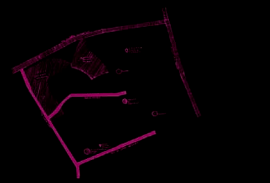
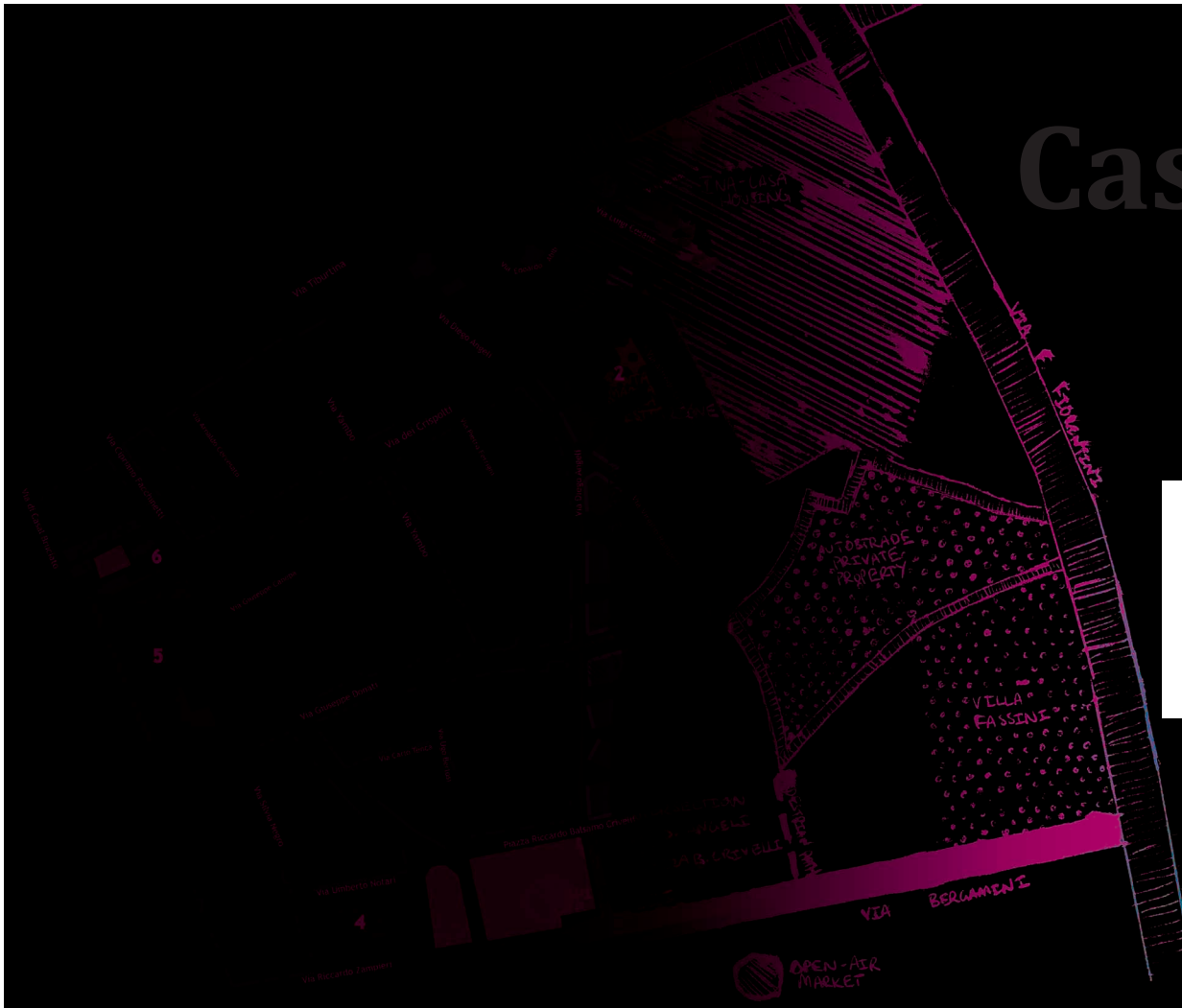


Casal Bruciato

Neighborhood Study



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Essential to our project is the time, opinions, and stories of our resident interviewees. Their dynamic lives and perceptions of the neighborhood have contributed greatly to our understanding of Casal Bruciato and its issues of housing and gentrification. We would like to especially thank Stefania with La Cacciarella Social Cooperative, Roberto and the men who maintain the INA-Casa park, and Andrea Valentini for their informative and enriching insights, without which this project would not be possible.

We are indebted to Mario Spada, whose informative walking tour provided us with a new perspective of the neighborhood. We would also like to express our thanks to the Biblioteca di Statistica del Comune di Roma for assisting us in the collection of ISTAT data through Casal Bruciato's history. Also deserving of much thanks are the many researchers and planners who have come before us; their work and methodologies proved truly helpful in our approach and issue-specific research.

Lastly, our gratitude extends to the teaching staff of CRP 4160: Professor Smith for his enthusiastic direction, Gilda Berruti and Carlotta Fioretti for their helpfulness in all matters big and small. Their support in arranging interviews and providing translations was invaluable to our study of Casal Bruciato. Also thank you to Chris List for support in assembling the report and guidance with layout and design.

Photos on cover by Barrett Lane and Jessica Yoon 2009

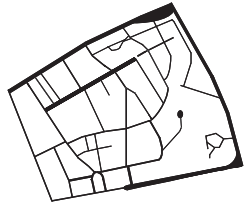
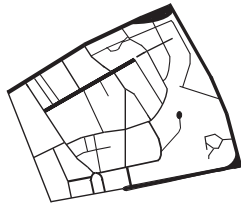


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Introduction

The study of a neighborhood presents many challenges and opportunities for the practice of urban studies. Through multiple methodologies and exercises modeled after urban planners such as Allan Jacobs and Kevin Lynch, we have compiled a study of Casal Bruciato, a neighborhood on the eastern periphery of Rome.

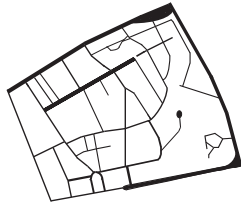
With virtually no prior knowledge and only the tools of observation, we embarked on a study of Casal Bruciato. Through various phases of our study we have created an in-depth report encompassing comprehensive street surveys, resident interviews and cognitive mapping, and issue-specific research on the neighborhood of Casal Bruciato. Through the process, we discovered many false assumptions, including our initial conception of the neighborhood's name as Tiburtino IV, which we later more appropriately renamed Casal Bruciato, as well as its boundaries. Each phase of the study has led us to new insights and conclusions about the neighborhood, culminating in a research endeavor on what we believed to be a salient issue in the neighborhood: gentrification.

Rich in its history as a public housing development and varied in neighborhood composition, Casal Bruciato was characterized by a segmented nature. Strong geographic distinctions in varying areas of the neighborhood were thought to be attributed to development both private and public, as well as its evolution through different time period. With such differences, a lack of collective identity was perceived from the beginning, a notion which was supported in much of our further studies.

The following report contains the three phases of our neighborhood study. Part 1 employs the methods of Allan Jacobs and records our observations and understanding through firsthand street surveys documenting physical typology, presence of green space, commercial and human activity, and transportation, in addition to statistical research on the neighborhood. Part 2 uses Kevin Lynch's Image of the City as a foundation for conducting resident interviews and cognitive mapping exercises to understand the visual form of the neighborhood. In Part 3, we identified gentrification as an issue potentially effecting the neighborhood and completed research on the issue using demographic statistics, observations and interviews, and a comparative analysis with Washington, D.C. The flow of these three interrelated phases allowed for an optimal neighborhood study and lessened the possibility for any unfounded, biased conclusions. Through the process, we have developed a greater understanding of issues facing peripheral neighborhoods in Rome as well as an appreciation for the rich history and dynamic character of Casal Bruciato.

Part I

Neighborhood Survey



1. Introduction

Tiburtino IV, a peripheral neighborhood of Rome located just northeast of the city's center, offers an incredible tour through the city's various stages of development. Built alongside one of Rome's most ancient roads, Via Tiburtina (Figure 1.1), the neighborhood was significantly shaped by the construction of one of the city's first major housing projects following the Second World War. In recent decades, new developments of apartment buildings and commercial spaces have sprouted up in the area, and Tiburtino is now a quintessential suburban Roman community, reconciling its history with the demands of modern life and the modern city.

History

Tiburtino can trace its history all the way back to the days of ancient Rome and the consul Marcus Valerius Maximus. Under his supervision, construction of V. Tiburtina (see Appendix 1 for an explanation of abbreviated names) commenced in 286 BC, leading east from Rome to Tivoli. Following various expansions

and repairs, the road eventually reached a length of about 200 kilometers and extended all the way to what is today the town of Pescara (Macadam, 386). One of the major roads of Roman antiquity, V. Tiburtina is still a major thoroughfare, forming the northern border of the neighborhood (Figure 1.2).

In 1949, national housing legislation, named "INA-Casa" after the national insurance agency that funded the associated projects, was ratified in Italy. This legislation stayed in place until 1963, subsidizing the construction of many housing developments nationwide. One of the first and most characteristic INA-Casa developments in Rome was constructed in Tiburtino, along V. Tiburtina (Figure 1.3). Seven-hundred-seventy units of public housing were constructed as part of the Tiburtino project in various building types: row houses, five story apartment blocks, and taller freestanding towers. The rotation of the buildings and their staggered arrangement created casual open spaces and was intended by the architects to create the feeling of a rural medieval village (Kirk 2005, 157-8), giving much of the neighborhood its current character and distinctive atmosphere.

Tiburtino IV and its Major Roads within Rome

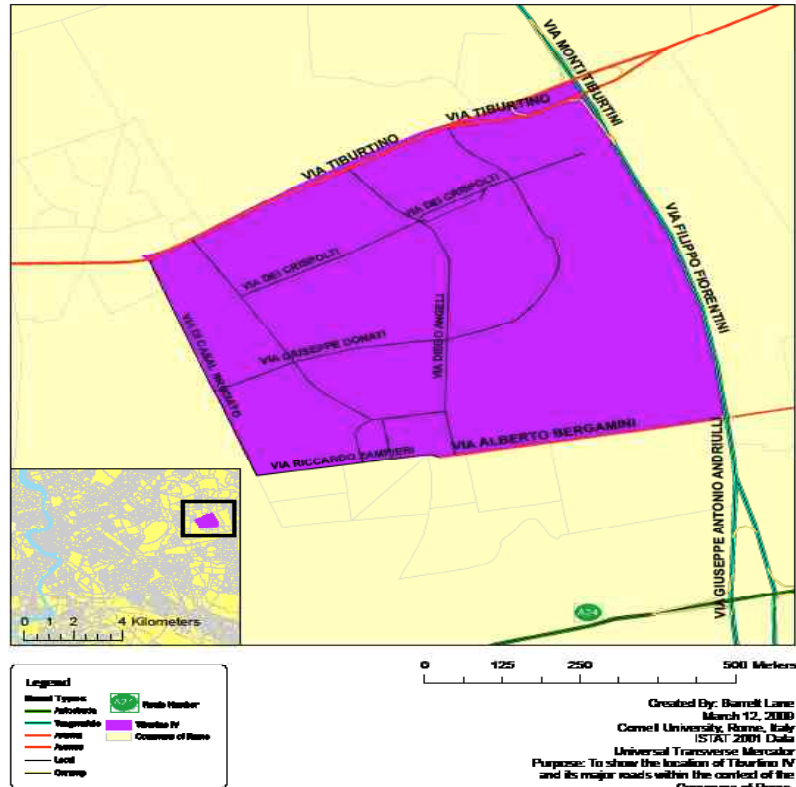


Figure 1.1 Tiburtino IV

Tiburtino and its major roads depicted within the context of Rome (Lane 2009).

Neighborhood Overview

Since then, a number of different housing developments have grown up around this INA-Casa core, forming the neighborhood we know today. Starting along its northern border, V. Tiburtina, the neighborhood extends south to Via Alberto Bergamini and is bounded on its east by Via Filippo Fiorentini and on its west by Via Casal Bruciato. The area streets in between follow somewhat of an informal grid pattern, having the traditional east-west, north-south orientation, but without the rigidly straight streets



Figure 1.2 V. Tiburtina

An ancient Roman road, V. Tiburtina abuts the neighborhood Tiburtino IV (Yoon 2009).



Figure 1.3 INA-Casa development

INA-Casa housing is located along Via Tiburtina in the northeast quarter of the Tiburtino neighborhood (Istituto Autonomo Casa Popolare).

characteristic of most modern grids.

The neighborhood offers many public services, with a community center and four schools within its boundaries, and also has its own small commercial corridor, though larger stores and a greater variety of services are offered along V. Tiburtina. The land use

functions (Figure 1.4) and community resources (Figure 1.5) of the Tiburtino neighborhood are diverse.

Due to the different times at which the various parts of the neighborhood were built, the area residents are somewhat segregated spatially by age, something we believe hurts the overall



Figure 1.4 Land uses in Tiburtino

Tiburtino is primarily residential with interspersed green space, commercial establishments, and community resources which are depicted on the facing page (Yoon 2009).

cohesiveness of the community. Exacerbating this problem is the clear separation of housing developments by way of fences, walls, and gates, which only further separates the local residents.

As in many other parts of Italy where home-ownership rates are high, we believe gentrification has occurred gradually over time

as area residents have improved their jobs and their standards of living. Complementing this phenomenon has been an influx of younger, more affluent individuals and families, as well as students attending university. Though the residents here appear to enjoy a higher level of income and a greater standard of living than they once did, we believe the neighborhood has moved away, in large



1. Citizens' Community Center



2. Church (Santa Maria della visitazione)



3. Middle School



5. High School



6. Co-op

Not Pictured: 4. Daycare Facility

Figure 1.5 Community resources

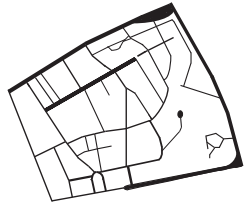
Tiburtino enjoys many community resources serving many areas of the neighborhood (Yoon 2009).

part, from the mission for which it was built: providing affordable housing.

As a suburb of a major city, transportation between the neighborhood and the city center is of primary importance. Tiburtino has its own bus terminal in Piazza Riccardo Balsamo Crivelli and bus stops along V. Tiburtina and V. Bruciato, as well as a pair of nearby subway stations which should, in theory, be sufficient to serve the needs of residents. However, as is common throughout Italy today, the middle class residents of the neighborhood have taken to buying cars and motorbikes to get around the city and run their errands, making for a very “auto-centric” environment in the neighborhood and a shortage of parking. Almost every available space in the area is taken up for that purpose now (Figure 1,6), and the city is undergoing a project to add an underground parking garage on one of the neighborhood’s major streets, Via dei Crispolti.



Figure 1.6 Parking space in Tiburtino
Car parking occupies the space on Via Raffaele Calzini (Buller 2009).



2. Methodology

Street Survey: Four Quadrants of Tiburtino

To make our street survey more manageable, we divided the neighborhood into four quadrants designated Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, and Southwest. We used Via Diego Angeli as the primary east-west divider and Via Giuseppe Donati as the primary north-south divider with some exceptions at the eastern end given its northward curve. The quadrant map in Figure 1.7 shows an aerial view of the neighborhood with shaded regions representing the exact streets and structures located in the four quadrants of surveying. Using this system of division, we traveled to the neighborhood on about seven occasions and surveyed the area for around four hours each time, usually beginning around 10AM and ending at 2PM or later.

In *Looking at Cities*, Allan Jacobs writes, “Field observation permits identifying the changes that are taking place earlier than

is usually possible through other research methods.” (Jacobs 1985, 8) In accordance with this idea, we chose survey inputs that would maximize the observance of transformation throughout Tiburtino (see appendix 2 for survey form). For our survey inputs, we divided our observations into eight categories: basic information, streets and sidewalks, street decoration, noise and traffic, land use and buildings, retail, public and private spaces and general remarks.

In basic information we noted the location of the survey, the date and time, and the general weather conditions. In streets and sidewalks we noted the street type, pavement material, parking conditions, sidewalks, and the condition of the street and sidewalk. For street decoration we noted street furniture, trees and shrubbery, and dumpsters that lined the street. For noise and traffic we noted the noise level as well as sampling traffic, counting passing cars on the street for one minute. For land use and buildings we noted the land uses on the street (commercial, residential, parks, and community resources), the building typology (primary function and physical characteristics), and the building facades as well as

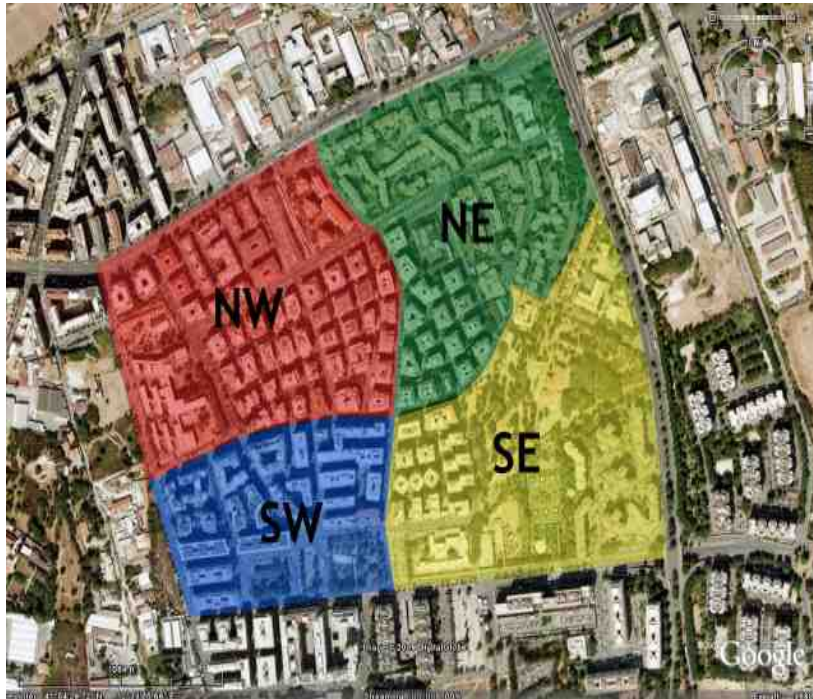


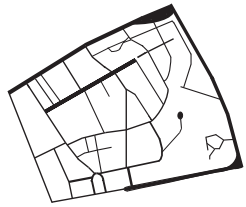
Figure 1.7 Survey division of Tiburtino

The neighborhood was divided into four quarters for the purposes of street surveying (LaBerge 2009).

their state of repair. For retail each member made a categorized index of the businesses located on the street, noting the business name, address, function, and status of operation. For public and private spaces we noted if the street was adjacent to any major private or public spaces and also the presence of gates and walls. Lastly, our group reserved one category for general remarks should a team member run across an item that did not fit into any of the above categories. The results of the street survey are compiled and presented in [Appendix 3](#).

Statistical Analysis and Mapping

Statistical Data was provided by Italy's National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) for the 2001 national census. This census data was used to create GIS maps showing building age, percentage of population with a college degree, employment, home ownership, residents 60 and older, and residents 29 and under. Our own neighborhood observation data was used to create maps and visuals regarding land use, inaccessibility, building façade, and social gathering spaces.



3. Demographics

Statistical Background

Statistical background for Rome was found through ISTAT. The data presented here and represented on the GIS maps was taken from the 2001 Italian census.

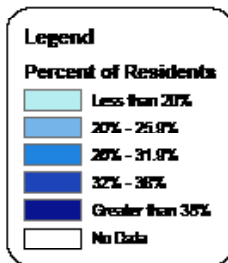
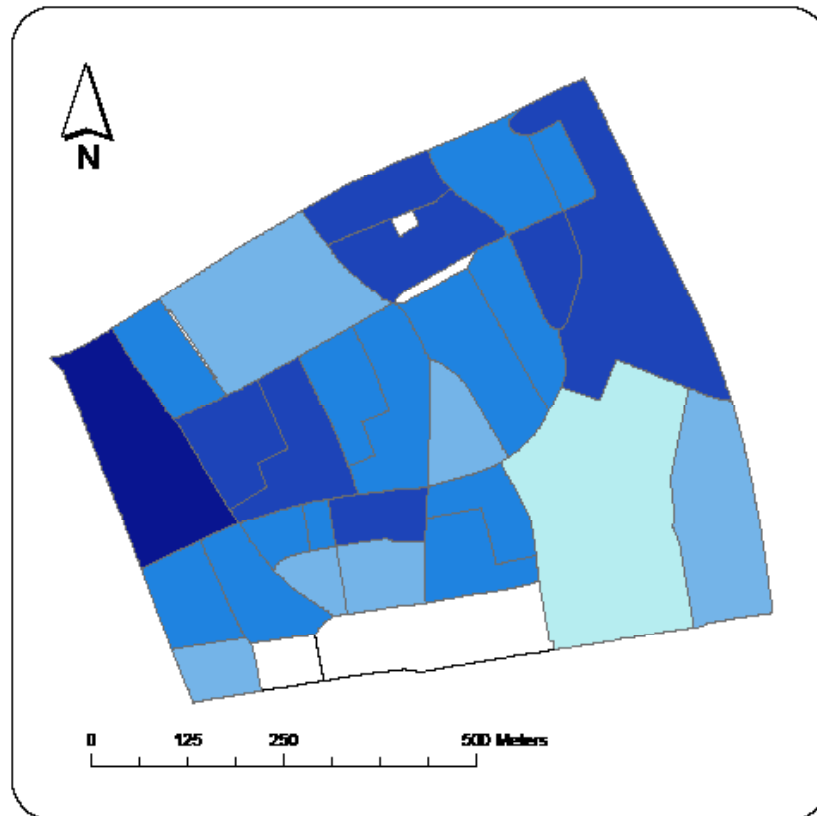
In 2001, Tiburtino IV had a total population of 11,368 residents, of which 3,251 (29%) were 60 years of age or older and 3,174 (28%) were persons younger than 29. Looking at the two GIS maps showing the breakdown of these two groups by area (Figure 1.8), one can see that older residents were more concentrated in the northeastern and northwestern corners of the neighborhood, while people younger than 29 predominantly lived along the center section of V. Tiburtina and in the neighborhood's southeastern corner.

In 2001, there was a total of 1,082 college-educated residents that were clustered in the neighborhood's southeastern section, as seen in Figure 1.9. The number of foreign-born residents in Tiburtino

was relatively small in 2001; at only 200 people, the foreign-born population in Tiburtino was less than 2% of neighborhood residents while in Rome the foreign-born population was around 4% of total population.

