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THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION OF THE ROMA CAPITALE REGION¹

1. *Roma Capitale territorial issues.* - The topic about the Rome Capital City role arouses keen interest and it is a subject of extensive debate; the theme is even more relevant in relation to the recent establishment of the Roma Capitale Municipality. The 2000th anniversary of August is certainly the right time to reflect about Italian regionalization; according to this process, ambiguity and uncertainty pervade the Executive and Legislative power actions in past 25 years, with particular reference to the institution of metropolitan cities and the future of Italian provinces. The issue necessarily assumes a trans-disciplinary character; anyway, the contribution of territorial approach emerges strongly to the Italian regional organization and State Capital territory. The theme has its roots in the late nineteenth century debate over Italian territory, by a regional perspective, and it keeps on with the state control - federal government dichotomy, highlighting the different conceptions of insider region (functionalism, legal and administrative). In light of the current global economic and political environment of Roma and Lazio, the *status* of Capital City needs of a further reflection, not only from a legal point of view, but also with regard to regulatory functions already assigned and new ones to be added in a short time, mostly respect to the local community's needs. The issue has characterized by a strong territorial dichotomy *Regione-Città* and by dissatisfaction with the current structure, without considering Provincia di Roma, which no longer exists. Therefore, the issue of the arrangement of the country and local authority powers must be connected to the multidisciplinary nature of the problem.

The question that arises is twofold. It refers to a scaling problem, or better, to the need to identify the optimal size of the local authority. However, it appears to be necessary but not sufficient, because the correct assessment of the role of Capital City is mostly a matter of regionalization principle; so the useful reference regarding the Authors who most contribute to this study: Adalberto Vallega (Vallega, 1995), Sergio Conti e Cesare Emmanuel (Conti, 2012; Emanuel, 2006) and Attilio Celant (Celant, 2016). The scaling issue is a diriment and unavoidable point. In fact widespread tendency of insiders toward “provincial” statement about the question of the right scale to refer; then “Roma Capitale Authority” borders should coincide with ex provincial entity, as recently implemented as a result of

¹ This article is result of the combined efforts of the Authors. Marco Brogna wrote sections 1 e 2; Francesco Maria Olivieri wrote sections 3 e 4.

choices made by Law and Policy and it was confirmed by the Italian Geography Society (Celata F. e Martellozzo F., 2016).

We do not share this viewpoint; but if so, many doubts emerge to include several municipalities within “Roma” not linked to it (i.e. Anzio and Nettuno) rather than others neighbours by economic point of view.

The question to *special* character of the individual municipalities find a *general* reference to the applied choices of most important European Capital Cities and some of the United States too, that they have long moved according to this territorial vision: the guideline resulted in a specific oriented approach to regional and municipality scale (that correspond to Italian Regions and Municipalities). It led to drastic exclusion of any intermediate territorial entity, because it seems to be not necessary or, even worse, harmful.

If the scale question could be overcome (we don't think so), it is important to face the second point linked to principle to be applied.

The European Union has expressed its opinion about this theme and has proposed some possible solutions; some purely administrative, others centred on economic aspects or basic on powers' distribution. The economic geographer, who study the territory can make its own contribution. It is our conviction that the approach had to be necessarily systemic. The starting point is doctrine and available and copious literature (Celant, 2016, 1994, 1992, 1990; Conti, 2012; Vallega, 1995, 1983). It is necessary and solvent a combination of arranging social and economic elements with historical and cultural ones, in order to individuate and draw the boundaries of proper territorial systems. If we refer to Roma Area, it is a big territorial system composed by several sub-systems. It is, therefore, a path able to read and organize territory, through reflecting on three different levels of powers at the same time: Roma Capitale Municipality, the competence of Roma Capitale to satisfy local community needs, the role of Roma Capitale Region. As Franco Salvatori and Sergio Conti have also recently recall “siamo in presenza di un'esplicita sfida istituzionale che impone la ridefinizione dei sistemi amministrativi: e che perciò richiede una nuova immaginazione geografica, prima che politico-istituzionale, il cui obiettivo sia il perseguimento di fini collettivi, coinvolgendo processi non solo economici, ma sociali e ambientali” (Salvatori e Conti, 2013).

