

# IL PIGNETO





## Abstract

This section focuses on the Roman neighborhood of Pigneto, which lies just outside the Roman Walls, to the east of Porta Maggiore. In particular, the area of the Pedestrian Island (L'Isola Pedonale) is the primary focus within this neighborhood, because of its rapid change in the past two decades. Students researched the neighborhood in terms of American gentrification, looking at social networks, demographic information, and land use surveys, in an attempt to better understand the processes taking place in the area. This information, along with a study of other cases of rapidly changing neighborhoods both in Europe and in the United States, and a look into what is already being done in the neighborhood, can be used to gain a better understanding of Pigneto. The report provides a glimpse into the changes occurring in Pigneto, and how stakeholders in the neighborhood can mold these changes to produce a positive outcome.



# Table of Contents

Introduction

Historical Context

The Issue of Gentrification

Demographics

Land Use

Real Estate

Interviews

Case Studies

Prescriptions

Conclusions/Reflections

Appendix

Bibliography





Rome  
Planning  
Workshop  
Spring 2008

The “true Rome” Pasolini is referencing is the Rome that is “unknown to tourists, ignored by the right-minded, and non-existent on maps” – it is in peripheral neighborhoods such as Pigneto (Pasolini 2003, 166). The Pigneto that Pasolini was familiar with was one of great poverty, of shantytowns and of little else; it is unlikely that he would recognize the neighborhood in its current state.

Today, Pigneto is a community in motion. The neighborhood reflects “various processes of urban development” (Moliterno 2002). For much of the neighborhood’s history, it maintained its working class roots and remained a relatively cheap district. This attracted Rome’s most recent immigrants from Eastern Europe and Africa, which dramatically altered the feel of the neighborhood in recent years (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica 2001). This new influx has also brought an upwardly-mobile younger generation to the neighborhood who were initially drawn to the Pigneto because of its cheap housing market but culturally rich environs. This, accompanied with the building of the Metro “C” line, has led to a rapidly rising real estate market and Italian-style gentrification.

Pigneto is located within the boundaries of Municipio VI, and is east of Porta Maggiore and Stazione Termini. The area that is the primary focus of our study of Pigneto is the Pedestrian Island (L’Isola Pedronale), which lies between Via Casilina, Via Aquila/Via Presentina, and

Circonvallazione Casilina.

## Historical Context

The historical context of a peripheral neighborhood such as Pigneto is crucial to the greater understanding of current issues that surround the district. The Roman periphery during the twentieth-century experienced a major movement of poorer, rural Italians moving in and settling mostly along the edges of the city (Rhodes 2007, xii).

Although the Fascist regime placed restrictions on the growth and development of urban areas such as Rome (fearing that cities were places of rebellion), peasants found ways into the periphery because the alternative –starvation in the countryside—was much worse (Rhodes 2007, 11). With that, Rome’s population grew under Fascism: from 1936 to 1961, the city’s population nearly doubled in size (Rhodes 2007, 12). Because of this underhanded form of development the edges of Rome developed in an oil stain fashion, bleeding out at odd angles.





Pigneto has its roots at the end of the 19th century and the start of the 20th century, but the period of greatest growth for the neighborhood was between the two world wars, with 77.78% of the housing built from 1919-1945 (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica 2001). During this period there was rapid growth and little planning or cohesion. Private construction companies developed the neighborhood in an unregulated, often chaotic manner, emphasizing making larger profits over architectural unity in the post unification housing crisis (Moliterno 2002). As Rome historian G. Moliterno (2002) states,

The construction of these houses was not regulated by any urban master plan and [was] characterized by the shortage of those essential services (educational, medical, social) that are necessary components of urban development. However, the rail workers of the nearby Stazione Termini needed affordable accommodation and public investment was scarce. (2002, Online version.)

Historically, Pigneto has been an important center for the Roman Anti-Fascist Resistance movement, most noted during the German occupation of the city from 1943-1944 (Moliterno, 2002):

This was not only due to the resident's predominately left-wing inclinations but also to

the strong hardship the war had inflicted on the weakest strata of the population. Many primary essentials such as pasta and rice were rationed and access to clean water and coal became increasingly difficult. Many residents had been evicted from the town center because of the Fascist project for a redevelopment of the historic center. Immigrants from the country started to dislike the regime because it had denied them legal residence (the regime had a strong anti-urban bias and wanted to discourage urban growth).



Pigneto is also located at an important intersection in Rome. In order for the Germans to have access to resources in other areas of Italy where they were battling Americans (places such as Cassino and the coastline of Anzio), they had to have complete control over their resource supply chain that started in Rome. As the exit point of several German resources from the city, Pigneto was an area of significant strategic and military importance. The strategy of the Resistance movement in Pigneto was to sabotage the German supply of weapons, food and oil leaving the city (Moliterno, 2002). But this reaction did not go without punishment. On 17 April 1944, an assault was organized on Pigneto, and antifascists were deported. This was the second most significant act of repression by the German Nazis in Rome, after the assault of the Jewish Ghetto on 16 October 1943 (Moliterno, 2002).



**Cineteca di Bologna, Scene Shot from Pasolini's Accatone. Shot in Pigneto, 1960**





## Italy in Rags: Pigneto and Neo-Realism

Via Prenestina, la circonvallazione Casilina and via Casilina are an integral part of the history of Italian cinema because they are an integral part of Italian history. On these streets bombs had fallen, on these streets people had hoped and despaired and it was here, where the Resistance had found its most fertile ground, its militants and profound solidarity.”

– Roberto Rossellini, Italian Neo-realist filmmaker

After World War II, the economic and social strains of the war and the Nazi occupation of the city were difficult to bear. Rome was in ruins, and poverty was at an all-time high. The railroads were destroyed. Despite joining the Allies, the Italian economy suffered greatly due to its earlier involvement with the Nazi party and the Fascist regime’s hold over the country.

The inflation had skyrocketed and so wages , and people were impoverished. In response to these harsh conditions, neo-realism became a popular way to express the current situation in Italy. Neo-realism in the Italian context was a strong desire to uncover the truth about the horrors of the Fascist regime and of

the war, and Italian filmmakers wanted to spread information about the widespread suffering that was occurring in Italy (Celli and Cottnino-Jones 2007, 44). It is a style of film that is characterized by stories set amongst the poor and working class, (Celli and Cottnino-Jones, 2007). The films reflected the changes in the Italian psyche and the conditions of everyday life: defeat, poverty, and desperation (Bondanella, 1983).

Pigneto was an important element in creating this genre. In order to create a more “real” film experience, these films were typically filmed on location, and they often used nonprofessional actors (Celli and Cottnino-Jones 2007, 45).

The style’s emphasis on the use of actual locations--usually exteriors--rather than studio sites was an important shift in film-making, and it allowed for Pigneto to become a popular backdrop from neorealism cinema productions (Celli and Conttnino-Jones, 2007).

Films by the masters of the era – most notably, “Roma Citta Aperta” (Roberto Rossellini, 1945), “Bellissima” (Luchino Visconti, 1951), “Domenica della brava gente” (Majano 1953), and “Accatone” (Pier Paolo Pasolini, 1961) we all filmed on location in the Pigneto district (Celli and Cottinino-Jones, 2007).



Film directors were attracted to the simplicity and authenticity of its people, mostly rail workers, craftspeople and artisans – in one of the fringes of the center – la “periferia” – which Pasolini called affectionately ‘the crown of thorns that surrounds the city of God’ (la corona di spine che cinge la citta di Dio) (Moliterno 2002).

It was this trend of showcasing Pigneto as a stage to present neorealism that led to the neighborhood’s iconic marginalization in the eyes of other Italians. With its role as the setting in these films, Pigneto quickly became the poster child for post-war conditions of poverty and struggle.

As former mayor Walter Veltroni stated in the introduction to “Rome: the Great Movie Set”, a brochure produced by the city’s tourism office, “ever since 1945 and Roberto Rossellini’s ‘Open City’...post war Italian directors had no other choice but to film outdoors, on real squares and streets.

Neorealism became famous the world over and, even later, never reverted to conventional methods again, but continued to work on ‘location’ rather than in Studios.” (Veltroni 2007, Introduction). As one of Rome’s new “suburbs,” Pigneto soon transformed into a natural setting for many different Italian and foreign filmmakers, and it became emblematic of a the style of neorealism. As the brochure states, Pigneto “has

undoubtedly been the one most exploited by Italian motion pictures in the descriptions of the new proletarian suburb life” (Petti, Ricciarelli and Scarpetti 2007, 38).

Pigneto’s prominence and elite status in Italian film history led to a re-emergence of the neighborhood’s popularity as a “cool” place to live. Ads for apartments in Pigneto proudly broadcast the neighborhood’s film history, proclaiming that “it was the background of some of the Italian Neorealism most important movies (i.e. Roma Città Aperta by Roberto Rossellini) and nowadays is the place where artists, as filmmakers [sic] and painters, come to live or to spend their evenings” (craigslist.com posting, 28 April 2008). With this, the neighborhood struggles to maintain its affordability and identity as a neighborhood of working class Italians.





## The Issue of Gentrification

The focus of this study has evolved – beginning with issues surrounding the experiences on the immigrant population and, after extensive research, resulted in the current focus of the ways in which gentrification is occurring in Pigneto. The study of gentrification itself produces diverse results. It is increasingly difficult to ascertain a streamlined basic definition. The Oxford Dictionary simply defines what is meant to gentrify “verb (gentrifies, gentrified) renovate and improve (a house or district) so that it conforms to middle-class taste” (Oxford University 2008). Positive tone aside, this definition sheds light on the trend of commercial/residential development and in/outward migratory flows that are occurring at a rapid pace. Kennedy and Leonard of The Brookings Institute in the opening line of their paper define “gentrification [as] the process of neighborhood change that results in the replacement of lower income residents with higher income ones, has changed the character of hundreds of urban neighborhoods,” (Kennedy and Leonard 2001, 5 ). It appears however, that there are some commonalities throughout most definitions of gentrification – these commonalities are most accurate when applied to Pigneto.

Both economic and social indicators justify the assertion that gentrification is currently occurring

in Pigneto. The changing physical and social fabric of the areas is apparent upon initial entry. It is clear that new projects of renewal are underway. A soon-to-be opened cinema and seemingly constant flow of new restaurants and bars create the feel of a place in transition. During the day, the pedestrian island is dominated by ‘old guard’ residents predominantly buying produce and socializing – by night however, the gentrifiers reveal themselves in their usage of services specifically designed for them – record stores, bars and lounges. It is this juxtaposition that is vital to understand the nature of gentrification in Pigneto.

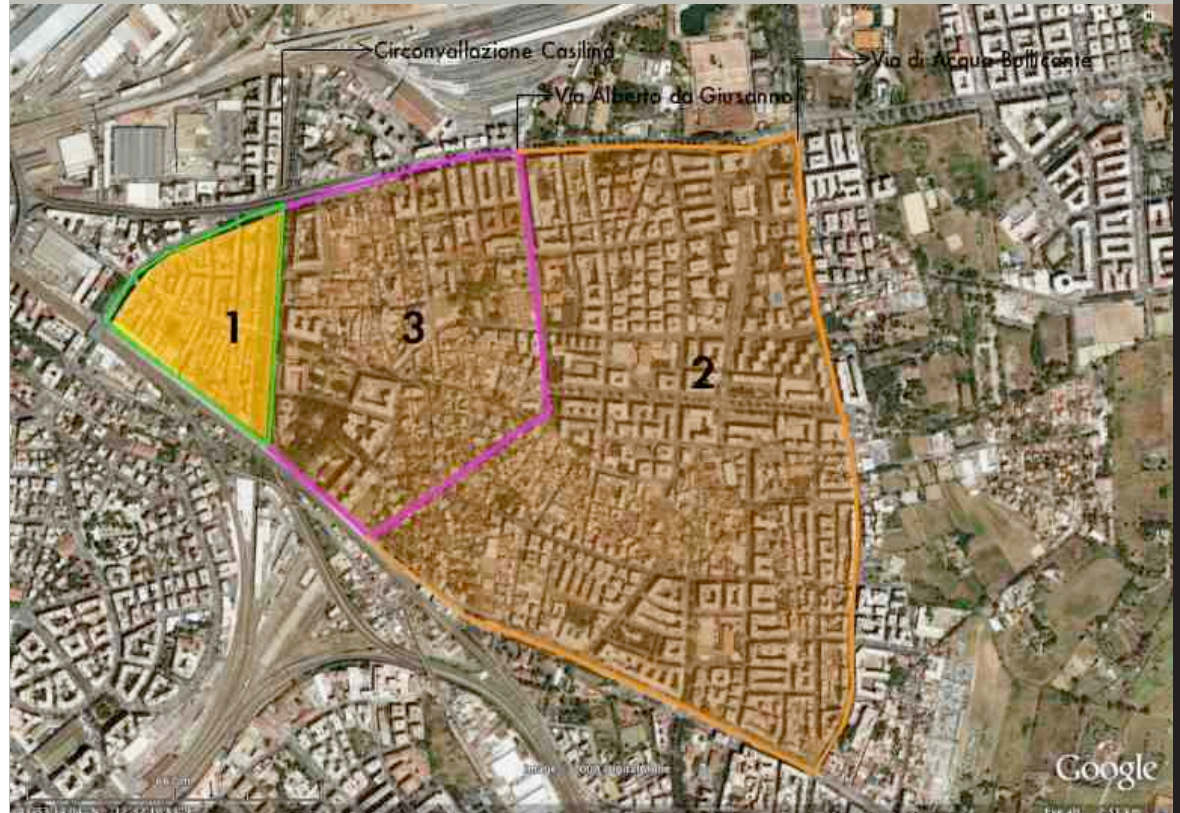
In our study, we hypothesized that a process of “trasteverization” (termed after the Roman neighborhood of Trastevere, which has undergone significant changes in terms of neighborhood dynamics) is occurring in Pigneto. This ‘trasteverization’ concept guided our research methods, as we attempted to better understand the community.