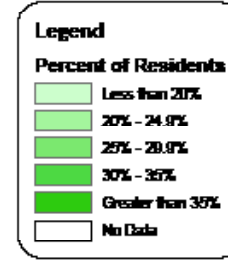
While 2,499 residential units in Tiburtino were owner occupied, another 2,024 units were rented. The proportion of owners to renters varies throughout the sezione in the neighborhood, with a high amount of home ownership in the once public INA-Casa housing in the northeast quarter (see Figure 1.10). This proportion of renters to owners in Tiburtino is high when compared to that for all of Rome: in 2001, Rome had a ratio of about 4:1 rental units to owner occupied units while Tiburtino had a ratio of about 8:1. An additional fact about the neighborhood population is that in 2001, there were 873 unemployed residents of Tiburtino IV, or 8% of the total population, excluding retirees, housewives/husbands, and students (ISTAT 2001).

Residents Aged 60 or Older per Sezione in Tiburtino IV, 2001



Created by: Barrett Lane, March 5, 2009
Cornell University, Ithaca, Italy
ISTAT 2001 Sezione Data
Universal Transverse Mercator
Purpose: To show the proportion of
Senior Citizens within Tiburtino IV

Percentage of Residents Aged 29 or Less per Sezione in Tiburtino IV, 2001

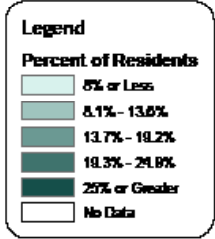


Created by: Barrett Lane, March 9, 2009
Cornell University, Ithaca, Italy
ISTAT 2001 Sezione Data
Universal Transverse Mercator
Purpose: To show the proportion of
young people within Tiburtino IV

Figure 1.8 Age in Tiburtino

These maps portray the geographical distribution of residents by age in Tiburtino's sezione (Lane 2009).

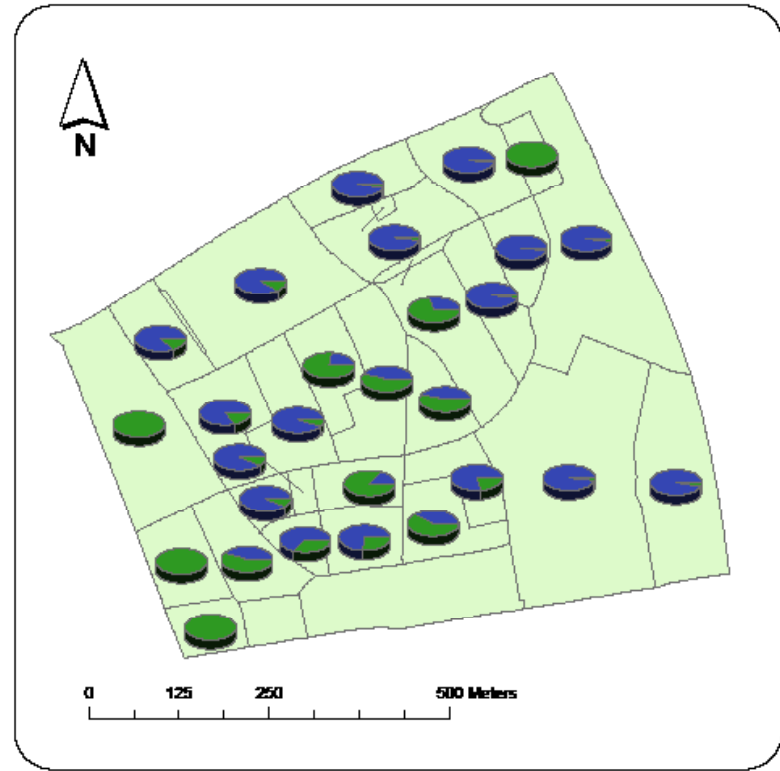
Residents Age 6 or Older With a Post-Secondary Degree per Sezione in Tiburtino IV, 2001



Created by: Barrett Lane, March 5, 2009
 Cornell University, Ithaca, Italy
 ISMI 2001 Sezione Data
 Universal Transverse Mercator
 Purpose: To show the percent of residents within Tiburtino IV who have attained post-secondary education

Figure 1.9 College educated residents in Tiburtino
 This map shows the distribution of residents over 6 with a post-secondary degree in Tiburtino's sezione (Lane 2009).

Percentage of Residents Who Own vs Rent Housing per Sezione in Tiburtino IV, 2001



Created by: Barrett Lane, March 5, 2009
 Cornell University, Ithaca, Italy
 ISMI 2001 Sezione Data
 Universal Transverse Mercator
 Purpose: To show the proportion of homeowners versus renters in Tiburtino IV

Figure 1.10 Owner and renter occupied units in Tiburtino
 This map shows the distribution of residents over 6 with a post-secondary degree in Tiburtino's sezione (Lane 2009).

Observations

Resident Observations

During our typical midday periods of observation, we mostly encountered retirees and elderly men and women. These residents were observed walking about the neighborhood, individually or in small groups of three or less, or chatting outside of residential buildings. Some of these older adults were also seen accompanying young children. During the lunch period many adults were seen carrying plastic shopping bags or were seen with young children in strollers.

At V. Donati and V. Angeli, there were more younger families and less seniors surveyed, although the latter still made up a large portion of the total people who passed by. Near the Autostrade office complex many professional adults, mostly men, were seen passing by the area. Later in the afternoon, especially after 14:30, groups of children and high school-aged students were observed walking home, walking along V. Tiburtina, loitering outside the Istituto Alberghieri and in La Cacciarella social cooperative, or playing a game of soccer in the large park by the Autostrade office park.

As far as the ethnic composition of the neighborhood, Tiburtino's population appeared to be fairly homogenous, as most people looked to be of Italian descent. It was rare to see residents who were non-white and if any were seen they were likely observed working in local shops or commuting on the buses. Individuals of possible Pakistani or Bangladeshi descent were seen working at four vegetable and dried good stands within the neighborhood, though it was uncertain whether they were the business owners or hired employees.

Looking at how the residents dressed, most preferred to dress in dark colors, but did not appear to be extremely trendy. Most of the residents, particularly the older women seen in the area, appear to

still carry out the practice of *la bella figura*, though they do not wear recognizable designer fashions. The wide range of clothing stores in Tiburtino, ranging from a discount family clothing store located by Via Negro to a fashionable women's boutique located on the corner of V. Angeli and V. Donati, supports these observations.

Other indicators of Tiburtino Social Status: Cars, Buzzers and Graffiti

Evaluating Tiburtino through resident observations is not comprehensive enough to catch the more subtle clues. Thus private cars, residential unit buzzer lists, and graffiti were also surveyed. Private cars throughout the neighborhood were modest, economy sized vehicles about four to eight years old, though newer vehicles and those in better states of repair were seen on V. Angeli. The increased presence of more expensive car types could be observed and potentially attributed to being in the vicinity of the Autostrade Office Park. Also seen interspersed throughout the southwest section were "Baby on Board" bumper stickers placed on family cars.

Many of the neighborhood buzzers had one or two Italian surnames, indicating that much of Tiburtino is occupied by residents in single or family units. A few private businesses, chiefly doctors' offices, were also interspersed throughout the residential units, as indicated by the names on the buzzer list. On the east side of Tiburtino, the buzzers observed at the building entrances appeared to be of high quality and had not been vandalized, with shiny brass plates covering name tags also protected by glass. All of the residential buildings in the northwest section had at least one apartment listing with multiple tenant names, possibly a sign of students living in those dwellings.

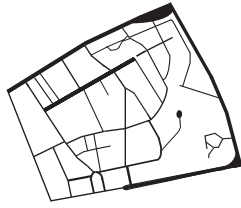
Two distinct types of graffiti were found in the neighborhood: political graffiti focused on fascism and communism, and "love graffiti" expressing signs of affection. The graffiti found in the northeast quadrant was tame, consisting mainly of love messages



Figure 1.11 Fascist graffiti in Tiburtino

Fascist graffiti was observed in various parts of the neighborhood, particularly in the southeastern quarter (Yoon 2009).

or the initials and insignias of the taggers. Posters promoting the communist party were posted on the high stone wall along V. Tiburtina, but none were seen within the northeast quarter itself, nor was there any graffiti of political nature in the area. Small amounts of fascist graffiti were observed on the street level façades of buildings in the northwest quarter (Figure 1.11). Fascist graffiti appeared to increase moving towards the southeastern end of the neighborhood, replacing the instances of artistic expression or affection seen farther north near V. Tiburtina.



4. Street Level Activities

Commercial Activity

Business Concentrations

Retail businesses in Tiburtino allow residents to function largely within their own neighborhood without needing to travel far outside for their daily necessities. V. Crispolti, Via Silvio Negro, Via Riccardo Zampieri, and V. Angeli contain many of Tiburtino's main businesses, which are typically one-story, street-level shops averaging six meters in width.

Commercial activity in the northeast section of Tiburtino was limited mostly to the newer buildings along V. Angeli and at its corner with V. Crispolti. In that area there are two bars and a restaurant, as well as a laundromat, optometrist, and pharmacy. In two of the store fronts there were also fruit and vegetable stands, though the spaces they inhabited appeared to have been occupied by different businesses at one point in time. In addition, there was a fly fishing specialty shop observed in this quarter, which

may point to the wealth of the neighborhood. Some smaller retail spaces similar to those seen throughout the neighborhood are concentrated on V. Donati and V. Angeli.

Although the majority of businesses were located on or near V. Angeli, there were also two one-story retail blocks and a restaurant located in the northeastern quarter on the northern side of V. Crispolti, near Via Luigi Cesana. One of these two retail blocks housed a variety of businesses, including the popular café Bar Cerchio Rosso, a salumeria, a fruit and vegetable stand, and a music store. The other block was in the middle of Via Edoardo Arbib, a side street in between V. Tiburtina and V. Crispolti, which had an auto repair shop as its only operating business. One final commercial section was located on the ground floor of the newer housing development in the far northeast corner. This space housed the Fiat car and truck dealership, the front of which faced out onto V. Tiburtina, though there was an auto repair and body shop that may be connected with it on the opposite side of the building, facing the end of V. Crispolti.



Figure 1.12 Open-air market

The market on Via Alberto Bergamini is the only open-air market servicing the neighborhood (Buller 2009).

Businesses in the southeastern portion of Tiburtino included a new plus-size women's clothing store called Sweet Size: Andro Ferrone Roma and the two Autostrade office structures consisting of an expansive, walled office park as well as an eight story office building on V. Bergamini. Also located in the southeastern portion is the open air market. While not technically within the assigned boundaries of the neighborhood, the open air market just west of Via Cesare Spellanzon, on V. Bergamini, was the closest outdoor market for residents of Tiburtino (Figure 1.12). The market consists of sixty vendors, selling a variety of products including meats, produce, clothing, fabric, shoes, books, plants, and sunglasses.

While the upper stories of most buildings in the neighborhood are residential, some of the buzzers and plaques we encountered on building facades had names of small businesses or firms. The names included medical practitioners, dentists, and lawyers. Most of these were located within the residential buildings along



Figure 1.13 Small businesses and services

Business plaques and door buzzers indicate the presence of small businesses and services in seemingly residential areas (Yoon 2009).

V. Tiburtina, Via Cipriano Facchinetti, V. Donati, and in the Villa Fassini development on V. Fiorentini (Figure 1.13).

Finally, many business storefronts we observed were closed. Metal siding extending all the way down to the street obscured the name and type of these businesses. We assume that some of these were closed because we came during the early afternoon lunch break hour, but some storefronts seemed to be former businesses that were out of operation. This was a common occurrence seen on all of the retail streets surveyed and was not just limited to one specific area. Some stores showed signs of prior establishments that had made way for newer ones, such as the fish store on Pza. Crivelli, but most had none of these traces.

Types of Commercial Establishments

Many Tiburtino shops are focused on food sale. There are a number of large grocery stores within Tiburtino, as well as many specialized food stores like fruit markets, fish markets, and butcher shops. Discount food stores and fresh produce establishments are plentiful throughout the neighborhood, possibly due to the lack of an open-air market within the neighborhood boundaries. There are also a number of restaurant-like stores such as bars, pizzerias, and gelaterias, although there are far more of these than there are actual restaurants. V. Crispolti and the section of V. Angeli nearest it had a noticeable presence of food and beverage establishments and groceries. These include: a pasticceria, Superfrutta frutteria, Conad grocery store, Girarrosto Pizza a Taglio, Macelleria Moderna, Bar Royal, Cafe Crispolti, Pizza Tondi, and a small grocery. Other popular business establishments include retail outlets (watch and jewelry stores, clothing boutiques), service outlets (barbershops, tanning salons), and commerce agencies (banks, insurance agencies). Auto and motorbike repair centers and parking garages are also plentiful throughout the neighborhood. Unexpectedly, pet stores seem to be a popular retail establishment in Tiburtino, with stores on V. Crispolti, V. Tiburtina, and V. Donati.

Retail Pricing

Goods and services in this area seem to be reasonably priced for a residential area and were noticeably cheaper than those in central Rome. For example, a slice a pizza at lunchtime would have been at least €2.50 near Cornell in Rome at Palazzo Lazzaroni, while in Tiburtino it cost €1.61. Also, the discount grocery stores directly on V. Tiburtina advertise lower prices than those within the neighborhood itself, though not by a significant amount.

Clothing and shoe stores appeared to have a mix of pricing levels in the northwest quarter of the neighborhood. One discount clothing store at V. Angeli 106 and 107 offered women's clothing priced around €10-30. However, other clothing stores such as Ter Ton women's clothing at Via Diego Angeli 90-96 and Daniel Abbigliamento at V. Angeli 54-56 seemed more upscale, although a survey of prices was not obtained. Women's boots in the window of Ter Ton, however, were seen to cost over €100.

Human Activity

Congregation Nodes

Within the neighborhood, people of similar age groups tended to socialize together, creating the need for places of congregation broken down by these groups. A map indicating the observed social spaces in Tiburtino can be seen in Figure 1.14.

Among these meeting points were neighborhood bars and sidewalks. During many periods of observation, small groups of five to six middle-aged and older men were often observed congregating inside the bars or outside on the area sidewalks. Several groups of older men were also seen playing cards or talking in the green space at the corner of V. Crispolti and V. Angeli, at Bar Cerchio Rosso at the corner of V. Cesana and V. Crispolti, and at the park at the end of V. Crispolti. Younger people seemed to stop

Social Spaces in Tiburtino

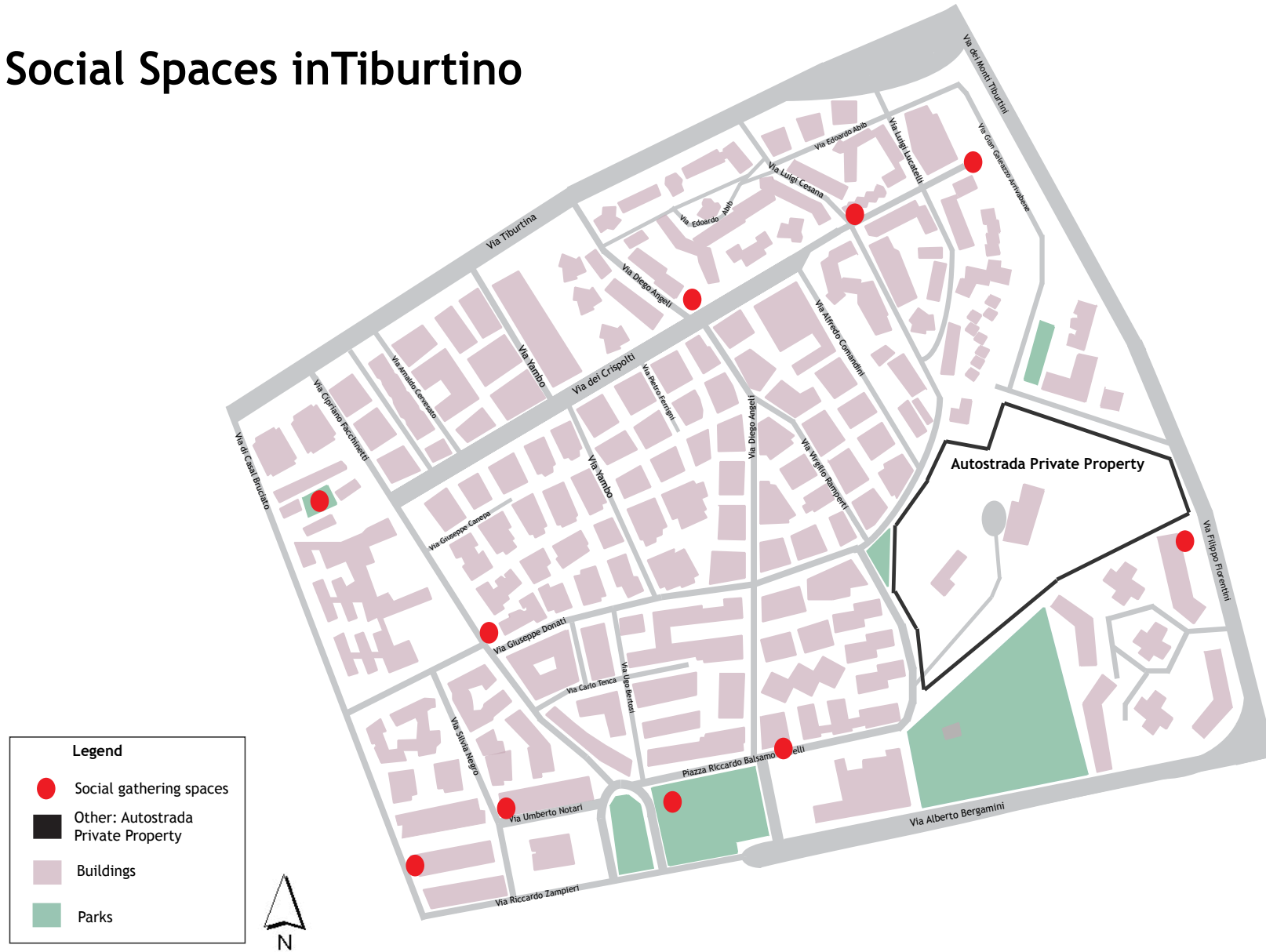


Figure 1.14 Social spaces in Tiburtino

Social gathering in Tiburtino commonly occurs in green spaces, retail areas, street corners, and courtyards of residential buildings (Yoon 2009).

into the bars at the corners of V. Angeli at V. Crispolti and V. Donati at V. Angeli. In the park at the end of V. Crispolti we consistently observed a few people besides the older men, but not in any large numbers. Most of these people were seen just walking their dogs.

Many people were observed on a regular basis strolling and loitering along V. Tiburtina in the afternoons. Further south, at the bus mall on Pza. Crivelli, we observed clusters of older men who were gathered around picnic tables in a pavilion covered with communist graffiti. They were seen playing table games and talking loudly, occasionally waving hello to acquaintances who passed by. Interestingly, we saw a non-white woman cleaning the balcony of one of the apartment buildings overlooking the piazza, but it was unclear whether or not she lived there.

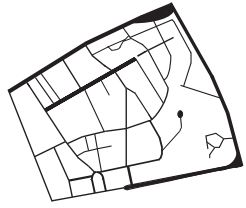
The grounds of La Cacciarella appeared to be a focal point for social activity in the neighborhood (Figure 1.15). During one observation period in the afternoon of March 9th, a wide range of age groups was observed at the cooperative. About five elderly women were gathered on the benches, parents with small children occupied the playground, and high school aged youth were grouped near the entrance on V. Facchinetti. High school aged students were also observed congregating outside the Istituto Alberghieri professional school.

In the southeast corner of Tiburtino, areas of heightened human activity centered on the open air market, the pizzeria on Via Raffaele Calzini, and the Bet Shop on V. Angeli. People also gathered in the large park next to the Autostrade complex, particularly on Sunday afternoon. Most of the people who congregated by the open-air market were older women, while younger, professionally dressed adults seemed to prefer the pizzeria. Young and old Italian men were also noted to frequent the “Bet Shop.”



Figure 1.15 La Cacciarella social cooperative

The grounds of the cooperative act as an important social node for the neighborhood, used by residents of multiple age groups (Yoon 2009).



5. Streetscape

Street and Sidewalk Types and their Condition

Walking into the neighborhood, one of the first things we noticed was the area's streets and sidewalks. Overall, their condition was good, clean, and well-maintained, though there were spots that showed some wear and other places in which pedestrian travel was made difficult. Unlike the streets of the Centro Storico, which are usually paved with cobblestones and devoid of sidewalks, all of the streets in this newer neighborhood are made of asphalt and include sidewalks on either side, with the exception of the private driveways in the northwest section of the neighborhood. Also, due to the massive amount of street parking, cars often protrude over the curb, making the sidewalks much narrower than their average five to six feet width.

Some notable exceptions to the overall quality of the neighborhood streets and sidewalks were located on V. Bruciato, V. Tiburtina, and

Via Arnaldo Cervesato. On V. Bruciato, which also happens to be one of the widest and most heavily used streets in the neighborhood, paving cracks and irregularities were very noticeable, though not to the point that they interfered with normal use of the street. V. Tiburtina, the northern boundary of the neighborhood, was in good repair, though the sidewalk between Via Luigi Lucatelli and V. Angeli was very worn. Apart from being uncomfortably narrow (three feet in width) and dirty, large cracks and rough patches made that stretch of sidewalk very uneven and almost hazardous. V. Cervesato was similarly narrow, again making pedestrian travel difficult, though it was not nearly as worn as the stretch on V. Tiburtina.

Within the neighborhood, there was a mix of one and two-way streets, determined by the amount of permissible parking and the traffic flows on nearby roads. For instance, V. Lucatelli is a northbound one-way street, funneling traffic from the busy V. Donati towards the arterial Via Tiburtina on the periphery of the neighborhood. Conversely, Via Alfredo Comandini is one-

way heading the opposite direction, with delineated parking spots for nearby buildings on either side. Construction sites also contributed to restricted traffic flow. On V. Casal Bruciato and V. Crispolti, construction sites took up a significant portion of the street and made it narrower than it would be otherwise.

Cleanliness and Greenery

Contributing to the overall cleanliness and pleasant appearance of neighborhood streets and public spaces was the provision of waste receptacles and the presence of trees and shrubbery. In total, for an area of 32 hectares, we counted 206 dumpsters and recycling bins, an average of 8.24 per street, a number which appears quite large for an area of that size. The sidewalks of major roads in the neighborhood, such as V. Crispolti, V. Calzini, V. Angeli, and V. Bruciato, were also lined with trees (Figure 1.16), though many were without leaves because of the season of observation. Neighborhood residents appeared to take great pride in their gardens and courtyards; their citrus trees, shrubbery, and flowers often spilled over the fences and walls, contributing further to the green appearance of neighborhood streets.