2. *The optimal size: the case study of Roma Capitale Districts' redefinition.* – The role of geographical disciplines is critical but anyway completely ignored, as it happened in 2013, when because of the Roma Capitale decrees it was facing to the purely geographical question of identification of the boundaries and unification of Roma Capitale districts. The disciplinary contributions (an adequate territorial methodology) would avoid the perpetuation of what has already occurred: *balcanizzazione* of the Roma

Capitale, Provincia di Roma (nowadays Città Metropolitana) and Regione Lazio. Going beyond the risk of error and confirming the negative consequences. Redefining Roma Capitale districts (reducing from 19 to 15 in 2013), it preceded unification of some local institutions identifying new territorial authorities. It is necessary applying a unifying principle to do it: political proximity, or better, electoral. The local political parties suggested, as mutually agreed, to unify “its own” past areas to avoid losing political control of single territory. The result has been “obbrobrio territoriale” forming some awful entities, not systemic but strongly heterogeneous from socio-economic and historical-cultural point of view without relation inside and strongly different needs.

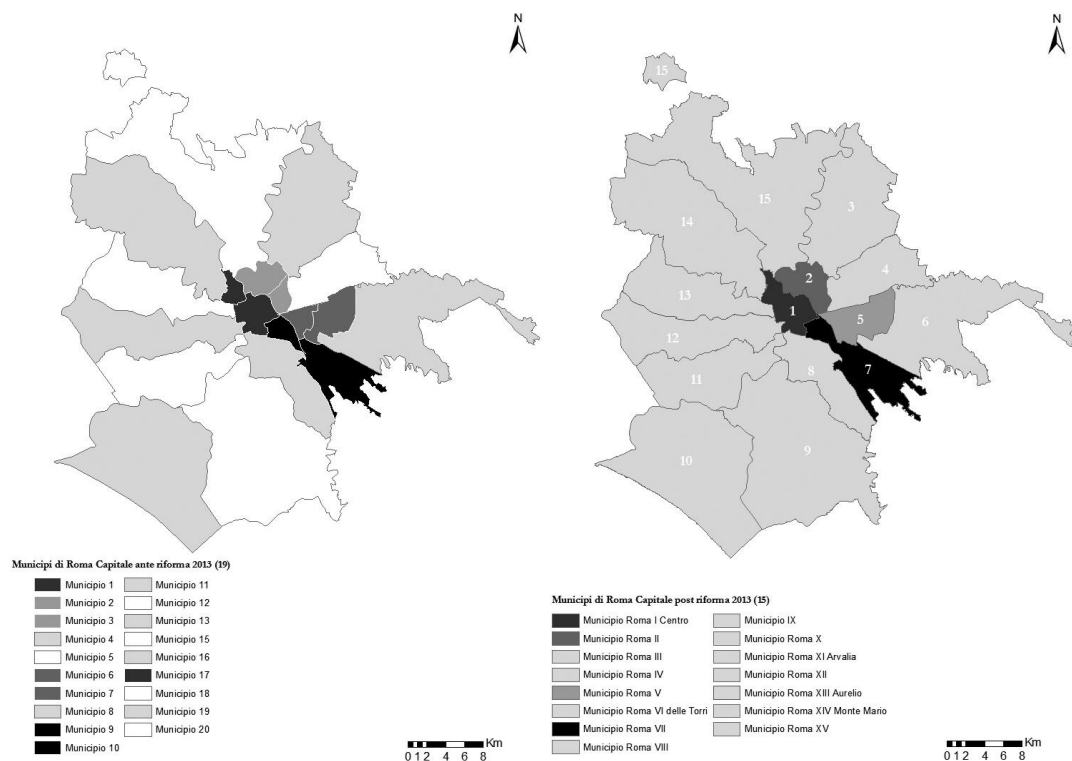


Fig. 1 a-b. - *Roma Capitale Municipalities previous and after Reform del 2013*

Fonte: Self elaboration, 2014

The new 5th District (joining past VI e VII) has borders from Porta Maggiore close to Termini Central Station to Quarticciolo, Tor Tre Teste e La Rustica, crossing Pigneto district, Torpignattara, Casilino and Prenestino, Centocelle, Gordiani, Tor Sapienza, Alessandrino. Another example is 7th District that has borders from Appio Latino close to Aurelian Wall (past IX) reaches Osteria del Curato and Morena, bordering to Ciampino Municipality, crossing Tor Fiscale, Appio Claudio, Quarto Miglio, Quadraro, Tuscolano, Don Bosco e Cinecittà (previous X) beyond GRA Ring for some kilometres. The same changing could refer to other two old districts (II and III) joined into new 2nd District which includes San Lorenzo, Città Universitaria, Sallustiano, Trieste, Quartiere Africano, Nomentano, Parioli,

