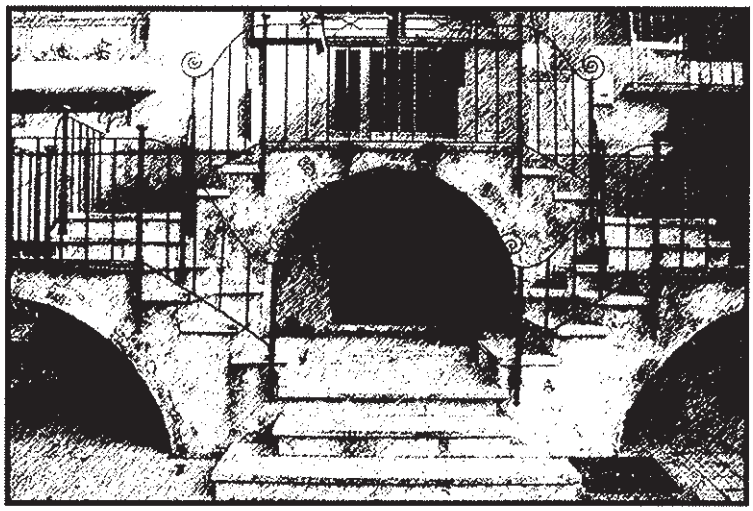
GARBATELLA:

A COMPREHENSIVE NEIGHBORHOOD ANALYSIS



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I. INTRODUCTION

Just beyond the Aurelian Wall and south of the city center, a cluster of particular buildings rises from the landscape and fades behind the hulking facades of crumbling 10-story high-rises. A view from above reveals a provincial village wedged within the monotony of post-war urban fabric. The streets are sometimes eerily quiet and other times overwhelmed with the sounds of youthful exuberance. The old and the young fight for control of street corners. Entire walls are covered by Communist propaganda. Buildings stand guard over shady courtyards, refuge from the chaos of the Roman streets. This is Garbatella.

History reveals that a multitude of change has always been the fate of this neighborhood. Garbatella is a palimpsest of 20th century Rome, a sometimes-uncomfortable amalgam of people, buildings and ideas. The timeline of Garbatella is analogous to that of modern Rome. Before there was a Garbatella, the area south of Ancient Rome served as an enormous pasture, dotted with peasant cottages and sprawling country villas. Garbatella began in the first decade of the 20th century, when ambitious plans were drafted for a utopian garden village, inspired by the ideals of Robert Owen. English garden city movement. When the Fascists rose to power in the early 1920s, early visions of the Garbatella project were incorporated into their urban plans. Rather than a utopian village, Garbatella was to accommodate those displaced from *centro storico* during the construction of ambitious Fascist public works projects. The scheme, however, retained much of its early character, due to continuation of work by the originally appointed architects.

In later years, the periphery of the city expanded and Garbatella's was less isolated. The 1950's and 1970's were important decades, as austere blocks of public housing developed around the existing nucleus. In these decades, the neighborhood's political identity grew. The anti-authoritarian seed, planted by the displaced residents, germinated

into a zealous Leftist flower. Garbatella became Rome's most enthusiastic bastion of Communism.

Today, Garbatella is on the verge of another period of transition. Rapid development of public transportation within the neighborhood has increased accessibility and proximity to the city center. Rome's third university, *Roma Tre*, was recently established, which brought the neighborhood an influx of student culture and a spike in rental rates. The abandoned *Mercati Generali* is the site of a major adaptive reuse project, promising a plethora of new services. Garbatella is home to Rome's most active political scene, and for that reason was chosen as the city's experimental Municipio for participatory democracy. Ostiense, an adjacent neighborhood, has soared as a desirable arts and entertainment district. Garbatella's aging core has evolved into an impressive collection of early 20th century architecture, well preserved and surprisingly tranquil in relation to the commotion of Rome's city center. The buzzword of gentrification has entered our Garbatella lexicon, as the appeal of this neighborhood seems to be unavoidably discovered.

The unusual way in which five foreign students have come to understand this little known place deserves an explanation. As part of the European City Studio, a critical element of Cornell University's City and Regional Planning Rome Program, students were asked to immerse themselves in a predetermined neighborhood with the ultimate goal of understanding its character. Utilizing comprehensive street surveys, resident interviews, discussions with key informants and a plethora of Rome census data, a blurry Garbatella has come into relative focus. That is not to say that our understanding is seamless; to argue such would be absurd. Gaps exist in our knowledge, and careful data collection has often resulted in a frustrating attempt at piecing together an imperfect puzzle. Additionally, the biases brought from America, in conjunction with our diverse upbringings, have inevitably filtered our study through a prejudiced lens. Despite these limitations, which will be discussed later,

our study of Garbatella has yielded many fascinating concepts, and allowed for recommendations to aid the future growth of the neighborhood.

This paper will present a compilation of our research, both empirical and statistical. The first section reviews the methodology of research and the limitations of the researchers. The second section examines Garbatella's existing neighborhood conditions, beginning with the complicated history of Garbatella, from a physical, political, and socio-economic perspective. Additionally, it includes general characteristics of housing, transportation, public space, commerce, and population demographic of Garbatella. The third section explores trends and emerging conditions, with focused commentary on gentrification issues and changing neighborhood demographics. The fourth section suggests a strategy for future planning by outlining community goals and objectives in a broad framework. Finally, the paper concludes with suggestions for further research. This paper represents nearly four months of data collection, theory research, and group investigation. Our findings serve as a textual introduction to this place. We urge you to use this document as a preface and a companion. The streets, piazzas and courtyards are where Garbatella truly shines.

II. METHODOLOGY

In order to produce a reliable and revealing study of Garbatella, a refined methodology was constructed at the earliest stages of our investigation. With the ultimate goal of understanding urban theory and planning issues in a European context, our study of Garbatella was systematically designed to continually evaluate findings against those of the larger neighborhood, city, region, country and international framework.

Garbatella lies within Municipio XI, one of 19 politically defined regions within Rome. Garbatella, however, is organically defined, and therefore its boundaries were often disputed and redefined based on certain characteristics and functions. For instance, when the

major outdoor market serving the study area was discovered, our boundaries were extended to include this critical site. Analysis of the neighborhood was regularly supported with guest lectures concentrating on general urban planning strategy in Rome and Italy.

Due to the lack of published research, we entered Garbatella knowing little of the existing neighborhood conditions. Upon our first structured visit, with a bilingual teaching assistant, we were able to draw several important impressions. To organize our research and form a hypothesis, we developed a three-step methodology: the preconception stage, the research stage, and the practical application stage.

Preconception stage

At this stage, preliminary research was compiled and analyzed. Documenting our primary interpretations as foreign students allowed us to realize and reduce our biases. Another goal of the preconception stage was to gain a general understanding of the neighborhood demographics, findings which are presented in Section III, the 'Existing Conditions'. For maximum efficiency, we divided the neighborhood into five sections. During this stage, specific tasks included compiling map plots of building typology, recording observational notes, and completing prearranged surveys on the physical, social and economic characteristics (Appendix D). The preconception stage provided us with a sturdy foundation and allowed us to anticipate further research in order to test our hypotheses.

Research stage

The research stage concentrated on data compilation and analysis, historical review, and the examination of key informants. We began thorough research on gentrification theory and its relation to the state of Garbatella, followed by factual information that could support our claims. This included analysis of our street surveys and Censis data, along with extensive

web research. We also interviewed key neighborhood informants, whose information proved vital to our investigation. From our research we compiled a significant amount of evidence to either support or refute our original gentrification claims. Our final research stage sought to apply resident feedback to our existing recordings.

Practical stage

After conducting extensive statistical research, we determined that our database lacked the input of its constituency; the people of Garbatella. We developed a comprehensive questionnaire to connect our observations to the opinions of Garbatella residents (Appendix C). All too often, planners and sociologists create and test theories without ever interacting with the environment or community they seek to understand. Our questionnaire was of utmost importance to our understanding of the neighborhood and its emerging conditions, particularly that of gentrification.

Limitations

We believe that this three-tiered approach facilitated reliable research and has strengthened our ultimate findings. Any project of this scope, however, is not without limitation or error. Our primary research tools, surveys, statistical data, and key informants, provided many opportunities for bias and error. Below we have included a thorough catalog of research weaknesses, but others undoubtedly exist.

Personal surveys are prone to bias. The prejudice of the surveyor may surface in his or her questions. Our research included three forms of survey; a questionnaire for residents, a questionnaire for key informants, and a neighborhood characteristic survey. Flaws in the questionnaire are almost unavoidable when inexperienced researchers are forming the questions. Biased questions, for example, can lead the respondent on, for example: "Do you find the cost of living too high?" was one of the questions we aske,d when it should have read "Is the cost of living affordable in Garbatella?" Another problem was that some of the

questions were overly vague, for example: "Where do you go for entertainment/ recreation?" Here, a respondent answered "television", which implies that the question was unsuccessful in yielding neighborhood entertainment preferences.

The English-Italian language barrier should also be noted, as it prevented accurate understanding of informants, questionnaire respondents and general research. Unfortunately, this limitation could not be eliminated under our circumstances.

Additionally, the street survey data collection methods were often inconsistent. Because collecting data involves its interpretation, results are often tainted by individual bias. Street noise levels and shrubbery levels are two measurements we made where individual bias could come into play. Limitations should have been clarified, or if time had allowed, more surveys could have been conducted to increase accurace. Additionally, the surveys were conducted at different times and dates, preventing conditional uniformity.

The majority of our statistical data came from Italian web sources, our surveys, and a three-part statistical workshop – clearly limitations exist. Furthermore, our ability to track trends was virtually impossible, as data was only found for the years 1981 and 1991, thereby missing the last 13 years of history. Because we sought to measure the effect of the establishment of *Roma Tre* University, which occurred after 1991, timely information was critical and regrettably unavailable.

Our diverse pool of resources inevitably delivered their own biases to our research. With access to two knowledgeable professors on global theories of urban planning and Italian culture, (Professor Goldsmith, and Professor Greg Smith), two bilingual teacher assistants (Massimo Alluli and Stefano Volante), and two statistical specialists (Leslie Young and Thomas Chandy), we were able to refine and crosscheck data. Additionally, interviews with key neighborhood organizations were entwined with their own opinions and motives. Examples include a meeting with at headquarters of the Partito della Rifondazione

Comunista, an organization with a strong history of promoting communist ideals in the historical center of Garbatella. At Rifondazione, we met with Andrea Catarci (segretario del Partito della Rifondazione Comunista di Garbatella) and Fabio Marcelli (membro del partito e della redazione del giornale "Cittadinanza"). Although the meeting was insightful, it was likely biased by their partiality.

The above stated limitations should be considered when understanding the findings of this study, but we believe that our careful methodology precludes their detriment. Like any sociological review, our findings represent only the knowledge available at the time of publication and inevitably include the biases of the authors.

III. EXISTING CONDITIONS

History

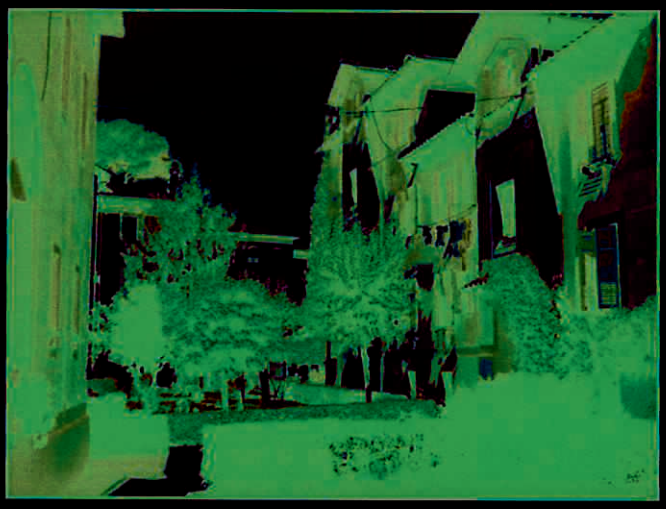
Somewhere among the 1920s villas, the 1930s fast-houses, and the 1950s high-rises, the complex history of Garbatella's physical development can, with careful excavation, be uncovered. As a group, we spent untold hours debating the history of Garbatella before we corroborated suspicion with historical fact. Our definitions of the architectural typology funneled from the erroneous "Fascist" moniker to the more precise, multifaceted classifications. Indeed, Garbatella is a complicated neighborhood of constant growth and transformation.

Throughout much of the 1800's, the area today called Garbatella remained under ecclesiastical control. The vast rural landscape was scattered with country houses, villas, medieval watchtowers, orchards, pastures, and cane fields. The area was abundant in vegetation, specifically pine and fir trees.

In 1903, the *Instituto di Case Populare* (ICP) was born, responsible for the construction of state mandated public housing. Only a year later, the ICP was instructed to

draw plans for the territory of Garbatella, making it one of the first state interventions on housing development. The initial project intended to create a small maritime village alongside a newly constructed navigation channel. By building a channel that linked the river-port to the sea, Rome would become a powerful industrial pole en route to the Mediterranean.

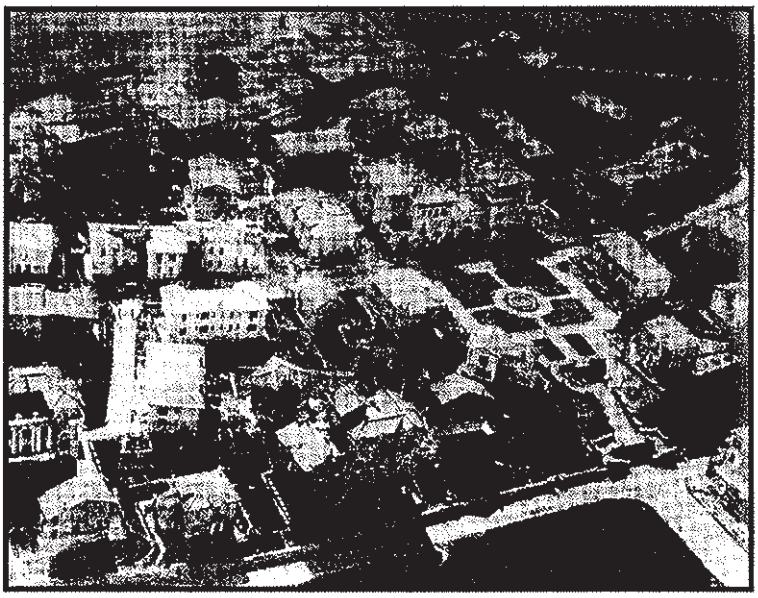
The project also integrated the garden city movement into the plans for a maritime village. The garden city concept, popularized in England at the turn of the 20th century, was based on a utopian socialist ideal and aimed to create a place where all human needs could be fulfilled. The incorporation of this idea was likely due to the strengthening connection between factory jobs in the industrial sector of Ostiense and the developing residential quarter of Garbatella. The plan was centered on communal gardens that allowed for families to cultivate vegetables for domestic consumption.



Vast sums of land were acquired to realize this project and on February 18th, 1920, King Vittorio Emanuele laid down the cornerstone for building construction in Garbatella. Simultaneously, an autonomous society, the Agency of Marine and Industrial Development, was founded and given partial control over the implementation of the plan.

The original nucleus of Garbatella developed around Piazza di Benedetto Brin, the "lounge" of the garden city, and totaled 40 small villas with 190 houses. The villas contained between one and three floors, and were generally composed of 2 or 3 rooms with a small toilet and no running water. Houses were organized in lots surrounded by greenery, each

consisting of a small garden where vegetables were grown to supplement the weekly factory salary. Garbatella was linked to the city only by Via delle Sette Chiese, an old road for the pilgrims, and the "pincetto" stairway, which was intended to link Garbatella to the large port on the Tiber River adjacent to Basilica di San Paolo.



Piazza Brin, the original nucleus of Garbatella

The prototypical Garbatella houses were inspired by the Roman baroque style and in many ways mimicked Italian country houses built between 1500 and 1700. The Garbatella cluster was designed by now-famous Italian architects Gustavo Giovannoni, Innocenzo Sabbatini, Massimo Piacentini, and Plinio Marconi. Close attention was paid to details in the chimneys, railings, window, gutter pipes and sculpted decorations. A variety of shapes and designs were applied to the section of the plan.

The first inhabitants of Garbatella organized themselves into a communal group and formed "the Cooperative of Garbatella Consumption" in the main piazza for basic alimentary necessities. The cooperative marked the beginning of an active community involvement that persists in Garbatella until this very day.

However, the project combining the river-port navigational channel and the industrial city was soon abandoned. In 1924, the plan for the garden city project was modified and construction proceeded with the building of the "fast houses." There was an urgent need to provide shelter to people displaced from the historic center as a result of historic preservation and the construction of large-scale Fascist monuments. This exigency, coupled with the

for the neighborhood's first school, the Cesar Batistes Elementary School. Unlike the residential buildings in the area, the elementary school was built following Fascist architectural principles, and introduced the familiar language of imperial monumentality to Garbatella. The quartiere's first open air market also appeared in 1930, bringing fresh food to its residents.

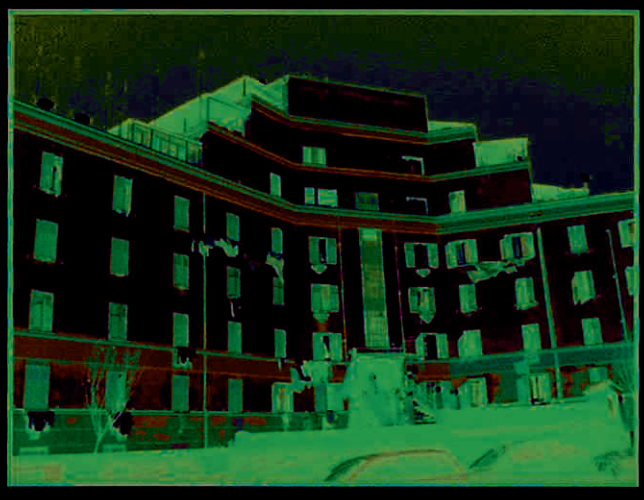
1936 saw another influx of displaced residents, as those uprooted by Fascist public-works projects sought shelter provided by the housing lotteries. By this time Garbatella had earned a reputation as a socially and politically active area. The anti-Fascist resistance movement was in full effect by the early 1940's and made use of neighborhood buildings for anti-Fascist causes. These spaces were of utmost importance to the success of the resistance movement. Many martyrs of the anti-Fascist movement emerged from Garbatella, including the legendary Cinelli siblings. After the war, a silver medal was awarded to the socialist organization of Garbatella for its active involvement in unseating the Fascist government.

The Second World War suspended construction, and the original plan for continued development of Garbatella was left incomplete. However the residents of the neighborhood continued to capture the attention of the city. In 1950, a report was published investigating a female association that sustained the neighborhood by collecting a portion of savings from families in order to redistribute and lend money to those who were in need.

By 1960, Garbatella continued to gain prominence throughout Rome, as two notable incidents transpired. The first was the appearance of a supermarket chain, a very unusual occurrence in 1960's Italy. The second was the controversial proposal for the construction of elegant mansions on the existing Garbatella site. Opposition from the residents and landowners, who had originally donated the land specifically for the purpose of building public housing, halted the plans. In 1973 a tramline connected Garbatella to Rome's Prenestina area, further establishing a connection between Garbatella and the city.

declining interest in the garden city movement, caused the architecture of the newly built houses to decline in quality and detail. The "fast houses" were constructed using low-quality materials and lacked any decorative embellishments. The gardens were replaced by courtyards and primarily became a place to dry laundry.

From 1926 to 1930, allocation and construction of housing for displaced families ensued. Housing was also assigned to the families of construction workers who built the community. People deemed dangerous to the government were banished to Garbatella, where they were presumed to be less of a political threat. The gardens that were originally designed for agricultural cultivation became courtyards for various common usages. These courtyards favored socialization among the residents, fostering a strong sense of community. By maintaining these spaces, residents took the time to ensure the protection and support of the entire community. Common spaces were also instigators of strong political activism. Although the government purposely built social spaces in order to control the so-called "dangerous people," these spaces doubled as meeting spots to discuss ideas of resistance to the Fascist regime.