Parking



Figure 1.16 Street trees

Street trees line the west side of Via di Casal Bruciato (Yoon 2009).



Figure 1.17 Parking on Via dei Crispolti

A double row of diagonally parked cars line the middle of this street in addition to curbside parking (Yoon 2009).

Finally, one of the biggest issues in the neighborhood and one that contributes significantly to the appearance of Tiburtino's streetscapes is parking. Despite numerous local bus stops, the bus terminal in Pza. Crivelli, and metro stations within walking distance, many residents in the neighborhood appear to own at least one car, judging by the multitude we observed throughout the area. On every street, parked cars lined the curb, either informally parallel-parked or in delineated, diagonal spots, with few free spaces seen.

Additionally, V. Crispolti acts as an informal parking lot with a median of diagonally parked cars in addition to curbside parking (Figure 1.17). Developers of the newer buildings near V. Angeli and in the eastern half of the neighborhood seem to have addressed this problem in part by including private underground parking garages (Figure 1.18) within the developments, although some can be paid for on an hourly basis, with the prime examples being those on Via Virgilio Ramperti. Parking lots could also be seen around public



Figure 1.18 Underground parking

Downward sloping driveways leading to underground parking spaces can be seen throughout the neighborhood (Yoon 2009).

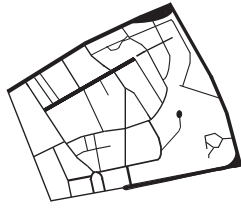


Figure 1.19 Aboverground parking

An elevated parking structure serves the Villa Fassini condominium complex (Buller 2009).

buildings like the secondary school Istituto Alberghieri and along V. Tiburtina, but were relatively few in number. The neighborhood was also seen to have an above-ground parking garage for the Villa Fassini condominium complex, a structure none of us had seen in Rome prior to surveying Tiburtino (Figure 1.19).

Officials appear to be attempting to tackle this problem by creating more delineated parking spots along certain streets, like V. Tiburtina and V. Comandini, and by commencing construction of an underground parking garage on V. Crispolti. Yet the large presence of parked vehicles still remains during this time of observation. Although the parked cars do not necessarily create a serious blight in the neighborhood, they do make its streets look somewhat cluttered to the outside observer and certainly contribute to the city's traffic and pollution problems.



6. Community Resources

Churches and Community Center

Tiburtino has a number of public spaces, resources, and facilities within its borders to serve the needs of the community. One of the primary examples, and one of the neighborhood's landmarks, is the church of Santa Maria della Visitazione located on V. Crispolti. Constructed in a very modernist style different from most of the churches in the city's center, Santa Maria has space enough to seat a large congregation within the church itself, as well as some general-purpose spaces in the rooms behind. Judging by the letters and advertisements posted on the bulletin board in the church's vestibule, Santa Maria also seems to be a focal point for the community and a gathering point as well.

Just south of the church on V. Cesana is a neighborhood community center. In our observations, we were not able to determine exactly what services it offers to the community, nor did we see any residents enter or leave the facility. However, we do know that it was founded and is funded by the city of Rome and has a small staff

on the premises. In the basement of the center is a gym, though it appears to be a private facility only open to members. Behind the fence at the rear of the center, on the corner of V. Cesana and V. Comandini, is an open green area and portico with tables and chairs, though they were never seen being used, and a pair of other buildings that resemble storage facilities.

In addition to the community center building, the neighborhood is served by the community association for the citizens of V. Angeli and the local Partito Democratico office, both of which have meeting spaces on the east side of V. Angeli.

Schools

In addition to the community center and church, Tiburtino also has a number of schools and a daycare center within its boundaries. In the southwest quarter of the neighborhood stands the community's lone Asilo daycare center on Via Umberto Notari, just off of Pza.



Figure 1.20 Middle school

Tiburtino contains many public schools including this middle school along Via Cipriano Facchinetti (Yoon 2009).

Crivelli. We could not initially determine the function of the Asilo building because of the shabby and uninviting appearance of its façade and grounds. Just north of the daycare center, on V. Facchinetti, stands a large yellow building that houses a public middle school (Figure 1.20), as well as the Istituto Professionale IV Alberghiero, a District IV public high school leading to a vocational qualification for graduates (Figure 1.21). Farther east, along V. Fiorentini, are an elementary and middle school. It was unknown to us whether or not these were private schools, but the elementary school appeared to be better maintained than its counterpart. Finally, just to the west of this complex is one additional middle school, which stands on V. Bergamini.

Parks and Green Spaces

Besides having a number of schools and public indoor facilities, Tiburtino also has a number of parks and open spaces. In the far northeastern corner of the neighborhood is the community's



Figure 1.21 Professional high school

The Istituto Alberghiero offers professional training for public high school students (Yoon 2009).

largest park, squeezed between the backs of apartment buildings and V. Fiorentini. At its north end is a small playground and pavilion alongside a promenade, which continues to run south along Via Gian Galeazzo Arrivabene to the nearby school complex. This pleasant pedestrian walkway includes many benches for people to enjoy the shade of its tall trees and a pair of drinking fountains to refresh visitors.

In the southeastern area of the neighborhood is another large park, just north of V. Bergamini. Taking up the area between V. Spellanzon and Via Mario Borsa, it has a playground, a dirt soccer field, a raised dance floor (which was also being used for soccer when observed), an open green space with benches and trashcans, and a commercial structure complete with a snack bar, dining space, and public restrooms (Figure 1.22). One peculiar element of this park were six gated structures, about eight feet in height, with stairs to a basement level, and another six lower structures surrounded by hedges, about four feet high, with partial openings in their ceilings to an underground road. We hypothesized that this could be an underground corridor linking the nearby Autostrada office building on V. Bergamini to the Autostrade compound off of



Figure 1.22 Parks and green spaces

Green spaces exist in a few places throughout the neighborhood, including this park near the Autostrade property (Buller 2009).

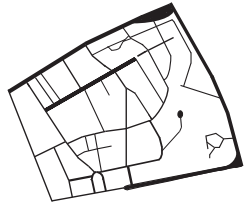
V. Donati. Another small, gated park is also located in this area, on the corner of V. Calzini and V. Donati.

Two more open spaces in the neighborhood are Pza. Crivelli on the southern edge of the neighborhood and La Cacciarella on its western edge (Figure 1.23). Pza. Crivelli, which is also the location of the area's major bus mall, contains a large, grass lawn in its western section, serving as a gathering point for the neighborhood. La Cacciarella, just north of the Istituto Alberghiero, is a social cooperative which serves a similar function. The cooperative is complete with the restaurant La Cacciarella, a pizzeria, a bar, a party space available by reservation, and a small park area complete with a playground.



Figure 1.23 La Cacciarella social cooperative

The cooperative contains a green space and other amenities used by residents (Yoon 2009).



7. Buildings

Tiburtino contains a diverse range of buildings, varying in public/private, residential/commercial, and construction date (see Figure 1.24 for a map of buildings by age per sezione). The conditions of buildings facades in the neighborhood were observed to be in generally good condition, with clean exteriors and large balconies. However, some portions of the neighborhood, such as blocks in the southwest quarter, had building facades of lesser quality, with slightly worn paint and medium amounts of surface decoration. Standout poor facades were seen on certain buildings in the neighborhood, most notably on the gray INA-Casa towers of Via dei Crispolti 19A. Figure 1.26 depicts the building façade conditions throughout the neighborhood, as well as examples of good, fair, and poor conditions.

INA-Casa Housing

As aforementioned, the northeast corner of Tiburtino is home to one of the first INA-Casa housing projects in Italy, constructed

after the 1949 legislation (Figure 1.25). As such, the buildings in this area have similar design characteristics and layouts that are distinct from those in the rest of the neighborhood. The INA-Casa buildings are typically four to six stories in height, with stucco facades painted in various earth tone colors. Built to be affordable, few of the units have balconies although many of the ground floor units have private gardens or patios at their entrances. Laid out in a more informal, rural-inspired pattern, they incorporate separate, one story retail blocks within their midst and do not adhere to a grid. The buildings on V. Arbib, for example, are arranged as if around a town square, with a small retail center and plaza in the middle. Residents or landlords have kept them in good condition and the buildings did not look like worn-down social housing.

Two anomalies to the pattern in this area, and in the neighborhood as a whole, are the apartment block at the corner of V. Crispolti and V. Lucatelli and the row of row of townhouses on the corner of V. Crispolti and V. Cesana. The latter is a public housing project, dating perhaps to the late 1970's or early 1980's, consisting of two separate, six-story towers finished in white stucco. They were

of higher quality than their earlier INA-Casa counterparts, and it appeared as though each unit got its own balcony. The ground floor of the project is taken up by commercial space, primarily the Fiat dealership on the northern side facing V. Tiburtina. The townhouses, on the other hand, were built up on a platform, with apartments underneath. This interesting building block consists

of thirteen two-story town houses and the same number of apartments below. They are slightly younger than the surrounding buildings, dating to perhaps the 1960s, and were finished in a stucco façade similar to the INA-Casa buildings in the area.

Later Developments

In the southeastern portion of the neighborhood, the apartment complexes are constructed of brick and range in height from six to nine stories, with 30 to 40 units in each building, each with a balcony. The three buildings that comprise the Villa Fassini condominium complex, the newest buildings in Tiburtino, deviate from the norm with a height of nine stories and a total of 48 units. Commercial spaces were usually located on the street level of these buildings, rather than in their own, separate structures. Building façades here had been generally well maintained, although this may be due to the fact that they were constructed more recently. In this area, the balconies facing the streets had less laundry hanging on them, instead having only plants, and the units in Villa Fassini (Figure 1.27) had no laundry on their balconies, perhaps a sign that the people living there own clothes dryers.

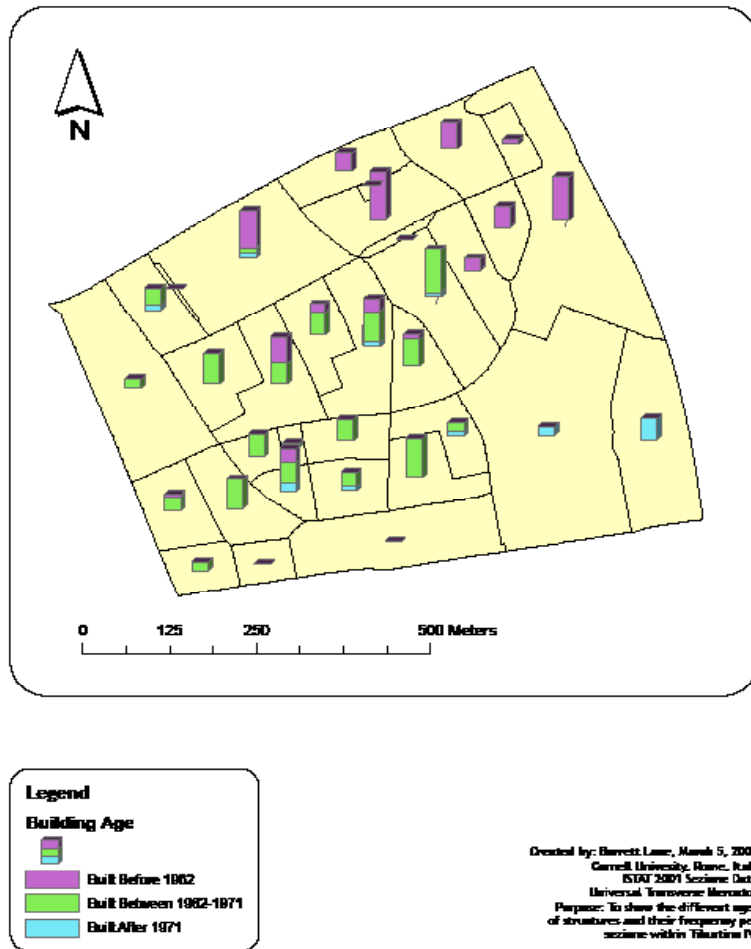


Figure 1.24 Frequency of structures by age per sezione in Tiburtino IV, 2001

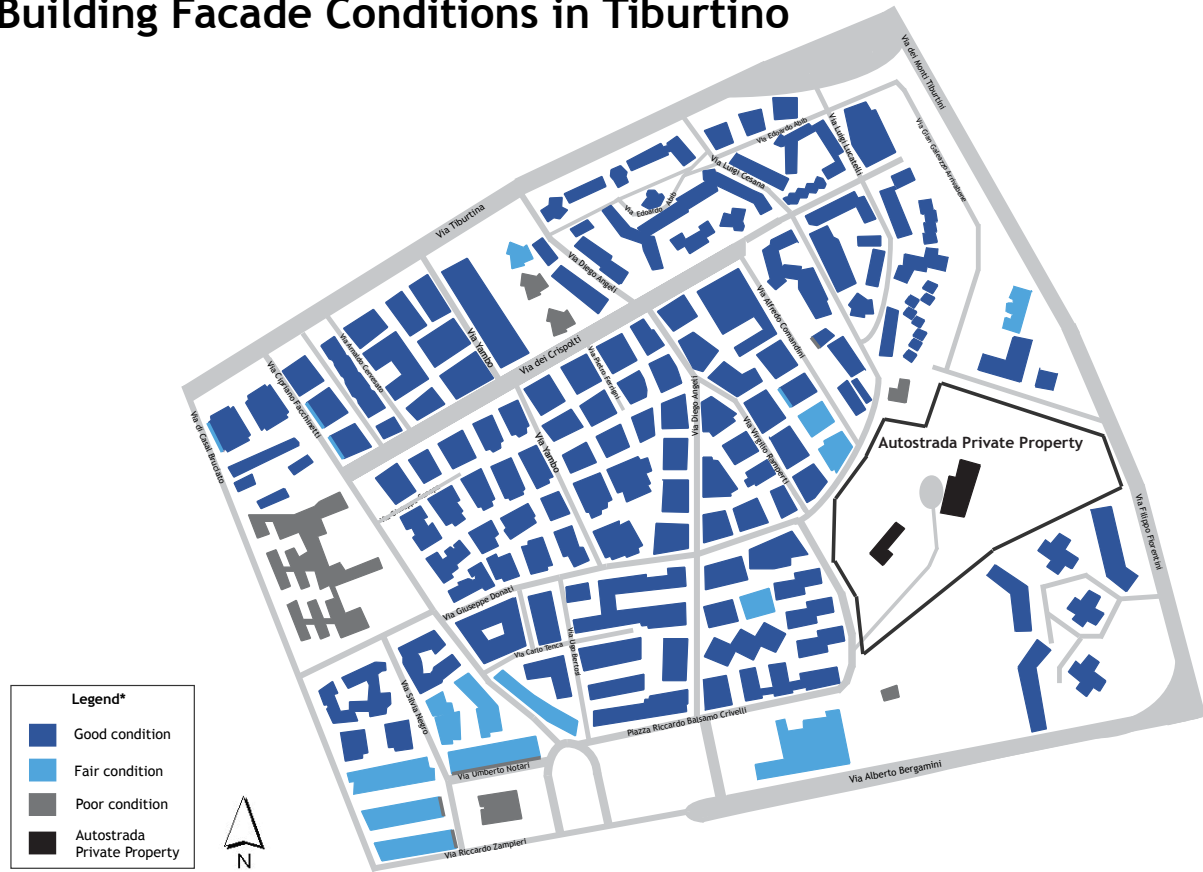
Older structures are concentrated in the northeast quadrant while newer buildings are in the southeast and southwest (Lane 2009).



Figure 1.25 INA-Casa housing

Tiburtino contains much public housing built after the 1949 INA-Casa legislation (LaBerge 2009).

Building Facade Conditions in Tiburtino



*see examples of of Good, Fair and Poor building facade conditions



Good: Clean exterior / Large balconies / Paint in good condition



Fair: Clean exterior, possibly some street level graffiti / Medium balconies / Paint slightly worn



Poor: Dirty exterior, possibly some street level graffiti / Smaller balconies / Worn and peeling paint

Figure 1.26 Building facade conditions in Tiburtino

Building facades are generally in good condition throughout the neighborhood, with a few exceptions (Yoon 2009).

The buildings in the western half of the neighborhood were also of a similar age and condition to those of the southeastern section, with some exceptions. For instance, some of the buildings in the northwest quarter appear to have been constructed in the postwar period along with the INA-Casa developments. They stand seven stories tall and have the irregular layouts and well-maintained stucco facades of their eastern counterparts. An exception in this area are the INA-Casa towers at Via dei Crispolti 19A, which visibly showed their age through peeling paint and a dingy appearance.

Most of the residential buildings in the western half, however, are rectangular brick structures, light to dark brown in color, standing five to six stories in height. They are mostly residential with street-level commercial space, though a few one-story commercial buildings are scattered around, particularly along Via Tiburtina. The facades of these newer buildings contained many balconies and were in generally good condition, though the Istituto Alberghieri school building on Via Cipriano Facchinetti had areas



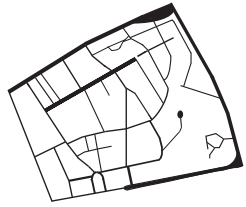
Figure 1.27 Villa Fassini
Villa Fassini is one of the later developments in Tiburtino (Buller 2009).

of peeling paint on the façade and was covered in graffiti art, some of it related to the culinary themes of the school (Figure 1.27).

One important thing to note about the balconies in the neighborhood was the presence of satellite dishes, plants, and furniture. Many of the balconies around Tiburtino had one of these amenities, which could possibly point to higher income and leisure time.



Figure 1.28 Istituto Alberghieri graffiti
Much of the graffiti on the school buildings is related to the hospitality/ culinary training (Yoon 2009).



8. Access

A striking aspect of the neighborhood in our observations was the issue of access to space, both private and public (see Figure 1.29 for a map of inaccessibility in Tiburtino).

Access to Residences

Unlike the Centro Storico, where only certain palazzi and government buildings are closed to the public, almost every building and space in Tiburtino has a fence or wall surrounding it, and usually a gate controlling access. This was most evident around residential buildings and complexes. In the older INA-Casa development in the northeastern corner of the neighborhood, nearly all of the units on the ground floor of the row houses had their own small garden, courtyard or patio in front of the doorway, closed off to the public by a fence or stone wall. The gates to these spaces were almost always closed and locked, possibly as a means of greater security for the apartments.

In the newer areas of neighborhood, where the buildings were built in distinct rows enclosing a central space or courtyard, all of the open spaces between buildings were fenced off, with gates either for parking spaces or entryways. Here the gates tended to be open occasionally, probably because many of the apartment buildings shared one common entryway. Additionally, some of the more high end apartments had their own porters or doormen. However, all of the added security around the perimeter gave the various building complexes the feeling of being fortresses unto themselves.

Access to Public Spaces

We found it surprising that many of the public spaces and facilities had their own walls and fences. For example, La Cacciarella, though used as a public space by local residents, was surrounded by a wall

Inaccessibility in Tiburtino

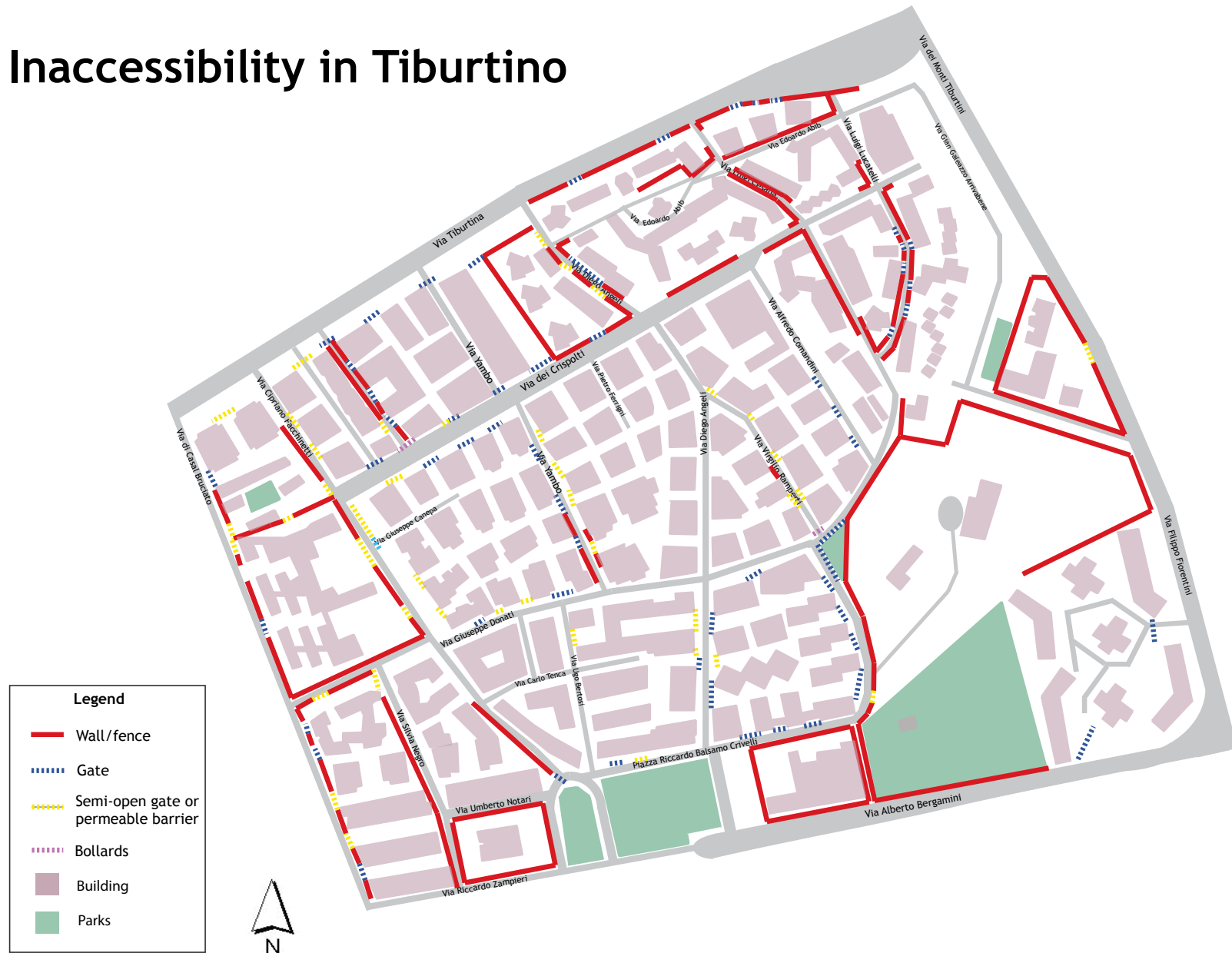


Figure 1.29 Inaccessibility in Tiburtino

Gates, walls, and fences create a segmented and privatized atmosphere in the neighborhood (Yoon 2009).

on all sides. Open gates in the wall are located on V. Facchinetti and V. Bruciato, but during the initial street survey it was passed by as a gated, private area until later explored as a semi-public space. Similarly, all of the schools in the southeastern section of the neighborhood are enclosed by a 4-foot high fence atop a 3-foot high wall. The large park nearby had similar forms of enclosure, and the smaller park with the playground on the corner of V. Calzini and V. Donati had a lockable gate and 5-foot high fence.