## Locating the Boundaries

The L'Isola Pedonale, the Pedestrian Island, is the area we chose to focus on in our study of Pigneto. The decision to confine ourselves to an analysis of this central commercial district came after a series of visits, during which we tried to gauge what the community was, where its basic elements were located and how movements were made within it.

On the first visit to Pigneto, without a thorough background on the area, the Pedestrian Island was what we thought to be the neighborhood. Without a sense of the historical and contemporary contexts of Pigneto, we chose to define it by reading its surface. As transportation was initially a helpful tool to achieve neighborhood definition, we took a closer look on the tram lines running along Via Casilina,

The map on the right signifies our process of defining boundaries of our neighborhood. We began with the area marked as 1, expanded to 2, and then condensed twice to 3 and back to 1.







Circonvallazione Casilina and Via Prenestina and how they serve as separators between the Pedestrian Island (our neighborhood) from what lay beyond. In many neighborhoods of the world, transportation often plays a particular role in the production of boundaries and so we thought Pigneto would be no exception. In observing the direction upon which tram riders exited the Ponte Casilina and S. Elena tram stops, we noticed that the riders exited the stop and walked towards the center of the isola—Via del Pigneto. At no time were movements made in the direction outside of the Island or between stops along the same street of Via Casilina. Nevertheless, we came to a premature decision to focus our attention here on the Pedestrian Island.

Understanding that transformations in resident population and business from both qualitative and quantitative studies, we thought that the Pedestrian Island would be the section of Pigneto where gentrification may be occurring. A study of the Pedestrian Island would offer a better sense of shifting trends people in Pigneto over the past decades as the neighborhood goes through its transition from a peripheral working-class neighborhood to a hip cultural center.



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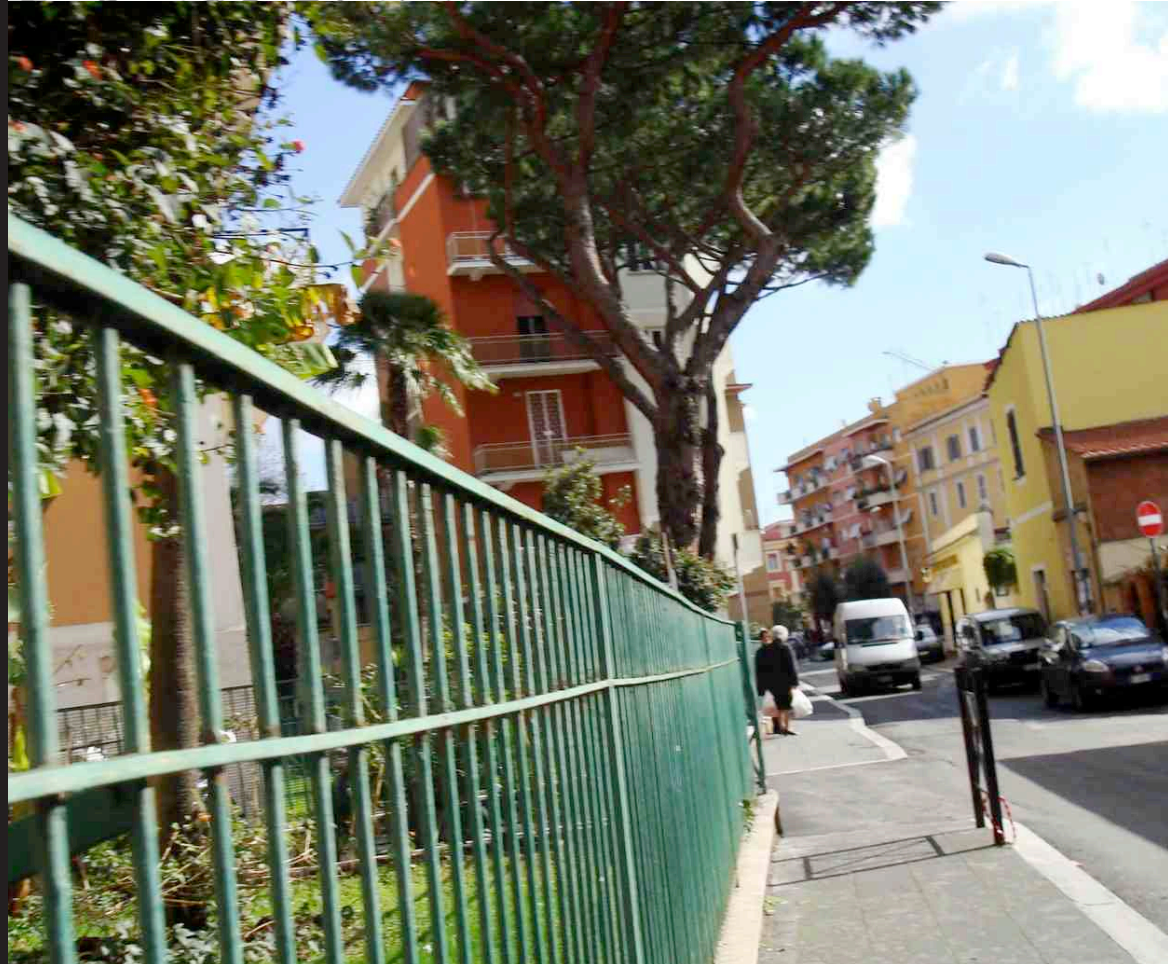
## Methods

We approached the issue of gentrification in Pigneto in various ways, each of which offers a different perspective on the same issue. We completed extensive social history research to better understand the context of our neighborhood. Through our initial work in creating a photogrid and streetscapes, we saw Pigneto through the eyes of a visitor to the neighborhood. We were able to get a sense of how the built environment was changing through a land use survey and subsequent mapping activities. Coupled with an activity/motion map patterned after Kevin Lynch's work, we saw how the built environment of Pigneto affects the people of the area. We studied the demographic trends over time to see how the face of the neighborhood has changed. A study of real estate and other housing issues was also completed, in order to understand how these forces are affecting people in the area.

Besides these technical tools, we also interviewed residents and other community members to comprehend the issues facing these groups. Alongside a study of institutional programs in other neighborhoods worldwide and of the participatory planning efforts already in place in the area, we were able to think through a series of prescriptions. While we do not assume to be neighborhood experts,

we think that our broad-based research on Pigneto provides clues into what defines the neighborhood and how stakeholders such as our interviewees can best preserve this sense of community.





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## Demographics

When an urban studies student goes about learning the ins and outs of a city or neighborhood, he or she must engage various tools to see how the area functions and what its role in the larger community might be. These tools are both quantitative and qualitative in nature, and each must be taken for its worth. While “hard” facts like demographics (discussed here) can be useful for getting a better idea about the people and structures in a neighborhood, they can also be flawed and might not give a full picture about the area. For that reason, demographic information should never be seen in isolation, but rather in combination with other methods of research.



## Defining the Area

The Italian Census uses different categories for collecting and reporting data. The sezione level is similar to the Census Block in the United States Census. The sezione in question in this case are 2070073, 2070089, 2070068, and 2070094, which form the area surrounding the pedestrian section of Via del Pigneto. The wider area of study for more general trends over time was the Zona Urbanistica 06A (each Municipio in the City of Rome is divided into various smaller areas, called Zone Urbanistiche).

The Zona Urbanistica 06A represents a greater population than the Sezione data, which is only for the Pedestrian Island. For the data that looks at data from 1981, 1991 and 2006, the 06A area (noted in the image on the right) was used instead of the Pedestrian Island, as data was not available on such a small scale. Presumably the Zona Urbanistica data is geographically specific by definition; it is just that most data is not collected on this basis. This allows us to make comparisons over time, which the more specific Sezione data does not. It is useful first to look at the more specific geographic area of the Pedestrian Island, then to use other data sources to explain changes over time.



Zona Urbanistica Boundaries, Comune di Roma.



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Spring 2008

## People Demographics of the Pedestrian Island

It is critical to mention that the statistics used refer to residents, and that the presence of other citizens escapes this form of documentation – the latter is probably the most critical component of presumed gentrification processes that are occurring in Pigneto. With this in mind, the Pedestrian Island had only 671 residents in 2001 (ISTAT 2001), with 328 male residents (48.88%) and 343 female (51.12%). The median age of the area was 42 years for both male and female residents, which was on par for female residents in Rome in general, and one age bracket older than male residents in Rome, where the median age was 37 years (ISTAT 2001).

When looking at marital status, the Pedestrian Island had a far larger percentage of single inhabitants (47.39%) than Rome (40.41%), and fewer married residents (39.79% in the Pedestrian Island, versus 48.09% in Rome) (ISTAT 2001). The average family size in Pigneto was smaller than in Rome in general, with the average in the Pedestrian Island being 2.06 people per family, and the average in Rome being 2.52 (ISTAT 2001). The education level of the residents of the Pedestrian Island was somewhat lower than the average in Rome. Only 9.84% of residents in the Pedestrian Island reached tertiary levels of education,

whereas in Rome, this figure was 12.28% (ISTAT 2001). For each category of education (tertiary, high school, middle school), a lower percentage of residents of the Pedestrian Island had obtained this level than in Rome in general (see appendix).

One of the signature characteristics of Pigneto is its immigrant population, which was initially attracted to the area because of its low house prices, according to our resident interviewees. In the Pedestrian Island, immigrants constituted 7.75% of the total population, while in Rome this number is 3.49% (ISTAT 2001). Immigrants in the Pedestrian Island nearly equally represented Europe (28.85%), Africa (19.23%), the Americas (23.08%) and Asia (28.85%), and there are no recorded immigrants from Oceania (ISTAT 2001). While this data is valuable to compare the number of documented immigrants in Pigneto to those in Rome, our observations in the neighborhood suggest that there exists a larger percentage of immigrants in the Pedestrian Island. When we walked on Via del Pigneto, we saw what seemed to be a larger presence of immigrants than what the data would suggest. Whether these immigrants are coming to the area to participate in the local economy, or they are undocumented, this is important to take into account when judging the ISTAT data.

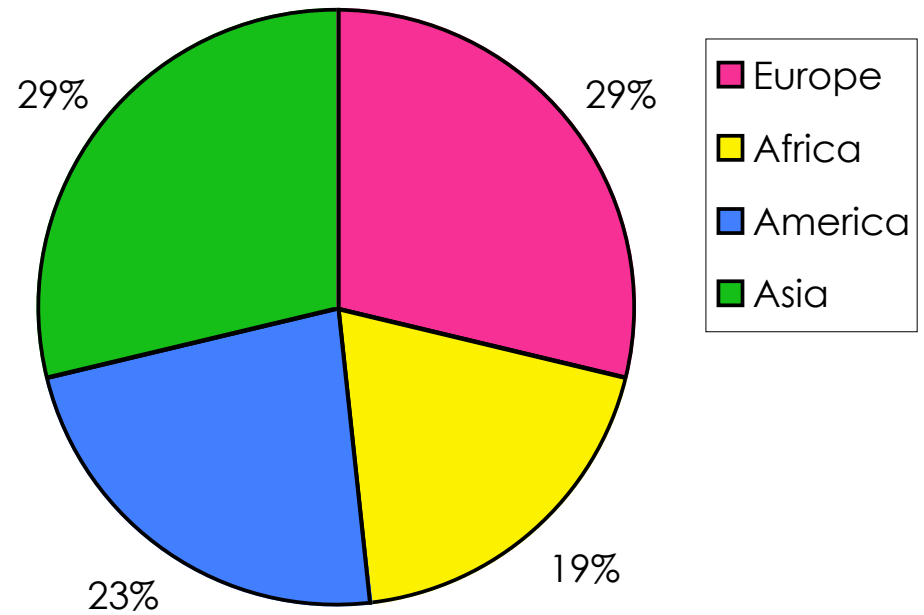
The unemployment rate in the Pedestrian Island was 10.16% (as compared to Rome's 8.17%), with



the majority (67.61%) of the residents working in the Service sector (in Rome this was 69.31% of the workforce) (ISTAT 2001). For men in the Pedestrian Island, the other large sector of employment was Industry (23.21%), while women's work was primarily focused in the Service Sector (83.05%), and only 8.47% in the Industry sector (ISTAT 2001).

In terms of "people demographics," the Pedestrian Island of Pigneto was relatively the same age, had fewer married residents, a smaller family size, a higher unemployment rate, and more immigrants than the rest of Rome in 2001. This information is useful, but the context in which the people lived, especially when seen alongside our land use and mapping activities.

Immigrant Origin in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001



Source: ISTAT, 2001



## Building Demographics of the Pedestrian Island

The residential density of the Pedestrian Island was 0.0283 people per kilometer squared, and there was an average of 10.65 people per residential building (ISTAT 2001). There were 321 residential (75%), 19 nonresidential (4.44%), and 88 unoccupied (20.56%) buildings in the Pedestrian Island in 2001 (ISTAT 2001). The high rate of unoccupied buildings has probably changed somewhat over the past 7 years, and residential spaces have become more valuable due to their increased desirability. Again, unfortunately the data on the Pedestrian Island is somewhat dated, and it is useful to compare these findings to our land use survey.

Before 1919, the neighborhood was largely undeveloped, with only 11.11% of residential buildings were built before then. 77.78% were built between 1919 and 1945, and 11.11% were built between 1946 and 1961 (ISTAT 2001). The dates of building construction in Pigneto were completely centered around the World Wars, while most construction in peripheral Rome has taken place after 1961. In Rome, the majority of residential buildings (68.07%) were built after 1961, with only 7.48% built between the two World Wars, which was the period when the Pedestrian Island saw its greatest growth (ISTAT 2001).

The buildings of the Pedestrian Island are primarily low-rise, low-density buildings, which reflect the time period in which most of the neighborhood's growth occurred.