By the 1930s housing typology evolved from the picturesque small villas to large, insipid structures. Dubbed the "suburban hotels", these consisted of single-room houses intended for 8 people, with common quarters for all necessary services: canteen, laundry, bathrooms, primary school, church, etc. It was also in 1930 that the Imperial Pathway (presently called Via Cristoforo Colombo) officially opened, placing Garbatella in closer context with the city center. During the same year, construction began

Under the encouragement of the Lazio regional government, the ICP sold a limited number of houses to long-time renters in 1986. In the same year, *Roma Tre* was founded on Via Ositense, which spurred spontaneous development of social and cultural establishments. The first agreement between the university and local government was made in 1992 for concentration of university structures on the Garbatella/Ostiense border. 1997 marked the first conversion of a public building into a university facility.

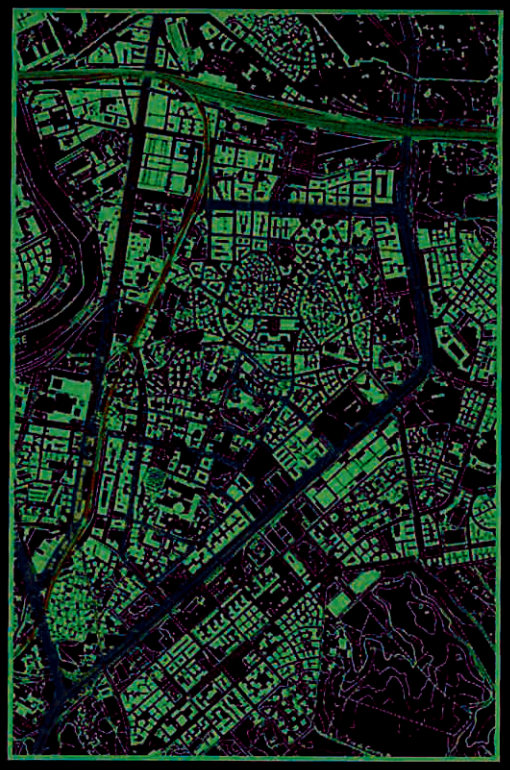
In just the last several decades, Garbatella has been designated as both a historic district and as part of the city center of Rome. These two recently bestowed distinctions must be noted, as they mark a pivotal and fundamental evolution of the neighborhood from fringe working-class *borgata* to a central, distinctive urban enclave. Although this word choice may appear to be overstated, when taken in the context of today's Greater Rome, Garbatella is both central and uniquely historic (if only as a relic of early 20th century Rome). Nowhere else in the city can we find a place with such characteristic architecture or land use. Even if we are to avoid the conclusion that such traits will lead to increased demand for housing, it must be acknowledged that Garbatella offers something unavailable in the rest of Rome.

Transportation

Serviced by a regional train line, three metro stops, and eight bus lines, access to the city center is simple and abundant. The Ostiense regional railway station is connected to five other interchange stations including Flaminio, Trastevere, Tuscolana, Termini and Tiburtina. This railway network covers the greater metropolitan area of Rome, including outlying suburbs and further connections to other Italian cities.

The metro line B serves Garbatella, and appears to be the most popular form of transportation among residents of the neighborhood. There are three metro stops within the neighborhood and the metro stop Piramide, a significant node within the Metropolitan network, is only a ten-minute walk from the Garbatella center. A short commute to the

center is an anomaly in greater Rome, where traffic problems normally hinder the expediency of an otherwise effective and sizable bus system.



Garbatella, the northern-most metro stop in the neighborhood, drops commuters off in a commercial area consisting of clothing stores, cafes, shoe stores, and the open air market. Basilica San Paolo, the second stop, has a significantly higher usage because of its location along Via Ostiense, arguably the busiest street in the neighborhood. Lastly, Marconi is located in a predominantly residential area and serves mostly regional passengers. It is a 10 to 15 minutes ride from any of the three stops to Statzione Termini, Rome's central train station.

The eight bus lines that traverse Garbatella's main streets are route numbers 715, 716, 707, 766, 769, 670, 761, and 673. Buses are most frequent along Via Ostiense, Via delle Sette Chiese, Via Cristoforo Colombo, and Via Leonardo Da Vinci, and based on multiple recordings, arrive approximately every 11 minutes. The bus ride takes approximately 15 to 20 minutes to the city center, specifically Largo Argentina/Pantheon area. Seeing as how Rome's traffic conditions are unreliable, the metro is often the optimal choice for efficient transportation. Considering the strong working class component of Garbatella, bus lines are arranged to meet the needs and demands of this demographic and therefore provide more consistent service around morning and evening hours, marking the beginning and end of the workday. Ridership during this time period is undoubtedly higher, and more frequent buses can be expected.

Vehicular traffic is heaviest along Via Cristoforo Colombo, which is comprised of 10 lanes. Colombo provides good access to the major road networks of Rome. Traffic is also heavy along several of the major thoroughfares of Garbatella, including Via Ostiense, Via della Siette Chiese, Via Circonvallazione Ostiense, where traffic has been measured at a rate of approximately one car per second. Minor inner-neighborhood streets, of course, receive significantly less traffic, measuring only several cars per minute.

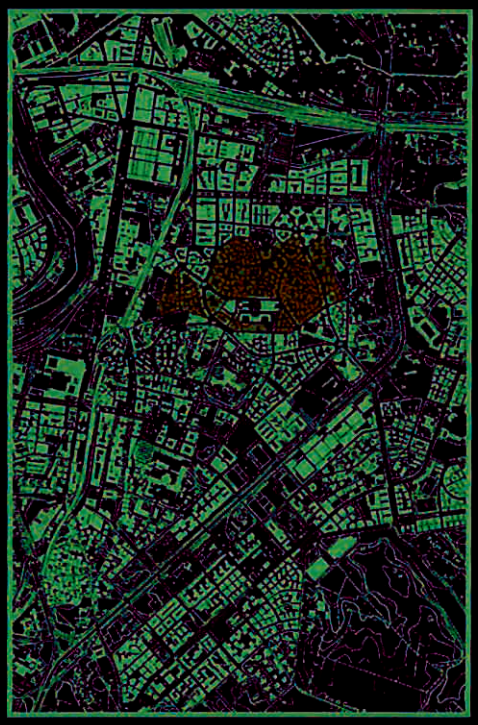
The Garbatella resident questionnaire provides insight into transportation in Garbatella. The respondents use a mix of transportation to get to and from Garbatella, showing the diverse use of readily available transportation methods in the neighborhood. Only three people used one single method of transportation. The data showed that the most popular means of transportation was by car (63%), followed by metro (48%) and by foot (44%). Information gained from the analysis of questionnaire data will appear extensively in Section V: Plan for the Future.

Garbatella, much like the rest of Rome, also suffers from inadequate parking facilities. A large amount of piazzas and large intersections are inundated with cars, often parked in double and triple rows. Additionally, larger streets that allow parking along sidewalks fall victim to double-parking, sometimes restricting a two way street to one-way. Residential buildings in Garbatella rarely provide subterranean parking or above-grade parking lots, therefore forcing the illegal parking epidemic. Observational data can be found in the (Appendix D) providing an in-depth analysis of particularly challenged areas.

Housing

Garbatella's housing stock can be classified in approximately two types. The first, and most distinctive are the villa-type housing built roughly from 1920 to 1940. Arranged in clusters of two to eight units per building, these structures are generally two to four stories in height and surround a central courtyard that is accessible from the street. These medium

density clusters are situated on narrow snaking streets flanked by pavement sidewalks and planted with foliage. It is important to note that though the Fascist government oversaw much of the construction, this housing is not necessarily typical or representative of Fascist architectural ideals. The government hired architects for their skill and knowledge; the housing therefore reflects the ideals and beliefs of these individual architects and other important urban movements.



The baby-boomers of the post-war era rushed the edges of the historic core, prompting rapid construction of 10-story apartment complexes, some private and some government subsidized. A similar burst of development occurred in the 1970's, as people fled the center in search of lower cost, lower density and higher quality of life. These historical trends gave way to Garbatella's other dominant housing typology, the high-rise. Constructed predominately as working-class dormitory-style housing in the aforementioned phases, the "high-rise" now composes 74% of housing in Garbatella[1]. Shortly after their construction, many of the high-rise complexes were converted into apartment units, attracting higher-wage tenants. These structures rise five to eight stories in height and contain approximately twenty units per building. They appear on most streets outside of the 1920s-era core, especially on the main commercial roads. The high-rises are set close to one another, with small gardens separating the buildings at no more than ten-foot intervals. Most have private balconies and six to ten foot setbacks, lending the streets a

[1] CENSIS data

suburban feel. Much of the housing, particularly of the latter high-rise classification, is mixed-use. It is rare to find a building without ground-floor retail space.

The housing in Garbatella appears to be well maintained, particularly in the historic core. Multiple renovation projects have been observed around Via d'Albertis and Via Chiudo. Of the medium-density clusters in the historic center, most appear to have been constructed from 1923 to 1930. Several high-rises, particularly those close to main roads or transportation facilities are in poorer condition. The buildings lining Via Ostiense and Circonvallazione Ostiense are more dilapidated than those in the southern and eastern portions of Garbatella. Housing will be discussed extensively in later sections, particularly in regards to its role in neighborhood change and the risk of gentrification.

Public Space

Garbatella boasts generous public spaces and plentiful greenery. Public spaces vary in size from a small intersection corner to a large metropolitan park, each size serving different amounts and types of people. Piazzas, parks, and playgrounds of various sorts are in close proximity to virtually every resident and appear to be actively used. Several public spaces are of particular prominence, distinguishing themselves from the rest due to advantageous locations and aesthetic superiority.

At the geographical center of Garbatella and at the heart of the historic district lies Piazza Sauli, a large open piazza surrounded by civic activity and a picturesque residential area. A road along one side of the piazza serves as a natural bridge connecting two

neighborhood arterials. The road carries very little traffic as the surrounding road system diverts most of the traffic from the piazza and the neighborhood as a whole. Although the piazza's aesthetic appeal has largely faded, one can easily identify its strong functional utility to the neighborhood. Several groups use the piazza over various periods of the day, including school-children around 1PM, mothers and children around 4PM, and older men in the early evening. Because an elementary school and church lie at the heart of this traditional Fascist piazza, it's functionality is centered around its educational and religious functions and geographic centrality.

Piazza San Eurosia is another example of a space with high public utility. The piazza has a playground, a large open green space, several intersecting paths, many benches, and is surrounded by small restaurants and bars. It is undeniably a major center of activity in Garbatella that serves several civic functions. Its site, adjacent to the pedestrian section of Via della Sette Chiese, is arguably the neighborhood's religious nucleus. Due to its position between Via Ostiense and Via Colombo, Eurosia is a major social gathering and commerce point. Along with Piazza Sauli, Eurosia marks one of the most prominent neighborhood centers.

However, not all public spaces are functional as gathering points for residents. The Piazza del Lavoro is one example of public space that has been plagued by traffic, drowned by noise, and bordered by major highways. The piazza is at the intersection of Viale G. Marconi, Via C. Colombo, and flanked by a connecting street at its northern end. In effect, it is an unreachable island park in a sea of roads.

While it is easy to criticize, it should be noted that spaces that appear problematic may actually serve a valid and useful function. Largo Delle Sette Chiese is at first glace overrun with intensive traffic and parked cars, but upon further exploration one discovers that the piazza has a very pragmatic function as a center of a transportation node. Buses #670 and #715 make frequent stops at the piazza, picking up and dropping off dozens of people per ride. Rather than serving as a space for public interaction, this space serves a different and equally important function within the neighborhood.

Commerce

Several types of commerce can easily be identified in Garbatella. The first is an interesting retail phenomenon of "neighborhood service nodes," found mostly in the older center of the neighborhood. On several notable intersections and on most sizable piazzas, one can find the provision of a standard set of services, usually including a café, a tabacchi, and a panaria. These nodes appear at the convergence of several streets and provide both social gathering places for a small group of residents as well as vital neighborhood services. From the number of service nodes found in Garbatella (one every few blocks), it appears that these nodes exclusively serve residents in close pedestrian proximity.

In the postwar high-rise buildings, the ground floor is reserved for retail, particularly clothing stores, banks, cafes, beauty parlors, tabacchi, and *motorini* repair shops. Other services such as real estate agencies, dry cleaners, video rental stores, and supermarkets are also readily available and within easy access of almost every residential unit. The quantity and location of retail services has been recorded in the (Appendix D). More prominent retail outlets are positioned on heavily trafficked streets, notably along Via Circonvallazione Ostiense, Via Leonardo Da Vinci, and Via Gabriello Chiabrera.

The outdoor market, located along Via Circonvallazione Ostiense, attracts mostly elderly people. We have often observed elderly residents who sit by the entrance and serve as informal "market greeters." The market provides a local spectacle and allows anyone with a spare moment to watch the diverse people who come to the market for their day's groceries. The vendors provide the local residents with a variety of goods; anything from fruits, vegetables, cheese and fish to clothes, toys and watches. Covering an area of one city block by two city blocks, the market houses 20 to 25 vendors and operates Monday through Saturday. Market hours begin at approximately 7AM and continue until 2PM. It is a central component of this sector of the neighborhood, providing a unique but essential service with enormous benefits to its users.

Commerce in Garbatella caters to the residential lifestyle of the neighborhood but, with the variety and sheer number of stores within its borders, it also provides local residents with nearly any service they require. This creates a feeling of self-sufficiency within the neighborhood, allowing Garbatella the ability to detach itself from the city center and function on its own.

Demographics

Overall trends indicate that the population of Garbatella, like that of Rome, is declining. National census data from 1981, 1991, and 2002 indicate that the population fell from 63,665 in 1981 to 56,158 in 1991 and down to 49,408 in 2002. Data analysis tells us that numbers for six out of nine age groups decreased. Two of the three age groups where numbers increased experienced only a slight increase in numbers. The group encompassing ages 25-34 increased by 662 people and age group of 65-74 increased by 32 people.

However, age group 75 and above experienced a tremendous increase of 2095 people. In fact, this statistic confirms that Garbatella's elderly population is by percentage larger than Rome's 75+ demographic. We should not pay too much attention to this statistic, as it illustrates the well-known Italian trend of an aging population, marked by a decreased birthrate and an increased retirement rate. Garbatella simply confirms the Italy-wide trend of an aging population (Appendix A).

Workforce characteristics in Garbatella are "typical" of Rome, a conclusion drawn from the highly correlated numbers in our statistics. In 1991, 41.1% of the total population in Garbatella was in the workforce as compared to Rome's 43.7%. The 58.3% in the non-workforce included housewives, students, retirees and others. Rome's non-workforce was 56.3% of the population. Of the 41.1% that were members of the workforce in Garbatella, 81.8% were employed, 7.6% were unemployed and 10.6% were searching for employment. Rome statistics reveals that of the 43.7% in the workforce, 81.1% were employed, 8.6% were unemployed, and 10.2% were seeking employment. It should be noted that although there is a lower percentage of people in the workforce in Garbatella, the percentage of those employed are higher and the percentage of those unemployed are lower (Appendix A).

It should be noted once more that because of the unavailability of the most recent census data, the above analysis does not include information representing the influx of people that *Roma Tre* has undoubtedly brought to Garbatella. *Roma Tre*'s establishment has indisputably altered the neighborhood's demographic breakdown, an important and unrepresented population segment.

2001 statistics reveal that Municipio XI is home to 137 nationalities. The largest foreign population is Filipino with 1,056 residents, followed by a Bangladeshi population of 601, a Peruvian population of 466, a Polish population of 380 and a Chinese population of 366. 19 nationalities are represented by three digit figures while 55 of the nationalities have a

population in the single digits. The ratio of male to female varies with each nationality, although the overall trend shows a near equal spread.

IV. EMERGING CONDITIONS

Our first visit to Garbatella was much like an artist's first sketch. With no prior knowledge of the neighborhood, we were solely dependent on our eyes for a superficial impression of Garbatella. Our observations of the abandoned slaughter houses, the efficient public transportation, windy, tree-lined roads, the attractive architecture of the historic center, and the new, ultra-modern university, prompted us to consider the possibility of gentrification. Although Garbatella was considered a part of the *peripheria* for much of Rome's urban history, the recent de-concentration and de-industrialization of Rome has compelled the full integration of Garbatella into the *centro storico*. Today, Garbatella is fully incorporated into the city of Rome, located just three metro stops from the Colosseo. A two-bedroom apartment costs roughly $1000 euros a month, exorbitantly high for the traditional worker.

Gentrification, a concept introduced by British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964, is a topic on which urban theorists agree to disagree. Glass coined the term when describing the middle class invasion of working class quarters in London where dilapidated cottages were converted into extravagant bourgeois residences. "Once this process of gentrification starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed."[2] Three decades later, Geographer and anthropologist Neil Smith defined gentrification as process "by which poor and working-class neighborhoods in the inner city are refurbished by an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters…a dramatic yet unpredicted reversal of

[2] Atkinson, Rowland.

what most twentieth-century urban theories had been predicting as the fate of central and inner-city."[3] The definition of gentrification and its implications remain ambiguous due to its circumstantial causes and manifestations. Moreover, explanations of gentrification are heavily affected by the political and theoretical biases of those studying it.

Neil Smith developed what later became known as the "production-side argument" and "rent-gap theory." His article entitled "A Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People," (published by the Journal of the American Planning Association, 1979) states that developers are incentivized by the prospect of profiting from the discrepancy in rent between richer and poorer neighborhoods. In other words, market rental rates should be low enough in dilapidated areas for developers and landowners to invest capital into the renewal of the housing, cover their costs and investment, and reap a profit from the increased market value of the newly-built units, which were supposedly put to their "highest and best use". In addition, he supports his thesis by emphasizing the effects of de-industrialization. Areas previously dominated by factories had enormous development potential characterized by a severe rent-gap and changing land uses.[4] Disparities in market prices and various points at which developers considered an area ripe for investment, led to uneven development. However, the rent gap theory was severely criticized by the "consumptive argument," a theory mainly associated with fellow geographer, David Ley.

According to Ley, the flaw of the "rent-gap theory" is that it fails to address the importance of the "gentrifier". Ley argues that aside from the profit that may be made in gentrification, reinvestment in blighted areas will only occur when the current desirable housing supply is restricted and becomes increasingly unaffordable. Ley continues to say that consumer preferences play a dominant role in explaining gentrification due to the varying tastes of the stratifying middle class or the 'new middle class.' It is not only capital that

[3] Smith, Neil.
[4] Bourassa, Steven.

revitalizes a dilapidated neighborhood but the people associated with that capital. In response to the consumptive critique of his argument, Smith states that the "pursuit of difference, diversity and distinction forms the basis of the new urban ideology."[5] With the growth, expansion, and consumptive quality of the middle class, post-modern aesthetic tastes and differentiation have become championed.

Unique aesthetics, dashing architectural detail, a modern and stylish "feel" are examples of a type of lifestyle certain gentrifiers desire. Sharon Zukin sheds light on the importance of cultural capital and the value associated with certain groups of people who draw a productive and respectable citizenry to the area. For example, she credits artists for the revitalization of Soho in New York City. Gentrifiers differentiate themselves from others by establishing their own cultural identity. For example, the gay population in San Francisco substantially altered the character and value of the initially poor yet architecturally significant neighborhoods of Castro and Haight Ashbury in the early 1980's.[6] In contrast to the "production approach" to gentrification, the "consumptive approach" is significantly more subjective, incorporating the importance of cultural and social capital. However, both theories complement each other in understanding gentrification as a whole, comprehensive process.