Private Streets and Complexes

There are also a number of private streets and large private areas, such as the private Autostrade office complex, which further add to the segmented and guarded atmosphere of Tiburtino. The Autostrade complex in the southwest corner of the neighborhood is surrounded by an 8- to 10-foot high wall, topped in some places with pointed ironwork and/or glass shards for extra protection. In

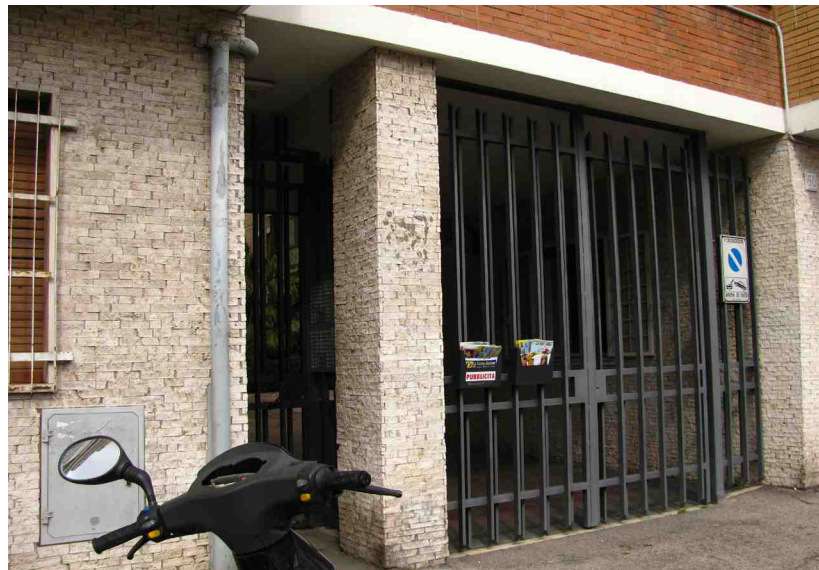


Figure 1.30 Gated complex
Gated residential and other complexes are present throughout the neighborhood (Buller 2009).

other areas of the neighborhood, a number of streets and residential units were closed off with bollards and gates, or marked as private by signage (Figure 1.30). V. Cervesato, for example, was barricaded by bollards at its southern end, keeping cars from V. Crispolti from turning onto the street, and with a gate at its other end along V. Tiburtina. Access to this street seemed to be for residents of the block only, although pedestrian access was still possible (Figure 1.31). Nearby, Via Yambo, between V. Crispolti and V. Tiburtina, divides into two parts, one of which was a similarly gated private area. That private section of the road descends to a lower level adjacent to a Unicredit Bank branch on the ground floor of a large residential building (Figure 1.32). Finally, Via Giuseppe Canepa, an east-west street accessible from V. Facchinetti, was marked with a sign designating it as private property. Use of the street seemed to be restricted to residents of the adjacent apartment buildings only (Figure 1.33).



Figure 1.31 Partially blocked street
Bollard block car access on Via Arnaldo Cervesato (Yoon 2009).



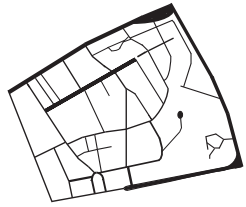
Figure 1.32 Gated street

Gates separate Via Yambo into public street and private Unicredit Bank driveway (Yoon 2009).



Figure 1.33 Private street

Signs denote private streets for resident-only access (Yoon 2009).



9. Conclusion

Overall, Tiburtino has developed well beyond its original footprints in the Rome periphery and has grown immensely over the past fifty years. The neighborhood, which was once dominated by public housing for the lower-class, seems to have become increasingly more affluent due to modern condominium construction, upward mobility, and, we believe, Italian-style gentrification. Local shops and services cater to an upper-middle-class clientele, while residential buildings still loom overhead as reminders of the neighborhood's affordable housing beginnings. Despite the signs of a more middle to upper class populace, there appear to be pockets of Tiburtino that have yet to show signs of a gentrification process.

Parking and transportation also appear to be salient issues. Multitudes of cars and few spaces to park lead to crowded streets: often overflowing with double-parked cars and suffering from virtually no curb-to-street frontage. With the Metro only accessible by crossing the busy V. Tiburtina, users of public

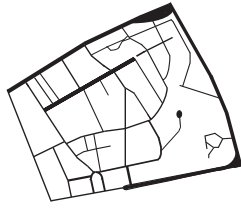
transportation seem to rely mostly on the several bus lines that connect the neighborhood to the rest of the city, many of which run infrequently. Tiburtino lacks a vital fixed-transit connection to the rest of Rome, as its car-friendly design only exacerbates the parking shortage problem. Currently, there are projects underway that will add more parking spots in the neighborhood, but for now parking remains at a premium.

Finally, Tiburtino still awaits the development of a unified sense of community. The neighborhood does have spaces where residents tend to gather, either in designated public spaces or informal spaces on streets and outside retail shops. However, the strong division of public and private space within the neighborhood works to prevent the community from wholly coming together, especially in terms of uniting the middle and upper classes with the lower classes. The lack of well-planned and accessible public spaces only exacerbates this problem and leaves the neighborhood segmented and disoriented. Thus, there is a need for effective and

well-designed public spaces to facilitate community gathering and interaction across all portions of Tiburtino. Such interactions may serve to unify the residents, bettering a neighborhood that seems to be improving and moving toward the future.

Part II

Cognitive Map Exercise



1. Introduction and Methodology

“At every instant, there is more than the eye can see, more than the ear can hear, a setting or view waiting to be explored. Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences.”

Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 1

Introduction

As Kevin Lynch asserts in his famous book, *The Image of the City*, our daily experiences are greatly influenced by the visual form of our urban environment. The ways in which we go about our daily lives, how and where we interact with our surroundings and neighbors, where we go and how we get there are all shaped, in part, by our individual image of the city. We are constantly interpreting our environment, making choices of movement and creating a mental picture of the city. As Lynch discusses, this process of interpretation and analysis involves more than what is

built in concrete, glass, and stone, but also what is moving and constantly changing: the people and their activities. Though we may not always be aware of it ourselves, we are an integral part of this public image of the city. The types of things we do, where we do them, and who is involved all play a part in our evaluation of the city and that of our fellow citizens and visitors.

For the first part of this semester’s project, our group conducted a visual survey of the built environment of our neighborhood, Tiburtino IV (Tiburtino). Using methods laid out by Allan Jacobs in *Looking at Cities*, we observed and collected data on the neighborhood in a street-by-street survey. This approach gave us a better understanding of the physical makeup of the neighborhood and its built qualities. We ended this process with an idea of the neighborhood’s visual form as seen in the field, but we were still missing input from that crucial element described by Lynch: the citizens.

During this latest investigation of Tiburtino, we obtained this

input by conducting a series of interviews and cognitive mapping exercises based on Lynch. Interviews were held with selected members of the community as well as with random encounters in previously identified meeting points within the neighborhood. Asking these interviewees a series of questions and recording their comments and answers, we were able to learn how they defined and viewed the neighborhood, its perceived strengths and weaknesses, historical factors influencing their opinions, and their image of its visual form. Their answers were rich with personal anecdotes and tangential information, deepening our understanding of Tiburtino. Compiling these interviews has given us better knowledge of the neighborhood's public image and the history that makes it what it is today.

Methodology

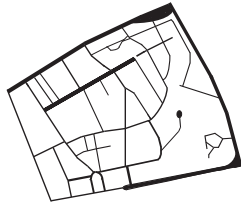
In *Image of the City*, Kevin Lynch presents a series of maps depicting the visual form of various areas of Los Angeles, Boston, and Jersey City. Using simple symbols and notation, Lynch delineates important routes of travel ("paths"), focal points of movement and activity ("nodes"), boundaries and borders ("edges"), distinctive areas of common character ("districts"), and physical objects of point-reference ("landmarks") (Lynch 1960, 47-8). Together these elements provide a picture of the spatial relationships within cities, as well as the human interpretation, or reading, of these elements. Following Lynch's model we began the second phase of our neighborhood study by conducting a similar cognitive mapping exercise of Tiburtino based upon previous impressions and survey observations.

After mapping the visual form as seen in our field observations, we conducted a series of citizen interviews, engaging residents in creating cognitive maps of the neighborhood. Along with a series of interview questions, we took street outline maps into the field to record the markings and comments of interviewees. This data collection allowed us to compare our cognitive map as seen in the field with the mental image of residents. Because many residents

were uncomfortable drawing a map, we often derived their image of the neighborhood from the interview conversation.

The interview questions covered topics of neighborhood characteristics, elements of the visual form, and perceptions of change over time. Additionally, we identified a set of key issues based on earlier observations, for which we composed questions to gather further information. These questions focused on green space, security, community identity, housing, and gentrification. Please see the interview questionnaire in Appendix 1. While we structured our conversations around these interview questions, personal anecdotes and interviewee concerns directed the flow of the interviews. We also found it important to collect basic information about the interviewees themselves, clues which aided our understanding of their individual perspectives.

In many of our interviews, Gilda Berutti and Carlotta Fioretti acted as translators, instrumental in our collection of valuable information. Conversations were recorded as notes in the field and later digitized, reviewed and summarized according to the most common themes and elements discussed by all interviewees. Many interviews resulted in a discussion of similar themes and visual elements. Therefore, pertinent comments and perspectives from individual interviews have been compiled according to topics for the purposes of this study. Similarly, cognitive maps derived from interviews reflect a compilation of conversations and maps generated in the field, while conspicuously different images have been recorded as separate visual forms.



2. Image of Tiburtino: Cognitive Map Derived from Survey Observations

“Coincidences of description, of vividness, even of confusion where familiarity would seem to indicate knowledge, make this clear. It is on this relation between image and physical form that our interest centers.”

Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 16

Assumptions and Limitations

Our conception of Tiburtino IV was largely influenced by the initial assignment of street surveys, bounded within an area determined by the professor and teaching staff of CRP 4160. The name of the neighborhood was assumed to be Tiburtino IV and the neighborhood streets were surveyed only within the boundaries of Via Tiburtina to the north, Via di Casal Bruciato to the west, Via Alberto Bergamini to the south and Via Filippo Fiorentini to the east. The experience of surveying streets within these assumed boundaries influenced our perception of edges,

based not on physical realities but on our mentally assigned edges of responsibility. Upon reevaluation of the neighborhood through the paradigm of image, many of the pre-designated boundaries were found to be valid edges in the field.

Upon receiving our neighborhood assignment, we divided the neighborhood into four quarters (northwest, northeast, southwest and southeast) to efficiently survey the area. This division of labor has influenced our perception of the visual form, perhaps causing us to exaggerate particular paths and edges. Additionally, the relative importance of the visual elements may be skewed as each of our narrow perspectives combine.

All of our time spent in the neighborhood has been on foot. As a result, our image of Tiburtino is predominantly a pedestrian one, with subsequent effects on what we consider to be the features of the neighborhood. While our experiences have been pedestrian,

we have taken care to consider car traffic and transportation hubs in the neighborhood. We assume that these measures are adequate to map the visual form of the neighborhood.

Our experiences in the area during evenings and weekends are few and cursory, insufficient to determine the visual form of the neighborhood. Therefore, our cognitive map is limited, based primarily on an image of Tiburtino derived from observations during our daytime studio hours.

Lacking the local knowledge that a long-time resident has accumulated, our perception of Tiburtino's visual elements are limited to that of a newcomer. However, we have acutely observed the neighborhood, hopefully gleaned enough information to assume that our image of the neighborhood is similar to that of residents. Figure 2.2 depicts our cognitive map of Tiburtino based on street surveys and observations in the field.

Visual Elements

Paths

In his influential work *The Image of the City*, Kevin Lynch describes paths as “the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves” (Lynch 1960, 47). With this definition, we identified two paths which constitute major elements in the neighborhood: Via Diego Angeli and V. Bergamini. V. Angeli is a major path bisecting the neighborhood from V. Tiburtina to V. Bergamini. It was a major path traversed by all four observers on our team as well as a path frequently used by motorized traffic and pedestrians. Additionally, V. Angeli hosts many street-level commercial uses, increasing its importance as a path for everyday shopping. In regards to its directional-quality, the street is a one-way northbound street, serving as a connector for the neighborhood to V. Tiburtina.



Figure 2.1 Major path

The view facing west on the major path Via Alberto Bergamini (Buller 2009).

Another major path, V. Bergamini (Figure 2.1) runs east-west at the southern boundary of our surveyed neighborhood area. One-way westbound for the stretch of the road west of V. Angeli and two-way along its eastern portion, the street is heavily trafficked by motorized vehicles as well as pedestrians. V. Bergamini is significant in connecting the neighborhood to major arterials such as Via dei Monti Tiburtini and the tangenziale, Strada dei Parchi A24. A function that increases the importance of this major path is the open-air market located south of V. Bergamini.

The minor paths identified in Tiburtino are Via Cipriano Fachinetti between Via Giuseppe Donati and Piazza Riaccardo Balsamo Crivelli, Via Luigi Cesana and the pedestrian path connecting Pza. Crivelli to the open-air market south of V. Bergamini.

V. Fachinetti is a one-way southbound path serving motorized vehicles as well as pedestrians on its sidewalks. The portion of the street between V. Donati and Pza. Crivelli is a minor path in

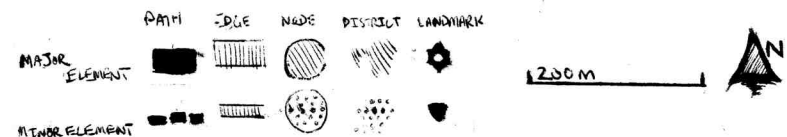
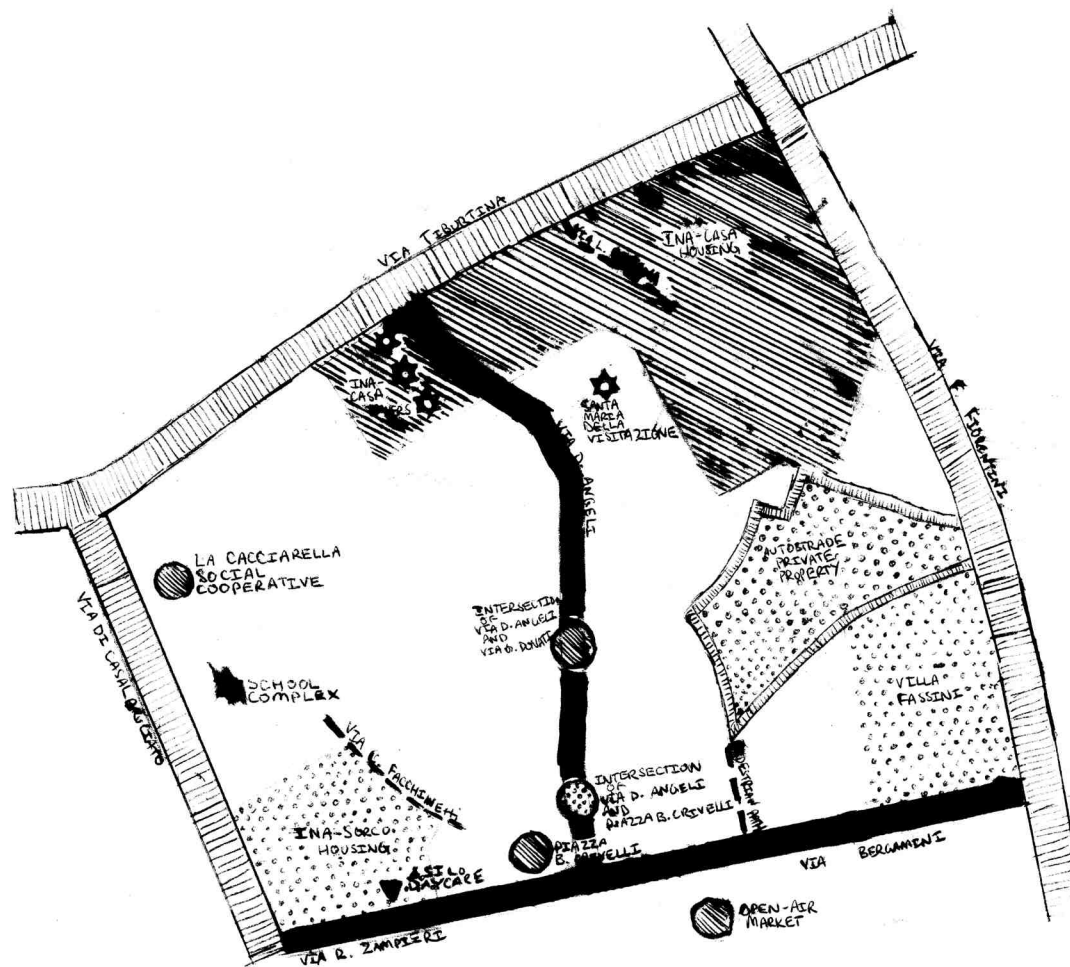


Figure 2.1 Neighborhood image from group's perspective
 The visual form of Tiburtino as derived from observations in the field (Lane 2009).



Figure 2.3 Minor path

Via Cipriano Facchinetti connects La Cacciarella social cooperative and the school complex to Piazza Crivelli (Lane 2009).

the visual form of the neighborhood, connecting people from La Cacciarella social cooperative and the school complex to the transportation hub and park space of Piazza Crivelli (Figure 2.3).

V. Cesana is lightly used by motorized vehicles, but seems to be a significant path in the local knowledge of residents in the nearby INA-Casa residential complex. Connecting these residents to the major arterial V. Tiburtina, V. Cesana is a minor element in the neighborhood's visual form. Near the large area of Autostrade private property, there is a pedestrian path connecting Pza. Crivelli



Figure 2.4 Major edge

Via dei Monti Tiburtini presents a difficult crossing and acts as an edge to the neighborhood (Buller 2009).

to the open-air market. Servicing many pedestrians heading to the market or into the neighborhood, this small path is an important local road but a minor element in Tiburtino's visual image.

Edges

Most of our boundaries of survey observation act as edges of the neighborhood. With their heavy motorized traffic and difficulty of crossing, V. Tiburtina and V. Monti Tiburtini are major edges of the neighborhood (Figure 2.4). Via di Casal Bruciato is also a major edge, acting as a boundary between two kinds of areas (Lynch 1960, 62): unused open space to the west and built neighborhood to the east.

Minor edges in Tiburtino surround the Autostrade private property. A wall surrounding the Autostrade property defines



Figure 2.5 Minor edge

The wall surrounding the Autostrade private property separates private, employee space from the rest of the neighborhood (Buller 2009).

the edge between neighborhood and private property solely for Autostrade employees (Figure 2.5). Although we bounded our survey area of the neighborhood with V. Bergamini to the south, we decided that the boundary was one that we artificially imposed and not a physically existing edge. South of this street lies the open-air market as well as additional residential complexes, land uses that seemed like part of the neighborhood rather than a different area separated by an edge.

Districts

Tiburtino contains many districts of some common, identifying character that we imagine entering inside of (Lynch 1960, 66). The large INA-Casa district has a strong common character and acts as a major element in the neighborhood's image. The district is highly residential, comprised of public housing complexes



Figure 2.6 Major district

The area of INA-Casa housing development constitutes a major district of common characteristic in Tiburtino (Buller 2009).

constructed after the INA-Casa housing initiative of 1949 (Kirk 2005, 157). Tranquil and in mostly good condition, the district has a unified character rooted in its history as the first nucleus of the developing area around V. Tiburtina (Figure 2.6).

Another area of public housing constructed during the 1970s constitutes a minor district in Tiburtino. The area of INA-Sarco housing from the 1970s forms a distinct district in the southwest corner of the neighborhood. A common character in this area is one of poorly maintained buildings and a perception of low-income, public housing tenants. This perception was reinforced when we witnessed the eviction of a family on April 2, 2009, further branding the area as a poor, struggling district (Figure 2.7)

Bounded by fencing, the Autostrade private property is a minor district in the neighborhood. Characterized by inaccessibility and a highly private atmosphere, this area is a recognizable district that we were prohibited from entering into (Figure 2.8).



Figure 2.7 Eviction in INA-Sarco

An eviction on April 2nd, 2009 reinforced our perception of this minor district of poor, struggling character (Lane 2009).

South of the Autostrade district is a distinct area of relatively new and upscale housing, called Villa Fassini. This minor district is unified by the common character of well-kept building facades and perceived higher income, compared to the neighborhood as a whole. The residential complexes appear to be constructed more recently than other areas of Tiburtino and the apartments are serviced by the only above ground parking structure observed in the neighborhood. Thus this newer construction constitutes a minor district (Figure 2.9).

Nodes

Tiburtino contains many “strategic foci” that act as hubs of activity or junctions of paths (Lynch 1960, 72). These nodes occur at intersections of streets as well as built places, creating points that can be entered by an observer. The green park space of La Caciarella and Pza. Crivelli are major nodes in the neighborhood, serving as meeting points and socializing spaces. The node at Pza.

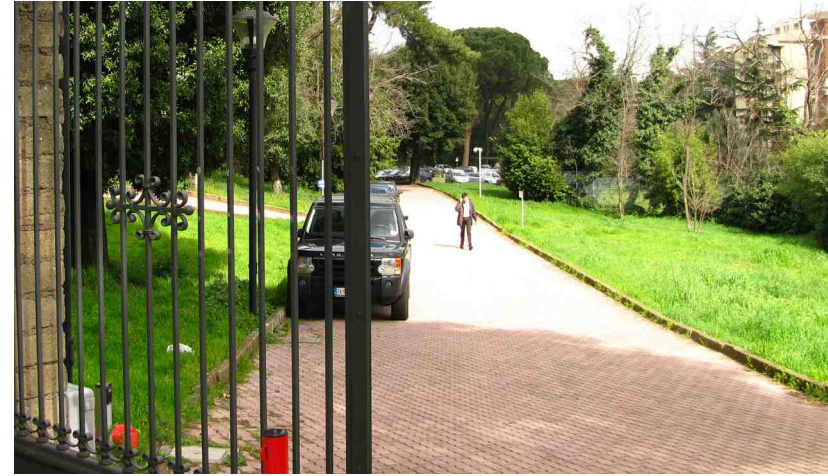


Figure 2.8 Minor district

The minor district of the Autostrade property has a highly privatized characteristic (Buller 2009).