Flaminio, Villaggio Olimpico, Villa Ada e Villa Borghese; these areas are strongly different so it will be very difficult to manage and organize. At least it was formed a mock City into Historical Centre of Roma, joining the ancient neighborhoods because of the only factor of centrality (Centro Storico and Area archeologica, Testaccio, Aventino, Trastevere, Esquilino, XX Settembre, Celio, San Pietro and the Borgo, Prati and Delle Vittorie).

The dissertation proposes again the scaling question referring to optimal size of local government of complex area (municipal, district, provincial or metropolitan, regional). If we refer to Roma case history, it must be deepened for three orders of reasons. i) Character of local communities have considered not important by the territorial cohesion and affinity of goals to benefit nowadays management role of administration; ii) the actual compliance to the citizens' needs subordinated to other questions; iii) the best practices as Paris (the vision of Capital Region) or London (Greater London – elimination of powers overlapping). These configurations characterized by individuation of a Central Pole and by formation of concentric territorial entities, each one subdivided into homogenous territories by cohesion and needs.

3. The optimal dimension: basic needs fulfilment.– The redefinition of district (sub-municipality) optimal dimension does not consider a proof of concept or an academic stubbornness. The Italian and Roma Capitale situation recognizes districts (sub-municipalities) as authorities' decentralization of strategic powers according to subsidiarity to satisfy local needs by proximity. Europe and Italy ideally adopted the subsidiarity principles but its application often has been ignored it. Anyway, it results useful to our dissertation and to symbolize the “inverted pyramid” representation, where the EU could be considered as the “3rd law level” while Member State and national local governments should be considered as the 1st and 2nd one respectively, according to multilevel governance (Olivieri, 2009). Indeed, Roma is “un modello istituzionale complesso” (Mangiameli, 2003) and so we have to analyze as a *complex region* (Conti, 2012). At the same time, Roma is not able to satisfy our basic local needs as a territorial system; for this reason, a City system could fall into a crisis and it is not able to support by itself and endogenous its growth and develop path. According to us, it is not sufficient having a substantial administrative jurisdiction class linked to regulatory powers to satisfy local needs. Specially, if these belong to an increasing demographic and social population that it shows a spread territorial distribution, not exclusively into municipal territory. Indeed, demographic is not a steady process, as the economic growth influences this double necessity to comply with effect of the relation between demographic dynamic and functioning. During the time, the commercial activities and construction industry contributed to modify Roma territorial configuration, eliminating marginal economic activities. External factors stop urbanization increase: financial crisis, for example, halts construction industry.

Recent evolution of Roma shows a city crisis; this process seems to be a dimensional update of city to a new structural configuration of the territory by a scale variation point of view – the Metropolitan Area (Celant, 2016). The territorial system changed itself as a bottom up process but the government followed different pattern based on regulatory power referring to Municipality. The territorial system still changes itself by independent and structural way; it has happened to Milano, where Metropolitan Area includes part of neighbouring provinces. We have to deepen an aspect to express that Roma is able or not to satisfy population needs. What's it the population? Roma Capitale residents, commutes (by work, study, sanitary reason) or broaden population (regular and not regular migrants, refugees, nomads). We could divide Rome demographic trend into three different phases: a) *Increasing* (1871-1971) from 220.000 inhabitants to 2 millions 739 thousands. b) *Ascending* (1971-1991) urbanization (the same thing happened in Italy), rising of “new centres” inside of the Municipality and population maximum (1981 – 2 millions 797thousands). c) *Descending* (1991-2011), an increasing intensity to moving population towards hinterland municipalities closest to Rome (outside or metropolitan new centres); or anyway towards some other towns (population was 2 million 617 thousands in 2011 yet). The population of Rome (+8.7%) has risen less than other Lazio Region municipalities in this period: (+23.65%): Fiumicino, +32.3%; Ladispoli, +34.8%; Fontenuova, +26.1%; Guidonia-Montecelio, +23.4%, for example (Istat, Censimento della Popolazione, 2011).