The broadest definition of gentrification includes the displacement of the incumbent residents who are typically of the working class. It is widely accepted that displacement is generally socially harmful due to the civil disturbance it causes. Although proponents of gentrification argue that it is a way to improve the physical condition of an area, decrease crime, and prompt capital investment, opponents contend that displacement leads to homelessness, social havoc, and ultimately, social injustice. There are various types of displacement that Marcuse identifies: "1) economic/physical (where residents are priced out

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[5]Slater, Tom.
[6]Forsythe, Ann.

of a dwelling through rent increases or by physical means); 2) last-resident displacement (only the last resident is counted as displaced); 3) chain displacement (counting includes the number of residents over time who have been displaced from a property); and 4) exclusionary displacement (a figure which includes those who have been unable to access property because it has been gentrified)."[7]

The Italian middle-class has risen to become the largest class in Italy, separable into two groups; the "reflexive" and the "credito medio." Described by Ginsborg in *Italy and Its Discontents*, the reflexive class represents the socially conscious and globally aware contingent of the Italian middle-class. In contrast, the "credito medio" is described by sociologist Carlo Donolo as a "modernized and Americanized middle class, whose interests and sentiments…[include] mass hedonism; and primacy of middle class values."[8] As there was never a strong structural base for the development of the more socially responsible "reflexive" class, the "credito medio" has been gaining influence and now composes the majority of the Italian middle-class. Their consumer-driven nature, attraction to urban amenities and affinity for monetary investments makes the "credito medio" a likely force of gentrification in Italian society.

As a major component of our Garbatella research, indicators of gentrification were closely identified, analyzed and then, if possible, refuted. Following the guidelines of gentrification theory and then applying these themes to Garbatella, we were able to systematically determine emerging conditions which might lead to displacement of current residents and an increase in housing values (where possible). This section will focus on several of these conditions; although others certainly exist, the following are the most urgent to the neighborhood or most significant to gentrification theory.

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[7] Atkinson, Rowland.
[8] Ginsborg, 43.

The historic value and unique nature of the Garbatella housing stock represent the first major indication of the neighborhood's increasing desirability. As discussed above, Garbatella's historic core offers a tranquil respite in the midst of the urban chaos of *centro storico*. The labyrinthine street system, lined with attractive stucco villas and interspersed with shady courtyards, provides a housing type relatively unseen in all of urban Italy. Garbatella's attractiveness, derived from its inception under socialist utopian ideals, is perhaps even more salient today as the city struggles with overcrowding, traffic and other manifestations of urban activity. The quality and strength of these buildings, primarily constructed between 1923-1931, offers potential inhabitants much flexibility for adaptation. If zoning regulations allow, buildings could easily be subdivided, without significant harm to their structural integrity. Because the archetypal Garbatella dwelling unit differs so greatly from those in other parts of Rome, it is plausible that a robust market could develop for this type of housing.

The distinctiveness of this housing typology is undeniable. Nowhere else in central Rome can we find housing of this style or with this ratio of built environment to open space. Applying the theory of Ley, Zukin and Smith, we find that Garbatella does indeed fulfill some of the early gentrification criteria. Specifically regarding housing, Rome's *centro storico* is prohibitively expensive, forcing middle-income individuals to seek moderately priced housing elsewhere. Additionally, following Ley and Zukins' consumptive theory, urbanites seek distinctive, differentiated environments. As argued, Garbatella is certainly the most distinctive of the four neighborhoods studied.

Finally, a vast discrepancy exists between the subsidized rent values of Garbatella and their free market value. On the average, those receiving subsidy in *casa populare* pay only 20-40% of the full market value of their homes.[9] If some portion of the *casa populare* were

[9] Catarci, Andrea

to be privatized, it is conceivable that most current residents would be unable to afford their homes. If privatization were to occur, two scenarios would likely ensue. First, following Smith's rent-gap theory, developers and speculators would acquire the housing and update it to modern standards. Second, a sector of the market priced out of *Centro storico* but still in search of distinct urban amenities would flood the still under-priced Garbatella market. Accordingly, rent or sale prices would climb to their market value, based on the removal of rent controls and the increased competition for available units. It should be noted that these assumptions are speculation based on gentrification theory and observed trends in comparable scenarios.

As mentioned above, Garbatella's choice location would contribute to any form of gentrification. In recent years, Garbatella's setting on the periphery has diminished as the outskirts of the city have sprawled enormously. The neighborhood is only two metro stops from the historic city center, allowing commuters to access the amenities of Rome without significant inconvenience. Because gentrification theory traditionally addresses inner-city neighborhoods, proximity to the "central area" [10] is of chief importance. Especially in a nation such as Italy, where suburban sprawl and long-distance commutes are not a part of the conventional lexicon, proximity truly indicates desirability.

The accessibility and efficiency of transport is directly linked to proximity. Although this topic has been discussed above, it should serve as a reminder that Garbatella is especially well linked to the *centro storico*. In addition to three metro stops at the north, center, and south of the study area, eight bus-lines traverse the neighborhood. The Ostiense train station is only several hundred meters to the north of the study area. The district's major roads are in above average condition, especially when compared to the often-damaged roads of the city center. The accessibility afforded by this standard of public transportation should not be

[10] Customarily describes the central business district

underrated; a trip to Garbatella from Termini on the subway takes approximately eight minutes. In a city clogged with automobile traffic, Garbatella's diverse and convenient public transportation is one of Garbatella's most valuable assets.

As is commonly recognized, large-scale revitalization projects often catalyze significant neighborhood transformations. Evidence from cities across Europe, Asia and America testify to this effect; Bilbao's Gehry Museum, Singapore's historic boat quay and Union Station in Washington, DC are only three significant examples. These projects often have a spin-off effect, causing neighborhoods and even entire cities to evolve, improve and often gentrify. Fortunately for Garbatella, several major adaptive reuse projects are located in its backyard. Mostly in their conception phases, Garbatella will undoubtedly feel their impact for many years to come.

Major Revitalization Projects

Within the next few years, several major urban renewal projects will be conceived, implemented, and completed in numerous locations around Rome. These projects are part of a 'brownfields' redevelopment scheme envisaged by the Roman City Council and adopted in the *Nuovo Piano Regolatore Generale*, or the New Urban Master Plan that the Roman City Council adopted in March of 2003. One of the main components of this plan is a program of urban transformation and recovery, also referred to as *Requalificazione Urbana*, or urban re-qualification. The main goal of this program is to focalize urban growth towards unused urban spaces, most notably abandoned industrial sites. The transformations, combined with major environmental protection measures, is an attempt to halt the spontaneous suburban growth that has greatly enlarged Rome in recent decades.

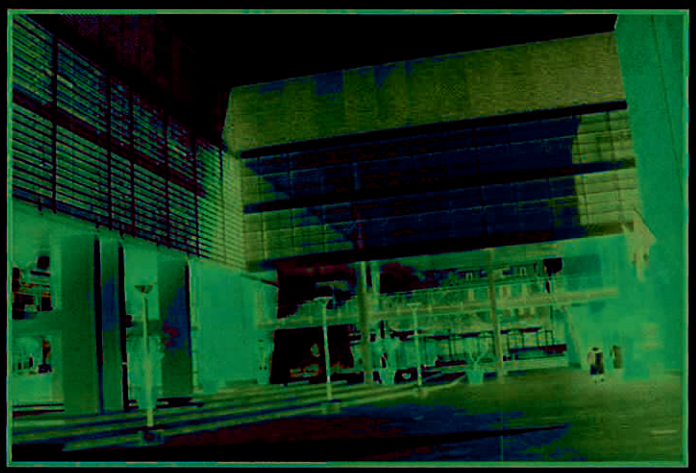
The overall purpose of this program is to qualitatively improve the Roman infrastructure through an ongoing modernization process. The plan aims to create new *centralità metropolitane*, new metropolitan "centers" which will re-centralize the suburbs

around eleven urban recovery projects, one in each *municipio*. Using an investment fund of 1.8 billion Euros, the project is the largest urban recover program undertaken by any Italian council.[11] While the program attempts to modernize Rome, it will also continue to respect Rome's historical heritage, a patrimony that must not be forgotten. By merging city planning with world class architecture, the new initiative presents prestigious projects that expose Rome to a global audience.

One of the areas being considered for development is immediately adjacent to Garbatella in the Ostiense region, specifically in upper Via Ostiense between Pyramide and San Paolo, just west of our defined Garbatella area. The scope of this project is enormous and could potentially provide impetus for change in Garbatella. Not only could such a project change the way Garbatella is perceived, it could dramatically alter the physical functioning of the neighborhood. In fact, one of the biggest projects has already been completed: the *Roma Tre* University Complex. By studying the consequences this project is having on Garbatella, a better understanding of the effects from future developments can be gained.

Roma Tre

Roma Tre is the third university of Rome and houses the departments of Economics, Architecture, Law, Engineering, Arts and Philosophy, Mathematical, Physical and Natural Sciences, Political Science, and Education.[12] Opening in 1992, the student body has grown from an initial 7,000 to its current 35,000 and has plans to continue expanding as adjacent sites are developed. Located



[11] Assessorato all'Urbanistica
[12] Università degli Studi Roma Tre

on the border between Garbatella and Valco San Paolo, its rapid expansion has undoubtedly had enormous effects on the region. With a 1:40 professor to student ratio in the 1999-2000 academic year, a large influx of professors into the area has been inevitable. Likewise, students must find their own housing as the Italian university system serves a purely Academic function. Unlike their US counterparts, Italian universities do not provide dormitory housing.

When we asked a sample of Garbatella residents whether they found the price of housing too high, 85% of respondents answered "yes". In its simplest form the question fails to directly measure any trends, as the question asks of a static state. However when people evaluate the price of a good they intrinsically compare it to their knowledge of its previous prices (for long-term Garbatella residents, this would be previous prices in Garbatella). Therefore, if a question asks "is the price too high" it partly and often makes reference to any previous prices that may have existed. On top of the student influx, university expansion may also play a role in driving up the price of rents as its demand for more space will tighten the market.

With the introduction of several thousand students into the neighborhood, Garbatella's commercial sector has enjoyed an increase in business. Café's, bars, pizzeria's, tabacchi's, and other budget retail has grown, especially in the university region of Garbatella. While economic benefits are undeniable, consequences may exist for the stability of the neighborhood. Not only does the daily influx of students make use of Garbatella's services, they could make permanent residents feel insecure about their role within the Garbatella community, thereby challenging the integrity of the neighborhood fabric.

Our questionnaires demonstrate with striking results an intense divide between respondents and what they liked most and least about Garbatella. Interestingly enough, 11 out of 26 respondents mentioned 'people' in their response, with five stating that what they

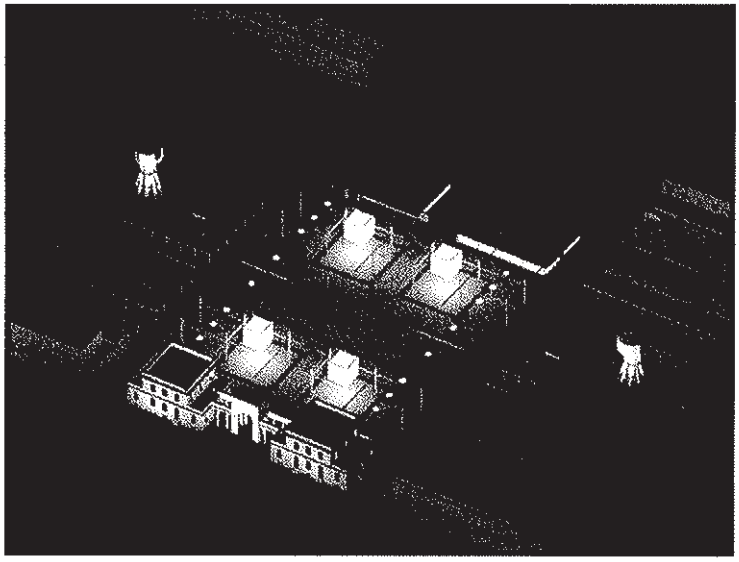
disliked the most about Garbatella was either "the people", or "the disruptive youth," while seven said "the people" is what they liked the most. Only one of the respondents mentioned both 'disruptive youth' and 'the people' as their most and least favorite thing about Garbatella. Clearly a divide exists, possibly an indication of the disharmony that is forming amongst residents. The simple fact that respondents claimed 'people' were what they disliked the most about Garbatella is clearly a sign of weakness, especially for a neighborhood known for its spirit and commonality.

Roma Tre has made several attempts to integrate within the community, most notably in Garbatella through the acquisition and reconstruction of the 600-seat theater *Palladium Roma Tre*, which lies near the center of the neighborhood. Such initiatives can either support the forces that transform the neighborhood or can better integrate the university services with the neighborhood. The benefits of the university's presence are clear: libraries, meeting spaces, concerts, art, and education, to name a few. The new theater certainly contributes to this effort. Even the Rifondazione Comunista representatives agreed that the University brings more assets to the neighborhood than it does hardship, a forceful statement. Many of the residents also mentioned the University as a force of change. As one respondent stated: "[Garbatella] has changed a lot, thanks to the university" (Appendix C).

Several other neighborhoods have already experienced the force of the "centralità" projects. The *Flaminio* area, for example, was introduced with Rome's new music auditorium *Parco della Musica* designed by the world renowned Renzo Piano. The Museum of Modern Art was another project built in the former Peroni brewery by the French architect Odile Decq. The proposed EUR "Convention Center Italia" and the *Parco del Cinema* in Castel Romano are a few of the other upcoming projects aimed at urban recovery. Similarly, Garbatella will experience an enormous transformation around its northwestern border as three major sites are developed into a "cultural corridor", featuring new offices, libraries,

commercial centers, museums, exhibition spaces, and more. Below is a brief sketch of the developments yet to come.

Mercati Generali



source: http://www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it

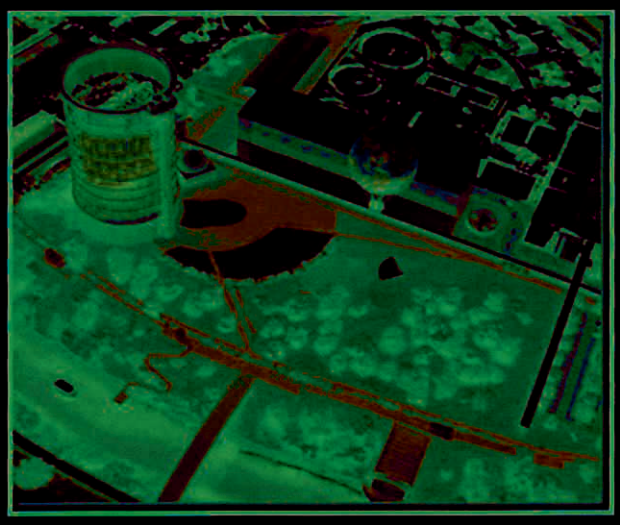
As one of the largest brownfields sites in the area, the *Mercati Generali* is a 100,000 square meter area where the fresh fruits and vegetables market for Rome once operated. Opening in 1922, the market was fully relocated further outside the city in 2002 (to Guidonia) due to noise, sanitary, and congestion issues. The closure of such a large complex, which hired several thousand employees, sent a shock wave through the neighborhood. Hundreds of Garbatella employees now had to travel further from home in search of jobs. The increased travel time led to a change in lifestyle, as people spent less time with their families while spending more time commuting. Furthermore, many Garbatella residents had to endure a cut in wages as they transitioned from one job to the next.

The site is now owned and managed by the City of Rome, who is currently developing plans for its transformation. While the community demands it be used for the provision of more services, such as a preschool, parking, and recreational activities, the *Roma Tre* University has intentions to use part of the site to expand their campus library system. Current plans aim to transform the area into a center for the youth, containing shops, book and music stores, a theatre, workshops, restaurants, and more.

Ex-Mattatoio

This is the former site of a slaughterhouse located adjacent to the *Mercati Generali*. With similar plans to the *Mercati Generali*, this site will also be transformed to fit the cultural corridor theme for the area. The site will forseeably house a contemporary art exposition, a cultural center for youth, a center for artists, along with the *Roma Tre* departments of Architecture and Fine Arts (Art, Music and Theater).

Ex-Gazometro



The *ex-gazometro* is the sight of the former Italgas facility where coal-gas was once produced for the entire city of Rome. Naturally, such a facility requires an enormous complex, thus the ex-gasometro presents a large unused industrial space simply longing for attention. Since 1910, the facility provided several thousand jobs, all which were lost when the facility closed down in the late 80s. Included in the complex are several prominent steel silos used until 1986 to store gas, which now give the area its famous symbol, a reminder of Garbatella's industrial past.

As a company that prides itself in science and culture, the old Italgas site is suitably being considered for a new "City of Science and Technology" in an attempt to bring more scientific innovation to Rome. The largest project will be the construction of a science museum within the largest of the four gas silo frames for which an international architectural competition is being held, by far the most ambitious project on the tables in Rome. Primary plans for the site suggest that, in addition to a science and technology museum, there will be a theater, Omnimax, workshop spaces, offices, multimedia labs, a restaurant, bar, shops, and copious amounts of parking. Such a large-scale project within short walking distance of

central Garbatella could easily produce externalities that greatly influence the neighborhood.[13] Not only will a project of this scope produce jobs for Garbatella residents, it will provide various services that will improve and empower the residents.

Two other projects worth brief mention are the *Campidoglio 2* project which will occur in the Ostiense Rail Station area. This is an initiative by the Comune of Roma to transfer several municipal offices to the area, concentrated around the Piazza di Verazzano. Piazza dei Navigatori on the eastern tip of Garbatella is another site being considered for future development, unfortunately little information is available on this site.

The discussion above does not exhaust all evidence of imminent gentrification, however it represents the bulk of persuasive evidence collected over the course of the semester. Careful attention should be paid to local real estate agents, who although unscientific in their approach, attest to increasing local rents and higher-than-ever housing prices[14]. Additional localized observations give evidence of either new residents or increased private investment in real estate, particularly evident in significant renovation projects and enhanced housing conditions. On Via Domenico Chiodo, at least seven facades have been recently refurbished and several homes have been upgraded with outdoor security cameras, elaborate gardens and reworked wrought iron fences. Via d'Albertis reveals a similar attention to revitalization. Although some of this work could be attributable to *Casa Populare* funding, it is presumable that a significant portion of renovation has occurred through private resources. Another example of recent economic development can be found on Via Cristoforo Colombo, where three high-end clothing stores and an expensive furniture vendor have recently opened. Additionally, the profitable Italian videophone producer *3* has located their headquarters on Colombo. On the Garbatella side of Via C. Colombo, two 50-unit apartment buildings, serving "the business classes," are under construction.

[13] "Progetto Urbano OSTIENSE-MARCONI: Citta della scienza ed Ex-Mattatoio"
[14] La Tua Casa a Roma

At least 14 out of 27 participants in the Garbatella quality of life questionnaire described the neighborhood as changing and/or improving. Significantly, 85% complained of exorbitant housing prices. Additionally, the analysis of CENSIS data has revealed that despite a steadily decreasing population, the Garbatella municipio has added 1,296 housing units, suggesting larger, more expensive units per inhabitant or the anticipation of a future demand.[15] Of course, if planners were able to predict site-specific gentrification, a lucrative business could be established based on this knowledge. As we know, forecasting gentrification is an unscientific task. Garbatella offers enough indicators to construct a strong argument in favor of a major neighborhood improvement and subsequent population turnover. The following section will refute a gentrification hypothesis by arguing in favor of strong neighborhood resistance, solidarity, political unity and a minimal impact of *Roma Tre*'s development. Both sides offer convincing arguments; only time can choose a winner.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST GENTRIFICATION

Politics and Housing in Garbatella

Andrea Catarci and Fabrio Marcelli, both activists from the *Partito della Rifondazione Comunista,* Refounded Communists headquarters for Municipio XI provided some insight into Garbatella's political scene during a meeting at the party headquarters near Piazza Sauli at the heart of historic Garbatella. As their party is currently represented through the president of Municipio XI, *Rifondazione Comunista* is undergoing several initiatives to win votes and make political progress.

One of the party's main goals is to foster a better relationship with squatters, social groups, and residents, in an attempt to reinforce the community spirit of Garbatella. By giving people voice and including them in decisions, the residents will be empowered and social problems can be solved. One of their most prized programs is the three-year-old

[15] based on information from 1981-1991.