Figure 2.9 Newer construction in Villa Fassini

The unifying physical appearance of Villa Fassini renders it a minor district (Buller 2009).

Crivelli is further significant due to the nearby transportation hub where many bus lines converge. The open-air market south of V. Bergamini is a major node where locals shop, meet and socialize (Figure 2.10). Another major node occurs at the intersection of V.



Figure 2.10 Major node

The open-air market south of Via Alberto Bergamini is a hub of activity and movement (Buller 2009).

Angeli and V. Donati, where pedestrians and vehicles frequently converge. Located in the center of the surveyed neighborhood area, this major node is a point where much pedestrian and vehicular traffic passes through. Another intersection, V. Angeli at Pza. Crivelli, is a minor node moderately trafficked by vehicles and pedestrians headed to the parkspace at the piazza.

Landmarks

Distinct from the surrounding urban landscape, landmarks in Tiburtino act as point references for locals and were important to the wayfinding systems of our group members. The striking INA-Casa towers in the north of the neighborhood (Figure 2.11), the irregularly shaped cement church in the northeast, and the large yellow high school and middle school complex in the northwest are the major landmarks in Tiburtino. The distinct physical characteristics of these buildings and their singularity in the streetscape make these landmarks major elements in the visual form.



Figure 2.11 Major landmark

The striking INA-Casa towers are a major landmark in the neighborhood, useful in our group's wayfinding systems (Buller 2009).

Landmarks comprising minor elements in the neighborhood are the daycare facility in Piazza Crivelli called Asilo and the Benetton park south of the Autostrade district. Asilo is a distinct landmark due to its large scale, occupying an entire block, as well as its poor physical condition and completely enclosing fencing. The park, owned by Autostrade investor Benetton, is singular against its backdrop; the park is the break in the wall that completely surrounds the Autostrade complex (Figure 2.12).

Strengths and Weaknesses of Tiburtino's Image

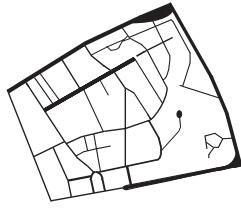
Using these considerations of the neighborhood image and the elements laid out in Lynch's *The Image of the City*, we



Figure 2.12 Minor landmark

The green space of the Benetton-owned park is singular against its fenced, urban landscape (Buller 2009).

developed the cognitive map of Tiburtino seen in Figure 2.2. The neighborhood appears strong in landmarks that aid in wayfinding and navigation and seems to contain many strong nodes for traffic and social gathering. However, there are many ways in which the neighborhood's image is unclear or weak. The neighborhood seems to have an east-west divide, lacking strong east-west paths in the center of the neighborhood. The edges that separate Tiburtino from the rest of the city are strong on the west, north and east boundary, but weak or unclear in the south; we are left uncertain of the southern boundary of the neighborhood. Some districts in Tiburtino were identified: INA-Casa, INA-Sarco, Autostrade private property, and Villa Fassini. Yet much of the neighborhood appears blank on the map, unable to be classified as a district due to a lack of any common, identifying character. This lack of district identity and sense of entering space hinders an observer's understanding of movement through the neighborhood, weakening the image of Tiburtino.



3. Images and Issues: Interviews with Locals

“To understand the role of the environmental images in our own urban lives, it is necessary for us...to talk with inhabitants.”

Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 14

Profiles of Interviewees

Simone

Interviewed on the morning of March 30th, 2009, Simone is a male high school student attending the Istituto Alberghieri professional school. As our first interviewee, Simone surprised us by referring to the neighborhood as Casal Bruciato rather than Tiburtino. Subsequent interviewees also used this name. A resident living near Piazza Riccardo Balsamo Crivelli, Simone informed us about the neighborhood character, its major paths, and its significant places. He described his activities in Casal Bruciato with his friends as well as the neighborhood’s reputation, problems, and changes over time.

Stefania

Our interview with Stefania (Figure 2.13) on March 30th, 2009, was scheduled through an initial contact meeting by Professors Berrutti and Fioretti. Stefania works for the pizzeria of La Cacciarella social cooperative and is involved in advancing community development and reclaiming green spaces. Over our hour long interview in La Cacciarella, Stefania revealed to be deeply knowledgeable of the speculative history of Casal Bruciato and the current struggles with the town council to restore currently abandoned open spaces of former farms. Stefania felt strongly the need for more space would reduce the current social isolation of the elderly, drug usage, and pollution that harmfully characterizes the neighborhood.

Laura

On March 30th, 2009 at the end of our interview with Stefania, we were approached by an elderly woman named Laura (Figure



Figure 2.13 Stefania
Stefania, an employee of La Cacciarella social cooperative (Lane 2009).



Figure 2.14 Laura
Laura, a resident of Casal Bruciato for 40 years (Lane 2009).



Figure 2.15 Emilio and Claudia
A young, English speaking couple encountered in La Cacciarella (Lane 2009).

2.14), a resident of Casal Bruciato for 40 years. Informed that we were conducting a study of the neighborhood, she adamantly asked to be interviewed and eagerly contributed her comments. Due to her limited time, we asked her for her impressions of the neighborhood and its defining characteristics. Though we could not interview her at length, her enthusiasm and extremely positive descriptions were insightful.

Emilio and Claudia

Emilio and Claudia (Figure 2.15) are a young couple living in Casal Bruciato: white, English-speaking, and in their late 20s. Encountered in the park of La Cacciarella, they mentioned that the neighborhood has improved over time, particularly in the cooperative and around the public spaces. Emilio, a lifelong resident of the neighborhood, was valuable in explaining to us the neighborhood boundaries, landmarks, and defining characteristics.

Anna Rita

Anna Rita was found playing with her young son in La Cacciarella on March 30th, 2009 when she agreed to a brief interview. While not a resident of Casal Bruciato, she frequented the cooperative often for her son to use the playground. The interview focused on the positives and negatives of raising a family within the larger area of Tiburtino. Anna Rita chose to return to Portonaccio, a nearby neighborhood, with her children due to close proximity of schools and work. She noted a distinct lack of such benefits within Casal Bruciato, in addition to increased health problems from pollution.

Focus group of senior men

Following numerous observations of older men congregating in the makeshift INA-Casa park on the corner of V. Crispolti and Via Giuseppe Donati, these men became the obvious selection for our focus group interview (Figure 2.16). Arranged by CRP 4160 teaching staff and translated by Gilda Berutti, the interview began around 11:00am on April 2, 2009, extending for almost two hours until the men usually leave for lunch. About ten men spent time sharing their impressions; however there was a vocal core of four men who stayed until the conclusion. All of our interviewees had moved into the neighborhood from the 1950s through the 1970s. While not all lived directly in the INA-Casa housing, there was a notable district pride and identity.

Wojciech

Wojciech, a British businessman, was interviewed on April 2nd, 2009 on the north side of Pza. Crivelli. Waiting for a meeting at the Autostrade office, he was passing the time on a bench. Speaking to us in English, his first impressions of the neighborhood were negative and his perception informed us of the blight in the visual form.



Figure 2.16 Focus group

A focus group of senior men were interviewed near the INA-Casa housing development (Buller 2009).

Three teenagers in Piazza

Angelo, Sara, and Davide are three teenagers who live in and nearby Casal Bruciato. Age 16, 18, and 16 respectively, these three white teenagers offered a youth perspective on the neighborhood. Encountered in the playground of Pza. Crivelli on the afternoon of April 2nd, 2009, they informed us of significant places in Casal Bruciato and their positive outlook on recent neighborhood changes. They noted that the nearby middle school makes Casal Bruciato “prestigious”, that the park in Pza. Crivelli is the most significant part of the neighborhood, and that all the neighborhood lacks is adequate nightlife. Though their ventures outside of the neighborhood are few, their main route is Metro B from Via dei Monti Tiburtini.

ELIS students

On the afternoon of April 2nd, 2009 we encountered a large group



Figure 2.17 ELIS students

A group of graduate students not residing in Casal Bruciato were encountered in Piazza Riccardo Balsamo Crivelli (Lane 2009).

of college graduate students (Figure 2.17) in Pza. Crivelli. Students of the Education, Labor, Instruction, Sport (ELIS) nongovernment organization, they were passing their lunch hour in the piazza. Conducted in English, the interview provided valuable insight into the image of Casal Bruciato to a nonresident. Although they did not reside in the area, they were aware of the neighborhood's name. Their image of the neighborhood seemed to be concentrated around Pza. Crivelli and the area of the ELIS school, and they noted many negative characteristics in Casal Bruciato.

Andrea Valentini

Andrea Valentini is a 23-year-old white male living in Casal Bruciato near the Autostrade office towers (Figure 2.18). Having lived in the neighborhood his entire life, this interesting character proved to be extremely knowledgeable about the local history and the surrounding environment. He agreed that overall, the neighborhood has been improving, especially when the city



Figure 2.18 Andrea Valentini

Andrea Valentini, a lifelong resident of Casal Bruciato, points out his home (Lane 2009).

redeveloped Pza. Crivelli into the current park it is today. He feels that the neighborhood derives a lot of its character from the mix of different types of buildings: public housing, private housing, formal commercial, and informal commercial. He expressed much resentment of the Autostrade corporation, constantly acknowledging the wasted space next to the highway by his home. This interview gave us an extremely detailed picture of the visual form of Casal Bruciato, as perceived by one individual.

Neighborhood Identity

Name

Upon receiving our neighborhood assignment, our group has been calling the study area Tiburtino IV, or Tiburtino for short. Going into the interview process, we believed that neighborhood

residents would identify it the same way. However, during all of our conversations with interviewees in the neighborhood, the area was referred to as Casal Bruciato. According to Stefania, the name relates to the area's pre-World War II history as farmlands, "Casale."

During our conversation with a focus group of elderly men in the INA-Casa park, we were first told by one enthusiastic man that the neighborhood was called INA-Casa. After he repeatedly exclaimed "INA-Casa!" with pride, some of the other men informed us that the neighborhood we were in was Casal Bruciato and that Tiburtino IV does not exist as we thought it did. The area they called Casal Bruciato was also referred to as Tiburtino II. Although it was not entirely unexpected that community members may identify their neighborhood differently than we did, it provided us with another example of the strong connection to history not just in the city but in the neighborhood as well.



Figure 2.19 Tiburtino initial boundaries
Red lines indicate what we initially viewed as the boundaries of Tiburtino (LaBerge 2009).

Boundaries

As we expected going into our interviews, community members identified the borders of their neighborhood differently than those we subscribed to at the beginning of the project (Figure 2.19). Similar to our definitions of the neighborhood's boundaries, all of the community members we interviewed identified V. Tiburtina as the northern edge, Via Filippo Fiorentini as the eastern edge and V. Bruciato as the western edge. However, interviewees told us that the neighborhood did not end at Via Alberto Bergamini, but was bounded on its southern edge by the tangenziale, Strada dei Parchi A24 (Figure 2.20). Thus their definitions included



Figure 2.20 Casal Bruciato boundaries
Neighborhood boundaries indicated by most interviewees (LaBerge 2009).



Figure 2.21 Emilio and Claudia's boundaries
 Neighborhood boundaries indicated by Emilio and Claudia (LaBerge 2009).

the open-air market, residential buildings south of V. Alberto Bergamini, and more open space in the south.

One exception to these boundaries were those given by Emilio and Claudia (Figure 2.21). This couple located the neighborhood by first finding the railroad tracks, then bounded the neighborhood by V. Tiburtina on the north, V. Monti Tiburtini on the west, V. Alberto Bergamini on the south, and Via dei Ciuniacensi to the west. This definition of the Casal Bruciato neighborhood included more abandoned, open space to the west of V. Bruciato. In fact, looking at the Casal Bruciato neighborhood on a map, the edges indicated by interviewees more logically isolate the area within

distinct geographical boundaries: major streets and open space.

INA-Casa Identity

During a focus group comprised of elderly male residents of the original INA-Casa housing projects as well as from the nearby private residential development, we discovered the strong identity of the INA-Casa area. Held in a converted park in the INA-Casa complex at V. Angeli and V. Crispolti, the focus group made it apparent to us that the members from this part of the neighborhood have their own distinctive identity and sense of place, separate from the rest of Casal Bruciato.

The members of the group had a deep affection to the development, many of them having lived there for over 40 years since the opening of the public housing. These men felt a stronger association with the INA-Casa developments and residents than with the wider area of the Casal Bruciato neighborhood. When asked what neighborhood they were in, one man, Italo, proudly proclaimed, "I am from INA-Casa!" His primary identification was with the small area of INA-Casa housing rather than with the larger level neighborhood, Casal Brucatio. Members of the focus group seemed to know many people that passed by the park during our conversation. They seemed better connected and informed about affairs in the area of the INA-Casa development than in other parts of the neighborhood.

Weak neighborhood identity

According to members of the focus group, Casal Bruciato lacks a strong overall identity across the whole neighborhood. Many people relocated to the INA-Casa development from its inception, such as some of the men in the focus group, share a common history and a strong identity. They expressed that young people settling in the newer areas of Casal Bruciato have not cultivated connections to their neighbors and the community as a whole. As

a result, the sense of community and collective identity in Casal Bruciato has suffered, a weakness we perceived in our initial observations and neighborhood survey.

Neighborhood Characteristics

When asked to describe the main characteristics of their neighborhood or describe it in a few words, many interviewees had similar responses. One common description of Casal Bruciato was that it is a quiet and tranquil place to live. It was described this way by Simone as well as by the focus group of elderly men in the INA-Casa district. Simone also described the neighborhood as “characteristic” and “particular”, perhaps indicating a hint of local pride in a unique neighborhood identity. These responses seemed rather neutral. Descriptions like “tranquil” and “peaceful” were often preceded by silence in considering the question and then a shrug before the rather passive response.

One woman interviewed in La Cacciarella was extremely enthusiastic and passionate in her response. Upon seeing our group interviewing two people in the park, an elderly woman named Laura approached us to contribute her opinions. A resident of the Casal Bruciato neighborhood for 40 years, when asked for a few words describing the neighborhood she ardently replied, “Tutto bene!” meaning “Everything is good!” When prompted, she added that there were more good people than bad in the neighborhood. Her eager attitude and passionate response demonstrated her very positive view of the neighborhood.

In contrast, interviews conducted at Pza. Crivelli with a foreign businessman and college graduate students of ELIS demonstrated a more negative view. Wojciech, a middle-aged businessman from England, was encountered in Pza. Crivelli as he was passing the time before a meeting at the Autostrade office. When asked about his first impressions of the neighborhood's main characteristics, he responded, “It seems a little dirty. They should clean up the

graffiti.” A large group of graduate students spending their lunch hour in the park of Pza. Crivelli offered a valuable perspective of nonresidents. Students at ELIS, an educational NGO south of the piazza, described the neighborhood of Casal Bruciato as “quite poor,” “full of traffic,” and “low-income.” These interviewees held a more negative image of Casal Bruciato, perhaps the result of a sampling issue as the area around Pza. Crivelli is rather poorly maintained.

Significant Places

Several places that were discussed in interviews can be classified as landmarks or nodes, according to our Lynch classification of visual elements. Many places, such as Pza. Crivelli, were described as nodes by some and landmarks by others.

La Cacciarella was described as an important place in the neighborhood. With its interesting history as an abandoned farm converted to cooperative restaurant and neighborhood park, La Cacciarella is an important gathering place in Casal Bruciato. Acting as a pedestrian node, many people pass through the area to connect from Via Cipriano Facchinetti to V. Bruciato or to quickly have lunch during the day. The cooperative also serves an important social function, with the playground and park benches hosting gatherings of children and families, elderly residents, and students from the neighboring high-school and middle-school complex. Simone, Stefania, Emilio and Claudia, and the focus group of elderly men all seemed to describe La Cacciarella as a node. They emphasized the volume of people entering the area each day and discussed the social functions of the park.

Pza. Crivelli was mentioned by almost every interviewee as an important place in the neighborhood. Simone, the high school student, described it as a node, mentioning the convergence of bus lines and pedestrian activity as well as the piazza as a gathering place for him and his friends. The focus group of elderly men also described Pza. Crivelli as a node. Others, such as Stefania and the young couple in the cooperative, did not describe Pza. Crivelli as

a place that they went or entered into. However, they described it as a recognizable place and a good location for a monument, if the neighborhood were to build one. These comments indicate that Pza. Crivelli is also viewed as a recognizable landmark, useful for wayfinding throughout the neighborhood.

The focus group of elderly men mentioned a node on V. Angeli between V. Crispolti and Via Giuseppe Donati. They described the street as heavily used by pedestrians and a frequent site for stopping and gathering. The perception of this area as a node may be strengthened by the concentration of commercial uses at the street level of buildings lining V. Angeli.

Movement and Paths

Metro

Casal Bruciato is served by two stops along Metro B: Monti Tiburtini and Pietralata. While neither of these Metro stations is located within Casal Bruciato's boundaries, residents we interviewed were more likely to use the Pietralata stop due to its proximity to the neighborhood and larger commercial districts in the area. Future plans to construct Metro C south of the neighborhood paralleling Via Prenestina will further improve Metro access in Casal Bruciato. Overall, the Metro is not vital to residents wishing to reach the city center, but it provides the fastest means of arriving there: "With the Metro, we can reach the center, the University or Policlinico in about five to ten minutes," remarked Roberto, a resident living near INA-Casa housing and a member of the focus group held at the park.

Paths

Interviewees indicated the main paths within Casal Bruciato as V. Angeli, V. Bruciato, and V. Tiburtina. V. Angeli provides the most direct north-south access through the neighborhood,

connecting INA-Casa housing with private condominiums and the park complex in Pza. Crivelli. The men interviewed in the focus group at the INA-Casa park noted this as a very important path through the neighborhood. Furthermore, V. Angeli is lined with a healthy mix of street-level retail outlets, residential properties, and neighborhood services, offering many reasons to traverse the path.

V. Bruciato provides the neighborhood's western boundary and features a mix of social housing, light retail, and landmarks such as the high school and middle school complex and La Cacciarella. Simone, a high school student living near Pza. Crivelli, identified V. Bruciato as the most important path through the neighborhood, pointing out the connection between the street's name and the neighborhood's name. Moreover, he cited the many buses that use Casal Bruciato to exit the neighborhood, a transportation function increasing the significance of the path. Simone also explained that to reach the major arterial V. Tiburtina, many residents around Pza. Crivelli traveled north along V. Bruciato.

Finally, V. Tiburtina is unquestionably the busiest of the major paths in Casal Bruciato, acting as the neighborhood's northern boundary, main transportation artery, and main commercial strip. Interviewees matter-of-factly described V. Tiburtina as an important path. Some interviewees, such as the couple interviewed in La Cacciarella, looked surprised that we would inquire about such an obvious path. Aside from providing access towards the center of Rome, Tiburtina also connects Casal Bruciato to major nodes closer to the suburbs, such as Ponte Mammolo Station, through a multitude of bus lines that run along the street. Elderly residents of the focus group in the INA-Casa area used the street for leisurely evening and weekend walks as well as trips to the city center.

Hubs

No mention of paths and movement in Casal Bruciato is complete without mentioning the bus hub at Pza. Crivelli. The hub features

terminal stops for the lines 61 and 448, as well as service for lines 309, 449, and n23. Buses run consistently through the hub, but not very often. Elderly residents interviewed during the focus group did not express frequent use of the bus mall, but explained that they rarely find a reason to leave the Casal Bruciato neighborhood. However, Simone mentioned the convergence of bus lines when speaking about Pza. Crivelli as an important place for the neighborhood.

Open Spaces in the Neighborhood Image

Green Spaces

Through our initial observations of the neighborhood, many available green spaces were surveyed. However, many of these park spaces had restrictive features such as walls and lockable gates. These characteristics are reflective of our general impressions of the dominating presence of limited accessibility systems throughout the neighborhood. Many of our interviewees conveyed the subject of green spaces as a constant struggle in Tiburtino. Some of these struggles for protection or expansion of open areas are quite complex as on the surface level there is already much land devoted to open space, though much remains inaccessible.

Reclaiming Abandoned Farmland

Beginning with our first in-depth interview experience with Stefania, a knowledgeable and passionate member of La Cacciarella social cooperative, we learned that Tiburtino's original urban conception was structured on speculation. This speculation of land from private developers, with little governmental regulation, resulted in poor planning and placement of parks. Coupled

with weak public participation and power, the organization and improvement of the surrounding green space was consistently compromised for the physical demands of new construction.

Stefania explained that the land of the Casal Bruciato neighborhood began with agricultural land and farm structures, many of which were destroyed during World War II. Still today, many of these abandoned open spaces are council-owned and offer no additive qualities to the area. In particular, Stefania mentioned the land west of V. Bruciato and south of V. Bergamini as sites that would be valuable to reclaim as parks. Residents like Stefania, through the Radici Association and the La Cacciarella social cooperative, are advancing their goals to reclaim these underutilized and crime-breeding areas for two archeological parks (Figure 2.22).

West of V. Bruciato the proposed park is called Parco Tiburtino and south of Bergamini the park will possibly be Parco della



Figure 2.22 Unused open space

Current state of land for proposed archeological park (Radici Association, La Cacciarella 2008).

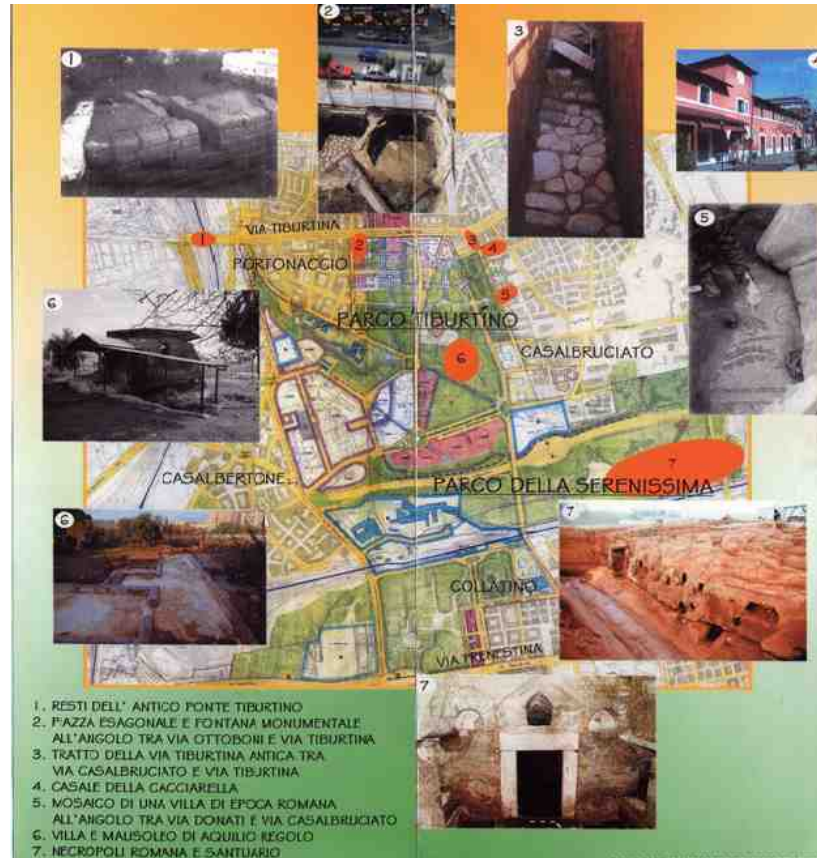


Figure 2.23 Future green spaces

Proposed sites of green space to be obtained from town council (Radici Association, La Cacciarella 2008).