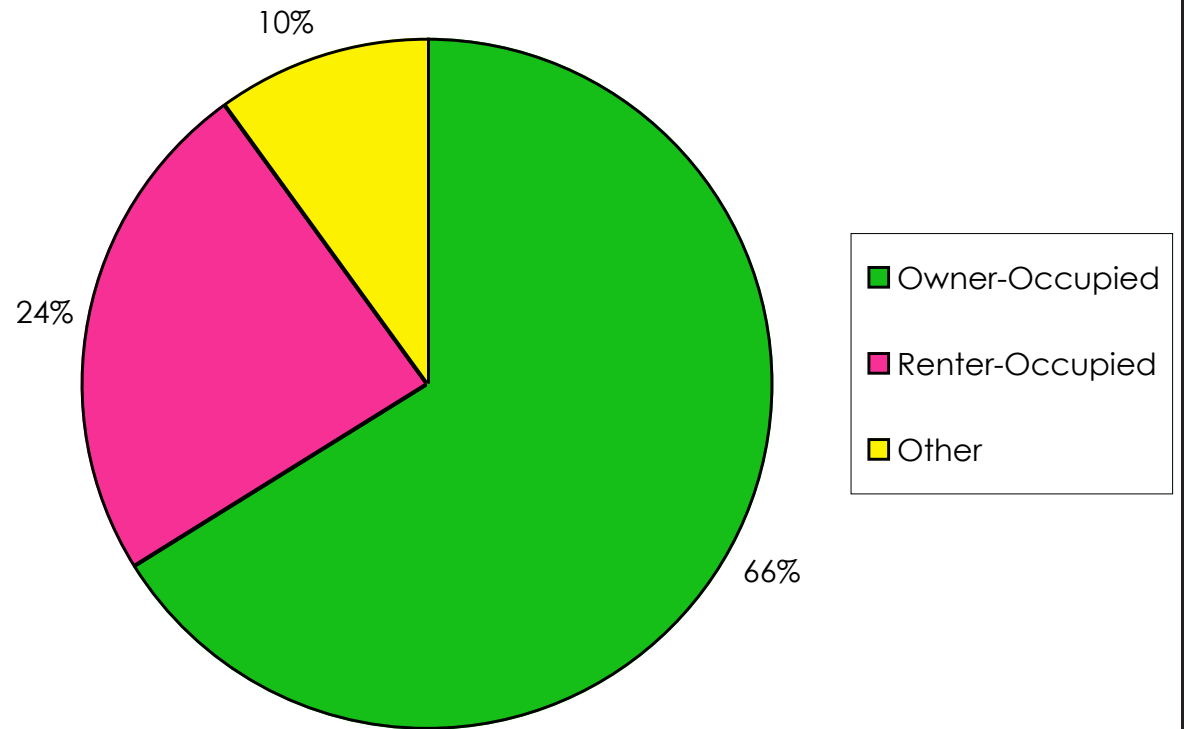
There was a 66.04% ownership rate in the Pedestrian Island, and 23.99% of residential building units were renter-occupied (ISTAT 2001). This, again, was relatively close to the rates of owner-occupied (67.84%) and renter-occupied (24.52%) units in Rome (ISTAT 2001).

## Measuring Gentrification

While the 2001 statistics on the Pedestrian Island seem to represent a typical Roman neighborhood, our social history and interviews tell another story, of a neighborhood in transition, on the brink of gentrification. Our interviewees told us about a degraded Pigneto of the 1980s, and how this has changed into the edgy neighborhood we see today. While the Pigneto of Pasolini's films was a marginalized and deprived area of the city, Pigneto today is on the brink of becoming the next Trastevere, with cushy stores and hip restaurants dotting the neighborhood. Gentrification is clearly taking hold of the area, but how is this reflected in the demographic information about the neighborhood? What characteristics can we look at over time to see how Pigneto has changed?



Residential Housing Occupation in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001



Source: ISTAT, 2001



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Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard, in their 2001 piece entitled *Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices*, written for the Brookings Institution, give a basic definition of gentrification as the “replacement of lower income residents with higher income ones” (1).

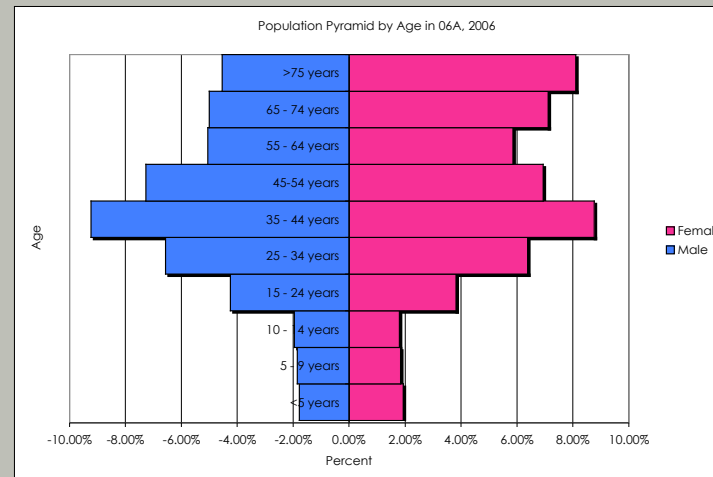
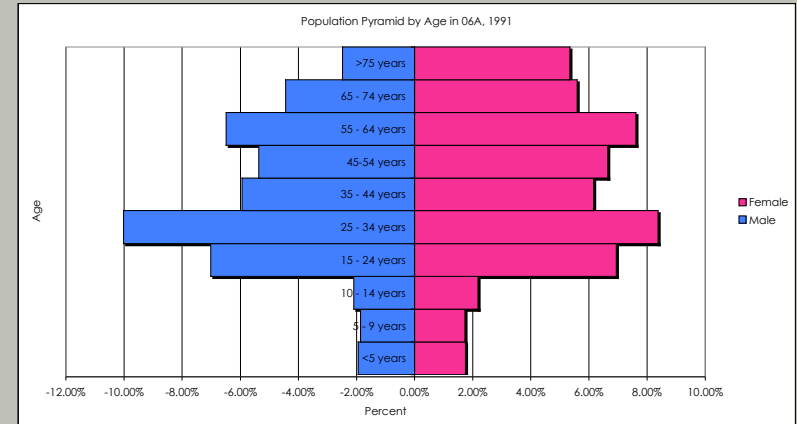
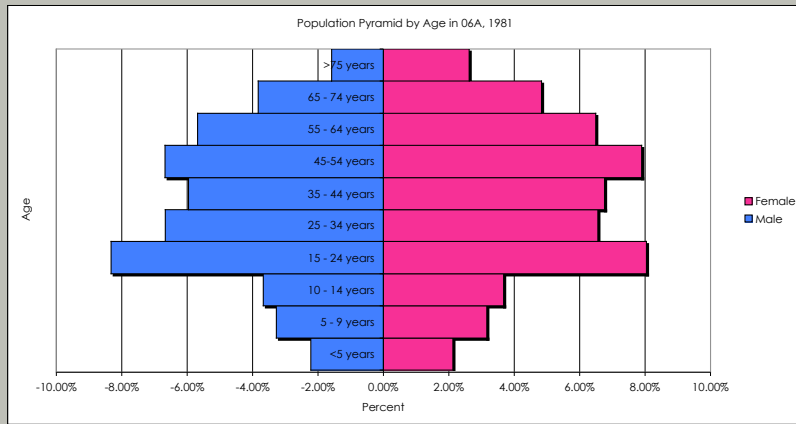
Unfortunately, Italy does not report income data in their census, but there are other ways of judging how a neighborhood has changed over time. In our study of Pigneto, we were able to gather data from the Comune di Roma on the age of the population and levels of education in the periods of 1981, 1991 and 2006. Again, the information reported here is for the Zona Urbanistica 06A, which has larger boundaries than originally described by the Pedestrian Island data above. For a visual representation of 06A, please see the appendix (page number and map/figure number. We also looked at real estate data to see how house prices have changed over time. An analysis of this information can be found in the Real Estate section of this paper.

One of the possible signs of gentrification is a shift in the ages of residents over time. While in 1981, the median age of the residents in 06A was 32 years, in 1991 it was 39 years, and by 2006 it was 42 years (Comune di Roma 1985, 1991, 2006). Pigneto and its immediate surroundings are getting older, which can be said for Rome in general. Instead of focusing solely

on the median age, it is useful to look at the population pyramids of the area to get an idea of the major age groups in the area. In 1981, there was a bulge in population in the 15-24 years bracket.

Pigneto has gone through a shift in population, and seems to be aging. This is a natural growth pattern, as the budge in demographics will move throughout time, and this is synonymous with the overall pattern of Rome. The total population for 06A in 1981 was 66,380 residents, and this figure has fallen over the last 25 years, reaching only 48,252 by 2006 (Comune di Roma, 1985, 2006). Besides aging, the population also seems to be getting smaller.







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## What does this mean in terms of gentrification?

According to our resident interviewees, the bulk of population influx took place in the 1980s and 1990s. The high levels of young adults in both the 1981 and 1991 data as compared with other age brackets reflect their observations that young people started moving into the area in these decades. A young population can be one sign of a gentrifying area, along with a more highly educated population.

In terms of education levels between 1981 and 1991, the percentage of residents who had received some tertiary education increased from 2.29% in 1981 to 4.44% in 1991 (Comune di Roma 1985, 1991). If we compare this data to the information we have about the Pedestrian Island in 2001, where 9.84% of residents had a tertiary education, it seems that the Island has a higher concentration of highly educated people (ISTAT 2001), even though it remains low in comparison to the percentage of residents of Rome with tertiary education (12.28%). However, when compared with the overall Zona Urbanistica 06A, the percentage of people with a tertiary education in the Pedestrian Island in 2001 was significantly higher (table number). This can be seen as one sign of gentrification, because gentrifiers are usually more highly educated than the population they replace. The statistical

information on the education level of residents can provide clues about how a neighborhood has changed.

According to the data available to us about Pigneto, we conclude that the neighborhood has seen a shift over the past three decades. There has been a change in the age of the population, the size of the population, and the level of education of the residents. Paired with observations on land use, we draw additional conclusions about patterns of gentrification in Pigneto.

## Land Use

The purpose for doing a land use survey of Pigneto was to gain a better understanding of the physical layout of the neighborhood. Our goals were to find spatial examples of gentrification and/or municipal negligence, such as a lack of essential services and poor neighborhood layout; to measure the structure of the building uses in regards to their location within the neighborhood; and to visit every section of our neighborhood in order to get a sense of what makes Pigneto what it is.

We did the survey using the land use survey forms prepared by the workshop as a whole for all five neighborhoods. We realize that our interpretation of Pigneto is skewed towards an American understanding of a “neighborhood,” and worked hard to ground ourselves in Italian lifestyle “necessities,” which became helpful when discussing what to look for and document while surveying the neighborhood. This was achieved by being very observant while interacting with Italians, and relying on our teaching assistants, who have extensive knowledge of the city.

After an initial survey of Pigneto and a look at the area’s social history, we added the sub-categories:

Who the users are,  
Buildings with newly renovated facades,  
Commercial space hours of operation, and  
Empty commercial spaces.

These categories were added in the notes section of the survey sheet to address the issues of speculation and gentrification. The presence of private parking, balconies, a porter, green space, and number of units of office space were also noted during the survey, but later eliminated from the analysis due to their low levels of occurrence. All observations were taken from the public sidewalk.

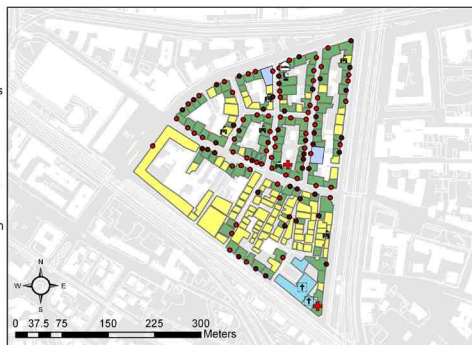






*general land use*

- Legend**
- ☐ Mosque
  - ⛔ Healthcare Facilities
  - 🏨 Hotel
  - 🎨 Studios
  - 🕌 Religious
  - Vacant Commercial
  - Commercial In Use
  - 🏛️ Religious Institution
  - 🎬 Cinema
  - 🌿 Mixed Use
  - 🏠 Residential Only



Map #6.1

*buildings with mixed uses*

- Legend**
- 🌿 Mixed Use
  - 🏠 Residential Only
  - 🏠 Buildings



Map #6.3

*buildings in use*

- Legend**
- Buildings in Use**
- 🟢 Yes
  - ⬛ No

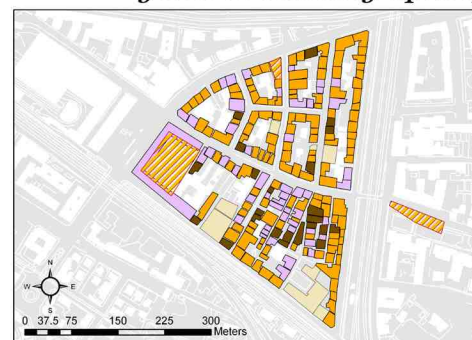


Map #6.2

creators: hartley bonisteel,  
marvin chaney,  
elita cochrane,  
michael meccormack,  
and kathy meschane  
date: 27 april 2008

*general building upkeep*

- Legend**
- 🟡 Good
  - 🟠 Average
  - 🟤 Poor
  - 🏛️ Public Developments
  - 🏠 Buildings



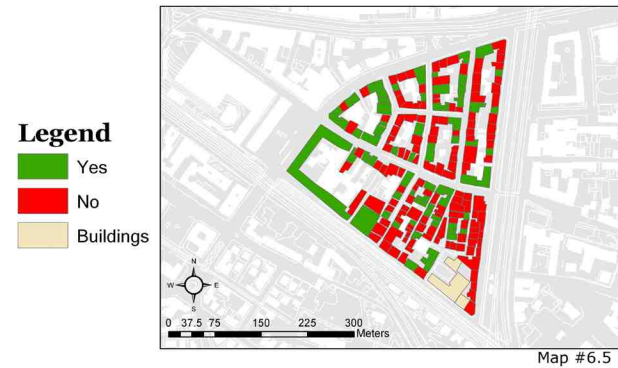
Map #6.4

creators: hartley bonisteel,  
marvin chaney,  
elita cochrane,  
michael meccormack,  
and kathy meschane  
date: 27 april 2008

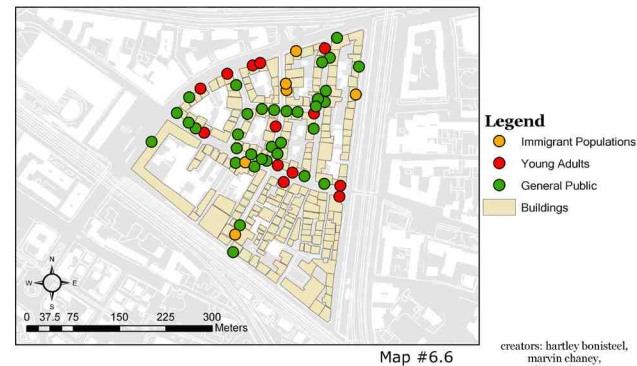
A series of maps were created in our analysis of the land use survey. The General Land Use Map (Map #1), makes evident the lack of a central plan in the placement of commercial spaces and strictly residential streets. There are more commercial and open businesses in the blocks north of Via del Pigneto, towards Via Aquila, versus the south side nearest Via Casilina. In Map #2, the Buildings Currently In Use Map, the majority of the buildings were fully or partially occupied. This is interesting when compared to the map of General Building Upkeep which showed buildings in use with poor upkeep conditions. This might be a sign of the high demand for residing in the area due to its popularity and/or affordability. The Buildings with New Exteriors Map shows that while there are numerous renovation projects in Pigneto, there isn't a clear sequence of building renovations but rather a sporadic one consistent with areas being gentrified. Examples of that randomness can be seen in our case studies on Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin, Germany and Mission District in San Francisco, California. Given these conditions as well as the close proximity of the new subway station across the train tracks east of our study area, the area defined by the circle in the following map suggests more intense speculation in the coming years.