'Participatory Budgeting' initiative, modeled after Porto Alegre's participatory system in Brazil. Participatory Budgeting is as obvious as it sounds; a model by which people discuss the neighborhood budget to decide when, where, and how money should be appropriated. According to the party, participation in the program has doubled since its inception, proving it wildly successful.

As home to both headquarters of the Refounded Communist and the Democrats of the Left, *Democratici della Sinistra*, Garbatella is clearly a leftist neighborhood. The majority of its votes go towards the Democrats of the Left, despite the fact that they have a Refounded Communist president. Garbatella's leftist sway is rooted in a rich historical context as Garbatella was once used by the Fascists as a quarantine for radicals and revolutionaries dangerous to the Fascist ideology. The strategy backfired, as Garbatella's rich public and communal space provided a forum for interaction which produced a more unified anti-Fascist ideal. Garbatella soon became one of the earliest strongholds for the anti-Fascist insurgencies that eventually led to the demise of the Fascist party in Italy.

Garbatella's rich political past and communal solidarity give it one of the strongest senses of community in Rome. This communal understanding endows Garbatella with a notion of strength that not only unifies the neighborhood but helps guide it through times of hardship. It can be therefore be argued that Garbatella's distinct political scene will help shield its residents from gentrifying forces by unifying them in resistance.

Garbatella's strong leftist sway has also kept much of its public housing stock secured. Almost 80% of its historic center as well as many of the post-war high rises remain public. By only paying a fraction of the market value, residents of Garbatella have secured their position and remain a stable demographic within the neighborhood. Although technically not legal, since the *Instituto di Case Populare* is in administrative disarray, many families are able to pass down the titles of their public housing contracts from generation to

generation. In so doing, large portions of Garbatella remain a stable populace with little movement in and out, thereby strengthening the community fabric that helps feed the political awareness.

The Left is currently attempting to address the changing lifestyle of Garbatella's residents. As Italy becomes increasingly subjugated to the realities of a global capitalist system, residents have had to travel further for less pay in search of new jobs. Spurred by the closure of the *Mercati Generali*, the ItalGas complex, and other industries which were once situated in the area, residents must now seek jobs elsewhere in the city. With this change, people must now work longer hours and spend more time commuting in order to make ends meet, leaving less time for family and friends. Only time can tell what the consequences of this lifestyle shift will be; at best more solidarity through joint hardship, at worst it will erode the community consensus.

Roma Tre

The presence of *Roma Tre* University will bring an influx of scholars and upper-middle class teaching professionals to Garbatella. With a higher-income contingent, the fabric of the neighborhood could change. Apartment rents could increase, buildings could be upgraded, and a spade of expensive specialty shops could choose to locate in Garbatella. Although there is little doubt that the university will attract this class, we question the extent and strength of their influence. After studying the social and cultural behavior of Italian university professors and students, we have reason to believe that the impact of the university will be negligible, therefore a minimum factor in the proposed gentrification of Garbatella.

Four principal reasons provide a compelling argument against the possibility that *Roma Tre* will act as a gentrifying force. First, students who do not already live in Garbatella are unlikely to move to Garbatella due to family tradition. According to Mario Mignone, "unlike in Britain and the USA, the tradition is that students go to their local university;

therefore, the great majority live at home, where they have the comfort of family and nucleus of existing friends."[16] If students do not choose to move to Garbatella, their impact on the neighborhood will be limited. Second, the university does not provide student housing. Additionally, Italian universities fail to provide a distinctive student-oriented social atmosphere as evidenced by the lack of university-sponsored student organizations. If students do not burden the housing rental market, current residents are unlikely to be displaced and real estate developers will find no reason for new investment. Third, students are deterred from enrolling at *Roma Tre* due to inexperienced professors. Because the University is new and not among the most prestigious in Rome, it is unlikely to notable, experienced professors. Subsequently, wealthier, upwardly mobile students, who might catalyze a gentrification, will not choose to attend *Roma Tre*. This supports a well-documented phenomenon of Italian education. According to Mignone, "students are very aware that the new universities attract only the young professors who accept those first appointments as a 'parking space' while they wait to move to an older university as soon as the opportunity presents itself." [17] Fourth, young professors are a transient cohort and will have a minimal impact on Garbatella. Italian professors, known as *baroni*, are noted for their autonomy and independence. They commonly accept other positions in addition to their professorship. According to Mignone, this lack of singular commitment means that "it is not uncommon in Italy for professors to reside two or three hundred miles away from the university where they [teach]."[18]

Again, it is impossible to predict gentrification, and even more difficult to forecast in a country and neighborhood outside of our traditional scope of study. While some indicators point to massive neighborhood change, others suggest that Garbatella's political and social

[16] Mignone, Mario B., 168
[17] Mignone, Mario B., 159
[18] Mignone, Mario, B., 161

solidarity will discourage any form of gentrification. Even without happily resolving the gentrification debate, careful strategy can still benefit tomorrow's Garbatella.

V. PLAN FOR THE FUTURE

Following the in-depth study of Garbatella presented within this document, we believe that we are in the unique position to present recommendations on how to improve the quality of life, economic vitality and overall health of the neighborhood. These suggestions carefully follow statistical, observational and empirical data, with special attention paid to the opinions and criticisms of Garbatella residents and visitors. This section will be composed of two central parts: *a*) recommendations from residents and from the authors of this study, and *b*) a community objective matrix that summarizes and structures these recommendations.

The personal questionnaire, which has been referenced multiple times throughout this document, is particularly illustrative of the concerns of local residents regarding the state of the neighborhood. To briefly summarize the procedure, 27 subjects were interviewed in Garbatella over the course of four days. They were presented with an Italian language survey consisting of 13 questions, one of which listed nine options for "Do you think Garbatella needs more..." For the purpose of suggesting future strategy, questions 7 through 13 are most notable. When asked, "Do you think Garbatella needs more?" (urged to circle more than one) a 67% majority of respondents circled cleanliness. 33% circled safety. 30% circled parking facilities. 26% circled public transportation, recreational facilities and green space. Only 7% indicated retails services and 0 respondents circled educational facilities. Although these results are self-explanatory, the need for general neighborhood hygiene is notable and will be incorporated into an overall quality of life policy scheme. Additionally, the lack of parking facilities reinforces an observed concern. The desire for improved public transportation and green space is surprising, as Garbatella is considered both well connected

and relatively green. When asked if housing prices were too high (in relation to ability to pay), 85% of respondents said they were indeed prohibitive. 78% found the price of living in Garbatella too high. 41% of residents felt that they were represented at the local level, however this statistic is unsubstantial as there exists no yardstick of comparison for the overall city.

Examining the demographics of those surveyed, 44% live in Garbatella, 19% work in Garbatella, 33% shop in Garbatella and 0% seek entertainment or nightlife in Garbatella. These statistics indicate several important themes. As presumed, a small percentage of people in Garbatella physically work there. This reflects the neighborhood's residential character, and may also illustrate what we believe to be a limitation of our study. As mentioned in section II, the boundaries of Garbatella are not well defined. Offices on Via Cristoforo Colombo may or may not be included in the study area despite the fact that they represent a bulk of the employment opportunities in the vicinity. Presumably, the remainder of the workforce is employed in local retail or service. Because respondents were unaware of the boundaries employed by this study, it is difficult to define exactly what it means to work "in Garbatella." The 0% of respondents who entertain themselves in Garbatella points to a glaring need for recreation and entertainment facilities. The recent arrival of Rome Tre theater has filled a small hole in the cultural tapestry, but more local services, such as a cinema, sports facility or nightclub (all services which may arrive with new infill development) are imperative to the vitality of the zone.

As Americans, we are accustomed to strict separation of uses by neighborhood. Italy, however, has a much different history. The ability to sleep, work, shop, eat and play in the same area is not considered a privilege by most Italians but rather a way of life. The Garbatella questionnaire, in addition to informal interviews with key informants, has indicated that Garbatella's self-sufficiency is perhaps corroding. The neighborhood must

make careful provisions to protect its identity and autonomy or risk relegation to Roman bedroom community.

Community Objective Matrix

The community objective matrix, often didactically referred to as a policy framework plan, serves to construct an organized and strategic vision for Garbatella's future by marrying practical, achievable solutions with the needs or problems expressed by community residents, survey data and general observation. The matrix operates as a three-tiered structure; first, a central community goal will be listed. Second, several key objectives towards the achievement of this goal will be listed. Finally, at the bottom of the inverse pyramid, policies to direct these objectives will be listed. The policies will represent the most refined and directed strategies, and will offer the community of Garbatella tangible methods for applying the data accrued over the course of the semester.

GOAL 1: MAINTAIN GARBATELLA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ROMA TRE UNIVERSITY, ENSURING CAREFUL BALANCE WITH THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND POSITIVE FUTURE GROWTH

Objective 1.1

The leader of the local government should appoint a committee of local businesspeople, community residents and government officials to develop public policies that encourage the integration of the university into the neighborhood and maximize the positive cultural and social impacts of a vibrant student population

Policy 1.1.1

Conduct an economic survey to analyze the past, current and future effects of the university on the community

Policy 1.1.2

Determine sites eligible for adaptive reuse by the university, particularly in underdeveloped or disadvantaged areas

Policy 1.1.3

Encourage the university to provide employment to local residents as an exchange for the use of local resources

Objective 1.2

Local housing officials should seek to protect neighborhood residents from the added burden of student renters

Policy 1.2.1

Maintain rent controls on a portion of existing *casa populare* to prevent dramatic housing price increases as the University expands

Policy 1.2.2

Work with *Roma Tre* to develop on-site student housing to a) enhance Garbatella's cultural landscape and b) negate the effects of an increased student demographic on the local population

GOAL 2: PROMOTE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT THAT ENHANCES THE QUALITY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD WITHOUT DISPLACING CURRENT RESIDENTS

Objective 2.1

Ensure that all future development is planned with the needs of current residents in mind

Policy 2.1.1

Establish incentives for developers who encourage current Garbatella residents to inhabit at least a portion of new developments

Policy 2.1.2

Implement a policy that encourages developers to incorporate community concerns, with special attention to parking and critical neighborhood services

Objective 2.2

Encourage the development of attractive and unique housing which aids the neighborhood in maintaining its individual identity and compliments the existing historic core

Policy 2.2.1

Provide tax incentives for developers who provide a greater mix of housing types per unit area

Policy 2.2.2

Establish a review board which prevents further degradation of the historic core and encourages harmony between new and existing development

Policy 2.2.3

Protect significant historic structures from demolition or radical alteration

GOAL 3: ADDRESS ISSUES OF GENTRIFICATION AND THE PRIVITIZATION OF CASA POPULARE

Objective 3.1

Establish a neighborhood committee to address gentrification issues and to carefully measure neighborhood change

Policy 3.1.1

Organize monthly neighborhood forums to address neighborhood concerns and devise solutions

Policy 3.1.2

Conduct an in-depth analysis of past and current neighborhood conditions in order to assess measurable changes and predict future trends (much like the goal of this study)

Objective 3.2

Determine the current status of the *casa populare* system and update to meet the current needs of Garbatella

Policy 3.2.1

Organize a summit between municipal leaders, public housing officials and private land interests and determine the best approach to reforming or preserving the casa populare system

Policy 3.2.2

Maintain and update the casa populare system, ensuring harmony between private residents and those receiving public subsidy

GOAL 4: DEVELOP STRATEGIES TO MANAGE PARKING AND TRAFFIC WITHIN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Objective 4.1

Convene an assembly of municipal officials, local residents and agents of Rome's transportation division to discuss parking shortages and suggest practical, achievable remedies

Policy 4.1.1

Compile a list of "problem" areas, particularly congested intersections or piazzas overrun with cars

Policy 4.1.2

Recommend possible sites for surface parking lots or for the construction of multi-level parking facilities, prioritizing brownfield sites for reuse

Policy 4.1.3

Establish community measures for traffic-calming on local streets running between thoroughfares Via Ostiense and Via Cristoforo Colombo

GOAL 5: ENHANCE THE LINK BETWEEN GARBATELLA, OSTIENSE AND CENTRAL ROME

Objective 5.1

Organize a team of "neighborhood boosters" to consolidate material on Garbatella, particularly history and attractions

Policy 5.1.1

Publish a "Guide to Garbatella" for visitors and Romans alike

Policy 5.1.2

Offer tours of the historic core to Italian and/or international students

Policy 5.1.3

Create signage indicating the historic core of the neighborhood and other attractions

Objective 5.2

Establish an association between Garbatella and the Ostiense neighborhood

Policy 5.2.1

Form an alliance between Garbatella residents and the new cultural offerings of Ostiense

Policy 5.2.2

Offer (public) transportation between Garbatella and the Ostiense cultural and entertainment venues

Policy 5.2.3

Erect signage indicating the Garbatella center along Via Ostiense

Objective 5.3

Establish Garbatella as one of Rome's key historical sites and as a fertile place for economic development

Policy 5.3.1

Create contact with Rome's central public relations office (coincidentally located in Garbatella) and organize tourism and economic development agendas

Policy 5.3.2

Establish stronger relationships between Garbatella and Rome's transportation, safety, educational and religious offices

Policy 5.3.3

Exploit the city's vast resources by organizing community trips, neighborhood festivals and other city-sponsored events

GOAL 6: IMPROVE QUALITY OF LIFE IN GARBATELLA, PARTICULARLY THROUGH CRIME INTERVENTION, ENVIRONMENT, PUBLIC SPACE

Objective 6.1

Respond to neighborhood concerns of crime and lack of organized public safety

Policy 6.1.1

Establish a neighborhood watch group to safeguard residential areas from crime

Policy 6.1.2

Coordinate safety efforts with Polizia Municipale and the Carabinieri

Policy 6.1.3

Locate a neighborhood public safety facility in the vicinity of Piazza Eurosia or Piazza Sauli

Objective 6.2

Respond to neighborhood concerns of cleanliness, specifically in public spaces and on streets

Policy 6.2.1

Establish a volunteer cleaning troupe to sweep and remove litter on a weekly basis

Policy 6.2.2

Organize a program with Rome city officials to regularize street cleanings and litter removal

Policy 6.2.3

Enforce anti-litter policies by imposing monetary fines on violators

Objective 6.3

Organize a "Bella Garbatella" campaign

Policy 6.3.1

Maintain regular green space and courtyard maintenance programs and begin seasonal plantings

Policy 6.3.2

Establish new parks or playgrounds where land is available

Policy 6.3.3

Develop a neighborhood bicycle and pedestrian path to link urban zones and encourage alternative forms of transportation

Objective 6.4

Organize a community forum to address lack of entertainment or recreational facilities

Policy 6.4.1

Determine if such facilities are suitable for Garbatella, and if so establish proper strategic sites

Policy 6.4.2

Incentivize the development of cultural facilities, particularly those associated with *Roma Tre* University in the new redevelopment projects

Objective 6.5

Establish a Garbatella Business/Retail Improvement District, aligning the interests of local business owners

Policy 6.5.1

Promote local shopping and services to compete with those offered in *Centro storico* and suburban malls

This is, of course, a wish list. We know little of Garbatella's financial resources or ability to achieve these rather elaborate objectives. However, the Garbatella neighborhood is a determined one. In four short months, we have been witness to extraordinary community involvement, organization and commitment. Even the most ambitious of plans would still be in reach of Garbatella.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Garbatella has already experienced new forces since the post-war building boom that transformed it from a Roman suburb to an incorporated part of the city center. Today Garbatella is surrounded by housing and is linked to the center of Rome not only through transportation networks but through physical connections. Centocelle provides an example of what Garbatella may have looked like 15-20 years ago. It closes down at night, has few social amenities, and remains purely a lower-middle class suburb of Rome. Garbatella is a snapshot of what Centocelle may eventually become provided a continued city expansion; more commerce, lower crime, the appearance of nightclubs, major construction projects. Esquilino, on the other hand has already been integrated into both the city center and the centralità program. The development of the government-owned military barracks provided a new home for the market that dramatically changed the composition and functioning of the neighborhood. The effects of the music auditorium on Parioli, part of centralità, have yet to be determined but would certainly provide insight into the possible transformations that could occur to Garbatella.

Hopefully, Garbatella will prove to be a paradigm of strong community awareness, inclusive neighborhood politics, the preservation of socio-economic diversity, and consciousness towards change. Until then, the neighborhood remains a fascinating laboratory of urban dynamics and unbridled hope.

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VIII. APPENDIX

Contents:

A. CENSIS statistical data for Rome and Garbatella

B. Questionnaire (Italian and English)

C. Questionnaire responses and results

D. Street survey statistical data

E. Maps of survey area

Appendix A

Table A. General characteristics, Garbatella vs Rome, 1981-1991

Garbatella	1981	1991	2002	Absolute Change	Percent Change		
Population	63,665	56,158	49,408	-7,507	-11.8	Percent of Total 1981	Percent of Total 1991
Housing units	22,357	23,653		1,296	5.8		
Vacant	1,289	877		-412	-32.0	5.8	3.7
For rent or Sale	312	572		260	83.3	24.2	65.2
Utilized For Vacation	119	80		-39	-32.8	9.2	9.1
Utilized for Work	35	116		81	231.4	2.7	13.2
Other	823	109		-714	-86.8	63.8	12.4
Occupied	21,068	22,776		1,708	8.1	94.2	96.3
Owner occupied	8,880	12,353		3,473	39.1	42.1	54.2
Other Title occupied	667	868		201	30.1	3.2	3.8
Renter occupied	11,521	9,555		-1,966	-17.1	54.7	42.0
Persons per household		2.44					
Owner occupied	2.91	2.70		-0.20	-7.0		
Renter occupied	3.05	2.68		-0.37	-12.2		

Rome	1981	1991		Absolute Change	Percent Change		
Population	2,840,259	2,775,250		-65,009	-2.3	Percent of Total 1981	Percent of Total 1991
Housing units	1,015,769	1,155,008		139,239	13.7		
Vacant and Usable	113,468	134,035		20,567	18.1	11.2	11.6
For rent or Sale (non utilized)	32,469	70,405		37,936	116.8	28.6	52.5
Utilized For Vacation	23,677	24,463		786	3.3	20.9	18.3
Utilized for Work	3,747	20,171		16,424	438.3	3.3	15.0
Other	53,575	18,966		-34,609	-64.6	47.2	14.2
Occupied	902,301	1,020,973		118,672	13.2	88.8	88.4
Owner occupied	421,489	606,171		184,682	43.8	46.7	59.4
Other Title occupied	42,654	56,070		13,416	31.5	4.7	5.5
Renter occupied	438158	358,732		-79,426	-18.1	48.6	35.1
Persons per household		2.68					
Owner occupied	3.09	2.70		-0.39	-12.5		
Renter occupied	3.13	2.68		-0.45	-14.3		

Sources:

Population Data

1981 Maschi, Femmine, Totale Tavola 4- Population Resident Per Sesso E Classe Di Eta', Il 12° Censimento Della Popolazione A Rome, Roma, Ufficio Communale di Statistica E Censimento, 1986.

1991- Maschi, Femmine, Totale Tavola 2/z- Population residente per classi di eta e sesso, Il 13° Censimento Della Popolazione, Roma, Ufficio Communale di Statistica E Censimento, 1996.

Housing Units

1981- Tavola 16, Abitazioni Occupate per titolo di Godimento, Il 12° Censimento Della Popolazione A Rome, Roma, Ufficio Communale di Statistica E Censimento, 1986.

1981- Tavola 22- Abitazioni Non Occupate Per Servizio Installato, . Il 12° Censimento Della Popolazione A Rome, Roma, Ufficio Communale di Statistica E Censimento, 1986.

1991- Tavola 11/z- Abitazioni Occupate, per titolo di Godimento, Il 13° Censimento Della Popolazione, Roma, Ufficio Communale di Statistica E Censimento, 1996.