Sereissima. With these two additional green spaces and numerous smaller locations, the two distinct neighborhoods of Portonaccio and Casal Bruciato would be joined through a green belt. Please see Figure 2.23, a map of future green spaces that these organizations are hoping to obtain from the town council.

La Cacciarella social cooperative is a realized example of reclaimed farm space. What began as a dilapidated, squatted farm building is now a functional social space with restaurants, galleries, and much outdoor seating (Figure 2.24). Due to its rich history and perhaps



Figure 2.24 La Cacciarella social cooperative
Reclaimed abandoned farmland at La Cacciarella (Buller 2009).

her personal involvement, Stefania emphasized La Cacciarella as an important place for the neighborhood. She described the many families that use the playground facilities, the seniors who use the outdoor seating, and the students from the nearby school complex that use the open space. Stefania seemed to describe the cooperative as a node in her image of Casal Bruciato: a space where people enter to socialize and a hub for people passing through.

Varied Perception and Differential Usage

Interviews revealed that differences in perception result in varied usage of parks. Stefania explained that the park bordering V. Bergamini on the north is owned by Ms. Benetton (of the company United Colors of Benetton), whose ties to the Autostrade industry have residents shunning this privatized public service.

During a focus group with senior men living in and nearby the

INA-Casa housing, interviewees expressed that this lack of perceived public recreational space translates to difficulties in finding an adequate location for their evening passeggiata. The men explained that they sometimes travel along V. Tiburtina or commute into the city center to walk. Both have costly drawbacks of time and pollution, respectively, but the men expressed boredom in walking around the monotonous built environment within the neighborhood boundaries.

The presence of the Autostrade complexes within the neighborhood is a topic over which many residents expressed frustration and resentment. In many interviews the Autostrade was perceived as highly self-serving and doing little to improve the quality of life for residents. Currently the Autostrade occupies a large private office complex in the southeast area of the neighborhood, as well as a large office with two accompanying ground level parking lots extending toward Strada dei Parchi. Local resident Andrea Valentini spoke angrily of the Autostrade's attempts to construct a third parking lot on currently informal green space between his apartment complex just south of Bergamini and west of Via Filippo Fiorentini and "No Man's Land," the required open space surrounding a main arterial road, such as the Strada dei Parchi (Figure 2.25). Located on the proposed parking lot site and extending into "No Man's Land" are underground catacombs and Roman ruins. Residents are attempting to convince the town council to preserve these archaeological findings, an effort serving as an obstacle to the parking lot.

Problems

A lack of adequate planning has had negative effects on the green and open spaces within Casal Bruciato. Stefania's interview highlighted the inadequate social services in the neighborhood, particularly for older residents, who seem to be isolated in a small physical area of movement. A perception of increased drug use with accompanying safety concerns also plagues the neighborhood. Further, congestion, pollution, and traffic problems are worsened with limited green space and increasing



Figure 2.25 Proposed Autostrade parking lot

Andrea Valentini points indicates an area that is the site of a proposed Autostrade parking lot (Buller 2009).

reliance on the automobile. In what seemed like an expression of a widely known fact, Stefania informed us that V. Tiburtina has one of the highest rates of pollution in all of Rome, a direct result of speculative construction and planning.

Security

Gates and Perceived Safety Threats

During our initial visit to Tiburtino IV, our group was immediately struck by the amount of security around neighborhood buildings. It was surprising to see the numerous fences, walls, and locked gates, some of which were supplemented with glass or barbed wire for greater security. Although the neighborhood did not seem like an especially affluent area, we did not get the impression that it was

particularly dangerous or threatening. Residents we observed did not look uncomfortable or cautious in their environment. Having observed this apparent disagreement between the residents' attitude and the appearance of the space, we decided to investigate this issue further during our neighborhood interviews.

Speaking with our various interviewees, we discovered that there was in a perceived need and desire for these security measures within this apparently tranquil neighborhood. According to the La Cacciarella employee, Stefania, and our focus group of elderly gentlemen, the Casal Bruciato neighborhood has a history of social unrest and violence.

In the late 1970s, squatters in neighborhood held housing riots, demanding greater provision of public housing. In the fifteen years following this event there were a number of similar occurrences over the same issue, each time causing clashes with the police and some destruction of property. These violent moments in Casal Bruciato's history, fixed in the memory of its residents, contribute to the perceived need for fences and security measures visible in the neighborhood today. The turbulent neighborhood history seems to have a strong impression on residents' image of their neighborhood, reflected in gates and fences in the visual form.

In more recent times, however, problems with drug dealing and theft have reinforced the need for added protection in Casal Bruciato. Our interviewee Stefania informed us of nearby gypsy camps, at which time she mentioned that some thefts in the area had been attributed to them. She said that neighborhood residents were careful to guard against intrusion into their courtyards and gardens, especially at night; the extra fences and gates remained in place to keep them out. A high school student, Simone, commented on the need for gates and fences to deter trespass and crime from those nearby gypsy camps.

The older men in the focus group were more reluctant to make the same statement, saying that the neighborhood was very safe and secure. They admitted that there were some problems of theft,

but were quick to attribute such problems to outsiders and "non-Italians". The men expressed concern with drug dealing and abuse in the neighborhood, an issue discussed in some length during our conversation. They stated that young non-Italian men, who did not live in the neighborhood, sold drugs at various points in the neighborhood at night. They specifically pointed out the area in front of the Santa Maria della Visitazione church as a point of drug dealing.

In discussing the image of the neighborhood and perceptions of safety, they mentioned the discovery of a body on V. Crispolti, a young man who had overdosed on drugs. This event, which occurred about one year ago, seemed to trouble them but did not affect their overall pride in Casal Bruciato as a good place to live. The men of the focus group downplayed the need for fences and protection when asked about it directly, but spoke freely about some incidents related to safety during other parts of our conversation.

Differing Opinions

Perceptions of safety in Casal Bruciato also varied among interviewees. During our first day of interviews, we spoke with one young mother, Anna Rita, who said that Pza. Crivelli was unsafe and unsuitable for small children. We had previously identified this area as a node. Interviewed in the park space of La Cacciarella where she brought her young child to play, Anna Rita also expressed reservations about walking near the high school that borders the cooperative.

A contrasting perception of safety in the neighborhood was given by Simone, a teenage student at the professional high school for hospitality training. Simone expressed that Casal Bruciato was generally a safe place and that he felt comfortable meeting anywhere with his friends, citing Pza. Crivelli as a specific gathering place. This difference in perception of Pza. Crivelli may

be attributed to the large groups of teenagers that loiter in the public space, perhaps intimidating for young mothers and other residents. While teenagers may feel comfortable anywhere in the neighborhood, their large gatherings may make other residents feel uncomfortable and unsafe in Casal Bruciato.

Other interviewees expressed a generally fair to good feeling of neighborhood safety, though they did not comment specifically on the issue of gates and crime. Their responses indicate that residents generally have a positive, safe image of Casal Bruciato, although we may have received more measured responses with longer interview times.

History and its Effects

From Ancient to INA-Casa

Like many Romans, residents of Casal Bruciato trace their neighborhood's roots back to the days of ancient Rome and the consular roads. During our longer interviews with Stefania and the focus group, this was the starting point from which they gave the neighborhood's history, beginning with the story of V. Tiburtina as a consular road. Going forward a millennium, they informed us that the area on which Casal Bruciato now stands on what was farmland on the outskirts of Rome. Following World War II, the Italian government chose the site as the location for one of the first INA-Casa developments, giving birth to the current neighborhood.

This development was built as a place for Roman citizens to be relocated into public housing, including one man in our focus group who moved at the age of 16 from Acqua Bullicante. INA-Casa was a visionary project, and members of the focus group still applaud the rent-to-own policy that allowed them to buy their current apartments.

Post-INA-Casa Development

Stefania highlighted the housing situation in the decades following the construction of the INA-Casa development. Migrants from rural areas of Central and Southern Italy began squatting on abandoned farm properties in the area. Facing expulsion by the city and poor living conditions, these illegal residents began demanding the construction of more public housing. The demonstrations led to some rioting and other violent clashes (Figure 2.26), starting in the 1970's and lasting until the early 1980's, which put pressure on the city government to develop more public housing properties, many of which make up the current neighborhood.

Newer residential developments in the neighborhood were constructed mainly by private real estate developers, including more amenities than the original INA-Casa buildings. Interviewees indicated that the newer developments do not have as strong of a resident identity as the INA-Casa development. Stefania explained that newer housing projects like INA-Sarco in the southwest of the neighborhood, which house more rural migrants than Romans, lack the rent-to-own option of INA-Casa housing. The focus group of elderly men told us that although newer constructions are bigger and include better amenities, their expense and private nature have not fostered the same sense of common identity that exists in the INA-Casa development.

According to Stefania the city has historically given preference and concessions to real estate developers working in the area, which has resulted in the neighborhood's lack of open spaces and parks. The developers of the newer buildings built them in tight blocks, isolated from the others, with their own small courtyards and little in the way of public space. This is also the reason, she said, that several open properties on the neighborhood's periphery are being held by the city for future action by developers, the primary example being the large field west of V. Bruciato. Stefania and her group of community members are attempting to gain access to this property for restoration and community use, but the city has yet to grant their requests.

Sites of 1970s Housing Riots in Casal Bruciato

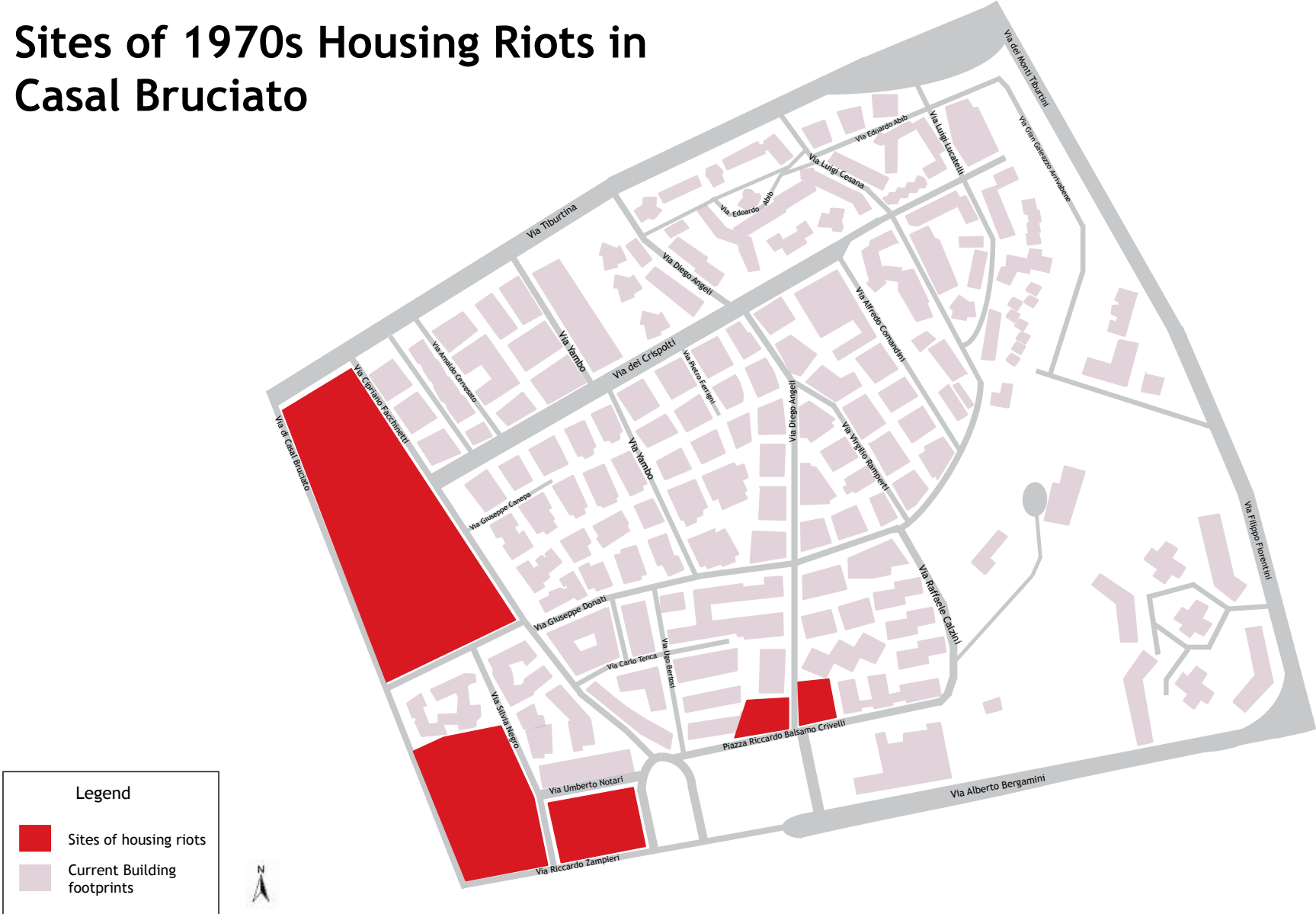
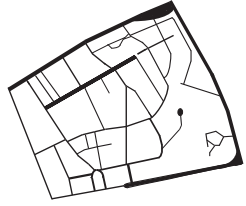


Figure 2.26 Map of 1970s housing riots in Casal Bruciato

This figure shows the sites of 1970s housing riots in the neighborhood, derived from a map drawing by Stefania (Yoon 2009).

The neighborhood's history as an area of farm lands has perhaps contributed to its evolution as a tranquil, quiet place to live. Its interesting history of INA-Casa development, riots, and more public housing seems to be fixed in the memory and identity of its residents. Interviewees reflected strong pride and a clear neighborhood image in the INA-Casa area, but a weaker identity and image in other areas of the neighborhood. This difference perhaps springs from the nature of private development in other parts of the neighborhood, lacking the noteworthy events that have tied the public housing residents together.



4. Perspectives: Casal Bruciato by Demographic

Seniors

Narrow Sphere of Activity

Seniors in Casal Bruciato seem to live their lives within a very small area of physical space. Interviewees in our focus group of elderly men rarely traveled outside of the neighborhood during the week. They informed us of the many methods of travel people used to reach the center, but said that they rarely bothered to make the trek because everything they need for daily life is right near where they live. Various retail outlets and grocery stores are located near the intersection of V. Angeli and V. Crispolti, where members of the focus group live and socialize in the makeshift INA-Casa park. Trips to other areas of the neighborhood seemed rare and trips to the city center occurred infrequently and for leisurely purpose.

The neighborhood is lacking in public spaces for seniors. Some seniors we interviewed were encountered and observed during

the afternoon in La Cacciarella social cooperative. Others, such as the men in our focus group, spent every morning and afternoon socializing in the INA-Casa park on the corner of V. Angeli and V. Crispolti. Most public and private housing developments in Casal Bruciato have private, enclosed open areas. As a result, seniors tend to cluster in open spaces close to their own homes, traveling to a limited number of public points if they choose to socialize with others outside their own housing developments.

Many of the seniors we interviewed are long-time residents of Casal Bruciato, some having lived there since the first INA-Casa houses of the 1950s. Thus, the only ties seniors have to the central areas of Rome are based upon birthplace or for leisure trips. One former resident living in a private development near the INA-Casa housing was born in Prati, located on the western side of the Tiber near the Vatican, but moved to Casal Bruciato when he was young. Today, he acknowledges Prati as his birthplace but Casal Bruciato as his hometown.

As for leisure trips, seniors infrequently travel to the center to take passeggiate or enjoy Rome's large public parks. One senior in the focus group, a former pasticceria owner, noted that some weekends he would ride his bicycle to Villa Borghese and then back to Casal Bruciato. Very rarely would he cycle around Casal Bruciato itself, due to a redundant streetscape.

Senior Nodes

Of the public senior congregation points in Casal Bruciato, the Piazza Riccardo Balsamo Crivelli complex is the quite prominent. On weekday mornings, groups of senior men gather at the many picnic tables located on the park's northwestern edge to play cards, gamble, and socialize. According to Andrea Valentini, the particular complex was designed with their intentions in mind. To start, the entire "playing ground" is covered by a roof with a slope matching that of the parcel of greenspace to the south. Next, there are a large number of picnic tables and chairs to support a large congregation of elderly men, with the table surfaces large enough to support many games of cards and other table games. Finally, the tables all have large pieces of cardboard covering the surfaces of the picnic tables. These are placed on the tables by locals to prevent game pieces (such as cards or dice) from falling through the cracks in the tables. Also, the men can write on the cardboard to keep score of games or place wagers if they choose to gamble.

Pza. Crivelli excels as a senior node because of its centrality within Casal Bruciato; it is located at the confluence of public and private housing developments. The proximity of the piazza to essential services and shops such as banks, pharmacies, and newsstands also increases its importance as a senior node.

Seniors also seem to gather in the park space of La Cacciarella social cooperative. Some of the seniors we encountered and interviewed were encountered there, including Laura, an enthusiastic woman with a positive image of the neighborhood. In addition to Laura, we observed many seniors walking near the cooperative or passing

through.

For the elderly men of the focus group, the makeshift park in the INA-Casa development is an important social node. During the focus group they explained that they and many of their friends socialize in the park every day. Additionally, many of their acquaintances passed by the park during the course of the conversation. It seems that the church Santa Maria della Visitazione, acts as a node for these same seniors, who mentioned entering the church to socialize and meet friends on rainy days.

Young Families and Children

A brief interview with a young mother, Anna Rita, and her child revealed how daily family life is dictated throughout Tiburtino. Anna Rita's boundaries for the neighborhood were much larger than our original bounds. She is currently residing in Portonaccio, the next distinctive neighborhood moving west along V. Tiburtina, towards the city center. Although she considers Tiburtino to include both Portonaccio and Casal Bruciato, differences in the quality of life are significant.

Anna Rita utilizes La Cacciarella for her son to play, yet the rest of Casal Bruciato lacks services for children. Although Casal Bruciato has one Asilo providing pre-kindergarten daycare services, the neighborhood lacks any kindergarten and has dangerous levels of traffic and pollution. The issue of safety was alluded to as she would not go to the nearby Istituto Alberghieri with her son after dark.

With increased health problems from the pollution and excessive commercial development, Anna Rita has chosen to live in Portonaccio instead. However, she expressed that the reputation for the two combined areas is on the rise and this has led to slight increases in housing prices. For future plans, Anna Rita wishes to remain in Portonaccio because of the walking distance to both

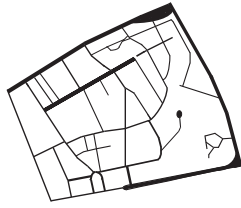
work and school options.

It seems that for young families and children, La Cacciarella is an important node. Children utilize the playground and families were frequently observed passing through the area. Other than this public space, Casal Bruciato lacks nodes for families with young children.

Students

Based on interviews, it seems that students in Casal Bruciato tend to cluster at two different nodes: Pza. Crivelli and in the La Cacciarella social cooperative. In Pza. Crivelli we interviewed a group of 3 teenagers, who said that they liked hanging out at the park, although they did not gather there at night. A group of graduate students attending ELIS, located south of the piazza, were also encountered in Pza. Crivelli during their lunch break. The piazza seems to be an important node because of its open, public space as well as its proximity to a middle school and the ELIS center.

La Cacciarella social cooperative is also an important node for students. Many students from the neighboring Istituto Alberghieri were observed socializing in the cooperative and one student, Simone, was interviewed there. He cited the open space in the cooperative as a place where many of his classmates loitered or passed through as a shortcut between Via di Casal Bruciato and Via Cipriano Facchinetti. One difference between the node of La Cacciarella and that of Pza. Crivelli is that students passing through La Cacciarella are no older than high-school aged, whereas Pza. Crivelli also attracts a college and graduate student crowd.



5. Image of Casal Bruciato: Cognitive Maps Derived from Interviews

"We are constantly engaged in the attempt to organize our surroundings, to structure and identify them."
Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 90

Based upon statements directly recorded from interviews as well as information allowing us to presume the perceived visual elements, we have generated three cognitive maps from the residents' perspective. The first is from a compilation of all interviews, depicting the overall image of Casal Bruciato. The next is the visual form of the neighborhood as seen by one interviewee who gave a detailed account of Casal Bruciato's image. The last is derived from the focus group of elderly men, who seemed to have a collective perspective on the neighborhood distinct from the rest of the neighborhood. See Figure 2.27 for street outlines of the neighborhood.

General Resident Cognitive Map Features

Presented in this cognitive map are the overarching impressions of the Tiburtino neighborhood gathered from our resident interviews (Figure 2.28). Generated from a compilation of interview conversations, this map largely draws from the in-depth interviews with Stefania, the focus group of senior men, and the young resident Andrea Valentini. Many of the minor interviews also provided information on important landmarks, nodes, and paths in the neighborhood.

Paths

Major paths of movement through the neighborhood include V. Tiburtina along the northern boundary, V. Angeli, the north-south bisecting road of the neighborhood, and Via di Casal Bruciato, a street heavily serviced by public transportation connecting Piazza Crivelli to V. Tiburtina.