Initial observations about our neighborhood suggested that the immigrant population had a large influence in the area; however from looking at the Who are the Users Map (Map #6), we noticed that youth oriented

### *buildings with new exteriors*



### *who are the users?*

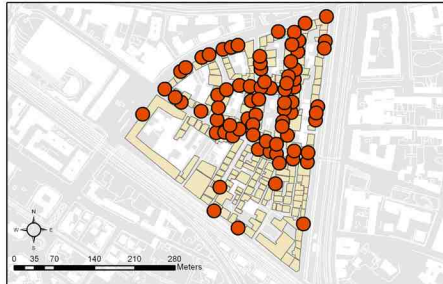


creators: bartley bonisteel,  
marvin chaney,  
elita cochrane,  
michael mcormack,  
and kathy meshane  
date: 27 april 2008



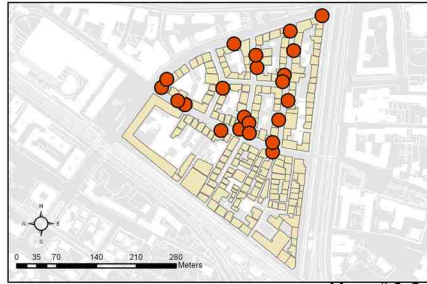
## *business hours of operation*

08:00 hours (8 am)



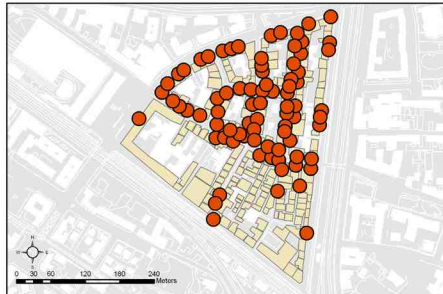
Map #6.7

13:00 hours (1 pm)



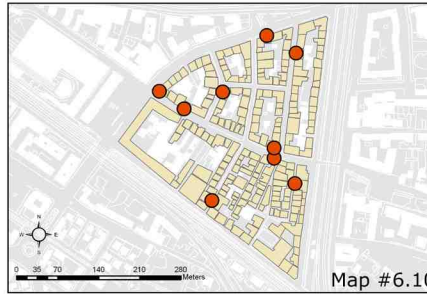
Map #6.8

18:00 hours (6 pm)



Map #6.9

22:00 hours (10 pm)



Map #6.10

### Legend

- Open Business
- Buildings

creators: hartley bonisteel, marvin chaney, elita cochrane, michael mcormack, and kathy meshane  
date: 27 april 2008

businesses had a higher presence. This is also evident in the Business Hours of Operation Maps, which show in the 22:00 map that quite a few businesses stay open very late to cater to typically younger or tourist populations.



## Day and Night Comparisons

As a result of our observations, day and night usage of the pedestrian island of Via del Pigneto surfaced as a major difference between new and old populations of Pigneto. Time-lapse cinematography was implemented as an alternative medium to communicate how the spaces of the pedestrian island are dominated at various times of the day. Through this systematic study of day and night on both weekdays/nights and weekend days/nights from precisely the same vantage points, we could easily track some of the changes that are taking place. Of note is the apparent outflow of residents that utilize spaces during the day for commercial activities and the youth population that amasses in large groups generally outside of bars. In understanding a neighborhood, it is paramount to create an accurate and dynamic visual representation of place. Explicitly, the time-lapse study provided visual evidence of the gentrification process.





## Real Estate

In an area widely-known for its exponentially rising real estate prices. Conducting an analysis of real-market data was essential. Table 16 (see appendix) displays price-data differentiated by meters squared. In 2008, the average price for apartments under 50 square meters was 236.500 Euro and the same calculation for 51 – 100 meters squared yielded 354.700 Euro (McCormack et al 2008) According to ISTAT (2001), between 1995 and 2003, the average house price in Municipio VI rose 24.7%. There was a drop in the percent change between 2001 and 2002, but in 2003, the upward trend continued. While this statistic is Municipio-wide and does not reflect the precise area in question, the increase in house prices in Pigneto – Isola Pedonale most likely takes the same shape.

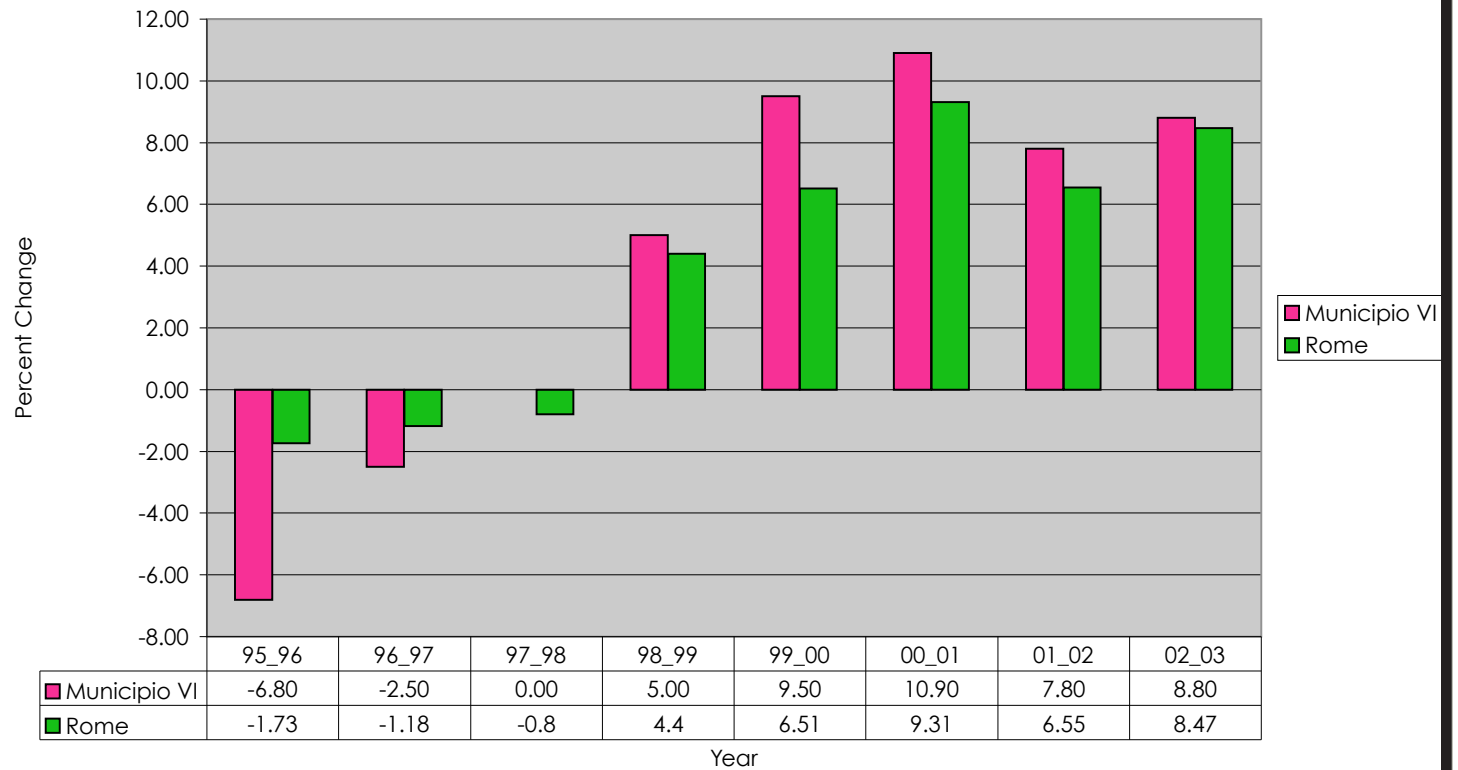
Results are as significant as the sources in which real estate listings are available. In addition to various immobiliare (Real Estate Agency) listings, many apartments were located using highly popular, market-based search engines such as E-Bay and Craigslist. This indicates a level of desire for property in this area that had been previously unrecognized. During the period of the study listings on E-bay number around 15 hits (13 April 2008), variably by day, while the listings on Craigslist were about 10 to 12 every day (22 April 2008). Even properties that are only technically (not

centrally) located within Pigneto's zone or boundaries are being pitched as investment opportunities in an area that continues to grow. The properties are further sold for higher-end prices within the data sets. It is clear that this population has easy access to the Internet and possesses the resources to invest. Additionally, it is clear the agencies rely greatly upon Pigneto's contemporary reputation or perception as a major selling point – a theme that ran consistently throughout the citizen interview process.

In seeking to show that gentrification is occurring in Pigneto in the past three decades, we attempted to find as much historical data as we could on house prices in the area over this period of time. According to the director of the Tempocasa real estate agency on Via del Pigneto, in 1982, the entire building of Via Macerata 32 (with three floors and 20 rooms) sold for Lira 30,000,000 (15,000 Euro). Today, in 2008, there is a two room, one kitchen and bathroom apartment in the same building selling for 260,000 Euro. Obviously, the house prices in the area have increased tremendously over the past three decades.

This graph shows the percent change of house prices between 1995 and 2003 in Municipio VI and Rome. For each year, the percent change in Municipio VI was higher than that of Rome. House prices percent changes in Pigneto most likely had a similar shape to Municipio VI.

Housing Price Percent Change in Municipio VI and in Rome, 1995-2003



Source: Comune di Roma, Mosaico Statistico di Roma, 2007





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Planning  
Workshop  
Spring 2008

According to ISTAT data accessed by the real estate agent at Tempocasa, in 2007 Pigneto had more sales than any other neighborhood in Italy, with 600 properties changing hands in that year. Also, in 2003-2004, the average per meter cost for a home in Pigneto was 2.5 thousand Euro per square meter. In 2007-2008, this figure is between 4 and 6 thousand Euro per square meter. The real estate market in Pigneto has seen dramatic changes as the neighborhood gentrifies.

The real estate analysis was originally conducted to provide continuity within the greater framework of this citywide study. In Pigneto the sources for real estate availability and the ways in which each presented property, made it clear that Pigneto's current Real Estate market is rapidly moving and growing. Reputation and buzz surround Pigneto and greatly contributes to the whirlwind seller's market. Factors of 'old guard' dissatisfaction prime the market for a new influx of gentrifiers. These factors yield high profits and property inflation creating a bubble that simply cannot sustain itself indefinitely.

A process closely linked with gentrification is that of housing speculation. Housing speculation, as defined by Levin and Wright (1997), is when an actor, such as a private developer, is "buying or selling in the expectation of a future price change. If the direction of price change is correctly anticipated, the process of speculation allows for profitable resale or repurchase

in the same market" (1490).

In regards to most gentrifying neighborhoods, the private developers that purchase cheap property in a neighborhood, renovate properties and then resell them for much higher prices. This can result in their profit, but it has the effect of raising property value throughout the neighborhood and may price out current residents.

The repercussions of housing speculation in Italy are fairly different from the practice in America. Given the ridged structure of the mortgage market and favorable tax rebates, homeownership rates are much higher than rental rates. This causes rents to be much higher given the low number of available rental units (Aalbers 2007, 182). For Pigneto, this means that current residents stand to make more of a profit from selling their properties and it is difficult for private developers to purchase properties and turn them into quick profits. Developers still, however, contribute to the rapid increase in the area's property value through large projects, as we have seen in the hotel conversion occurring on Via Casilina.

It is essential to think about who will represent the new face of Pigneto. Unless affordable housing is preserved in the neighborhood, the original residents will be pushed out in favor of those who can afford to keep up with the trend of house price inflation that has been occurring over the two decades. Displacement is a huge issue, and should be addressed while there are

options for preserving affordable housing.

Citizens that have owned their homes for decades are now in an area in which services for their needs are a memory. Tension over housing issues is one of the prime concerns in anti-gentrification efforts. As Kennedy and Leonard (2001) write, “gentrification is driven by an imbalance in housing supply and demand. The imbalance leads to...affordability problems, displacement and unanticipated changes in the character of a neighborhood” (3). In order to try to help mold the process of gentrification and preserve the character of Pigneto, the dramatic increase in housing prices must be addressed. Some ideas to work to this end are indicated later in this paper.

Housing and real estate are an essential part of understanding the issue of gentrification in Pigneto. A rapid increase in housing prices in the past two decades brings up issues of displacement and affordability for local residents. As is apparent in the following conversations with community organizers who represent voices of concern, the original residents are feeling pushed out of a neighborhood which is quickly becoming something new; their views on these changes in Pigneto are discussed next in the Interviews section.