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Table B. Structural characteristics, Rome and Garbatella, 1981 and 1991

	1981		1991		Absolute change		Percent change		Percent of total 1981		Percent of total 1991		Location Quotients	
	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	1981	1991
Occupied Housing Units	902,301	21,068	1,020,973	22,776	118,672	1,708	13.2	8.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Rooms in Unit														
1 to 2	78,638	2,291	89,607	2,727	10,969	436	13.9	19.0	8.7	10.9	8.8	12.0	1.25	1.36
3 to 5	730,571	17,756	829,684	19,005	99,113	1,249	13.6	7.0	81.0	84.3	81.3	83.4	1.04	1.03
6 or more	93,092	1,021	101,682	1,044	8,590	23	9.2	2.3	10.3	4.8	10.0	4.6	0.47	0.46

	1981		1991		Percent of total 1981		Percent of total 1991		Location Quotients	
	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	1981	1991
Total Housing units	1,015,769	22,357	1,155,008	23,653	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Occupied Housing Units	902,301	21,068	1,020,973	22,776						
Year structure built	Occupied Housing Only		Of Total Housing Units							
1981-1991	3,944	6	86,148	21	0.4	0.0	7.5	0.1	0.07	0.01
1972-1981	138,138	1,376	168,235	1,035	15.3	6.5	14.6	4.4	0.43	0.30
1961-1971	296,554	6,560	351,998	7,290	32.9	31.1	30.5	30.8	0.95	1.01
1946-1960	279,268	8,611	324,169	10,393	31.0	40.9	28.1	43.9	1.32	1.57
1919-1945	131,820	4,357	153,368	4,789	14.6	20.7	13.3	20.2	1.42	1.52
<1919	52,577	158	71,090	125	5.8	0.7	6.2	0.5	0.13	0.09

Sources:

1981-Tavola 17- Abitazioni Occupate Per Epoca Di Costruzione, , Il 12° Censimento Della Popolazione A Rome, Roma, Ufficio Communale di Statistica E Censimento, 1986.

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Table C. Workforce characteristics, Rome and Garbatella, 1981 and 1991

		1981		1991		Percent of Total				Location Quotients	
						1981		1991			
Total Population		Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	Rome	Garbatella	1981	1991
		2,840,259	63,665	2,775,250	56,158						
Resident Population In and Out of the Workforce											
All	Total	2,840,259	63,665	2,775,250	56,158						
	Workforce	1,143,036	25,412	1,211,653	23,095	40.2	39.9	43.7	41.1	0.99	0.94
	Nonworkforce	1,697,223	38,253	1,563,597	33,063	59.8	60.1	56.3	58.9	1.01	1.04
Workforce	Total	1,143,036	25,412	1,211,653	23,095	40.2	39.9	43.7	41.1	0.99	0.94
	Employed	952,908	21,374	983,253	18,896	83.4	84.1	81.1	81.8	1.01	1.01
	Unemployed	41,767	715	104,672	1,751	3.7	2.8	8.6	7.6	0.77	0.88
	Searching	148,361	3,323	123,728	2,448	13.0	13.1	10.2	10.6	1.01	1.04
Nonworkforce	Total	1,697,223	38,253	1,563,597	33,063	59.8	60.1	56.3	58.9	1.01	1.04
	Housewives	not available	not available	512,114	10,891			32.8	32.9		1.01
	Students	not available	not available	260,785	4,903			16.7	14.8		0.89
	Retired	not available	not available	319,863	8,638			20.5	26.1		1.28
	Other	not available	not available	470,835	8,631			30.1	26.1		0.87

Sources:

1991- Tavola 5/z- Popolazione residente attiva e non attiva per sesso, , Il 13° Censimento Della Popolazione, Roma, Ufficio Communale di Statistica E Censimento, 1996

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Table E. Population characteristics, Rome and Garbatella, 1981 and 1991

Garbatella

1981 Census			1991 Census			Garbatella Totals		
Age	M	F	Age	M	F	Age	1981	1991
<5	-1,299	1,223	<5	-868	909	<5	2,522	1,777
5-14	-4,342	4,159	5-14	-2,043	2,017	5-14	8,501	4,060
15-24	-4,969	4,623	15-24	-3,887	3,795	15-24	9,592	7,682
25-34	-3,984	4,056	25-34	-4,551	4,151	25-34	8,040	8,702
35-44	-4,047	4,704	35-44	-3,687	3,570	35-44	8,751	7,257
45-54	-4,094	4,873	45-54	-3,382	4,179	45-54	8,967	7,561
55-64	-3,635	4,513	55-64	-3,513	4,335	55-64	8,148	7,848
65-74	-2,657	3,560	65-74	-2,651	3,598	65-74	6,217	6,249
75+	-1,035	1,892	75+	-1,620	3,402	75+	2,927	5,022

Rome

1981 Census			1991 Census			Rome Totals		
Age	M	F	Age	M	F	Age	1981	1991
<5	-74,121	70,122	<5	-58,746	55,223	<5	144,243	113,969
5-14	-218,139	209,041	5-14	-132,865	126,598	5-14	427,180	259,463
15-24	-231,651	222,162	15-24	-217,929	209,027	15-24	453,813	426,956
25-34	-191,850	202,777	25-34	-231,847	226,785	25-34	394,627	458,632
35-44	-191,900	214,095	35-44	-185,715	199,983	35-44	405,995	385,698
45-54	-184,165	203,971	45-54	-181,220	202,822	45-54	388,136	384,042
55-64	-137,310	161,276	55-64	-160,796	183,209	55-64	298,586	344,005
65-74	-92,325	124,554	65-74	-99,841	136,583	65-74	216,879	236,424
75+	-37,930	72,870	75+	-56,631	109,430	75+	110,800	166,061

Sources:

1981- Maschi, Femmine, Totale: Maschi, Femmine, Totale: Tavola 4- Population Resident Per Sesso E Classe Di Eta', Il 12° Censimento Della Popolazione A Rome, Roma, Ufficio Communale di Statistica E Censimento, 1986.

1991- Maschi, Femmine, Totale Tavola 2/z- Population residente per classi di eta e sesso, Il 13° Censimento Della Popolazione, Roma, Ufficio Communale di Statistica E Censimento, 1996.