The considerations on Roma Capitale public services have to lead by threshold and price range functioning's principles (public services) and by two ranking: a) general services and infrastructure networks (public transport and mobility, Civil Protection). b) Roma Capitale and district competences' allocation (education and formation, social services not including regional competence on Public Health), family and youth policies, productive activities, tourism and culture, council housing, immigration politics). The case history on the following pages is focusing only on Roma Capitale education offer distribution because of summarizing; we consider it explanatory enough about the power allocation and overlapping at vertical and horizontal levels². In facts, different Public Authorities levels involved in. The Ufficio Scolastico Regionale – MIUR has expertise in didactics theme and administrative management of Primary and Secondary Education and to give a “strong” opinion about the *reshaping process*. Regione Lazio approves this *reshaping process* (creation and elimination Terziary Education school orientation included); it could advise the guideline about the nursery school that has been considered as family policy. Provincia di Roma (now Città Metropolitana) could advise about reshaping process and has expertise in school construction and disability policy of Terziary Education.

² The education and school system can be classified into *prima infanzia* (Nursery School, 0-3 years old children), *scuola del primo ciclo* (a part of Nursery School, Primary and Secondary Education) e *scuole del secondo ciclo* (Terziary Education). The Municipal level has expertise to support the State level about Nursery School (3-6 years old children) to help the high local demand satisfaction by direct management of schools (not private ones).

Roma Capitale has expertise: i) Reshaping process of Primary and Secondary Education, the same of each other municipality of Lazio (counseling expertising). ii) School construction and disability policy of Primary and Secondary Education. iii) guideline and management about all the Nursery School policy (direct management of school, license and guidelines to the private school, creation and building construction). The districts of Roma Capitale could advise about the reshaping process of Primary and Secondary Education and administrative manage of Nursery school.

As it is evident from this dissertation, Education System is problematic and differentiated. It suggest several levels of criticality: this public service offer could be more than demand in some district, for example, and on the contrary other districts are not able to satisfy the public service demand. Indeed, Roma Capitale central districts satisfy well the nursery request by a limited number of schools. On the contrary, the experience of peripheral areas is critical and the waiting list is similar to a social emergency. Moreover, there is a congestion in the central areas referring to Terziary Education. The followings suggest that the Education System is disproportionate to the resident population.

However, this does not mean that there are “empty schools”, but this reflected the fact that schools served a metropolitan population, maybe even further (Regione Lazio). It generates different effects: i) excessive commuting school; ii) school construction and maintenance, but emerging some difficulty in terms to identify the right allocation powers; iii) low efficiency and effectiveness, in particular if referring to education support and motor disability and overlapping powers. It causes a complicated education system policy, often it shows inequality with the territorial area studied.