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Spring 2008

## Interviews

**Personal narratives are much like clinical case studies. They can be lovely stories by themselves, but as isolated texts, they tell us little about the human condition ... [We must] search for meaning, patterns, regularities, and principles hidden within the rich uniqueness of these stories.**

– M. D. LeCompte (Forester 2005)

### Why Interview?

From the outset, it was clear that one of the most productive ways of gaining a perspective on Pigneto would be learning from those who live and work there. Initially in producing a framework for research, interviewing residents and stakeholders alike was deemed central to unpacking main issues and opening, “windows into practice” (Forester 2005). Contextualizing place was the foundation of this study. Through in-depth interviews with carefully chosen subjects and on-the-fly discussions with randomly chosen residents and users of Pigneto, a richer comprehension of locus was attained.

## Subjects

We highlight three interviews that emerged as being portraits in the process of this study. Subjects were asked similar sets of questions in an effort to understand and gain a dynamic outlook on Pigneto. First, a 30-year resident who is also the Pigneto representative of the Refundazione Comunista party, and had a deep understanding of political thought and activism in Pigneto. Second, a 4-year resident of Pigneto, the local hip record storeowner who is representative of a younger population that has been asserting itself in Pigneto. This interview explores the commercial support for gentrification through a shop that caters specifically to artists, students, and the fast growing new population. Third, a 14-year resident and founder of the Isola Pendonale (Pedestrian Island) Association, who shed light on activism at a micro, fine-grain level. This discussion was fruitful in grasping the ‘middle’ perspective that was lacking in the two prior interviews. Speaking with representative voices from the community of Pigneto transformed our research. These conversations yielded the foci of this project – gentrification, the rhythm to land use in Pigneto.

**Profile 1:  
Refundazione Comunista  
Representative**

**[30 March 2008]**

To fundamentally understand political and social representation in Pigneto a conversation took place with a local leader of the Partito Rifondazione Comunista Party. Over café we sought to methodically understand her work – What did she stand for? What issues did citizens lobby for? What were her personal goals, short/long-term outlooks, and restrictions in-action?

Born in Argentina, Andrea\* arrived in Pigneto in 1982 as a young adult - to a neighborhood stigmatized by prostitution and drug use in public spaces. Attempting to win back public spaces became her first project. Aligning herself with a religious leader already engaged with immigrants and natives alike, the two formed a “neighborhood group.” The purpose of this group was based on the agreement that “children needed a place to play.” Thus, in the early 1990’s, the group built a small garden in front of the elementary school. However, the construction of the park is secondary to the relationships this organization and Andrea personally forged with other organizations and individuals. Inspiring this change was integral

to her rise as a leader in the community. From this action, a Pedestrian Works Association was formed. The Association comprised many of the organizations that contributed to the construction of the park.

During this flurry of citizen participation, a “Time Bank” was set-up in the early 1990’s. Agreements between various community organizations and informal citizen networks yielded 1,000 members who exchange their time through activities (e.g. babysitting, guitar lessons) for hours that they could later cash in for deeds or favors that they needed. Again, the acts themselves are minor compared to the support networks that were established through community interactions. With these improvements in both physical fabric and societal function came increasing interest in real estate and further speculative practices.

Andrea continued to elucidate her present concerns. Speculation is costing Pigneto its identity; “the potential to loose control” is a real concern for her. She vowed to ‘fight this movement.’ Her tone of voice was incredibly passionate in this regard. One could sense her fear during this part of the discussion. Andrea also highlighted the struggle for control that is occurring between old and new residents of the Pigneto. The older population does not have the monetary resources to compete with the younger population that is seeking both investment and an overall gentrification of the urban fabric. “Old people







Rome  
Planning  
Workshop  
Spring 2008

are being drawn out," she says, "because of the nightly new population's domination of public spaces." This domination brings with it a litany of complaints: littering – glass bottles from the newly opening bars and restaurants and noise – the older population is accustomed to quiet evenings which now, especially in the summer, have become "drunken scenes." Proactively, Andrea is attempting to pull both old and new populations into a local coalition to address both levels of distress.

When asked about her short and long-term prescriptions, Andrea emphasized the loss of identity in Pigneto. The population is experiencing a "turnover" effect in which out-migrations due to the lack of affordable housing and a the strong trend of the older population 'cashing-in' on their property are leading to a general loss of local control. The proliferation of the bar and nightlife scene is doubly concerning. New shops serve the population that comes out at night primarily dominated by students and "vanguard intellectuals." Through party practices, Andrea plans to work for participation and continued discourse in an effort to promote understanding between both young and old population strata.

**Profile II: Pino Record Store Entrepreneur**  
**[17 April 2008]**

Traveling from Sicily, Pino\* arrived and began living permanently in Pigneto in 2004. He came to the area upon his friends recommendations and after making a few visits. "I have never know anything but Pigneto," he said, after being asked why he chose to live here. It was clear that in 2004 the artistic and new population were in the midst of their migration into Pigneto. Having friends that already lived here and were enjoying the then low-price of real estate made his move quite natural.

As we spoke Pino addressed a package of records to a buyer's home in the United States. He noted that their website (English and Italian) and listings on E-bay were accessible to international as well as local clientele. When asked about his customers from the immediate area, Pino commented that his shop draws record collectors from all over Rome including many locals (many his friends) residing in Pigneto. The types of music in the store are varied and include Radiohead's (a popular alternative band) newest release In Rainbows, The Rolling Stone's Tattoo You, and many others groups and genres of music that define student and avant-garde tastes alike. Supplying these populations with entertainment and a forum in which to discuss their passions, new and old, solidifies Pino's financial,

physical, and social stake in the neighborhood.

Bringing up gentrification to a person that many citizens of Pigneto would consider a “gentrifier” was integral to this study. When asked about tensions between old and young populations, Pino said he did not perceive any tension and continued to indicate he felt most people cohabitated respectfully. He continued saying that he felt it was important to keep the old ‘spirit alive’ and that he vehemently disliked the multiplying bars (Bar 41) that cater to the population that sweeps the pedestrian island at night but does not live in the neighborhood. He noted commercial exploitation especially in the service sector and advocated for a reinvention of Pigneto with a strong respect given to historical context.

He was particularly pleased to see both a residential and commercial compounding of his property investment and smiled when asked about it. As a few of his friends strolled in to the shop, it was clear that this store was a well-established hang-out for ‘his’ or the young clique within Pigneto.

### **Profile III: Isola Pedonale [17 April 2008]**

Relocation to Pigneto in 1994 after 3 years of regularly frequenting the neighborhood was an easy choice for Luigi . He had developed a great network of friends and the real estate prices were low. The time was right.

Before answering questions, Luigi provided a ‘real’ characterization of the history and story of Pigneto. Beginning his story in the early 20th century, Pigneto was populated mainly by railroad workers that lived nearby and were typically working class. Residents constructed their own homes, some shacks, without the aid of planning or architectural practices. During the 1960s and 1970s, however, the experience was one of utter abandon. It was a veritable ‘no man’s land.’ In the 1980’s the population rose but those who lived in Pigneto were predominantly involved with drugs and prostitution, creating a highly negative stigma that led to a political and social disinterest in the neighborhood. The reversal came about in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s when there was an influx of immigrants to Pigneto due to cheap rentals and overall vacancy. This surge further led to a rush of students, most commonly artists, who were also





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Planning  
Workshop  
Spring 2008

seeking low rent and a new place with which to identify. The third step in this process was the revival of commercial and cultural activities that can be attributed the progressiveness of the new population. In the mid-1990s the progress became formalized via Municipio support for newly developing restaurants and bars. This created a surge in new businesses catering to the new population's financial capital and stylistic desires. Enter Luigi.

Luigi's local activism began admittedly from "a lot of talk." Two-years ago he and some friends began a discourse regarding any issues that the group felt was worth discussing about Pigneto. His promotion to co-leader of this organization was based on two main goals: to protect the original interests and to promote responsible progressive growth of Pigneto.

Based on these principles, Luigi's association seeks to tackle socially complex neighborhood problems by way of enabling communication between Pigneto's micro-communities to frame an unobstructed discourse of resident concerns. Established population concerns and fears predominantly surround the nightly domination of spaces previously undisturbed. The inflows of students and young people yielded both distaste for loud and drunken behavior and fear of unknown occupiers who always seemed to litter the pedestrian island, especially on warm summer nights. Long-time residents noting the swift changes

to what were previously solely their spaces dreaded the growing and unstoppable loss of their local identity. Major goals of the conversations were to facilitate resident involvement in the development process in an attempt to stifle abhorrent construction and redevelopment projects. Luigi also stressed the informality of this organization and stated that creating a less tense setting was integral to empowering citizens to voice their opinions.

Luigi has established a mixed-media approach to building social-networks. He created and continues to develop a website that aggregates Pigneto's history, local information, and forums that provide avenues for accessible dialogue. The site is open to the public and postings are the results of citizens' wishes. This asset is, however, is skewed to the new population's resources – access to the Internet - an amenity the elderly population does not possess. Luigi's association has, in response to this concern, formed cinema forums, gatherings and festivals that screen in his words, "non-artsy-fartsy, diversified" productions in an effort to involve the noticeably "aloof" artistic population. Over film, populations may be able to relate to one another on a common ground. It provides anyone who attends a shared experience the chance to potentially develop new sensibilities of place.

Children, he noted, were the basis for a common ground. Residents' children interact daily in school and



have the ability to build a social link between micro-communities. Interactions between original residents' children and those of the new residents help lessen tension between their parents. Children, Luigi says, utilize the website most and discussions are heated with regard to domination of public spaces.

Perhaps the most enlightening aspect of the conversation came after Luigi was asked to express his short and long-term projections for Pigneto. He thinks the current upward trend of 'old guard' frustrations with both the lack of services attending to their needs and the younger population's activities will lead to their ultimate extinction as inhabitants. He finally stressed the theme of expectations. That is, that within Pigneto, lay fallacies of functioning cultural centers and diversified services that contribute greatly to the exponential rise in real estate values. This bubble will burst, said Luigi, "everyday someone buzzes my door and asks if I want to sell for cash on the spot." He pointed out that Pigneto has been created as a brand-name. It in reality does not have the services to support the population's need. Sooner or later he commented, "people will realize this."

Luigi's interview talked on tangible feelings within Pigneto. In a poignant moment, he discussed the uncontrollably changing social fabric and his wish for eventual equilibrium of services and a cohesively functioning community –goals that will not be attained

easily, especially in light of Pigneto's current societal condition.

## Conclusions & Reflections

Within the process of beginning to understand Pigneto, conducting interviews was pivotal. Conceptualizing this neighborhood through readings and statistics provided one level of appreciation for its complexities. Talking with those who lived here allowed for a rich comprehension of place. Matters only grasped by those who experience them opened 'windows' (Forester 2005) to an unprocessed understanding. Each interview elucidated the multi-dimensional gentrification processes that continue to occur in Pigneto. They helped tremendously in supplementing the limits of our project – personal context. Additionally, compiling these profiles yielded reflections on the personality that is Pigneto – old, young, hip, and swiftly changing.

According to our resident interviews, the first wave of population influx in Pigneto was in the 1980s, when a large number of immigrants came to the area in search for more economical housing options. In the 1990s, the second wave hit Pigneto, as the avant-garde class moved into the neighborhood. This increased popularity of the neighborhood has changed the make-up of the area: gritty becomes edgy, old becomes





young, and Pigneto becomes another version of itself. Personal narratives enable personal understanding. Utilizing case studies from around the world contextualize experiences in Pigneto within a broader framework. The examples can be compared and contrasted to Pigneto in order to determine commonalities, predict trends, contrast differences and determine prescriptive solutions.

## Case Studies

### Prenzlauer Berg Case

As noted by urban planning professor Myron Levine, gentrification does not accurately apply to any urban revitalization; it denotes a process of class (and often racial) succession, if not always displacement, and the term is fundamentally rooted in class transformation (Albion 2006, 92). Sociologists Kennedy and Leonard calls gentrification the “changing the essential character and flavor of [a] neighborhood” (Kennedy and Leonard 2001, 5). TimeOut Berlin calls Prenzlauer Berg “gentrified elegance” and, with its renovated façades, clean streets, galleries and cafes, it certainly appears to be so. What has been the gentrification patterns in this European city? Has the “essential character” changed?

Prenzlauer Berg, or Prenz’lberg as the locals refer to it, is one of 23 Bezirke, or districts, of Berlin (Huron 2002, 23). 67% of the housing stock was built before 1916, making the neighborhood the largest concentration of older residences in the eastern half of Berlin (S.T.E.R.N. 2001). During the German Democratic Republic, the neighborhood was greatly neglected, with crumbling facades and fallen balconies and 88% of units were inadequately heated with a coal stove, 43% had no bathroom, and 22% had an outdoor toilet in 1990 (S.T.E.R.N. 2001). The



Map of Berlin, Germany with Prenzlauer Berg highlighted in blue.





neighborhood consisted of five-story buildings that encompassed entire blocks and fronted broad streets (Albion 2006, 92).

Under Soviet power, the neighborhood became a site of dissidence. Two types of people moved to the neighborhood under the GDR: those who were unable to get an apartment in the new Plattenbaum (the socialist box apartments at the edge of town), and those who rejected GDR values and therefore felt uncomfortable living in those apartments (Huron 2002, 23). Prenzlberg quickly attracted dissidents, students and activists who felt alienated in other parts of the city, and together they created an underground “culture of resistance” in the neighborhood (Haubermann 1997). There was even an underground literary scene of excluded writers who lived there (Eigler 1996). The neighborhood was a “small and harassed alternative scene” that was the East German version of Greenwich Village (Albion 2006, 92).

Post-unification, Prenzlauer Berg was “ripe for gentrification” (Albion 2006, 93). It had a great transportation services with the U-Bahn, S-Bahn, and trams very close, as well as a proximity to Alexanderplatz (the center of East Berlin) and a “hip” reputation (Albion 2006: 93). It was also important that the neighborhood’s solidarity was weakened by the massive return of those claiming restitution of property post-unification, and so it was vulnerable to change

(Albion 2006). The neighborhood was overwhelmed by developers hoping to cash in on what they imagined to be the new world city of Europe (Strom and Mayer, in Huron 1998). A cultural shift also accompanied the fall of the Berlin Wall in Prenzlberg. New people were attracted to the neighborhood, drawn in by its history as the center of culture and dissidence in East Berlin. There was also a sense of novelty and adventure in living East of the wall, as well as the affordability of the neighborhood and proximity to downtown Berlin (Huron 2002, 24).