Figure 1. Garbatella Population Pyramid, 1981

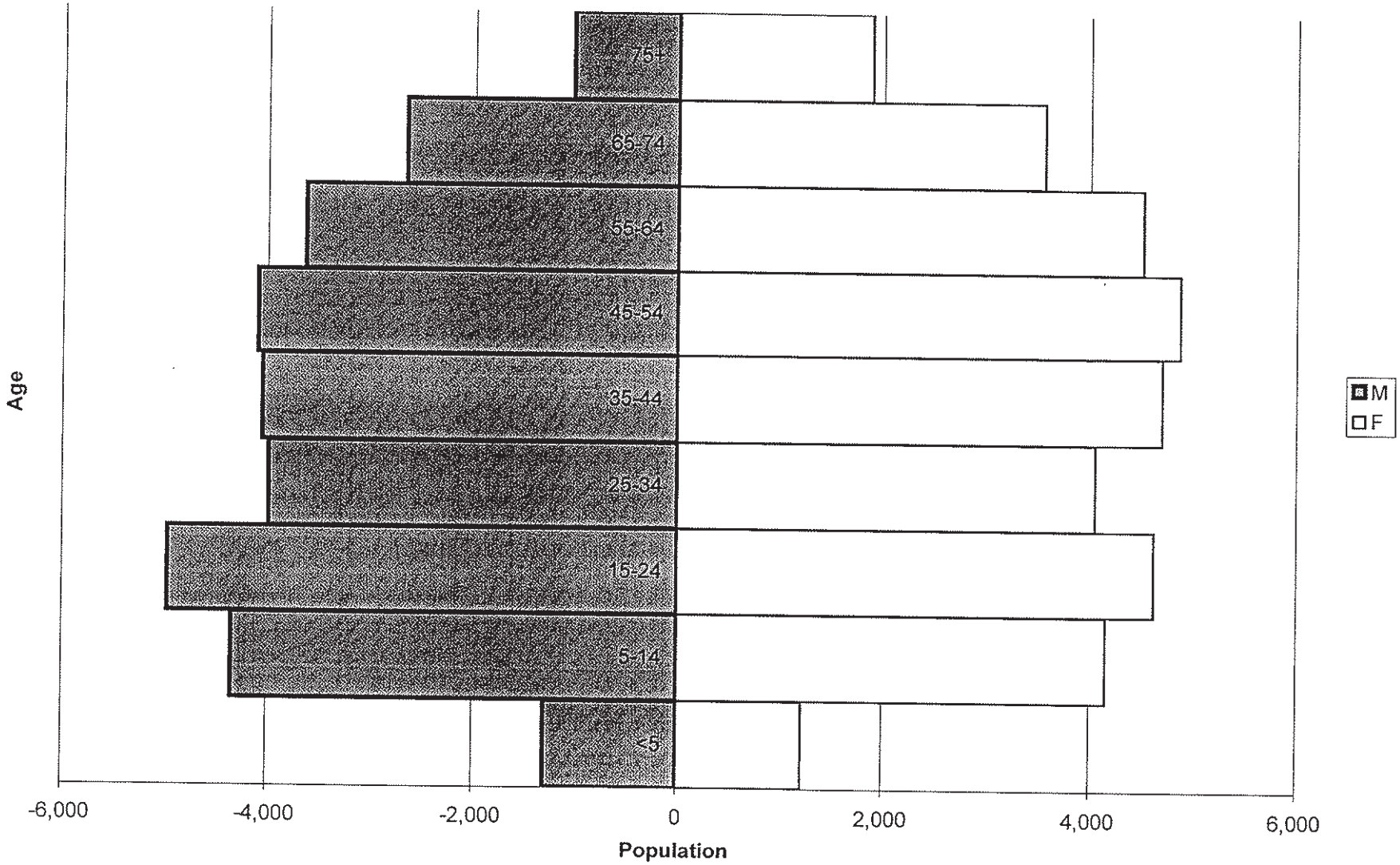


Figure 2. Rome Population Pyramid, 1981

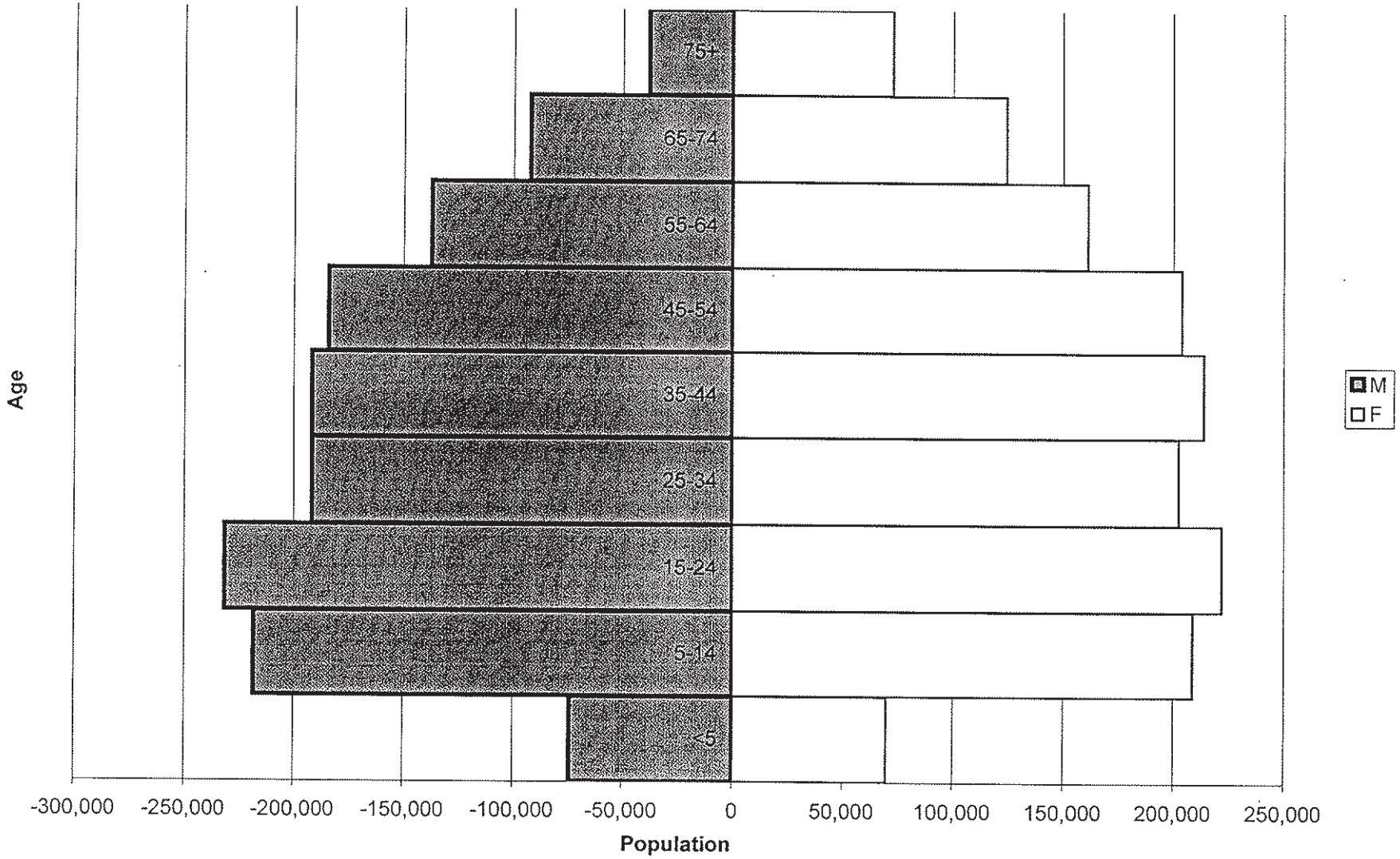


Figure 3. Garbatella Population Pyramid, 1991

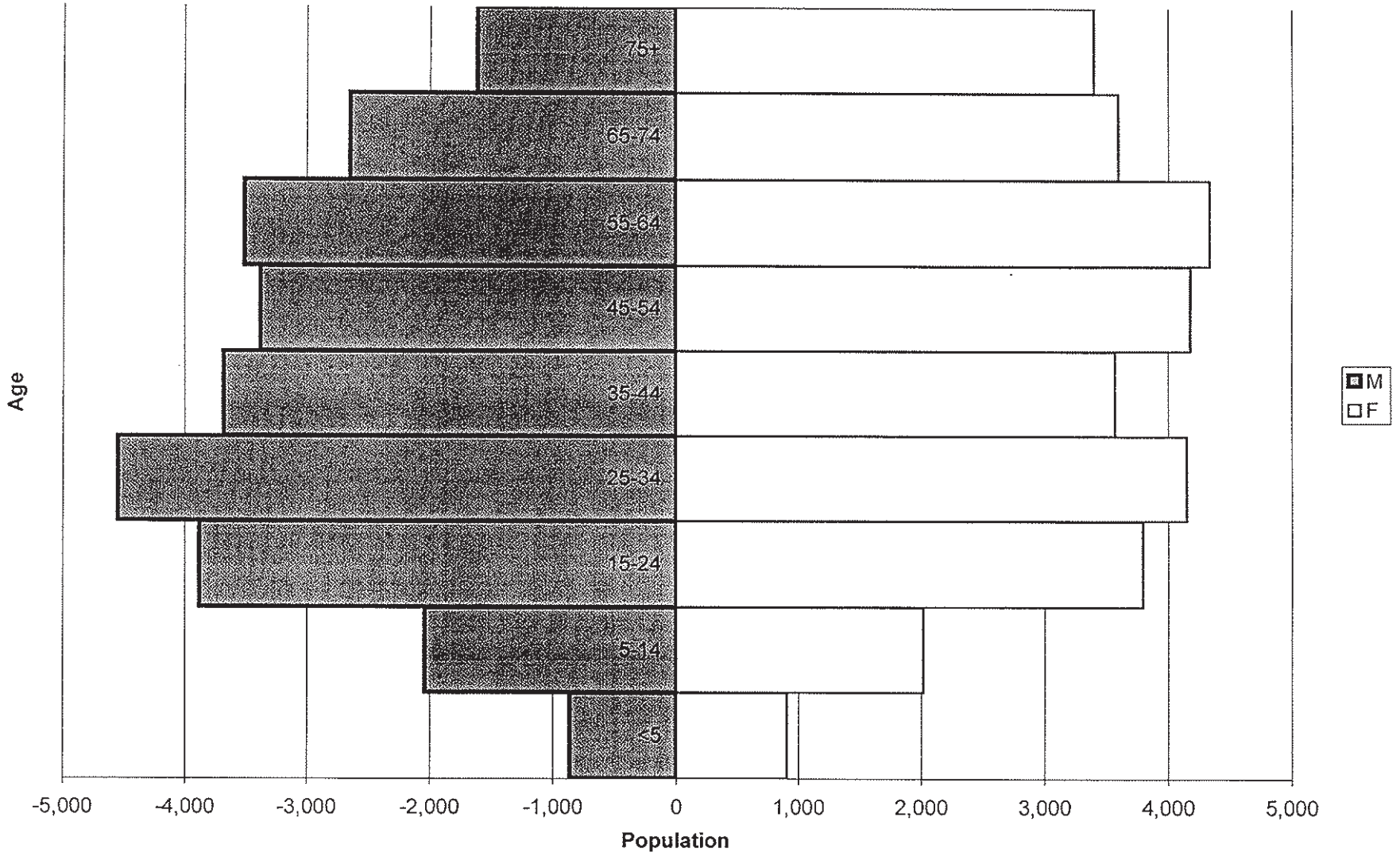


Figure 4. Rome Population Pyramid, 1991

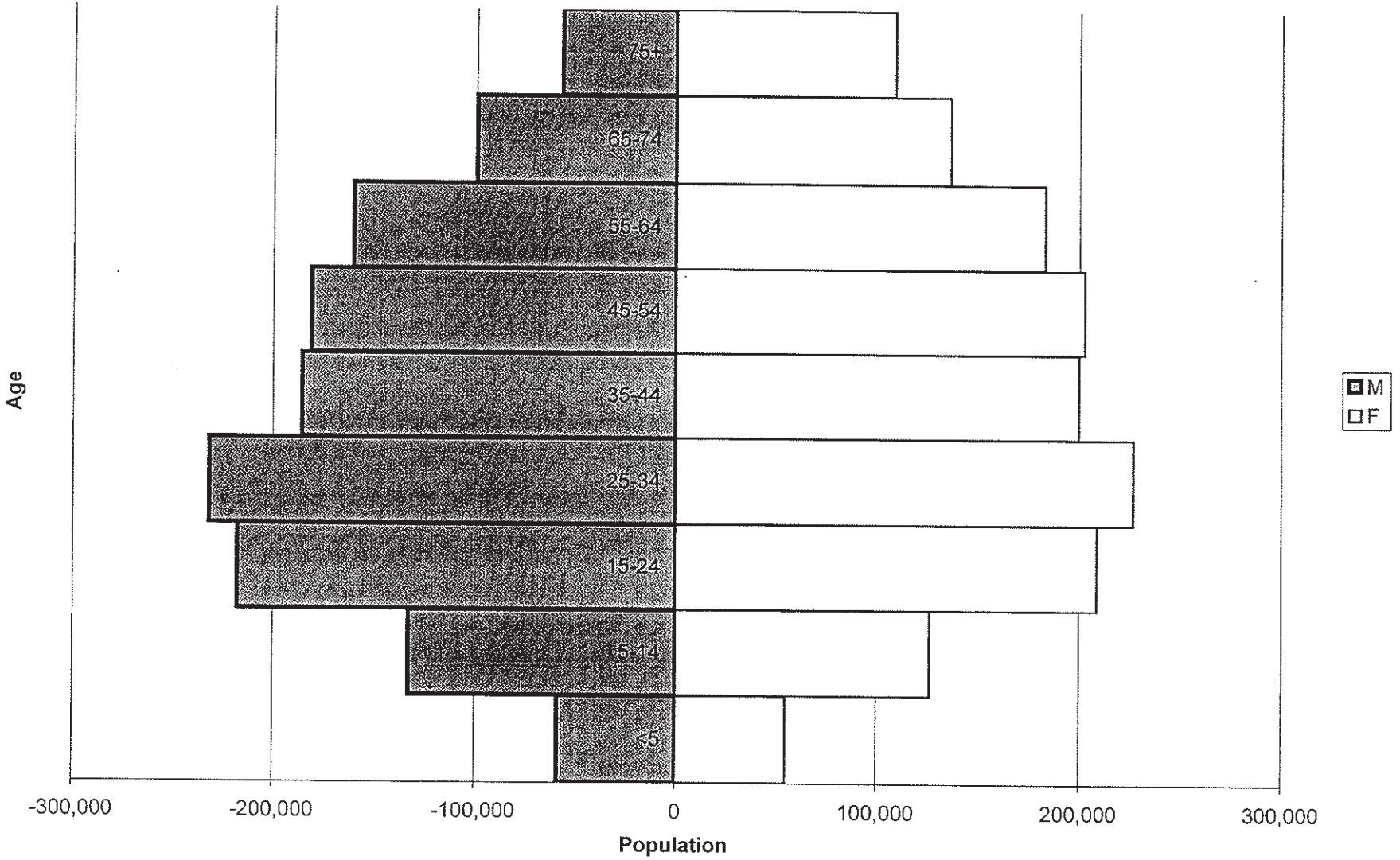


Figure 5. Population by age, Garbatella, Rome, 1981 and 1991

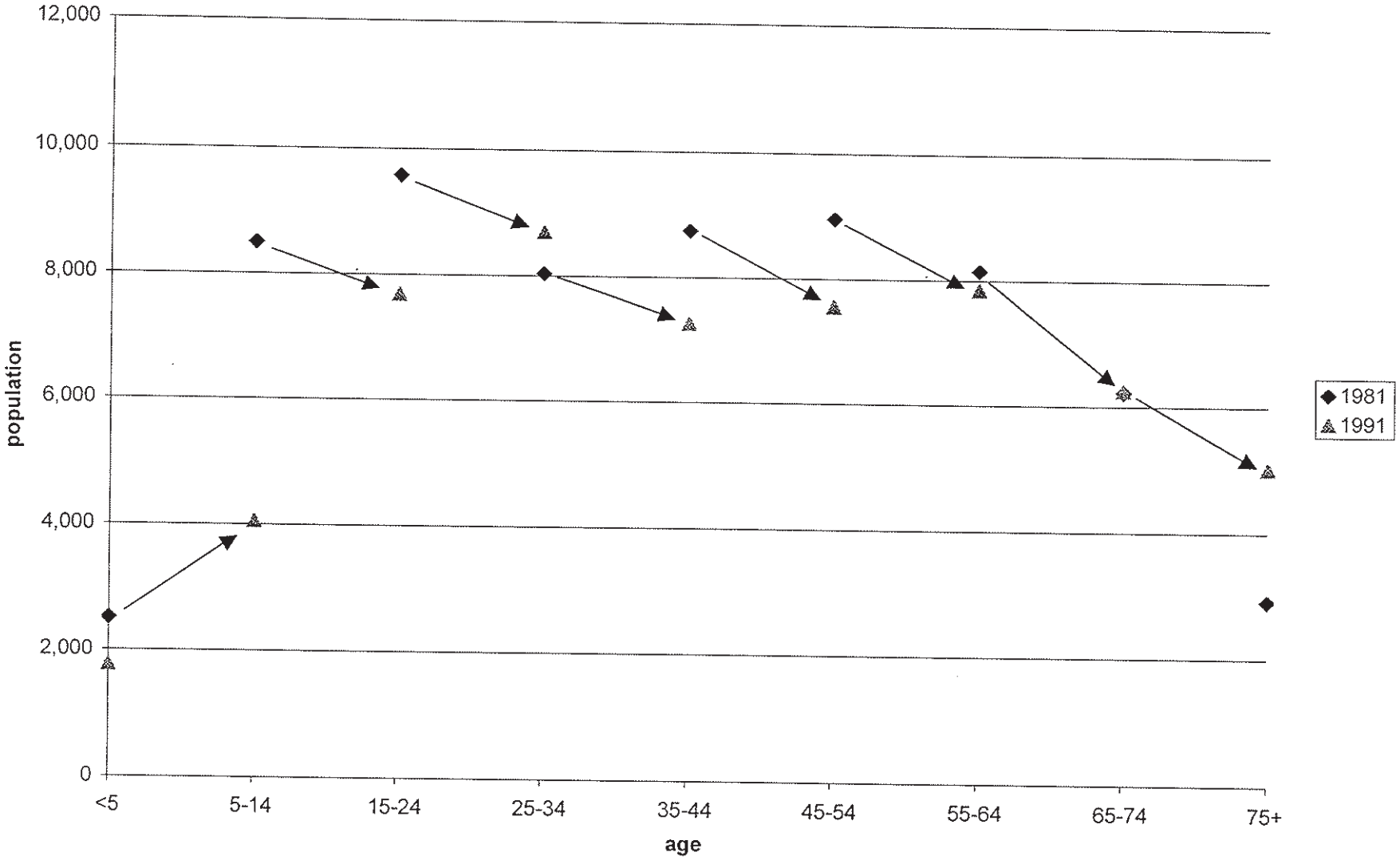


Figure 6. Population by age, Rome, Italy, 1981 and 1991

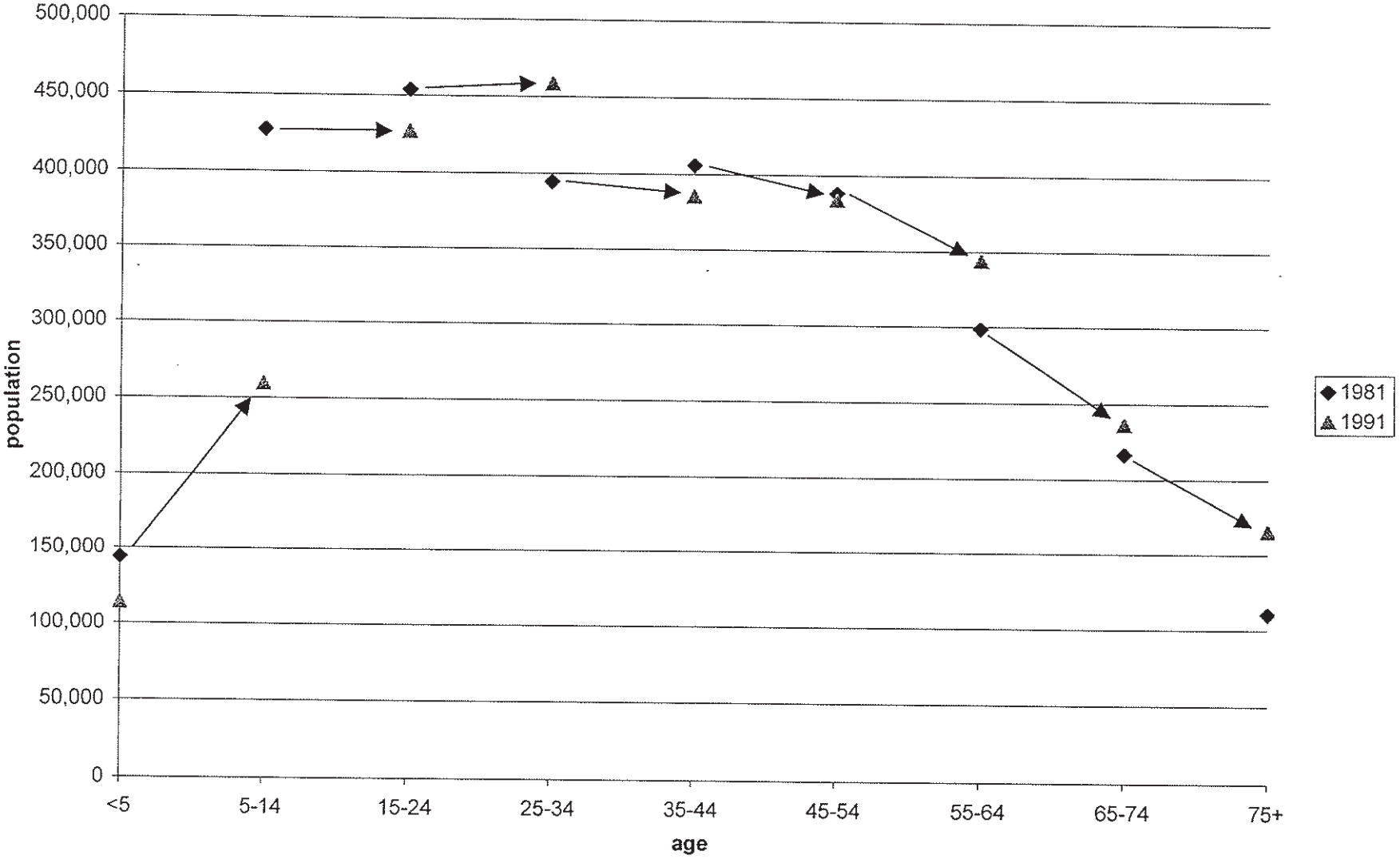


Figure 7. Garbatella Vacant Housing Breakdown, 1991

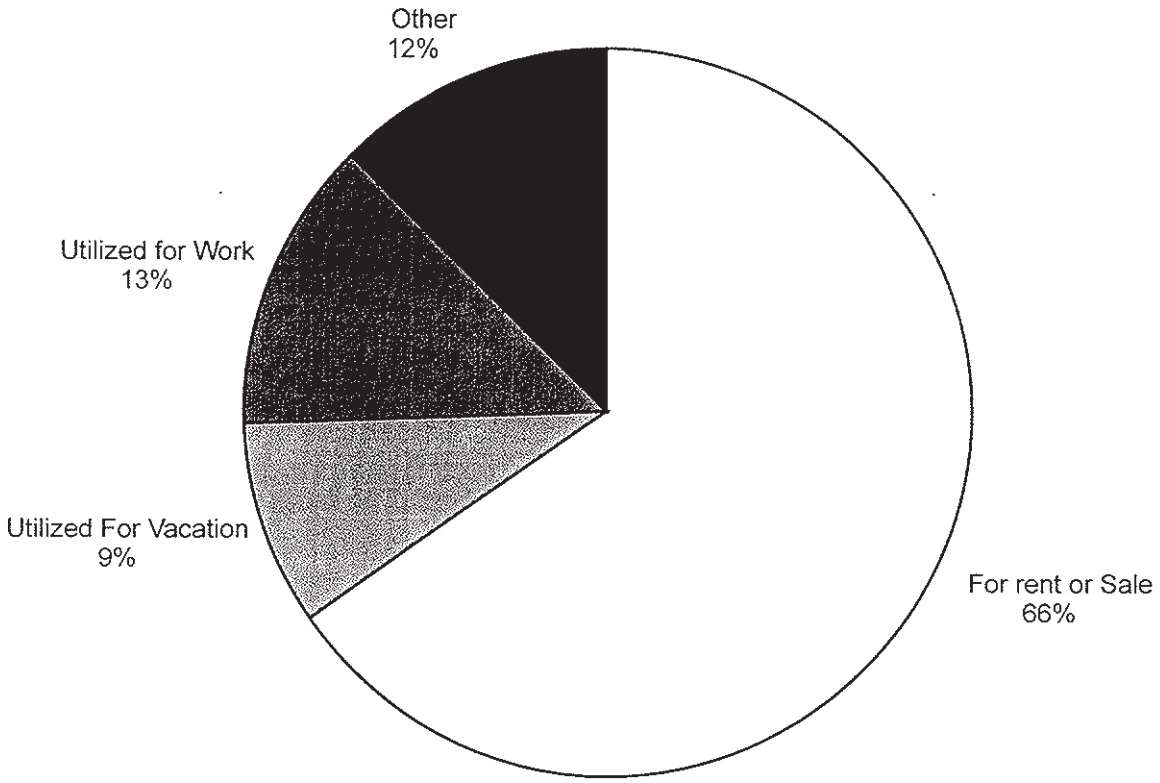


Figure 8. Rome Vacant Housing Breakdown, 1991

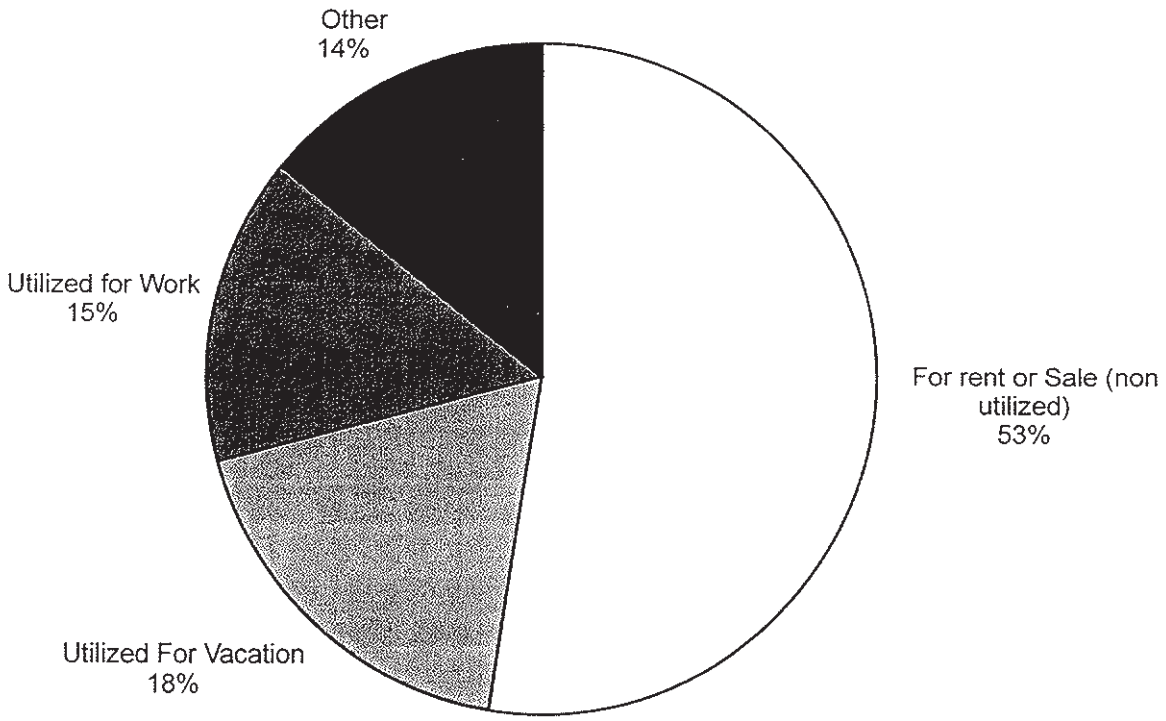


Figure 9. Percentages of Structures Built During Year Range, Garbatella, 1991

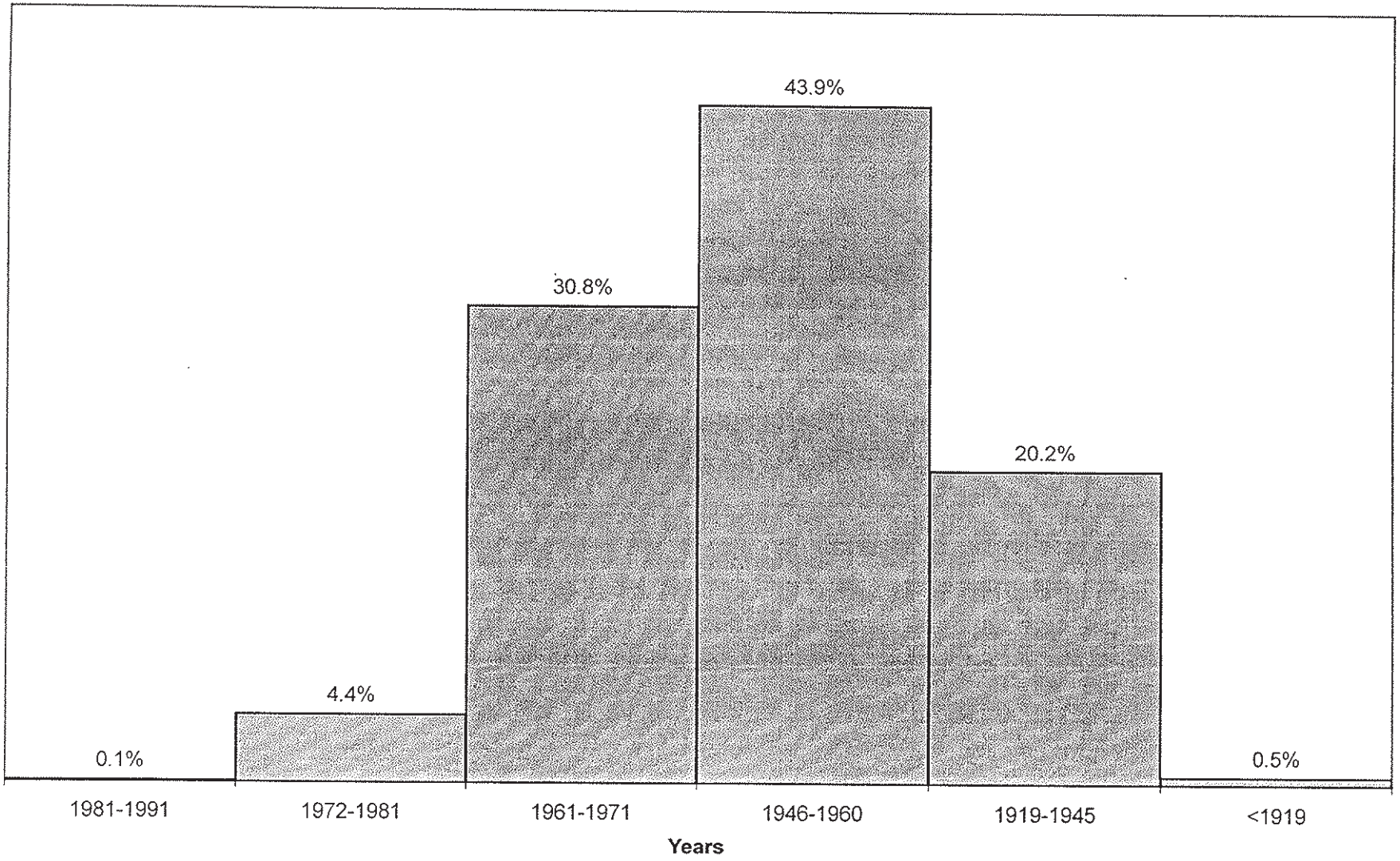
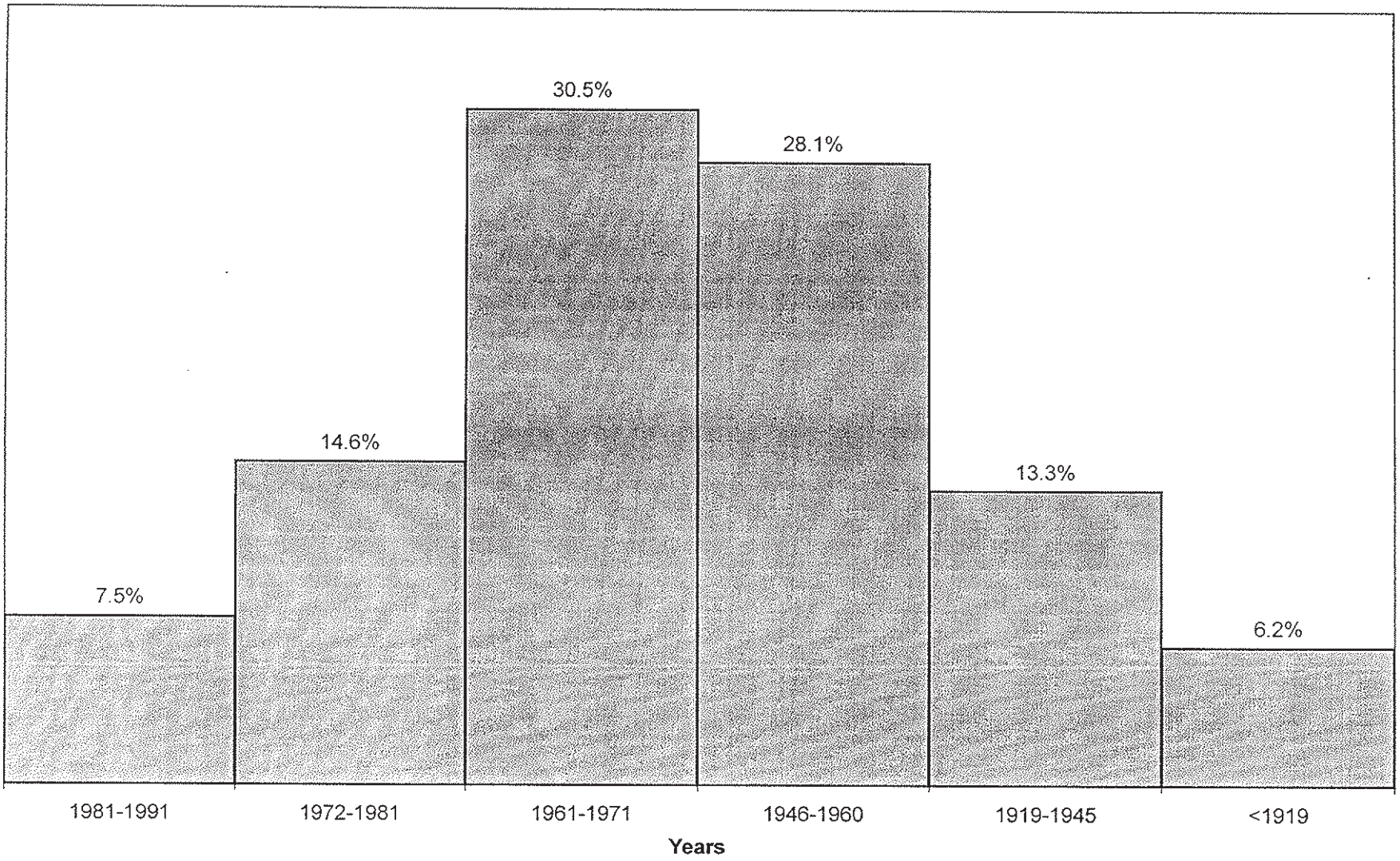