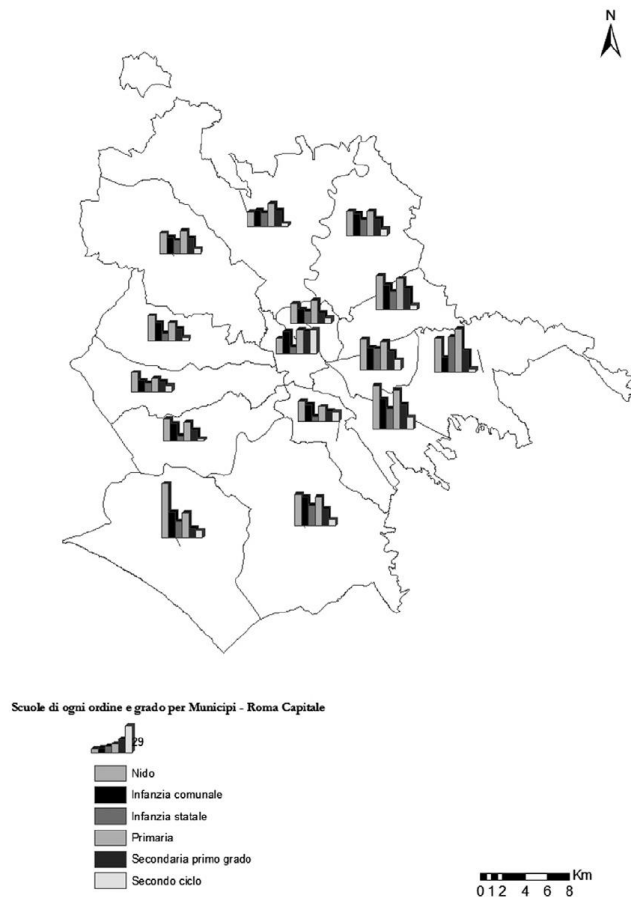


Fig. 2 - *School per Roma Capitale Districts*

Fonte: Self elaboration on Ufficio Scolastico Regionale del Lazio e Roma Capitale data, 2014

Conclusion. The emerging of Roma Capitale Region.- The synthetic contribution focuses on the territorial effects to start thinking how going on. First of all a scaling problem emerges. It seems to be the precondition for the formation of local government bodies, the related powers' allocation and the following policies and strategic local actions, with the aim of reaching a coherent government system with the territory and its local community needs. At the same time, this condition seems to depend on "old" habit: no one is willing to give up their powers, on one hand; and there is an important lack of norms after all that overlaps local powers and left a legal vacuum, on the other hand. For example, the Roma Capitale progress state, while the *iter* of this institution was being implemented of decrees, at the same time the indistinct making of Metropolitan Cities was started, defined and partly completed, and it was strongly characterized by the spending review principle. That conduct presents a contradiction and a old habit yet (see the conflict between the Tourism Legge Quadro n.135/2001 and Titolo V Reform 2001) as a result of Territorial Identity lack, if there are not the right powers and jurisdiction. It is also There is an evidence that in this case the question is legal and it can never be solved.

According to this dissertation, it is therefore a question of conceptualization of the local community - the population of a territory. "Allora è un problema territoriale, in quanto il territorio è essenziale e non spazio astratto" (Celant, 2016). Territorial and geographical disciplines are inescapable to the scaling question and to the principle to be adopted, the ones that is resulted from and that, at the same time, produces powers. For this reason, the systemic approach is basic to guide the formation of Institutional Entity as a formal and functional structure, where the territorial relationships meet local community needs in terms of powers and roles (Brognna, 2009). Then, it is the Complex Region, which also includes the higher legal power level, as useful European and Anglo-Saxon country's experience showed it. This could be achieved with the establishment of a Capital Region and contextually Regione Lazio abolition, joining some areas to the new Local Body and to other existing regions. It is necessary to do the abolition of the existing provinces and of the Città Metropolitana di Roma.

The new local body should have a smaller size than the current Regione Lazio, but bigger than the current Città Metropolitana (past Provincia di Roma). Therefore, it seems simplistic to imagine Roma's complexity as a simple institutional entity, even if it has linked to the performance of specific functions of Capital City. Indeed, territorial factors define the space and characterize government and related powers. Based on the above, it is time to go to a new and different vision of territory, grounded on local community project.

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Abstract.- The specific role of the State Capital city has been increasing interesting and now it results widely argue, because of the Rome' Capital institution. This theme is trans-disciplinary and geographical studies are such important to the Italian territorial organization: it has originated by the debate about the Italian space at the end of XIX century and it has been linked to the centralism-federalism dichotomy. Anyway, the space organization applies to different driven concepts (i.e. functionalism, law, administrative). The aim of the paper is refers to a specific necessity of a careful consideration based on a territorial contribution to the local community needs. The methodology refers to European system law to local authorities of multilevel governance and the succeeding Titolo V Constitution reform (2001-2014). Indeed the law status of Rome Capital City has been now developing (l.42/2009). The

case of Rome is such important to the allocation of authorities and powers at different scales. The acknowledgment of this role of Capital is a necessary condition but it is no sufficient too, in spite of the recognition of the government best level and the group of authorities. The last question of this topic is about a new proposal to individuate the best institution on two different characters: law for the authorities and territorial for the dimension.

Key words: Roma Capitale, governance, territory.