Demographic shifts occurred as well. Both income levels and education levels increased, and the 20-35 age range became more heavily represented. The neighborhood also became more transitory. People moved to Prenzlauer Berg to live out a phase in their lives, then moved elsewhere to settle down and have families (Huron 2002, 25).

Soon after this influx of people to the neighborhood, anti-gentrification graffiti started showing up as well. “Yuppies auf’s Maul!” (literally translated as “sock yuppies in the mouth!”) was one such sentiment written on a building near Teutoberger Platz (Huron, 2002, 26). Older residents no longer felt welcome in the neighborhood, and they began to move out. As one resident states,

I know a few of the older people, and they



were talking here: “I don’t have my pubs, I can’t go anymore in and what should I do?” Berlin has Eck-Khipe, the corner pub, and you always had pubs on the corner. You had your pub, and if it was closed, they couldn’t go to another pub, and they were sitting at home, and they hadn’t any place to talk. It was the first thing broken: their meeting point. Most old people lost contact with other when their meeting points were closed.

Huron 2002, 30

In the early years post-unification, the government’s policy toward development in the area promoted the transformation. Planners and policy makers alike had visions of the new Berlin as “high tech, corporate service center in the new Europe” (Albion 2006, 95). As a testament to the problems of the city’s corporate-oriented growth strategy, there was little attention paid to housing concerns. The cultural and economic elements of gentrification were intertwined in Prenzlauer Berg; the new economic structures created the cultural changes which can lead to the destruction of a community based on something other than capital investment (Huron 2002: 29). The initial government intervention in Prenzlauer Berg was not as universally positive. As Berlin planner Thomas Knorr-Siedow stated in a 2001 lecture on urban planning in Berlin, German officials reacted to unification by attempting to rebuild the city as a completely

redeveloped “post industrial office and service center” (Levine 2004, 94). The city was to be rebuilt in not an American or western style, but a new, dense European core filled with mixed-use developments and jobs to attract a white collar and professional work force. With this, housing in the urban center desperately needed an upgrade of conditions in order to attract the clientèle that policy makers were looking for (Levine 2004). While these new residences were being built for “technologically competent” workers, increased rents and the results of the upgrades began to displace the working class and the poor in neighborhoods such as Prenzlauer Berg.

### **Wir Bleiben Alle: Responses to Gentrification**

“Wir Bleiben Alle!” (“we’re all staying here!”) proclaims a sign hanging in a shop window in Prenzlauer Berg, and characterizes the theme of dealing with gentrification issues in the neighborhood (Huron, 2002: 30). By the late 1990’s, Berlin’s policy makers realized that the criticisms of the corporate-orientated nature of the early post-unification effort were true, and they quickly made changes to fight the negative consequences of those developments (Albion 2006: 97). The Federal Soziale Stadt (Social City) Policy was then created, and it was directed toward problem neighborhoods, Prenzlauer Berg being one of the fifteen neighborhoods targeted (Albion 2006: 97). The





program appointed managers to each individual area, and S.T.E.R.N. (formally Gesellschaft der Behutsamen Stadterneuerung Berlin mbH), a quasi-public agency founded in 1985 to address the redevelopment issues of the nearby West Berlin district of Kreuzberg, received the position for Prenzl'berg. The agency was chosen because it has a history in the neighborhood: since 1991, the agency has focused on Prenzlauer Berg as well as Kreuzberg (Albion 2006).

S.T.E.R.N. follows a "careful urban renewal" policy, which is to be careful with the people who are living in the neighborhood and to be sure that the end of the renewal process, those original people are still living there (S.T.E.R.N. 2001). As the neighborhood management organizer, S.T.E.R.N. has worked toward articulating a more participatory, inclusive, and balanced vision of urban renewal in Prenzlauer Berg. Along with governmental regulations, neighborhood management has acted to limit rent increases and dampen displacement (Albion 2006, 104).

S.T.E.R.N. works toward minimizing displacement in multiple ways. Some of these ways is to use neighborhood development plans based off of existing use patterns and emphasizing citizen participation through tools such as a two-day mass neighborhood meeting and a monthly magazine (Albion 2006). With this policy, there is renewal money only for older structures, and construction can only be on vacant

lots, therefore prohibiting the trend of purchasing a building and then bulldozing in order to build something different from the original character of the neighborhood (Albion 2006, 104). There is also special financial assistance available for former squatters and alternative groups to remain in the neighborhood, often with their own cooperative housing, meeting places, and cafes.

While such managerial organizations do not always act as the unfiltered voice of the neighborhood residents, organizations such as S.T.E.R.N. give a voice to the concerns of residents, especially against large private developers.

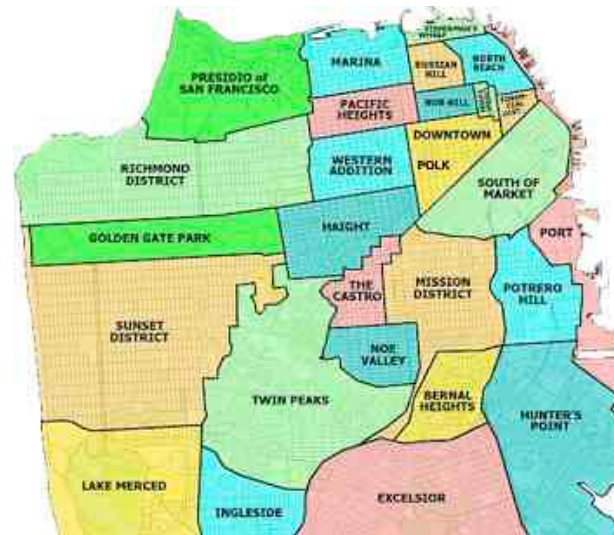
As seen in Prenzlauer Berg, "government policy can serve to promote a trajectory of neighborhood change that is more inclusive of social policy, affordable housing, and community development goals" (Albion 2006, 106). Public policy in neighborhoods such as Prenzlauer Berg can constrain and temper gentrification, and they can be successful. Urban renewal practices in Prenzlauer Berg have brought many positive (and in some cases, necessary) aspects to the neighborhood, such as improvements in heating, insulation, basic building infrastructure, as well as school modernization, courtyard green space, and public play areas (Albion 2006). With "careful" measures, gentrification can become a positive step for neighborhoods such as Prenzlauer Berg.

## Mission District Case

The Mission District of San Francisco has been called the 'Heart of San Francisco,' as it has: developed as a semi-independent 'city within a city' with its own rich cultural and architectural heritage. The oldest settled area of the city, the Mission has retained distinctive identity and character even though subsequent historic events have continued to transform it.

City and County of San Francisco 2007, 1

The area was originally home to Italian and Irish immigrants, and then to Latino immigrants in the past 20 years (Kennedy and Leonard 2001). Since the late 1990s, the neighborhood has seen rapid changes in demographics and socioeconomic status, as a gentrifying population moved into the area. A new cultural class of pioneers, followed by a "major developer of live/work lofts who fill[ed] the huge demand for downtown housing by replacing older apartments with denser housing" (Kennedy and Leonard 2001, 45) changed the makeup and pushing local residents out of the area. The area was especially vulnerable to gentrification because of its central location, nearby BART stations, easy access to highways, generally low-income population, and high rates of rental units (Kennedy and Leonard 2001).





Some of these factors seem to be characteristics of other gentrifying areas as well: in Prenzlauer Berg, the area is well served by transportation and had a large number of low-income residents.

Because of these vulnerabilities and a lack of affordable housing elsewhere in the city, gentrification took hold of the neighborhood in the 1990s, leaving little sense of the former community that had existed there previously. The Mission Economic Development Agency (MEDA) “estimates 925 households were evicted between 1990 and 1999 (the highest rate among city neighborhoods)” and commercial enterprises did not fare any better: “per square foot rents in the Mission increased 41 percent... between 1997 and 1999, compared to an average of 15 percent across the city” (Kennedy and Leonard 2001, 45). Businesses were not able to cope with such drastic rent increases, the competition from new businesses, the regulatory environment, and the new market. Even community institutions and nonprofit agencies had difficulties during this time period, as their main constituencies were forced out of the neighborhood (Kennedy and Leonard 2001, 45).

The effects of gentrification were felt in all parts of life in the Mission District, and this affected the culture and community of the area, as Guillermo Gomez-Pena’s (2000) vignette about the District shows. He writes about the “rapid process of gentrification

that has transformed the Mission from a laid-back Latino barrio to one of the hippest hoods in the country” (Gomez-Pena 2000, 104) in his piece which focuses on an encounter he had with a Latino man in the neighborhood. He parallels the story of the Mission to the conquest of the old West, to which the man responds that ‘they are the cowboys, and we are the Indians,’ ” (Gomez-Pena 2000, 104). A sense of the community that once existed in the Mission District was lost during the gentrifying times of the 1990s, as old residents were pushed out by a wealthier class, but not without a fight.

### **Responses to Gentrification: Citizen Participation & Activism**

The effectiveness of a community response to the gentrification of the Mission District is contentious. While there was (and continues to be) a great deal of citizen mobilization against gentrification of the neighborhood, some people argue that the community-based organizations were not effective in stopping or molding gentrification in order to preserve the sense of the old Mission District.

Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard (2001), in their piece *Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices*, argue that the anti-gentrification movement was a slow and



ineffective response by community groups. They write that not only were non-profits too consumed by other efforts, but that there existed a conflict among the leadership of these groups; some saw gentrification as a good thing, which would increase property values, introduce new businesses and services for residents, and improve local schools (Kennedy and Leonard 2001). According to some nonprofit leaders, the Mission District represents a “missed opportunity to educate neighborhood residents, businesses and city officials about the benefits and dangers of rapid gentrification... the gentrification war was lost before the first battle was even fought,” (Kennedy and Leonard 2001, 46).

On the other hand, the anti-gentrification movement of citizens’ associations represents a huge local effort to keep the “yuppies” out of the Mission. There are three key examples of anti-gentrification/neighborhood preservation movement. These are the Yuppie Eradication Project, the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition, and the Mission Economic Development Agency.

The Yuppie Eradication Project, which was founded by Kevin Keating, represented a borderline violent response to the new residents of the Mission. The project manifested itself in threatening posters and graffiti against the “yuppies,” their businesses and other private property, including cars and homes. His

posters included semi-violent or damaging themes, with one showing instructions on how to best damage an expensive car by putting water in the gasoline tank and other tactics. Keating (2007) shares his views on the gentrification of the Mission in a piece for the Philadelphia Independent Media Center. He writes that the “real estate bonanza resulting from the dot-com boom was wrecking many people’s lives and ruining our neighborhood” (Keating 2007).

He was arrested for his anti-gentrification posters and was later released without charges, but the “yuppies” he targeted made plans to rally “against ‘hate crimes’ targeted at their cars, homes and businesses” (Gurnon 1999). It seems that Keating’s approach to anti-gentrification only made tensions in the neighborhood higher.

While Keating’s Yuppie Eradication Project was one of the most highly publicized anti-gentrification efforts, there were other groups whose efforts proved to be more long-lasting than the Eradication Project. One of these was the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition.

The MAC (Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition) is an umbrella organization of community organizations and individuals, who fight displacement of local residents in the Mission through “democratizing the planning process and challenging inappropriate development projects” (Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition). MAC





does work to lobby against high-cost residential development in the area, and it has done extensive community participatory planning work, trying to capture residents' visions of the Mission. These planning efforts have culminated in the People's Plans for the Mission District, focusing on land use, housing, economic development, arts and culture, parks and open space and transportation (Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition). Each category of the plan includes specific actions the city government and planning offices should take to curb gentrification and allow residents to stay in the Mission. The Plans are presented to the San Francisco Planning Department "to be incorporated in the community-based planning process for the Mission District and the Eastern Neighborhoods" (Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition 2007, 2).

The MAC represents an effort of community organizations to work against gentrification alongside the city government. By feeding ideas and proposals to the city planning department, the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition represents grassroots efforts in the Mission on a larger scale, without using inappropriate force to get their point across, as the Yuppie Eradication Project threatened to do.

Another locally-based initiative to cope with gentrification is the Mission Economic Development Agency (MEDA), which was founded in 1973 and

works toward "improving the economic and social conditions of San Francisco's immigrants and working class families with an emphasis on the Latino community and the Mission and Excelsior districts" (Mission Economic Development Agency). Services include business development, family childcare business development, homeownership program, anti-predatory lending, and community planning and policy development. Although not explicitly an anti-gentrification organization, the MEDA is dedicated to serving the needs of local residents and preserving the character of the community, and is a member of the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition.

In the Mission District case, most anti-gentrification efforts have come from the local level, with various organizations employing different methods to curb the effects of gentrification. This grassroots effort is mirrored by the city planning department's Mission Area Plan, which "proposes new land use and zoning controls that are intended to balance growth with preservation" (City and County of San Francisco Planning Department 2007, 1). The city is working on surveying and documenting properties that could be affected by new zoning and land use controls. Through a survey of buildings in the Mission to identify "historic character and cultural elements of the district that should be considered for retention and enhancement" (City and County of San Francisco Planning Department 2007, 1), the city is attempting to

guide the development of the area onto a responsible path.

## Lessons Learned

The main lessons to be taken from the Mission District example of anti-gentrification efforts lie in the extensive use of civic associations and grassroots efforts to impact the development of the neighborhood. The Mission District represents an effort, although not a full success, of local groups to stop gentrification through various methods. With the Yuppie Eradication Project, Keating took an extreme position against the new residents of the neighborhood, making posters explicitly attacking the gentrifying group. The Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition represents a more mainstream approach to the issue, with its efforts influencing the city planning department's work in the neighborhood.