Figure 10. Percentages of Structures Built During Year Range, Rome, 1991



Appendix B (Italian)

Studie di Garbatella fatto da Università di Cornell, (Ithaca, New York, Gli Stati Uniti)

1. Dove vive (Quartiere)? _____
2. Dove lavora? _____
3. Dove fa la spesa? _____
4. Dove va per divertirsi? _____

5. Come si sposta (circondi uno o più)?
    a. Macchina
    b. motorino
    c. autobus
    d. metro
    e. bicicletta
    f. a piedi
    g. compartecipazione dell'automobile
    h. altro?_____

6. Perche è qui adesso (circondi uno o più)?
    a. Lavorare
    b. Fare la spesa
    c. Paseggiare
    d. Viaggiare (spostare?)
    e. Studiare
    f. altro? _____

7. Pensa che garbatella ha bisogno piú di (circondi uno o più):
    a. Transporti pubblici?
    b. Parcheggi/autorimese?
    c. Negozi (servizi (barbiere, parruchiere, etc.)?
    d. Sicurezza?
    e. Strutture scholastiche (scuole, biblioteche, etc.)?
    f. Strutture di divertimento e recreazione (cinema, teatro, bar, etc.)?
    g. Parchi/aree verdi?
    h. Centri sociali?
    i. Piú pulizia?
    j. altro?_____

8. Pensa che gli affitti sono troppo alti? Si/no
9. Trova il costo della vita troppo alto? Si/no
10. Si senta rappresentato dal suo governo locale? Si/no

Secondo Lei…

11. Come ha cambiato il quartiere nei anni recenti? _____
    _____
12. Che ama di piú di Garbatella? _____
    _____
13. Che non le piace di Garbatella? _____
    _____

Grazie per la collaborazione!

Present Location: Present Date/Time: Description of Interviewee:

Appendix B (English)

Study of Garbatella by Cornell University (Ithaca, New York, United States of America)

1. Where do you live? _____
2. Where do you work? _____
3. Where do you shop? _____
4. Where do you go for entertainment? _____

5. How do you commute?
    a. Car
    b. Motorcycle
    c. Bus
    d. Metro
    e. Bicycle
    f. by foot
    g. car pool
    h. other? _____

6. Why are you here at the moment?
    a. to work
    b. to shop
    c. strolling
    d. in transit
    e. to study
    f. other? _____

7. Do you think Garbatella needs more:
    a. Public transportation?
    b. Parking facilities?
    c. Retail services?
    d. Safety?
    e. Educational facilities (i.e. schools, libraries)?
    f. Recreational facilities (i.e. movie theatre, bars)?
    g. Green space?
    h. Community centers?
    i. Cleanliness?
    j. other? _____

8. Do you find housing rents too high? Yes/No (Is housing affordable?)
9. Do you find the price of living too high? Yes/No (Is the cost of living affordable?)
10. Do you feel represented by your local government? Yes/No

According to you…
11. How has the neighborhood changed in recent years? _____
_____
12. What do you love most about Garbatella? _____
_____
13. What do you dislike most about Garbatella? _____
_____

Thank you!

Present Location: Present Date/Time: Description of Interviewee:

APPENDIX C

Survey Number:		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Where do you live?	Vitinia	Monteverde	Tor Marancia	Garbatella	Garbatella	Garbatella	Garbatella	Roma	Garbatella	
Where do you work?	Vitinia		San Lorenzo		Roma	retired	Garbatella	Roma Tre	?	
Where do you shop?	EUR		San Lorenzo	Garbatella		Garbatella	Al Mercato	Via Taranto	Garbatella and other	
Where do you go for entertainment?	Roma	Local	Roma		Italia	TV	Roma	Roma		
How do you commute?										
a. Car		1	1	1		1		1		
b. Motorcycle						1				
c. Bus							1			1
d. Metro		1			1		1		1	1
e. Bicycle				1	1			1		
f. by foot		1								1
g. car pool										
h. other?										
Why are you here at the moment?										
a. to work								1	1	
b. to shop					1	1				
c. strolling					1					
d. in transit										
e. to study		1	1							
f. other?			appointment			living			living	
Do you think Garbatella needs more:										
a. Public transportation?			1							1
b. Parking facilities?		1					1			
c. Retail services?					1					
d. Safety?							1	1		
e. Educational facilities (i.e. schools, libraries)?					1		1			
f. Recreational facilities (i.e. movie theatre, bars)?			1						1	
g. Green space?								1		
h. Community centers?		1	1			1	1	1		1
i. Cleanliness?										
j. other?										
Do you find housing rents too high?		yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	
Do you find the price of living too high?		yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
Do you feel represented by your local government?	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	
How has the neighborhood changed in recent years?		it has changed a lot thanks to the university and the closing of the market	more parks and pedestrian friendly areas	improved	improved	improved	for the worse there's more ignorance		improved	
What do you love most about Garbatella?			the old center		services are close to the center of Rome	old center	because there is now a human dimension	?	?	
What do you dislike most about Garbatella?		the lack of parking	nothing		parking situation	youth are disruptive	the youth are disruptive?		?	
Present Location:	Roma Tre	Roma Tre	Garbatella Metro	Parco Caduti	Piazza Pantero	Parco Caduti	Via Pullino	Via Pullino		
Present Date/Time:	4/9/08 12:10	4/9/08 12:05	4/9/08 12:50	4/9/08 12:35	4/9/08 12:25	4/9/08 12:40	4/9/08 12:45	4/9/08 12:50		
Description of Interviewee:	Student	Student	young male	older woman	middle-aged male	old male	old male	young female		

APPENDIX C

	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	Roma Garbatella Centocelle	V. G. Massaia Salaria Garbatella Priverno LT	San Paolo Roma Garbatella Testaccio	Roma Centro di Roma Supermercato Centro	Garbatella retired various markets	Roma retired market in Garbatella at home	Garbatella student market at the park	Garbatella Garbatella Garbatella Centro
			1	1		1		1 1
		1			1		1 1	1
			1					
		1					1	
						1		1
		1						
					1			
					1	1		
		living	locale			appointment		
			1	1			1	
			1					
							1	1
			1		1		1	
			1					1
				1	1	1	1	1
	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	
	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	
	no	no	yes	no	sometimes	no	no	
		its worsened because of poor sidewalk condition (?)	improved	there wasn't any sense of community	improved	improved	economically better. The public and private services have improved	
		the silence	the people	the friends	the houses	architecture	the old center of Garbatella	
			all is good	the open market	the people	the force?	the people	

Parco Caduti	Viale Guglelimo Massalon ?	Piazza Ustirense ?	Circonvallazione Ostiense	Garbatella Mettro stop	Via Francesca Orazio da Pemabilli	
4/9/08 12:30	4/5/08 4:15	4/4/2004 ?:00:00 AM	4/5/08 4:00	4/4/2004 ?:00:00 AM	4/5/08 3:30	4/5/08 4:30 4/2/2004 ?
mother	50 yr old woman	25 yr old male	30 yrs old woman	Senior Citizen	25 yr old femal	

APPENDIX C

	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	Garbatella	Garbatella	EUR	Roma	Via Faccainetti	Roma, Via Tuscocana	Garbatella (XI)	V. G. Gozzi	
	student Roma Tre	EUR	EUR	roma	Via Ottacrane	Student at Roma Tre	Garbatella		
	supermarkets/markets	EUR	EUR	Supermarket	panorama	Cinecitta	Garbatella	?	
Garbatella	Centro	Centro	Centro	pub, cinema	Girare	Cinecitta		Trastevere	
Garbatella	1			1	1	1		1	1
					1				
		1					1		
	1	1	1				1	1	
		1							
	1	1		1	1		1		
Center, Ostiense									
			1			1		1	
	1				1				1
		1		1			1		
	living						living		
		1	1	1		1			
	1	1			1			1	
				1					
					1	1	1	1	
			1						1
		1				1			
			1				1		
	1	1			1			1	1
	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	
	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	yes	no	
	it has become more social	bigger student population and more services	students, many young people, more traffic					improved	has remained the same
	the historic part	the people	very social	the history	the people		the parks	its history	green zone, shops
		the dirt	nothing	the buildings and architecture	the traffic		the delinquents	the traffic	the dirt
	Circonvillazione Ostiense 4/3/08 3:15	Circonvallazione Ostiense 4/5/08 3:15	Park 4/3/08 3:00	4/3/08 3:00	Park	S. Paolo Train Stop	Park	Bar	Tabacchi
	65 yr old male	22 yr old female	30 yr old male	25 yr old female	young female	middle aged male	Young female	male	young female

APPENDIX C

27

Quartiere S. Paolo
Studio alla Pontificia Universita Gregoriana

Centro

1
1

1

1
1
1

yes
yes
no

Percentage of people

who :	%
live in Garbatella:	44
work in Garbatella:	19
shop in Garbatella:	33
go out in Garbatella:	0
commute by:	
a. Car	63
b. Motorcycle	22
c. Bus	19
d. Metro	48
e. Bicycle	7
f. by foot	44
g. car pool	0
h. other?	0
in Garbatella:	
a. to work	26
b. to shop	11
c. strolling	26
d. in transit	0
e. to study	19
f. other?	0
thought Garbatella needs more:	
a. Public transportation?	26
b. Parking facilities?	30
c. Retail services?	7
d. Safety?	33
e. Educational facilities (i.e. schools, libraries)?	0
f. Recreational facilities (i.e. movie theatre, bars)?	26
g. Green space?	26
h. Community centers?	22
i. Cleanliness?	67
j. other?	0
who thought housing prices are too high:	85
who find the price of living too high:	78
who feel represented at the local level:	41

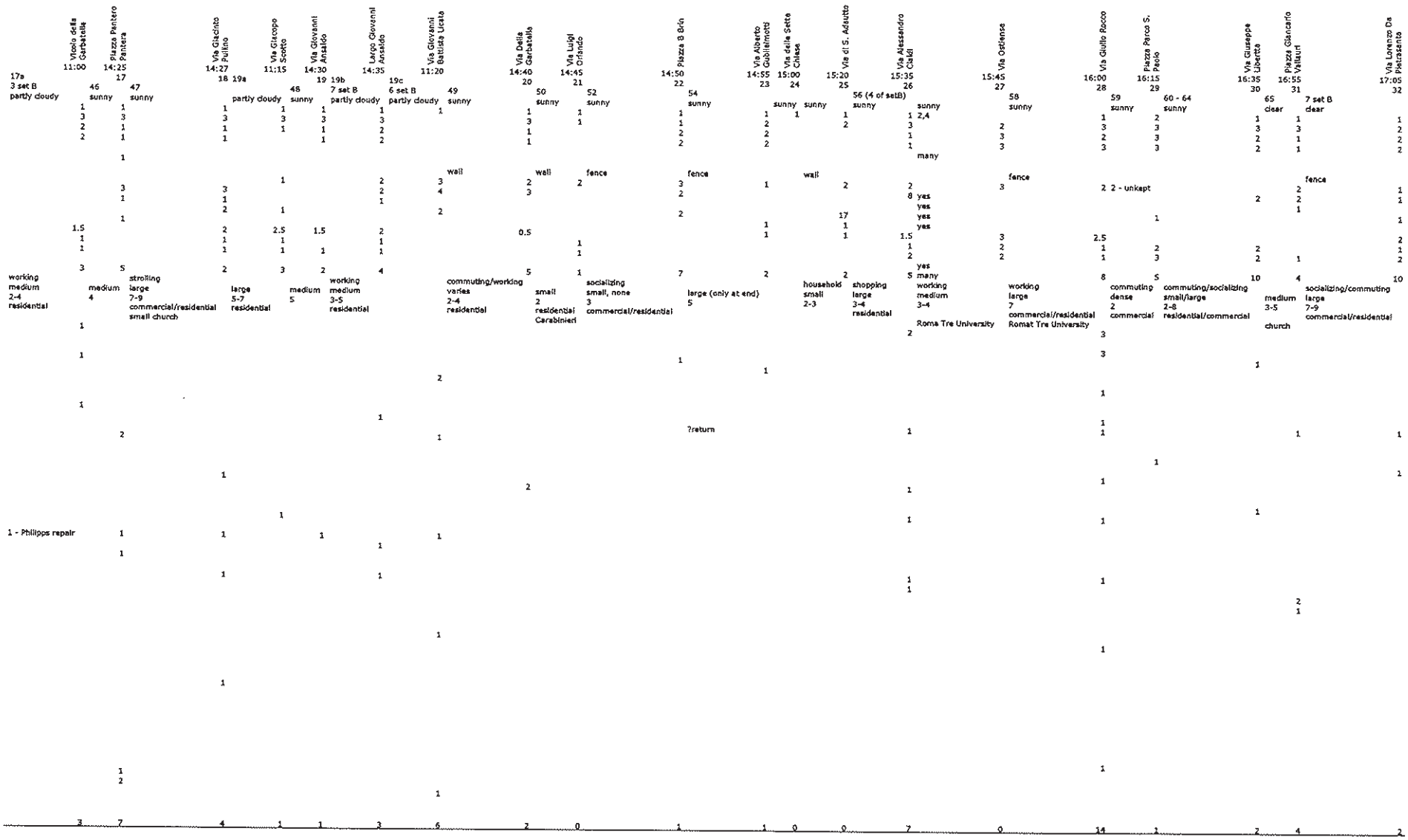
*Confidence Interval: 95% +/- 20

*"?" indicates illegible handwriting

APPENDIX D

Garbatella Street Survey Statistical Data

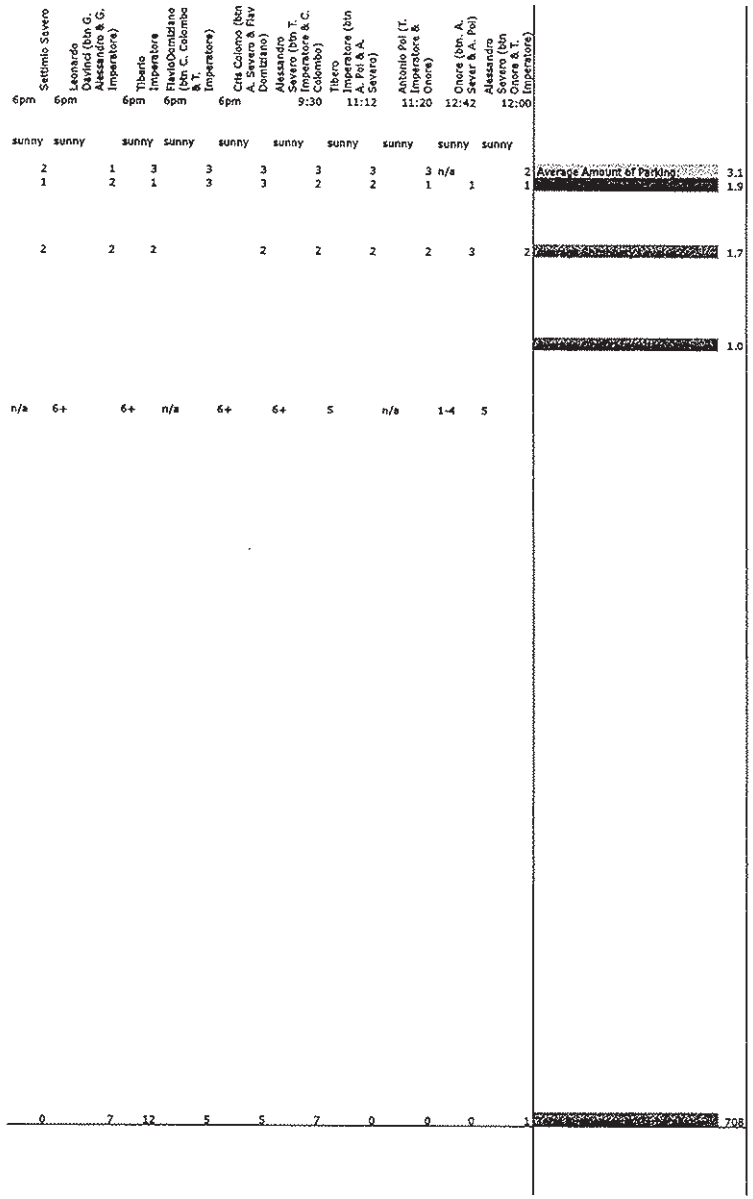
	Street Names		Piazza Raul	Vialle Comboni	Via Christoforo Borri	Salita Chiesa	Largo Della Sette Chiese	Via Odero	Via Francesco Passino	Via Degli Amatori	Via Giovanni da Montecorvino	Piazza Giovanni Da Triora	Via Roberto dei Nobili	Piazza Edoard Mesea	Via Vittorio Cuniberti	Via Valtor Fausto	Via Obizzo Guidoni	Piazza Bartolomeo Romano	Via Luigi Finoli
General	Time of Survey		11:00					12:10			13:35	13:40	13:45	13:50	13:55	14:00	14:05	14:10	14:20
	map number correspondence	1a		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	picture number	1-4	5	6-7	10-11	16-17	18	22		29	37	39	40		41	42	43	45	
	weather conditions	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	
Streets	Number of lanes		1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1
	Amount of parking (1-3)		3	3	3	3	3				3	2	3	3	2	3	3		3
	Condition (1-3)		1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3
	Noise level (1-3)		1	1		1	3			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
	Bus stops						2												
	Phone booths						1												
	Fence/Wall		wall on one side	wall and fence						small fence			partly fenced		short wall	fence			
	Condition (1-3)		2		3	1	1			1	3	2	2	1	2	2			1
	trash bins		4	1					3	1			4	2	4	1		3	6
	recycling bins		1			4		1	2				1			1		1	2
Sidewalks	Trash Cans		3				4									1		3	3
	Water Fountains		1				1							1		1			1
	Width (m)															1.5		3	2
	trash level (1-3)		1	2		3	2		2	1					2	1	1	1	2
	Condition (1-3)		1	2	1		2			1					1	1	1		
	Homeless/beggars																		
People	Number (timespan)		35	1	3	15	40	5	3	4	1	4				4	3	6	7
	activity	socializing	commuting	strolling	working	commuting									commuting	commuting			
Buildings	Size		3	2	4-6	2-3	4-5	4	4-6	2-3	3	3-5	2	2-3	4	3	large 4	large 4	
	Height (floors)	3-5	residential/elementary school		residential	commercial	residential	residential/political offices	residential	residential	commercial	residential	residential	residential	residential	residential	residential	commercial/residential	
	General use	residential, commercial			modern church	bank and health													
	Institutions (bank, school, govt, church)	Elementary school, Church																	
Commercial	bars		1				2												
	cafes		2				1						1					1	2
	pizzeria																		
	restaurants		1									1							3
	convenience stores		1														1 (chinese)		
	grocery/fruit/veg store		1																
	supermarket																		1
	butcher																		
	Alimentari																		
	bakery		1												1				
	hair dressers		1			1									1				
	jewelers/orologeria		2										1		1				1
	flowerstand																		
	newstands		1															1	
	clothing		1															1	
	fotocopy/fax					1						1							
	auto repair/mechanic					2													
	car sales					1													
	Business complex					1													
	tabacchi						1												
	pharmacy						1	1				1							2
	hardware							1											
	shoe shop																		
	shoe repair																		
	toy store											1							
	solarium																		1
	household items																		
	music/instrument store																		
	insurance																		
	telephone																		
	video store																		
	optician																		
	computer/internet																		
	makeup																		
	paper supplies																		
	light supplies																		
	pet store																		
	travel																		
	men's suits																		
	fabrics/textiles shop																		
	real estate																		1
	picture frames																		
	car wash																		
	wedding dresses																		
	bookshop																		
	laudromat																		
	junk store/other																		
	Photography store																		
	toystore																		1
	fan clubs																		1
	Total		12	0	0	6	5	2	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	3	0	3	17


