure, a strategic framework, built in a consensual manner together with the inhabitants, to take up the challenge of accompanying those changes, softening the eventual negative external factors.
However, the programme, that seemed so promising in its premises, was less successful in its implementation. The public-private partnership mechanism seemed to be unbalanced, with exaggerated leanings to private interests. The most innovative public actions, especially those aimed at the realization of community facilities, the establishment of a permanent workshop for citizen participation and the inclusion of migrants, were particularly weak, when realized.
That determined a rupture in the relation between the local government and the citizens. Their involvement in the process had made citizens more demanding, and more attentive to the effective enforcement of the commitments signed in the Contract (Allegretti, 2004). Th participation in a society that was already socially and politically organized (already capable in a sense) contributed, even if not completely wittingly, to empowerment, to raise the capability of the local society.
The local forces, associations, schools, migrants communities, mobilized around Neighbourhood Committees, used it to protest and to encourage the Local Authority to fulfil the promises made, among the claims that for denied spaces , or measures against gentrifica
Independently from the success of the single struggles, this form of antagonism succeed in something more general: the recognition of migrants as active agents in the upgrading of their living environment.

4.2 Who is claiming for spatial justice?

Inaccessibility to services, overconsumption of greenfield, forms of spatial segregation, the issues of spatial injustice in Riano seems serious but the claim for spatial justice is much less strong than in Pigneto, and the public government seem to respond to injustice in a fuzzy way.
It must be said, that there is a general acknowledgement of the implications of the drastic changes that affected the Council in the last 15 years. The new local government elected in 2011 based its election campaign precisely on the issue of change, gathering left-wing forces and a Romanian participation under a civil list called Fresh air . Nevertheless, concrete mea new challenges are hesitating.
In particular, the local government is now engaged in drafting a new plan to compensate the lack of public services, facilities and infrastructures. However, the task is difficult and the Municipality, lacking resources, proceeds in piecemeal way through regional funding, and concession fees.

[8] Immigration was recognized as a key priority in the Neighbourhood Contract, but the initiatives devoted to that were finally weak, and lacked of long term commitment (for a detailed discussion see Fioretti, *forthcoming*).

More seems to be done on the immaterial side, especially in terms of recognition, if considered that in Riano local authority there is a Romanian councillor[9]. This means that the local government is at least recognising the importance of the migrants component of the acknowledging its positive contribution (for example in terms of vitalization of the old town), and giving them voice in the decision-making arena. But again, also in this field, it does not translate in a clear strategy for promoting diversity and interculturality and the potentialities are not capitalized by urban policy (Fioretti, 2014).

Not only the local government does not have the resources and capacity for a clear commitment in terms of just planning, but also it must be said that there is neither a clear claim coming from the civil society. The local community has been invested almost passively by the process of metropolisation, half of the residents are recently arrived, and many are foreigners. The population is extremely fragmented in its composition, lacking political commitment and organization, still looking for an equilibrium as part of the metropolis, the small-town identity that seems to be lost.

The only episode that witnessed a wide and overwhelming mobilization of all citizens and local forces was that of the movement against Rome s dump. That testified an environme but it is not possible to say that the movement was inspired by a clear identification of sustainability as a key goal for the local society. Instead, it seemed to be more dictated by an individualistic worry, linked to a NIMBY phenomenon.

That example it is interesting because it shows two major limits that inhibit an impulse towards just planning in Riano: first, the lack of a collective awareness of justice values to be claimed; and second, the fact that major issues transcend the local scale.

That can be translated in a lack of two key category of spatial justice: capability and responsibility, to be considered together, being extremely intertwined in this case.

The inhabitants of Riano are individually capable. Many moved in Riano from Rome, driven by a conscious choice, the dream of the single-family home in the green. It means they does have access to opportunity, as testified by their individual (spatial) mobility.

However, they lack of a collective awareness and pursuing of the assets that contribute to the quality of life, which means also a lack of responsibility towards the territory.

5. Conclusion

This paper addressed the question of how the social, spatial and geographical features of urban change affect the analytic dimensions of justice, and consequently, the ideal of just planning. The answer depends on whether justice is conceptualized as a universal, normative model; or as an evolving set of practical rules that results from a collective, shared vision (which often requires a reflexive political actor).

We tried to make the argument that the shift from a dimension of justice to another is not purely analytical; on the contrary, it is the outcome of an historical process. It is positioned in time and space, and heavily influenced by the political actors and processes that have tried to address it.

This is bold statement, obviously, which deserves a better attention at a theoretical level, implying that one cannot forget the issues of power, temporality and materiality when addressing urban change.

However, some conclusive remarks sprung out from the investigation of city change at the scale of local development. In particular:

a) The two views are not mutually exclusive. The first classically lies at the core of the Enlightenment project, and it qualifies European societies as a sort of genetic code, and provides the basis of ideological arguments. However, the second illuminates a fairly large set of conditions where a local (Elster 1992) rule intervenes, eithe

[9] That was possible because Romanians are EU nationals, they do not need the permit to stay to reside in Italy and can access to local elections

individuals access to goods or, on the contrary, imposing social burdens on their actions.

b) Both views are needed when dealing with urban space, *space* being at the same time part of the power structure, and a very specific set of local arrangements. However, a general model of spatial justice is hardly tenable, being such the variety of institutions, individual preferences, and collective identities.
c) Following these suggestions, justice cannot be conceived as a single theoretical object, but rather it can be conceptualized as a multilayered normative ideal.

If justice cannot be considered a monolith, just planning is obviously a complex dispositive that progressively adapt to changing situations, positioned in time and space; according to political strategies that combine elements of redistribution and recognition; affecting the quality of the societal entitlements or limitations. For this reason, certain categories used to evaluate the just city as periphery, density, *mixité*, segregation are context dependent, and cannot be used as universal principles.

However, the two case studies suggest something more, related to the how different components mingle in a political, historical ideal of justice.

Let s remind that, in an effort of qualifying the just city, S. Fainstein had to combine as different ideal dimensions as equity, democracy and diversity. Though demanding, this opening is likely not enough: in many fields, scholarly discussion has recognized the opportunity to encompass a broader view of justice, including additional dimensions like recognition, capability and responsibility (Davoudi, 2013; see also Fincher on diversity; Cremaschi and Fioretti 2015). It has been also stressed the importance of considering both the dimension of procedural justice and questions of value (Campbell, 2006).

In particular, the two case studies has shown different combinations, with a similar result:

a) a redistributing, or creative process, depending on whether it mainly leads to the transfer of goods, or to the recognition of identities;
b) legitimating claims either to goods or values, to material and non-material assets that society exchanges;
c) unfolding in situated processes, i.e. in historical conditions, under material and political constraints
d) needing for a collective and relational conception of values beyond the individual dimension.

Finally, it has been underlined how the juxtaposition of the two cases, shows a variation in the spatial scale in which the issues of spatial justice are framed. In the pursuing of the just city , planning should be more responsive to the phenomenon of rescaling driven by urban change.

6. References

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