In terms of tactics to implement in Pigneto, in the Mission District the strong local association networks provided a framework to start the battle against gentrification. Local residents organized at the grassroots level to try to preserve the character of the community in one way or another. The most effective of these were the ones that worked to infuse city planning department policy with needs and concerns of local residents. In Pigneto, it would be possible to

have the same kind of influence over planning at the Municipio level with the right kinds of "players" on the local level; with a strong local support and networks, it is possible for an anti-gentrification movement to influence top-down planning policy.







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## Prescriptions

In our work on Pigneto, we decided to focus on the issue of gentrification. Who defines Pigneto? Who are the important stakeholders in the neighborhood? How is the neighborhood molded by these stakeholders? What are the signs that change is occurring in the area? In asking these questions, and doing our best to find answers about them, we believe that the neighborhood is undergoing rapid changes, which, without action on the part of the community and the government, could lead to a complete transformation of Pigneto into a gentrified version of itself.

Through various exercises to try to measure and quantify gentrification, we attempted to define the problem. We took pictures, made maps, analyzed demographic information, conducted interviews, and researched history, all to try to better understand the issue at hand. Once we completed this, we were able to delve into the issue of gentrification, how it has influenced neighborhoods around the world, and how it can be appropriately handled in Pigneto in order to preserve a sense of the neighborhood that exists in the hearts and minds of its residents.

### Gentrification Lessons

From our research on how other neighborhoods have

grappled with dramatic changes, we have been able to take lessons from their experiences that may be applicable to the case of Pigneto. While these are not necessarily the answers to solving gentrification problems, they can be useful to help shape thinking in Pigneto and to start conversations.

In the case study in the Berlin neighborhood of Prenzlauer Berg, a heavy government presence in the area was helpful to curb gentrification. The initial plan for redevelopment in Prenzlauer Berg was a completely top-down effort aimed at promoting corporate growth in the area. When planning officials realized that the neighborhood was in danger of losing its culture, a system of neighborhood councils was formed to deal with individual concerns and to promote citizen participation in the planning effort. This S.T.E.R.N. organization in Prenzlauer Berg limits development to preserve the building character of the neighborhood, and also mobilizes citizens to action through participatory planning exercises. Because it is a quasi-government organization, S.T.E.R.N. has a direct impact on the planning and zoning of the neighborhood, which could be seen as a model for effective local governance. A high level of citizen participation and influence over the city's planning of a neighborhood was effective for curbing gentrification in Prenzlauer Berg.

As we saw in the Prenzlauer Berg case, if the top-





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Workshop  
Spring 2008

down government anti-gentrification movement is not implemented in an appropriate and fair way, gentrification can proceed in a way that does not reflect resident concerns. Originally, the city government in Berlin pushed for corporate revitalization of the area, which would have led to a huge amount of growth and a complete gentrification. If a city government is going to attempt to control gentrification, the top-down methods need to be done with a certain sense of respect to what the neighborhood has historically been. In the Berlin case, this was achieved through a series of neighborhood councils and participatory planning.

The Prenzlauer Berg case in Berlin shows how a top-down government approach can lead an anti-gentrification movement, by taking into account neighborhood concerns and ideas when designing the urban plan of the area. Another approach to anti-gentrification lies in a bottom-up movement, as we have seen in the Mission District of San Francisco. Through various community-based organizations, local citizens were able to affect the path of gentrification in the Mission District.

While this type of bottom-up approach can work, there are also various draw backs to relying on it completely. One of these is the fear that a community-based organization can be too disconnected with the realities of the situation; we saw this in Kevin Keating's

Yuppie Eradication Project, where he pushed for a borderline violent response to gentrification. On the other hand, an organization like the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition, working to influence city hall's planning process, can be quite effective. This effectiveness comes from both a planning department that is sympathetic to citizen concerns and a strong organization at the local level.

From these case studies, we found that either a top-down or a bottom-up approach to gentrification can be effective, but the most successful methods take aspects of each and combine them. There are a few key ingredients that have been necessary for the success of the case studies we've chosen to explore. One is a strong community based organization to spearhead the effort from the ground up, which is willing to cooperate with other stakeholders and the government in order to have a holistic result. Another is a city government/planning department that is focused on controlling gentrification through contact with citizens. Through our case study research, we were able to find key components to other successful anti-gentrification movements. While these are useful case studies, it is also important to look at policy analysts who have studied gentrification.

### **What Policy Analysts Say**

While many researchers have written on the subject of

gentrification, in this paper we will look at two specific sources, both of which offer a multitude of suggestions for approaching the problem of gentrification in a feasible, reasonable way. First, Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard (2001) have written a piece for the Brookings Institute outlining ten steps for controlling gentrification. Another useful source is Policy Link's Equitable Development Tool Kit, which helps "community builders achieve diverse, mixed-income neighborhoods that provide access to opportunities for employment, education and safe, affordable housing" (Policy Link). Both of these sources are US-based, and as such do not take into account societal and governmental characteristics in Europe. While this is important to note, these sources can still be considered useful when fueling discourse and planning efforts in Pigneto.

In *Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices*, Maureen Kennedy and Paul Leonard (2001) introduce four case studies on gentrification and then launch into a discussion of ten steps that can make an anti-gentrification movement successful.

The ten steps of their proposal they say should "help all stakeholders – policymakers, neighborhood residents and community groups, business owners and developers – better understand the dynamics of gentrification and address it productively" (Kennedy

and Leonard 2001, 3). Their ten steps include: knowing the context of the situation to see if gentrification is a likelihood; increasing the understanding of the dynamics of gentrification; getting organized; developing a unified vision and plan; implementing regulatory and policy fixes as appropriate; gaining control of private and public properties and using them in the anti-gentrification process; improving resident understanding of legal rights; improving public education; preparing parties to negotiate for more equitable development; and creating public forums (Kennedy and Leonard 2001, 28-29). These steps can be completed by community-based organizations, government departments or private firms, but in order to be the most successful, a combination of these stakeholders should be used.

In terms of specific lessons to put into place in Pigneto, one solid example given by the authors is for governments to design a unified vision and implementation plan to "increase the chances of equitable development if they and their public and private sector partners are united in their vision of the area's future" (Kennedy and Leonard 2001, 31). This important thing here is to have a tangible, attainable goal for development in the area, which would be difficult to construct, but essential to mold gentrification to fit the needs of and to cater to the concerns of residents of Pigneto.





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Workshop  
Spring 2008

The vision and implementation plan is only one example from the text. There are other ideas from Kennedy and Leonard's piece that could be useful for Pigneto to implement. The important take-home message from their piece is that any anti-gentrification effort needs to be addressed with the community context in mind; there is no right answer to this kind of issue.

Rather, we conclude that if residents, developers, officials and interest groups spent more time developing strategies to avert or address the adverse consequences of gentrification, and less time opposing or supporting the market-driven process itself, they could increase the chances of building strong, economically diverse communities in our cities.  
- Kennedy and Leonard 2001, 3

Gentrification is not an issue to be taken lightly, but change is an inevitable part of the life of a community. If a planner is able to create a situation where stakeholders can participate and become invested in a government development plan, then gentrification can happen in a fair way.

Another interesting source for anti-gentrification work is Policy Link's Equitable Development Tool Kit, which provides an online resource for stakeholders in

changing neighborhoods. The tools in this dossier are meant to help "reduce social and economic disparities among individuals, social groups, neighborhoods and local jurisdictions across metropolitan regions" (Policy Link). Tools range from employer-assisted housing and healthy food retailing to retention of subsidized housing and community development corporations with resident stakeholders. Each is useful to think about transforming into a local context.

One particularly interesting point raised in the Policy Link tool kit is Rent Control, which has been attempted in Italy without success previously, but may be able to be implemented on a local scale. The tool kit outlines the following categories: what is it, why to use it, how to use it, financing, keys to success, challenges, policy, tool in action, and resources. This format, while completely US-based, could help to spur conversation in Pigneto.

### **What is Already Being Done**

Local authorities and groups in Pigneto can stand to learn from the experiences of other communities and from experts in the urban policy field how to best approach the problem of gentrification.

In Giovanni Allegretti's work in Pigneto with the URBACT European Union Organization has created a District Contract for the neighborhood (Allegretti).



The District Contract was an “institutional initiative... and grew out of an intensive dialogue with some groups of neighborhood residents” (Allgretti, 33). While government organizations were the lead players in the formation of the District Contract, grassroots organization members were tapped to participate in the discussions. The purpose of this discourse was to have local residents “present clearly defined goals and have a medium- and long-term vision of their implementation” (Allegretti 41), and was considered to be successful by the government officials who introduced the forums.

The most important concern for stakeholders in this process is the feasibility of implementation of the District Contract plans on the part of the institutions involved. This “becomes even more acute taken into consideration constant cuts in funding (especially government funding) for public projects” (Allegretti, 41). Without proper funding, it is difficult for any plan to be implemented. In order for the process to have successful outcomes in the long run, there must be certainty in institutional support of the District Contract.

While the District Contract does not clearly address the issue of gentrification in Pigneto, it does promote citizen participation in the planning of the neighborhood, which is one of the steps in Kennedy and Leonard’s piece and in the Policy Link Tool Kit.

This is a good jumping off point for limiting the rapid changes taking place in Pigneto, but a continuing discourse and an implementation the District Contract are essential for the process to have any kind of lasting impact. Along with expanded policy measures to limit unbridled growth, these steps can be a good foundation for a successful community-driven movement against the negative impacts of gentrification.

## Conclusions

We do not deem ourselves experts in the field of urban planning, and thus, any conclusions we have made in this paper must be taken with a grain of salt. Our study of Pigneto, because of time constraints and level of knowledge of urban planning, did not reach the same depths a true researcher would be able to attain. In this project, we merely attempted to understand (at least superficially) how a neighborhood in Italy works, who the main stakeholders are, and how its character is defined. While we saw the processes occurring in Pigneto as similar to processes of American gentrification, this may not be what is actually going on in the neighborhood. With this in mind, here are our conclusions about the supposed ‘gentrification’ in Pigneto.

While there is no silver bullet for solving gentrification issues in a neighborhood, Pigneto stands to benefit from





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Planning  
Workshop  
Spring 2008

the implementation of a few key elements, which have either worked in other cities or have been presented as academic theory. One key part of an anti-gentrification movement is a strong community based organization, which is willing to work alongside government officials and private interests. Another is a government that is flexible enough to implement creative and cooperative community-based solutions. The final key is a private sector that is willing to sacrifice total development domination for the betterment of the community in which it is working.

Pigneto has the makings for a strong front against gentrification. Through our interviews, we found clues about the strong network of community-based organizations. Our social history research pointed to a neighborhood that has withstood decades of hardship. Gentrification poses a threat to the preservation of this strong community, but it also represents an opportunity for residents, local officials and developers to work together for the greater good of the community.

We do not deem ourselves experts in the field of urban planning, and thus, any conclusions we have made in this paper must be taken with a grain of salt.

With a unified plan and a willing set of stakeholders, it is completely possible for Pigneto to keep many of the same qualities Pasolini loved about it, while at the same time moving toward a stronger, better version of itself.

## Reflections

**From the outset of this studio there was a common feeling of intimidation. On one level, living in a new city, in a new country with a different language and customs made everyone feel daunted. How could we really understand? Frustrations were present throughout the project, but after about the first quarters of research was completed – there was a major shift in our dynamic. We began to realize what we could do within all of the constraints – time, resources and skill to name a few – we could begin to understand what it takes to comprehend place. Through research methods both old and new – interviews, data collection and so on, we built a framework for ourselves to ask questions about Pigneto. It was clear to us from this point onward in the study that our overall purpose was to become engaged with our site while utilizing academic tools to legitimize our work.**

**When confronted with the task of contemplating the issues surrounding a place we had not know, using base-line analyses were imperative in building a foundation for our understanding. Once these studies were completed, additional studies were used to personalize Pigneto and attempt realize its context within Rome.**

**Although in the end we realize the limitations of our**

work this semester and that one perhaps can never truly understand place without living in it, we feel we have gained the ability to ask the right questions. That is to say we now understand the process of developing our understanding. To this end, the project was a total success.

Seeing our work displayed, many of us for the first time added an unfamiliar but accomplished dynamic. We were able to pause, in our own ways, and think about all the work we had done and where we started. The exhibition allowed us for the first moment to take stock of our initial impressions as compared to how we felt now; the evolution of this research itself; and how differently we would look at place from this point forward – academically or otherwise.

This semester, we were able to spend four months getting acquainted with a neighborhood in Rome. The experience gained from this studio class has been phenomenal, and we would like to thank our professors, Neema Kudva and Greg Smith, along with our teaching assistants, Rosie Hoyem, Frank Cappiello, and Massimo Allulli, for all their hard work.