Vitolo della Garbatella
11:00
Piazza Pantero Pantera
14:25
17
17a
3 set B
partly cloudy
46
sunny
47
sunny
working
medium
2-4
residential
medium
4
strolling
large
7-9
commercial/residential
small church
1 - Philipps repair
Via Giacinto Pullio
14:27
18
19a
partly cloudy
large
5-7
residential
Via Giacopo Scotto
11:15
48
sunny
medium
5
Via Giovanni Ansaldo
14:30
19
7 set B
partly cloudy
working
medium
3-5
residential
Largo Giovanni Ansaldo
14:35
19b
19c
6 set B
partly cloudy
Via Giovanni Battista Licata
11:20
49
sunny
commuting/working
varies
2-4
residential
wall
Via Della Garbatella
14:40
20
50
sunny
wall
small
2
residential
Carabinieri
Via Luigi Orlando
14:45
21
52
sunny
fence
socializing
small, none
3
commercial/residential
fence
Piazza B Brin
14:50
22
54
sunny
large (only at end)
5
?return
Via Alberto Gabellemotti
14:55
23
sunny
household
small
2-3
Via delle Sette Chiese
15:00
24
sunny
Via di S. Adautto
15:20
25
56 (4 of set B)
sunny
wall
shopping
large
3-4
residential
Via Alessandro Cialdi
15:35
26
sunny
2,4
many
working
medium
3-4
Roma Tre University
Via Ostiense
15:45
27
58
sunny
fence
working
large
7
commercial/residential
Romat Tre University
Via Giulio Rocco
16:00
28
59
sunny
2 - unkept
commuting
dense
2
commercial
Piazza Parco S. Paolo
16:15
29
60 - 64
sunny
commuting/socializing
small/large
2-8
residential/commercial
Via Giuseppe Libertà
16:35
30
65
clear
medium
3-5
church
Piazza Giancarlo Vallauri
16:55
31
7 set B
clear
fence
socializing/commuting
large
7-9
commercial/residential
Via Lorenzo Da Ponzanello
17:05
32

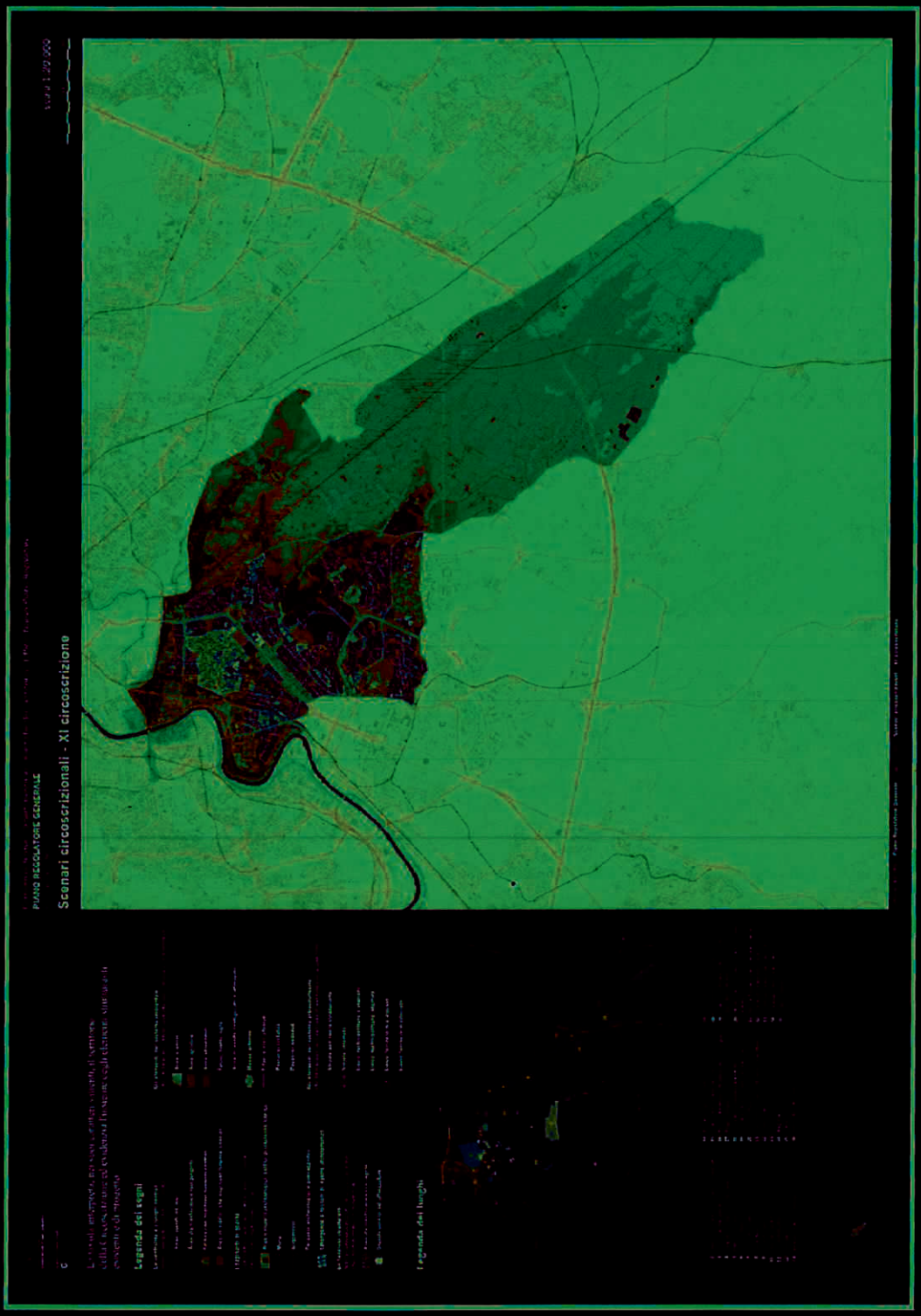
Park		Via Domenico Munari		Piazza Augusti Albini		Via Caffaro		Via Giovanni Andrea Bodoero		Via Giacinto Pullino		Circonvallazione Ostiense		Via David Salinieri		Via Luigi Luiggi		Via della Moletta		Piazza Attilio Pecile		Via Anton da Noli		Via Guetano Casati		Via Francesco Antonio Pigafetta		Via Prospero Alpino
17:10		17:15		17:25		17:30												13:00		13:10		13:15		13:25		13:35		13:50
32a		33		34		35		36		37		40		38		39		41		42		43		44		45		46
66	67				73		12 set B		74,75, 11 set B		77		9 set B		10 set B		12 set B		14		13		15		17		16	
clear	clear		clear		clear		clear		clear						partly cloudy		partly cloudy		partly cloudy		partly cloudy		partly cloudy		partly cloudy		partly cloudy	
				1		1		1		1		2						1		1		1		1		1		1
				3		3		3		3				3				3		3		3		3		3		3
		1		2		3		2		3		3						1		1		1		1		2		
				2		3		2		3		3						1		1		1		1		1		1
									fence														fence		fence			
				1		1				1								1		1		2						
		4		4		6		8		2				1				5		3		2		2		7		
		1				3		1		6								1		1		2		1		4		
		1		3						5												1				1		
		2				2		2		2.5								2				2.5		2.5		2.5		2.5
		1				1		1		2				2				1		1		1		1		1		1
		1				1		2		1				3				1		1		1		1		1		1
										1																		
		15		7		40		7		18								6		5		5		4		15		4
socializing	socializing/commuting						working												working		working		working		working		working	
	large		large		large		large		large		large				large		large		large		large		large		large		large	
	5-7		7		7		8		8-9		8-9		4		9		8		9-10		5-7		7		9		7	
	commercial/residential		commercial/residential		commercial/residential		commercial/residential		commercial/residential		commercial/residential		residential		residential		commercial/residential		residential		commercial/residential		commercial/residential		commercial/residential		commercial/residential	
									bank		bank		Elementary school															
		1		1		4												1				1		1		1		
						4		1		1																		
		1																										
									1 (cinese)											1								
		1																						1				
								1										1		1				1				1
						1																						
		1		1																								
								3																1				
							pasta shop																					
		1	1 (barber)					1														1		1		1		
										1														1				
		1																										
																										1		
		2		2		3		4																				
																						1		1		1		
								1		1																3		1
																		1										
						2																1		1				
		1							herbal products																			
								1		1								1								1		
																										1		
																		1										
			1 (lots of items)			2				3												1						
		1																						1				
		1		1																								
						1																						
																		1						1				
						1																						
																		1				1						
																		1										
																						1				1		
										1														1				
																								1				
																								1				
																								1				
										1																		
								1																				
																						1				1		
0		11		5		18		13		9		0		0		0		8		2		8		14		11		2

	Via Girolamo Benzoni	Stazione Ostiense	Via Matteucci	Viale Leonardo Da Vinci	Via Silvio D'Amico	Via Tiberio Imperatore	Via Antonio Pio	Via Gaspare Gozzi	Via Laurentina	Novacella
	47			12:10	12:45	1:00	12:10	12:20	12:45	12:50
see caffaro		18	19							
partly cloudy			cloudy, slightly chilly							
	2			4	4	2	1	1	2	1
	3			3	3	2	3	3	2	2
	3			3	2	2	2	2	2.5	1
	3			3	2	2	3	3	3.5	1
	3			2	1	1		1	2	
						2				
fence			fence along the cliff--only a small portion		walled apartment complex	whole street was walled	walled along railroad tracks	some fence along empty lot		
				2	1.5	3	2.5	1.5	1.5	3
	14			9	2	2	1	19	10	4
	3			10	4	4	2	14	4	
	2			5	1			4		
	2.5									
	3			1.5	1	1		2.5	1	
	2			1.5				3		
	6			40	10	5	50	32	4	5
large			shopping, transit, socializing	transit, socializing	transit, waiting for the bus	parents waiting for kids getting out of school, transit	socializing, waiting for bus, transit	transit	getting out of their cars	
8			one part predominantly large, other side medium	large	medium	large/medium	large	medium/large	medium	
commercial/residential			one side: 1-2, opposite side: 6-8	5-9	5	4-7	9	5-9	5-6	
			mixed use business/residential	residential: 6 5 story apts. 6 8-9 story apts	residential (not including JJ's side of street)	offices	ground floor retails residential	residential, some retail	residential	
			2 schools, 1 bank			school, hotel				
	2			2				4		
	1			2						
	1				1			2	1	
	1									
				1	1			1		
				2				1		
	2			2	1			2		
				1						
	1							1		
				1				2	1	
	1			2					2	
									1	
	1						1	1		
	1									
	6			2				1		
				1						
				1				1		
				1						
				1				2		
				1				1		
	1									
	1							1		
	1									
				2				1		
								1		
								1		
	20	0	0	22	3	0	1	24	5	0

	Via Casamari	Viale Marconi	Via Gibilmanna	Via Cristoforo Colombo	Via gabriello Chiabrera	Circonvallazione Ostiense	Giovanni Battista Magnaghi	Giuseppe Candeo	Ermenegildo Fredianl(n-s)	Ermenegildo Fredianl (e-w)	Manifredo Camperio	Paglia	Giovanni Da Verrazzano	Prospero Alpino	Cirlaco D'ancona	Gaetano Casati	Caffarro	Giovanni Ansaldo	Luigi Finati	Ostiense	Galliano	Della Collina Volpi	Antonia Pio	Leonardo Davinci	Iberia Imperatore	Flavio Domziano (btn Cristo. Colombo & T. Imperatore)	Cristoforo Colombo (btn Ales.Ver &Flav. Domziano)	Alessandro Varaldo (btn C. Colombo & L. Imperatore)	Giustiniano Imperatore (btn Leo & Valla D. Lucina)	Della Valla D. Lucina (btn G. Imperatore & A. Severo)	Alessandro Severo
	1:00	1:05	1:10	1:30	1:50	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	5pm	6pm	6pm	6pm	6pm	6pm	6pm	6pm	6pm	6pm	6pm	6pm
					4	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	warm	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny	sunny
	1	4	2	10	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
	1	2	3	1	2	3		1	1		1	3	2	1			2	1	2	3	1	2	1	3	2	2	3	1	1	1	1
	2	3		3	2																										
	1,5	3	2	3	2																										
		1		1	2																										
walls and fences along the apartment buildings	wall along train station																														
	2		2.5	1.5	2.5	3	2					3	2	2			1		1	1		3	3	2	3		2		3	3	2
	3	4			18																										
		5			10																										
		2			5																										
		2	1	1.5	2.5																										
		2			2	3	2	2	1		1	3	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	3											
		1			1																										
		10	1	5	20																										
medium	transit	transit	transit	socialtzing, transit																											
6	medium	medium/large	small	large																											
residential	3-5	5-9		8-9	8	8	8	6	6	8	8	8	7	6	7	8	9	8	9	5	5	5	5	6+	6+	6+	6+	6+	6+	n/a	
	residential	residential	highway, park	residential/commercial mixed use	4																										
	train station			bank (2)	2																										
					1																										
					1																										
					2																										
					9																										
		1			2																										
		1			3																										
					1																										
		1			7																										
	0	3	0	0	32	81	0	10	12	5	39	5	28	22	16	24	29	0	15	30	2	0	1	22	5	3	0	8	1	0	2


Settimio Severo
Leonardo Davinci (bin G. Alessandro & G. Imperatore)
Tiberio Imperatore
FlavioDomitiano (bin C. Colombo & T. Imperatore)
Cris Colomo (bin A. Severo & Flav Domitiano)
Alessandro Severo (bin T. Imperatore & C. Colombo)
Tiberio Imperatore (bin A. Pol & A. Severo)
Antonio Pol (T. Imperatore & Onore)
Onore (bin. A. Sever & A. Pol)
Alessandro Severo (bin Onore & T. Imperatore)
6pm 6pm 6pm 6pm 6pm 9:30 11:12 11:20 12:42 12:00
sunny sunny sunny sunny sunny sunny sunny sunny sunny sunny
2 1 3 3 3 3 3 3 n/a 2
1 2 1 3 3 2 2 1 1 1
2 2 2 2 2 2 3 2
n/a 6+ 6+ n/a 6+ 6+ 5 n/a 1-4 5
0 7 12 5 5 7 0 0 0 1
Average Amount of Parking
3.1
1.9
1.7
1.0
708

APPENDIX E: Plan of Municipio XI

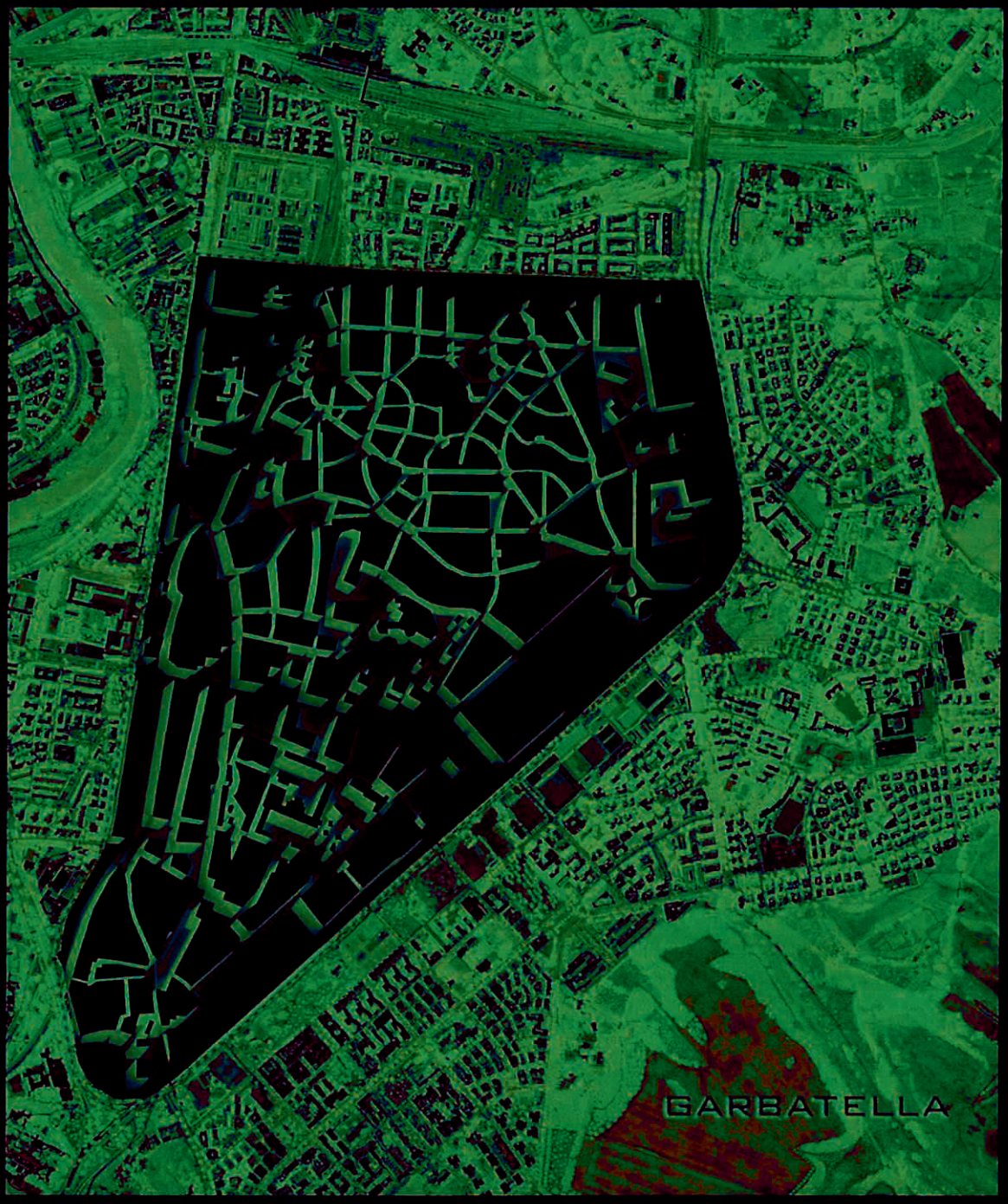


Source: http://comune.roma.it

APPENDIX E: Street Plan of Garbatella

APPENDIX E: Aerial Photograph of Garbatella

APPENDIX E: Spatial Analysis of Garbatella



Source: Stefano Volante, CRP Studio Teaching Assistant