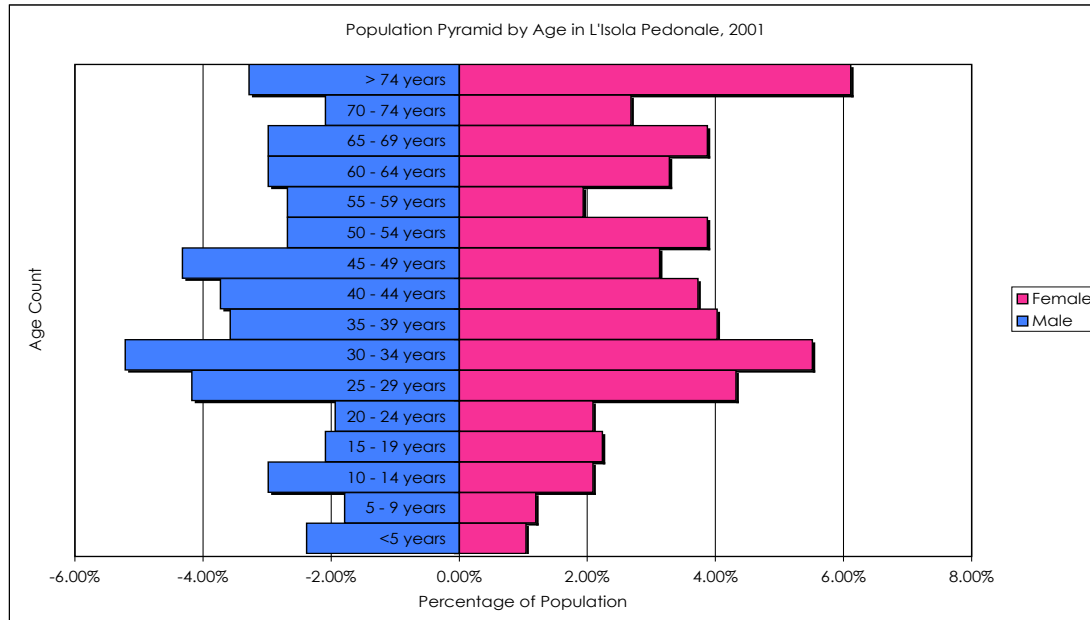


# Appendix

**Table 6.1: Population by Gender in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.1			
	Male	Female	Total
<b>Count</b>	328	343	671
<b>Percent</b>	48.88%	51.12%	

Source: ISTAT, 2001



**Table 6.2: Population by Age in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.2			
Age	Male	Female	Total
<5 years	16	7	23
5 - 9 years	12	8	20
10 - 14 years	20	14	34
15 - 19 years	14	15	29
20 - 24 years	13	14	27
25 - 29 years	28	29	57
30 - 34 years	35	37	72
35 - 39 years	24	27	51
40 - 44 years	25	25	50
45 - 49 years	29	21	50
50 - 54 years	18	26	44
55 - 59 years	18	13	31
60 - 64 years	20	22	42
65 - 69 years	20	26	46
70 - 74 years	14	18	32
> 74 years	22	41	63
<b>Total</b>	<b>328</b>	<b>343</b>	<b>671</b>

Source: ISTAT, 2001

	Male	Female	Total
<b>Median Age</b>	42 years	42 years	42 years



**Table 6.3: Marital Status in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.3						
Marital Status	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Single	172	52.44%	146	42.57%	318	47.39%
Cohabiting	135	41.16%	132	38.48%	267	39.79%
Separated	4	1.22%	8	2.33%	12	1.79%
Widowed	9	2.74%	45	13.12%	54	8.05%
Divorced	8	2.44%	12	3.50%	20	2.98%

Source: ISTAT, 2001

**Table 6.4: Family Size in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.4		
Family Size	Count	Percent
1	144	44.31%
2	88	27.08%
3	42	12.92%
4	35	10.77%
5	12	3.69%
≥6	4	1.23%
Total	325	
Average Family Size	2.06	

Source: ISTAT, 2001

**Table 6.5: Education Level in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.5						
Level	Men		Women		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Tertiary	29	8.84%	37	10.79%	66	9.84%
High School	93	28.35%	104	30.32%	197	29.36%
Middle School	99	30.18%	78	22.74%	177	26.38%
At least MS	69	21.04%	78	22.74%	147	21.91%
Pop Over 6 yrs	309		334		643	95.83%

Source: ISTAT, 2001

**Table 6.6: Immigration by Continent in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.6			
Origin	Count	% of Immigrants	% of Total
Europe	15	28.85%	2.24%
Africa	10	19.23%	1.49%
America	12	23.08%	1.79%
Asia	15	28.85%	2.24%
Oceania	0	0.00%	0.00%
<b>Total Immigrants</b>	52		7.75%

Source: ISTAT, 2001

**Table 6.7: Employment Status by Gender in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.7						
Status	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Employed	168	89.84%	118	90.08%	286	89.94%
Unemployed	19	10.16%	13	9.92%	32	10.06%
<b>Active Work Force</b>	187		131		318	

Student	15	21	36
Retired	56	34	90

Source: ISTAT, 2001

**Table 6.8: Employment by Sector and Gender in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.8					
Sector	Male		Female		Total
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count
Agriculture	1	0.60%	0	0.00%	1
Industry	39	23.21%	10	8.47%	49
Services	117	69.64%	98	83.05%	215
<b>Self-Employed</b>	11	6.55%	10	8.47%	21

Source: ISTAT, 2001

**Figure 6.3: Residential Density in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Density 0.0283 people/km<sup>2</sup>  
 Building Density 10.65 people/blg  
 Source: ISTAT, 2001

**Table 6.9: Housing Unit Occupancy in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.9		
Type	Count	Percent
Residential	321	75.00%
Non-Residential	19	4.44%
Unoccupied	88	20.56%
<b>Total</b>	<b>428</b>	

**Table 6.10: Resident Housing Occupancy Type in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

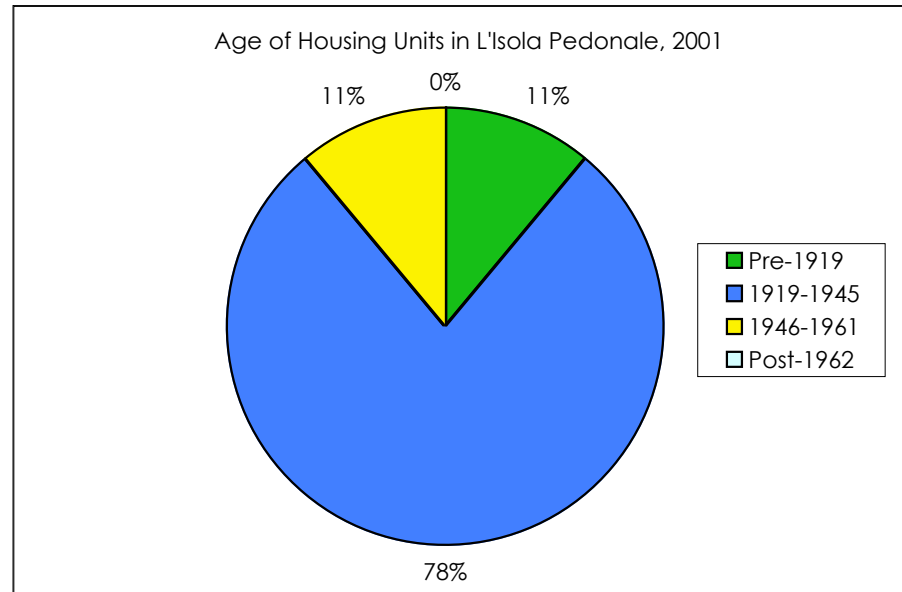
Tavola 6.10		
Type	Count	Percent
Owner-Occupied	212	66.04%
Renter-Occupied	77	23.99%
Other	32	9.97%
<b>Total</b>	<b>321</b>	

Source: ISTAT, 2001

**Table 6.11: Residential Building Construction Date in L'Isola Pedonale, 2001**

Tavola 6.11		
Date	Count	Percent
Pre-1919	7	11.11%
1919-1945	49	77.78%
1946-1961	7	11.11%
Post-1962	0	0.00%
<b>Total Buildings</b>	<b>63</b>	

Source: Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (ISTAT), 2001



**Table 6.12: Population by Age and Gender in 06A, 1981**

Tavola 6.12			
Age	Male	Female	Total
<5 years	1472	1407	2879
5 - 9 years	2171	2093	4264
10 - 14 years	2438	2436	4874
15 - 24 years	5529	5338	10867
25 - 34 years	4424	4351	8775
35 - 44 years	3955	4487	8442
45-54 years	4429	5241	9670
55 - 64 years	3772	4305	8077
65 - 74 years	2538	3207	5745
>75 years	1048	1739	2787
Total	31776	34604	66380

Source: Comune di Roma, 1985

	Male	Female	Total
<b>Median Age</b>	32 years	37 years	37 years

**Table 6.13: Population by Age and Gender in 06A, 1991**

Tavola 6.13			
Age	Male	Female	Total
<5 years	1140	1023	2163
5 - 9 years	1091	1015	2106
10 - 14 years	1229	1277	2506
15 - 24 years	4114	4060	8174
25 - 34 years	5864	4902	10766
35 - 44 years	3478	3609	7087
45-54 years	3144	3890	7034
55 - 64 years	3801	4454	8255
65 - 74 years	2603	3278	5881
>75 years	1456	3129	4585
Total	27920	30637	58557

Source: Comune di Roma, 1991

	Male	Female	Total
<b>Median Age</b>	39 years	39 years	39 years

**Table 6.14: Population by Age and Gender in 06A, 2006**

Tavola 6.14			
Age	Male	Female	Total
<5 years	860	928	1788
5 - 9 years	893	886	1779
10 - 14 years	947	865	1812
15 - 24 years	2049	1839	3888
25 - 34 years	3169	3075	6244
35 - 44 years	4454	4225	8679
45-54 years	3508	3346	6854
55 - 64 years	2441	2825	5266
65 - 74 years	2412	3431	5843
>75 years	2193	3906	6099
Total	22926	25326	48252

Source: Comune di Roma, 2006

	Male	Female	Total
<b>Median Age</b>	42 years	47 years	42 years



**Table 6.15: Educational Attainment in 06A, 1981**

Tavola 6.15						
Level	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
College	911	2.87%	622	1.80%	1533	2.29%
High School	5076	15.97%	4573	13.22%	9649	14.54%
Middle School	9343	29.40%	7846	22.67%	17189	25.89%
Elementary	11161	35.12%	14310	40.83%	25471	38.37%

Source: Comune di Roma, 1985

**Table 6.16: Educational Attainment in 06A, 1991**

Tavola 6.16						
Level	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
College	1692	6.06%	909	2.97%	2601	4.44%
High School	7050	25.25%	6896	22.51%	13946	23.82%
Middle School	8854	31.71%	7728	25.22%	16582	28.32%
Elementary	7047	25.24%	10624	34.68%	17671	30.18%

Source: Comune di Roma, 1991



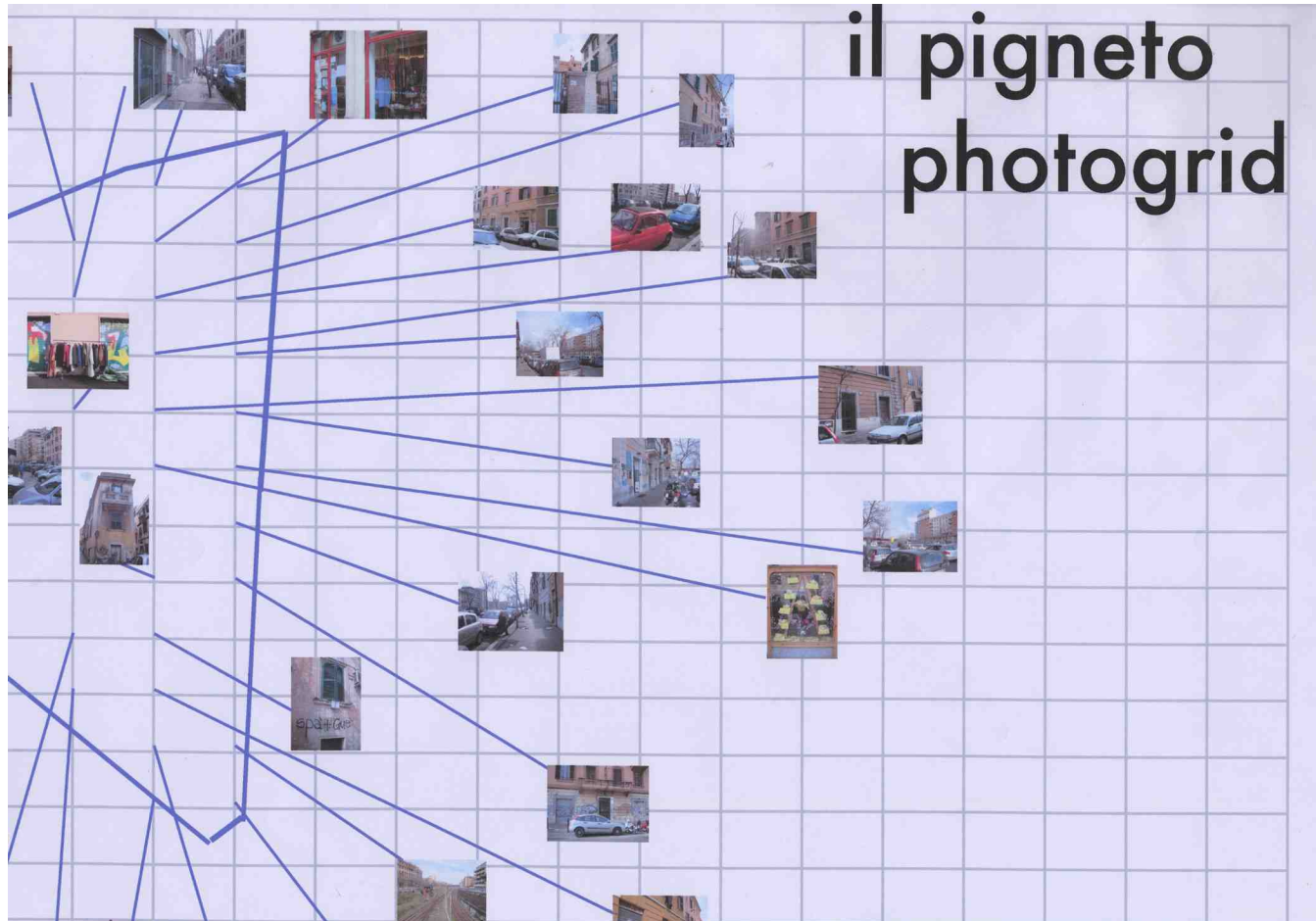
**Table 6.17, Real Estate Prices in Pigneto, 2008**

<b>Tavola 6.17</b>	
<b>&lt;50 meters<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Price (Euro)</b>
Unit 1	210,000
Unit 2	305,000
Unit 3	125,000
Unit 4	150,000
Unit 5	340,000
Unit 6	280,000
Unit 7	320,000
Unit 8	240,000
Unit 9	170,000
Unit 10	225,000
<b>Average</b>	<b>236,500</b>

<b>51 - 100 meters<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Price (Euro)</b>
Unit 1	350,000
Unit 2	369,000
Unit 3	345,000
Unit 4	650,000
Unit 5	370,000
Unit 6	360,000
Unit 7	235,000
Unit 8	220,000
Unit 9	308,000
Unit 10	340,000
<b>Average</b>	<b>354,700</b>

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