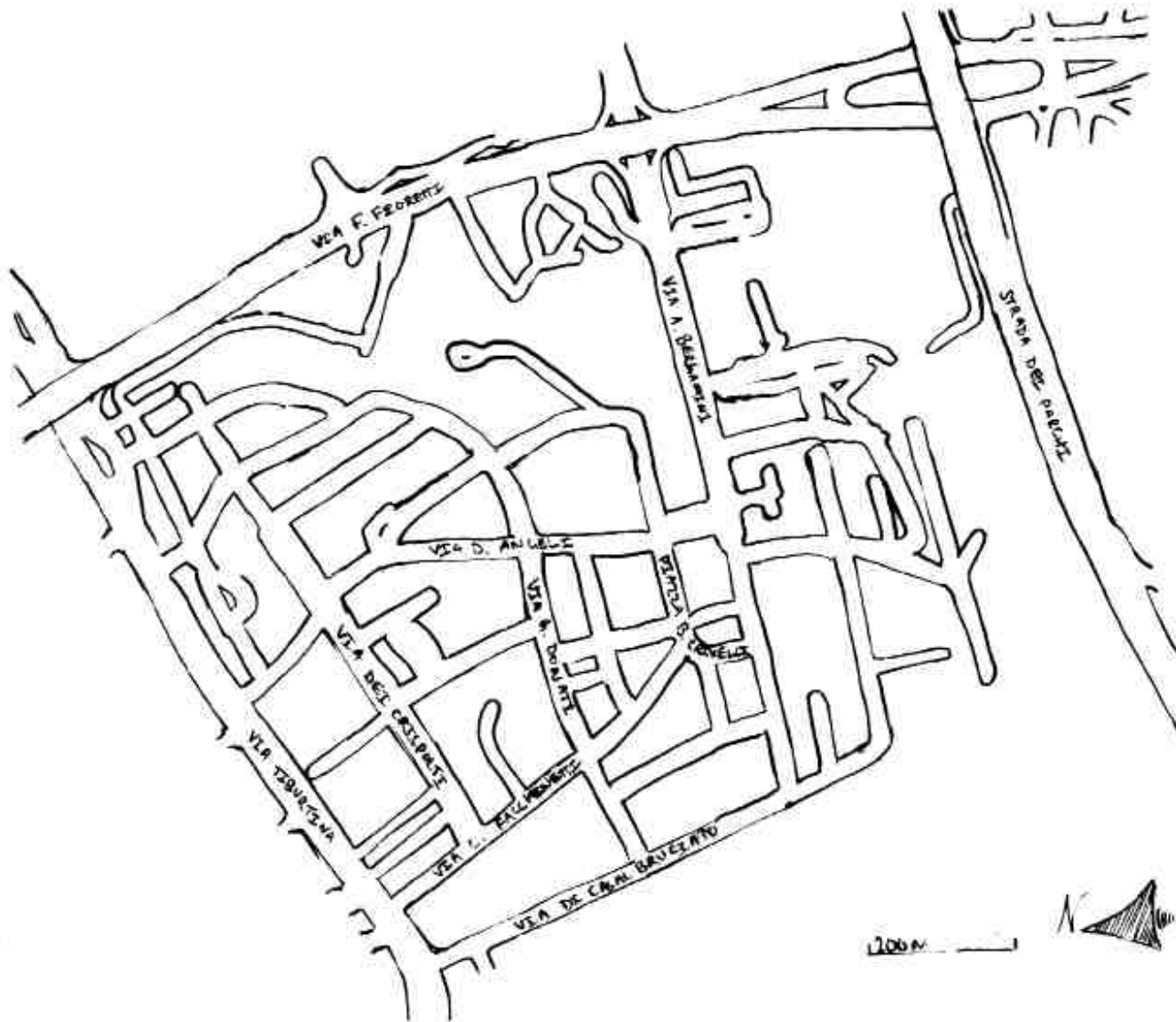


Figure 2.27 Street outlines

This figure depicts the major streets in the area drawn in interviewee's cognitive maps (Lane 2009).

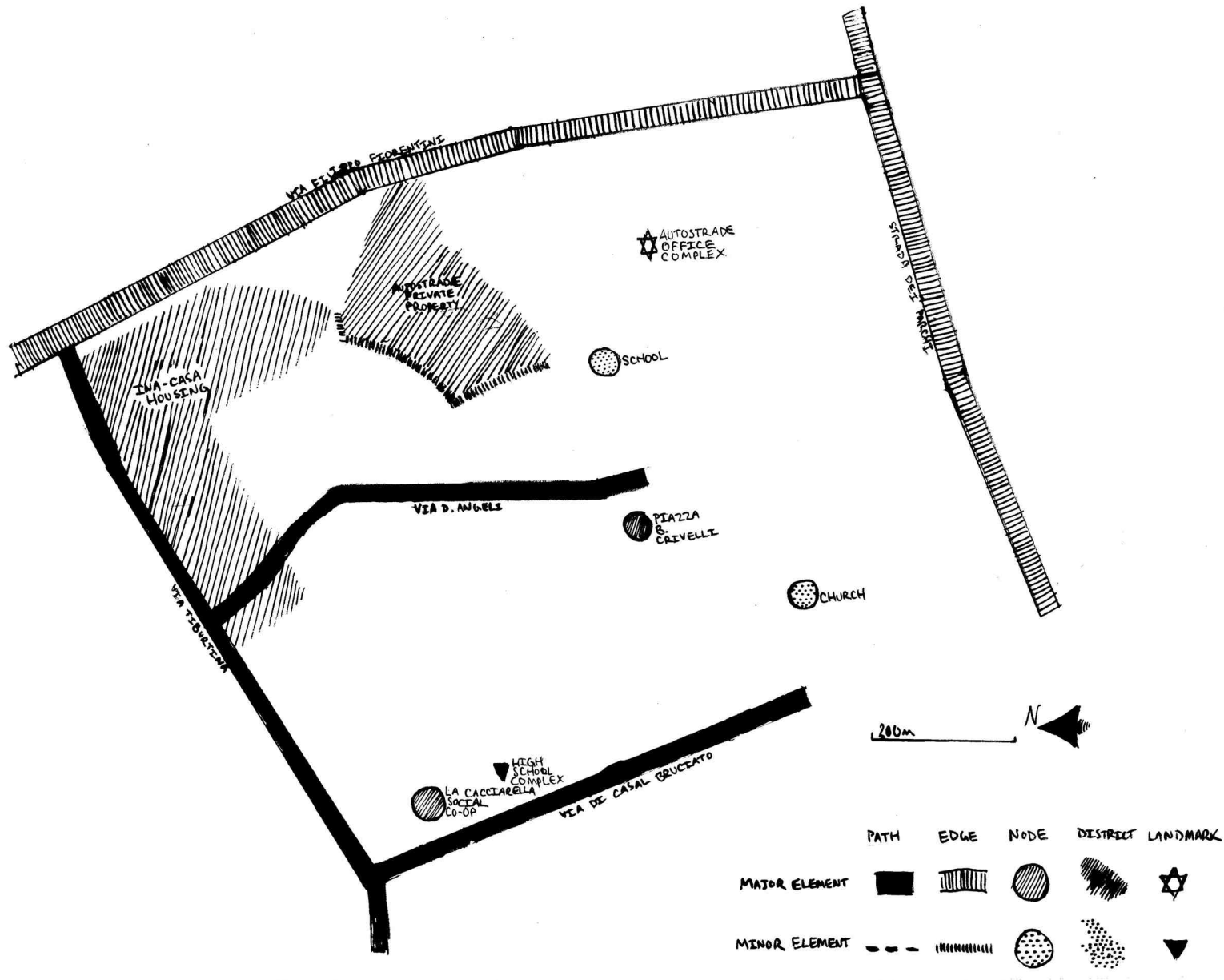


Figure 2.28 General resident cognitive map

The visual form of Casal Bruciato derived from a compilation of resident interviews (Lane 2009).

Edges

The southern and eastern bounds of Casal Bruciato were seen as edges by all interviewees. Via Filippo Fiorentini and the Strada dei Parchi are major edges due to their heavy auto traffic causing a barrier to movement. Additionally, the edges separate the residential buildings of Casal Bruciato from distinct physical structures and open space on the other side. A minor edge is the wall surrounding the private Autostrade office park constructed from Via Giuseppe Donati south along Via Raffaele Calzini. This edge separates a private, inaccessible area from the residential buildings and public streets of the neighborhood.

Major nodes for Tiburtino were identified as La Cacciarella social cooperative and Piazza Crivelli. La Cacciarella, including a park, café, restaurant, event space, and outdoor seating as well as Piazza Crivelli, with both a park space and gathering space, are major nodes for social gathering and activity. Additionally, they are heavily trafficked by pedestrians, with many people passing through on a daily basis. More minor nodal elements consist of the ELIS Church, and the school directly east of Piazza Crivelli.

Districts

The only two major districts that were consistently mentioned by interviewees were the INA-Casa housing district and the private property of the Autostrade Office Complex. Besides these two distinct areas of common character, and a few mentions of Villa Fassini apartment complex, in the southeast corner, the area lacks other distinct districts.

Landmarks

The major landmark perceived by the interviewees is the vast, architecturally noteworthy Autostrade office building, located along Via Alberto Bergamini. A minor landmark is labeled for the

Istituto Alberghieri, an irregularly shaped, yellow school complex occupying a large area. These landmarks, singular from their surrounding urban environment, are noteworthy point-references in the neighborhood of Casal Bruciato.

Andrea Valentini Cognitive Map Features

This cognitive map shows Andrea Valentini's view of Casal Bruciato. It is noticeably different from the other maps, concentrating on the south side of the neighborhood below Piazza Crivelli. The map (Figure 2.29) was drawn based upon a walking tour led by Valentini, as well as a large-scale cognitive map that he drew.

Paths

Major paths are less dominant on this map. Only two exist: the entire length of Via Alberto Bergamini as it runs west from Via Filippo Fiorentini past Piazza Crivelli (where it changes its name to Via Riccardo Zampieri) and terminates at Via Casal Bruciato, and the bus terminal within the Piazza itself. Minor paths include Via Cirpiano Facchinetti as it runs northwest from the Piazza to Via Giuseppe Donati (not shown on the map), and a footpath that runs west from Facchinetti, paralleling Bergamini by going behind the Autostrade complex.

Edges

The major edges neatly enclose the entirety of Casal Bruciato. To the north is V. Tiburtina, the south is the Strada dei Parchi (which Valentini refers to as the "Autopista Roma-L'Aquila"), the east is Facchinetti, and the west is Via di Casal Bruciato, with the edge extending past the street's end to Parchi. As for minor edges, only one exists, running parallel to Parchi and separating the "No Man's Land" from the rest of Casal Bruciato.

Nodes

Valentini identifies five nodes within Casal Bruciato. In terms of the major nodes, he acknowledges the Piazza itself, the open-air market that lies just south of Bergamini, and the social cooperative (La Cacciarella) that lies closer to the neighborhood's northwest corner. As for minor nodes, he identifies an informal garden, situated next to the minor edge on the south side of the neighborhood, as well as the supermarket (Superalvi) that faces the Piazza.

Districts

There are five districts on this particular map. The major districts lie south of Bergamini, while the minor districts are situated north of that same path. The major districts include the Autostrade office complex with current and proposed parking areas, a block of social housing projects that face the Piazza, and the ELIS complex that touches Casal Bruciato's western edge. As for the minor districts, only two exist: the INA-Sacro housing that is situated just west of the Piazza, and the large swath of private housing that takes up most of Casal Bruciato's northern area. Notice that on this map, there is no mention or recognition of the INA-Casa development in the northeast.

Landmarks

There are four landmarks on this map. Only one major landmark exists: a parking structure that lies within the social housing district south of the Piazza. In terms of minor landmarks, there are three: an informal gypsy settlement just south of the open-air market and at the western terminus of the minor path, a shrine to the Virgin Mary (noted on the map as "Madonna") that lies just west of the Piazza, and immediately to the west of that, the ASILO daycare facility (also located within the INA-Sacro district).

Focus Group Cognitive Map Features

A group of elderly men interviewed during a focus group held at the INA-Casa park had a collective image of Casal Bruciato different from other interviewees. Many of the visual elements discussed during the interview are centered around the makeshift INA-Casa park at the corner of V. Angeli and V. Crispolti, where the focus group was held. This cognitive map (Figure 2.30) reflects a particular perspective of the visual form of Casal Bruciato, that seen by elderly residents near the INA-Casa development.

Paths

For members of the focus group, paths in the neighborhood are important streets allowing movement in and out of the INA-Casa development. V. Tiburtina was noted as a major path, used by the men for leisurely walks as well as for trips to the city center. They remarked that it was the most important street, busy with motorized and pedestrian traffic to and from the neighborhood. Angeli was also cited as a major path, passing through the INA-Casa development and providing access to Tiburtina and thus the city center, as well as to Pza. Crivelli. The importance of this path is furthered by the street-level commercial functions of the street. The men explained that they hardly leave the area because they do not have to travel far for any basic necessities; they can acquire groceries and other retail needs near Angeli. Minor paths for these seniors include Via Luigi Cesana, connecting INA-Casa housing to the major arterial Tiburtina, and Crispolti, providing east-west movement through the neighborhood and access to La Cacciarella social cooperative.

Edges

The major edges to the neighborhood were indicated similarly by the elderly men and most other interviewees. To the east, Via Filippo Fiorentini acts as a major barrier of heavy traffic. To the south, the tangenziale A24 Strada dei Parchi bounds the neighborhood with heavy traffic, separating it from open space. To the west, Via di

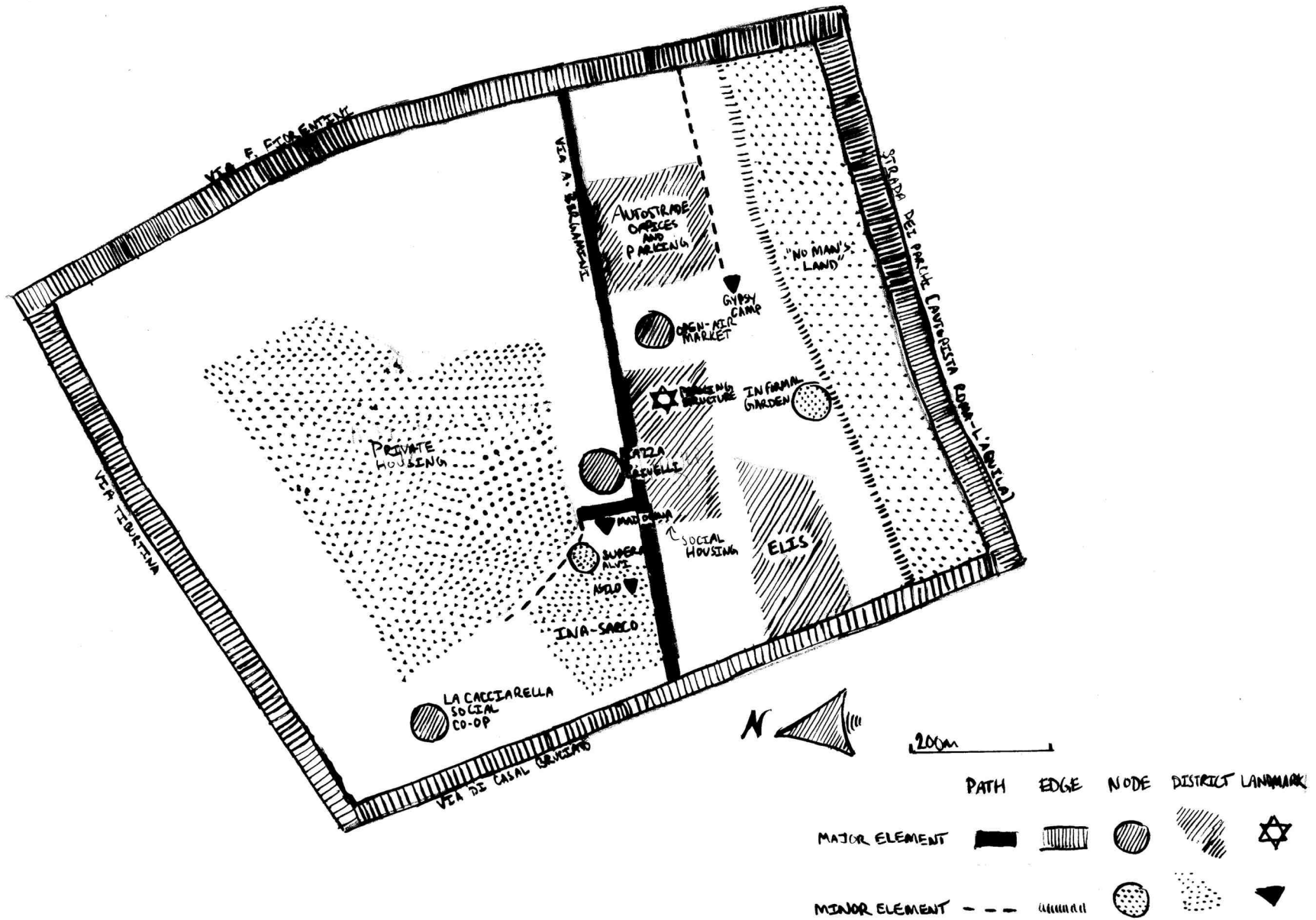


Figure 2.29 Andrea Valentini cognitive map
 The visual form of Casal Bruciato from the perspective of Andrea Valentini (Lane 2009).

Casal Bruciato is an edge between two different areas: the residential neighborhood and abandoned open space. An interesting feature in focus group's image is a perceived edge between the INA-Casa development and the western half of the neighborhood. The western half of the neighborhood was talked about with pointing and gestures, indicating a distinction in the INA-Casa development of here and there. Ending at 19A Crispolti, the INA-Casa development is separated from the west by an edge running parallel to V. Angeli.

Nodes

One obvious strong node for the focus group men was the INA-Casa park where the interview was conducted. The men maintained the park and spent time in it every day, socializing with each other and their many acquaintances that passed by the area. Another major node was the section of V. Angeli between V. Crispolti and Via Giuseppe Donati, where they mentioned many people walk, shop, and greet each other. Minor nodes for gathering and passing through were noted as the church Santa Maria della Visitazione, La Cacciarella social cooperative, and Piazza Crivelli.

Districts

When asked what neighborhood they were in, some of the men in the focus group passionately replied "INA-Casa!" while others said "Casal Bruciato." It was then explained that while Casal Bruciato was the neighborhood, INA-Casa was an area within it with a distinct common identity. For the men, INA-Casa was a major district with a strong identity, quite separate from the rest of the neighborhood. The men also noted that one other area in the neighborhood had a common, identifying character: the newer development of Villa Fassini. While this area is distinct, the men saw it as a minor node compared to the strong identity of INA-Casa.

Landmarks

The only landmark mentioned during the focus group was the INA-

Casa towers at 19A V. Crispolti. A singular physical feature in the urban landscape, the old men also mentioned their fame as 19A Crispolti is the home of the fictional character Tomasso in Pier Paolo Pasolini's *A Violent Life* (Pasolini 2007, 174).

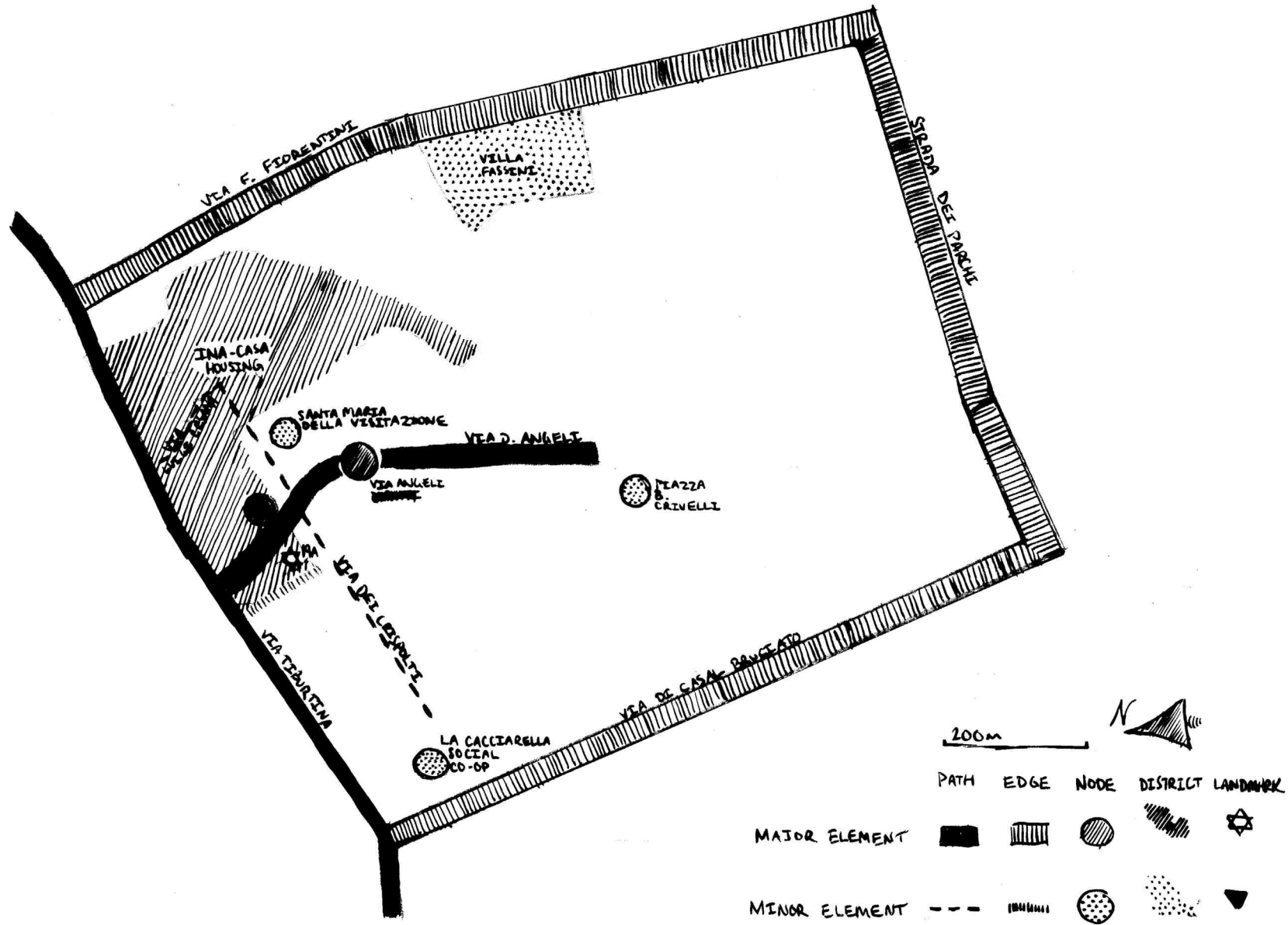
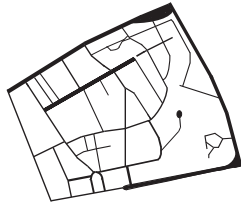


Figure 2.30 Focus group cognitive map

The visual form of Casal Bruciato derived from interviews with the focus group of elderly men (Lane 2009).



6. Conclusions

“If the environment is visibly organized and sharply identified, then the citizen can inform it with his own meanings and connections.”

Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 92

Over the course of this semester, our group has been working to understand the neighborhood of Tiburtino IV. Through the street surveys and empirical work conducted over the first half of the semester, we were able to learn a great deal about the physical environment and its people, though our opinions were still those of outsiders looking in. To obtain a better picture of the neighborhood, its inhabitants, its strengths and its problems, we needed the input of the residents and community members themselves. Through our cognitive map exercise, we were able to accomplish this.

One of the largest surprises we encountered from conducting our interviews was the name by which local residents call the neighborhood. Rather than calling it Tiburtino IV, the interviewees

referred to the neighborhood as Casal Bruciato, deriving from its history as farmlands. The only manifestation of this legacy we were able to detect prior to conducting the interviews was the name of a local road, Via di Casal Bruciato. This revelation was not only a major correction of our initial view, but an important insight into the strong effects of history on the residents' view of the neighborhood.

This history includes a past as a pastoral countryside as well as the site of suburban public housing development. Interviewees' subsequent descriptions centered around Casal Bruciato's tradition as former farmlands and the famous INA-Casa development. Interestingly enough, that same tradition inspired the original planners of the INA-Casa development to plan it as a modern country village, aiding the strong residential feeling and sense of identity.

Discussing our conclusions at this stage of the project, we would be

remiss if we did not mention the difference between our original cognitive map of the neighborhood and those of our interviewees. Again, the initial information on the neighborhood's were corrected as extending further south than we had perceived. They concurred with our delineation of districts in the area, reiterating the strength of the INA-Casa identity. Interviewees revealed major paths in the neighborhood: some which we had suspected and some we had not perceived. Nodes were also indicated similar to what we observed, although as far as landmarks go, few were identified outside of the INA-Casa towers and Pza. Crivelli.

Going along with the cognitive maps, our interviewees confirmed our suspicion that there is a lack of neighborhood-wide collective identity. In creating our map, we were unable to classify most of the neighborhood into districts, something we felt was indicative of this condition within Casal Bruciato. The men from our focus group addressed this issue directly, saying that the residents of the newer apartments do not identify with each other as one community. Our other interviewees stated this indirectly, both in their inability to choose a symbol to represent the neighborhood and in their inability to identify major landmarks and nodes.

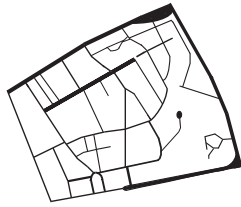
Despite the neighborhood's turbulent past of housing riots and squats, most interviews stated that the neighborhood was a tranquil and pleasant place to live. Residents felt that the overall quality and condition of the neighborhood has improved in recent times.

While it seems that most residents are content to live in the neighborhood, the lack of collective identity seems felt. Casal Bruciato's weak image in terms of landmarks and districts contributes to the lack of social integration. Gaining an understanding of resident's perspectives on top of our observations of the built environment has provided us with a better idea of Casal Bruciato's image. Though it lacks strength and consistency in the visual form, residents seem proud to live there, holding an optimistic outlook about recent changes in the neighborhood. Through this process of interviewing, we have discovered the

image of Tiburtino, rooted in history and moving towards the future.

Part III

Analytical Account



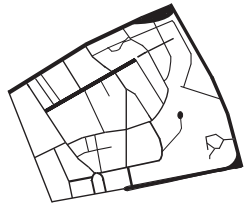
1. Introduction

Since the end of World War II, the provision of housing in Europe has been the source of much debate and conflict. With much of the original housing stock destroyed in the war and a new environment of migration, millions of people all across Europe were left homeless, creating shelter wherever they could. Different governments went about addressing this problem in different ways, some addressing the problem publicly while others left it to the private sector. These differences in approach have created many issues we see today, leading to unique issues of housing.

One of the foremost housing issues in many areas is gentrification, which often leads to the displacement of many original residents and creates an interesting debate about what should be sought in future housing policies. Situations in Italy serve as examples of this conflict, with many of its urban centers being transformed into tourist destinations and residences for the rich. Rome in particular has seen the growth of this phenomenon, with a changing character in its periphery as well as its center. Due to its characteristically high home-ownership rates, the gentrification

process in Italy occurs in an interesting manner.

Over the course of the semester, our group became suspicious that Tiburtino IV, more commonly known as Casal Bruciato, may be undergoing a slow gentrification process. This originally working class neighborhood off of Via Tiburtina seemed to show some signs of a new, wealthier populace. As an area that was transformed after WW2 by the construction of popular housing and increased migration, the neighborhood's changes over time proved to be an interesting topic to examine. In order to look at the transformations of the neighborhood in a process of gentrification, we researched secondary sources, studied comparable cases, revisited our observations and interviews, and analyzed statistical information for the area. Analyzing our gathered information, we ask: How have gentrification processes manifested in Casal Bruciato?



2. Housing and Gentrification in Italy

Post WW2 Housing Development

Following the end of World War II, Italy experienced a severe housing shortage with only 241 dwellings per 1,000 inhabitants in 1951, six years after the war had ended. As a result, major governmental programs were started to address the problem of housing. One of the most significant was the Vinoni Plan, which called for the investment of 5.1 billion lire towards the construction of housing in the period from 1955 to 1964, about half of which was dedicated for public projects (Wendt 1962, 113-4). During this time period was the INA-Casa public housing program, resulting in the first developments comprising the northeastern section of Casal Bruciato.

In concert with the government's housing investments, numerous private investors and developers contributed to the redevelopment of the Italian housing stock. Private investment and development was so great that later studies of residential development financing in the period revealed that private and non-governmental sources

accounted for more than half of the total investment in 1953-54 and 1954-55. Thanks to all of this investment, Italy experienced one of the most rapid expansions of housing stock on the European continent, as over 8.5 million rooms were constructed in the period from 1955 to 1959 (Wendt 1962, 115-20).

As these new units were being built, new policies on how they should be occupied and paid for were also developed, leading to the current situation we see today. On both the public and the private sides, proportions of new units were allocated for both rental and ownership, facilitating home ownership for new tenants. In later periods, the Italian government also made the move to implement rent-to-own schemes on publicly held properties, further increasing the percentage of units owned by the occupants. All of this, combined with a lack of governmental oversight into existing rental terms and conditions, made home ownership the most practical way for Italians to acquire a place to live. Due to these different factors, 71% of residential

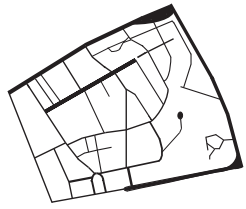
properties in 2006 were occupant owned in Italy, one of the highest home ownership rates in all of Europe (Poggio 2006, 3-7).

Observations and close study in the peripheral neighborhood of Casal Bruciato hints at a process of gentrification. The particular manifestation of this slow gentrification process is further examined.

Italian Style Gentrification

As a consequence of these high rates of home ownership and the resulting geographical immobility of inhabitants, a system of intergenerational holding of properties has developed, where older members of a family will pass the rights to properties to younger generations later in life (Poggio 2006, 10). As family members change jobs and earn better salaries, their standards of living increase. This particular process creates more potential for in-place gentrification rather than the geographical relocation we see in the United States and other parts of Europe. This also creates a fairly low turn-over of properties in Italy, making it difficult for areas to be quickly or easily inhabited by a particular socioeconomic group. A 2006 study of the northern city of Bologna found that while there had been an inflow of young professionals and couples into the city center in recent years, it was difficult to classify it as gentrification. The case in Bologna did not involve the construction of new properties and the availability of existing living spaces allowed only “fragmented and diffused” occupation of the area (Buzar 2007, 80).

In Rome, gentrification appears to be more of an issue, probably because of its monumental nature and high international visibility. Professor Michael Herzfeld of Harvard University recently released a study of gentrification in the Roman neighborhood of Monti, where he found that many residents were being forced out of the area due to increasing costs of rent and living following the arrival of international tourists and subsequent real estate speculation. Conditions in the city’s periphery are less clear, though many of the city’s public housing projects from the 1970’s and 1980’s are in poor condition and in need of repair (Riccardo 2006, 282-283), a sign that gentrification is not occurring in those areas.



3. Signs of Gentrification in Casal Bruciato

Our Impressions

Specialty Shops

Upon receiving our neighborhood study assignment, our group generated first impressions from our initial visits to Casal Bruciato. From our observations, we perceived that while the neighborhood was not upper-class, there were many signs that it was a comfortable middle-class neighborhood. Some indicators we observed were specialty shops and standout high prices in the neighborhood. Some of these businesses include a fly fishing shop on Via Diego Angeli, a mid- to high-priced clothing store called Daniel Abbigliamento on V. Angeli, and a combined maternity needs and toy store called Prenatal on V. Tiburtina (Figure 3.1).

Further research on the neighborhood revealed that it began with a public housing initiative called INA-Casa in 1949 (Kirk 2005, 157). Realizing that the neighborhood had its roots in

public housing and that it still has much existing public housing, we became curious about the discrepancy between the income group served by public housing and the presence of specialized, expensive shops. We theorized that this discrepancy may be due to a changing neighborhood character, founded with INA-Casa housing and slowly gentrifying. With this in mind we continued with our neighborhood observations and research.

Neighborhood Upkeep

During our observations, we noticed a large variation in the condition of building facades and the upkeep of public spaces around the neighborhood. Residential buildings appeared to be generally well maintained, with clean facades visible from the street. This is particularly true in the residential buildings south of Via dei Crispolti and north of Via Giuseppe Donati. An exception to the generally good facades in the neighborhood



Figure 3.1 Specialty shop
Prenatal services middle income maternity and children's needs (Buller 2009).

are the two gray INA-Casa towers on V. Crispolti, which are characterized by extremely weathered facades of dingy color and peeling paint (Figure 3.2).

Most of the publicly used spaces in Casal Bruciato are poorly maintained. The public school Istituto Alberghieri on Via Cipriano Facchinetti is surrounded by litter on the streets and has large amounts of graffiti on its façade. While some of the graffiti is artistic in nature and related to the hospitality and culinary themes of the school, most is tagged by individuals indicating names and territory. The neighboring La Cacciarella social cooperative is well maintained, with a clean park space used by many neighborhood residents. In stark contrast to this privately operated public space is the heavily littered and poorly maintained park space on Piazza Riccardo Balsamo Crivelli.

These vast differences in the upkeep of Casal Bruciato further indicates a neighborhood of changing character.

Southwest

One distinct area we observed in Casal Bruciato was the residential development south of V. Donati and west of V. Facchinetti. These buildings, which we later discovered to be public housing, appeared in poor condition with dirty, peeling facades. On April 2nd, 2009, we observed the eviction of a family from INA-Sarco, who had not been paying rent, which strengthened our impression of the block as a struggling, low-income area. These observations indicate to us that this area of public housing has yet to undergo a process of gentrification, remaining dilapidated and poor.

INA-Casa



Figure 3.2 Poor Upkeep
The poor upkeep of the gray INA-Casa towers on Via dei Crispolti stand out in the generally well-maintained neighborhood (Yoon 2009).

Building the INA-Casa Initiative

To begin tracing the process of gentrification in Casal Bruciato, we begin with the first development in the neighborhood, the INA-Casa housing development. In 1949 the INA-Casa national housing legislation was ratified, subsidizing public housing and enabling the building of 350,000 flats in 14 years (Spada 2009). Administered by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, the INA-Casa program was financed by a special payroll tax levied on government employees, matched by a contribution from employers, and supplemented by funds from the national Treasury. First priority for the INA-Casa dwellings was given to families lacking housing of acceptable standards, although all government employees contributing to the program were eligible to apply for a flat (Wendt 1962, 118).

The earliest INA-Casa projects in Rome were near San Paolo and along the Via Tuscolana. The INA-Casa housing in Casal Bruciato was part of the Tiburtino IV project, designed by the architect Ludovico Quaroni and Mario Ridolfi (Kirk 2005, 157). These architects favored a vernacular architecture tied to local culture and traditions. The INA-Casa development in Tiburtino IV thus attempted to create the sensibility of a village. Buildings varied in size and plan including free-standing towers, mid-rise apartments, and row houses were spread in an irregular fashion, creating open spaces for residents (Ghirardo, 74). This irregular layout, complete with open spaces, can be seen in the initial plans for Tiburtino IV by Ridolfi and Quaroni (Figure 3.3). A stylistic continuity can be seen between the rural hamlet Villaggio La Martella - Matera designed by Quaroni and the Tiburtino IV INA-Casa development (Figure 3.4). Decorative elements and building details were also rooted in rural architecture, eliminating visual suggestions of institutional public housing. These pleasant design features perhaps aided the transition of INA-Casa housing in Casal Bruciato from low-income public housing tenants to later private ownership.

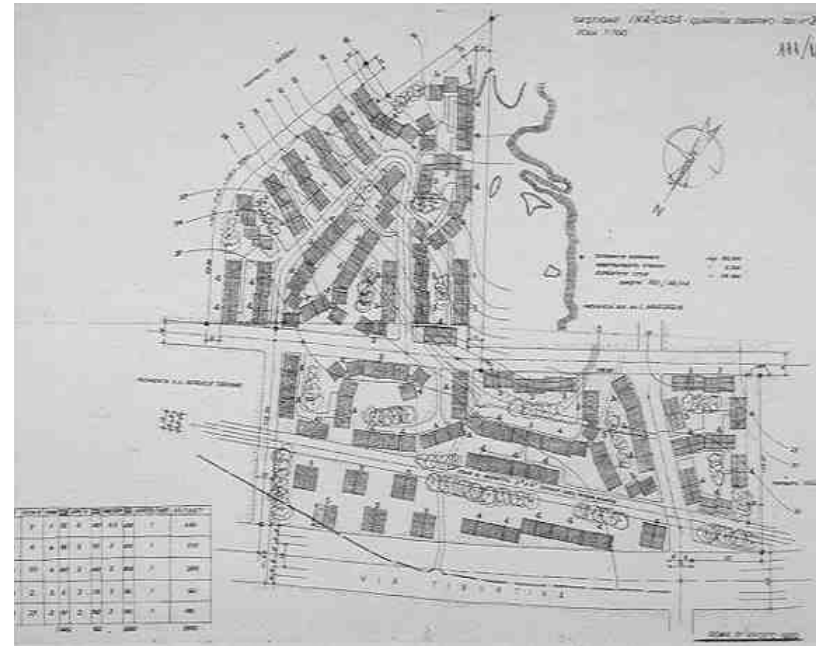


Figure 3.3 Tiburtino initial plan

The irregular spread of housing can be seen in the original plan of the INA-Casa area by Quaroni and Ridolfi (Montanari).

Transition to Private Ownership

About ten years after the passage of the INA-Casa legislation, the Italian Government began taking steps to transfer the ownership of government constructed popular housing to tenants. Thus began a program for occupants to purchase government-owned popular housing from INCIS, I.A.C.P., and local authorities (Wendt 1962, 123). Law number 447 of March 21, 1958 provided for the sale of government-owned flats to occupants on a long-term contract of sale, at a price based on depreciated replacement cost. If they so chose, tenants were allowed to purchase their dwellings on a maximum 20 year installment contract, with average prices under market value (Davoli 1959, 4).

Through these mechanisms, all of the units in the INA-Casa housing development of Casal Bruciato have become privately owned. This change is further evidence of a process of in-place gentrification, where the neighborhood population acquired their homes, changing from renter to owner.

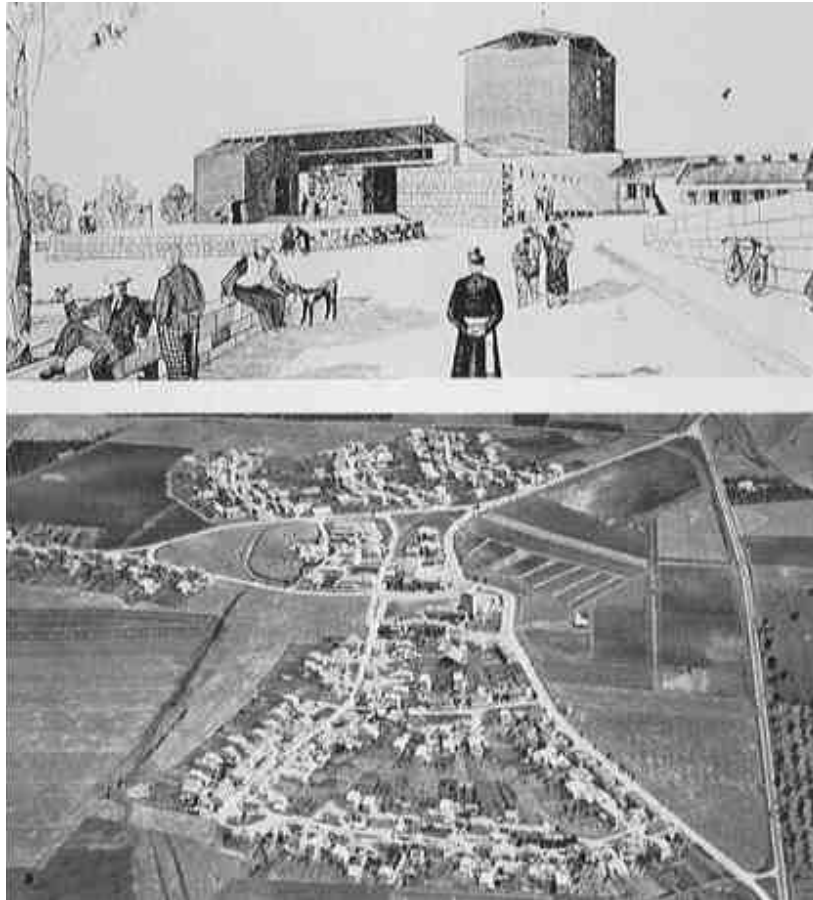


Figure 3.4 Rural ties
A stylistic continuity can be drawn between the INA-Casa development and the Quaroni's rural hamlet Villagio La Martella - Matera (Montanari).

Resident Interviews

Many conversations from our citizen interviews of Casal Bruciato provide us with further clues about neighborhood changes and a possible gentrification process.

During a focus group of senior men in the INA-Casa area on April 2nd, 2009, we met one man, Roberto, who's life story indicates the population change in Casal Bruciato. Originally from the rione Prati, Roberto moved to Casal Bruciato after getting married in the 1970s because the housing was more affordable than in the center of Rome. Although he was in search of affordable, moderately priced housing, his move demonstrates mobility and the presence of choice in his decision to enter the neighborhood. While residents of the INA-Casa housing complexes were placed in the neighborhood from public housing lists, Roberto's move entailed a choice to move there. Additionally, Roberto and his wife purchased a flat in a privately owned and constructed building across V. Crispolti from the INA-Casa development; they were owners of a private flat since their first day in the neighborhood. It is therefore apparent that later residents, such as Roberto, demonstrate the gentrification of the neighborhood as people with choice entered Casal Bruciato as private owners.

A woman encountered on our walk through the neighborhood with architect/planner Mario Spada on April 23rd, 2009 informed us of the high level of ownership in the INA-Casa area. She told us that all of the former INA-Casa units are now privately owned and that she herself was the second owner of her flat, meaning the original public housing tenant had become an owner and eventual seller. A resident of one of the INA-Casa towers between V. Tiburtina and V. Crispolti, she attributed the poor façade conditions of the two grey towers to the conflict and indecisiveness of the condominium owners in each building. Although our group originally took the poorly maintained facades as an indicator of low-income, their appearance is due instead to conflict between

stakeholders invested in their property, a problem faced by a gentrifying neighborhood.

During the 1950s and 60s, Rome had to accommodate a population increasing by more than one million inhabitants. During this time, migrants from rural areas of Central and Southern Italy began settling in Rome for work in the construction sector (Celata, 4). Between 1951 and 1971, net migration numbered at almost 700,000, placing an enormous demand on housing and leading to unprecedented public, private, and informal construction activity (Kreibich 2000, 202-3). In our interview with Stefania, an employee and member of La Cacciarella, we learned that many of these rural migrants became tenants of more recent public housing developments, such as the residential development on V. Donati and V. Facchinetti. This public housing development, INA-Sarco, lacked a rent-to-own program such as the one used by many original INA-Casa tenants. It seems that this area, which we previously observed as poorly maintained and where we witnessed an eviction, has yet to undergo a process of gentrification sparked by a shift from a renter to owner population.

In addition, Stefania also informed us of the speculative development of the newer parts of Casal Bruciato. Although this mode of development has resulted in narrow streets, little green space, and low quality of life features, the private nature of the ventures is a possible sign of gentrification as the neighborhood shifted from public housing to private ownership and construction.

Statistical Analysis

Using the ISTAT data from 1981 and 2001 we can observe some more of the changes in Casal Bruciato over time. To begin we see that between 1981 and 2001 the population of the neighborhood decreased from 24,359 to 18,355 (see Figure 3.5). The overall population change in the neighborhood's sezione from 1961 to

Total Population			
	1961	1981	2001
Casal Bruciato	47,081	28,711	18,355
Rome	2,188,160	2,840,259	2,546,804

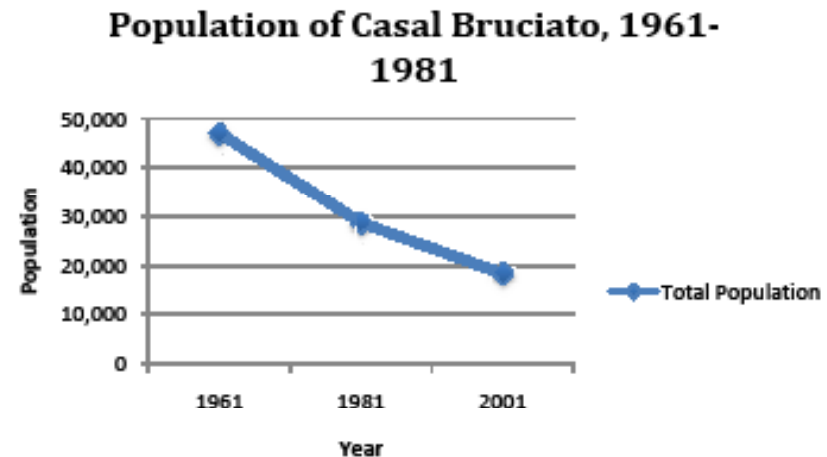


Figure 3.5 Population changes in Casal Bruciato

The above data table and graph portray the population changes in the neighborhood over time. Total population of Casal Bruciato declined from 1961 to 2001 while the total population of Rome increased from 1961 to 1981 and decreased from 1981 to 2001 (Lane 2009).

2001 can be seen in Figure 3.6.

In 1981, about 17% of Casal Bruciato's population over the age of 6 had a post-secondary degree while in 2001 only 9% of the population over age 6 had a post-secondary degree. The density of college educated residents per sezione can be seen in Figure 3.8. This data may be taken to indicate a decline in education and consequently income in the population of the neighborhood, but

Population Change per Sezione in Casal Bruciato, 1961-2001

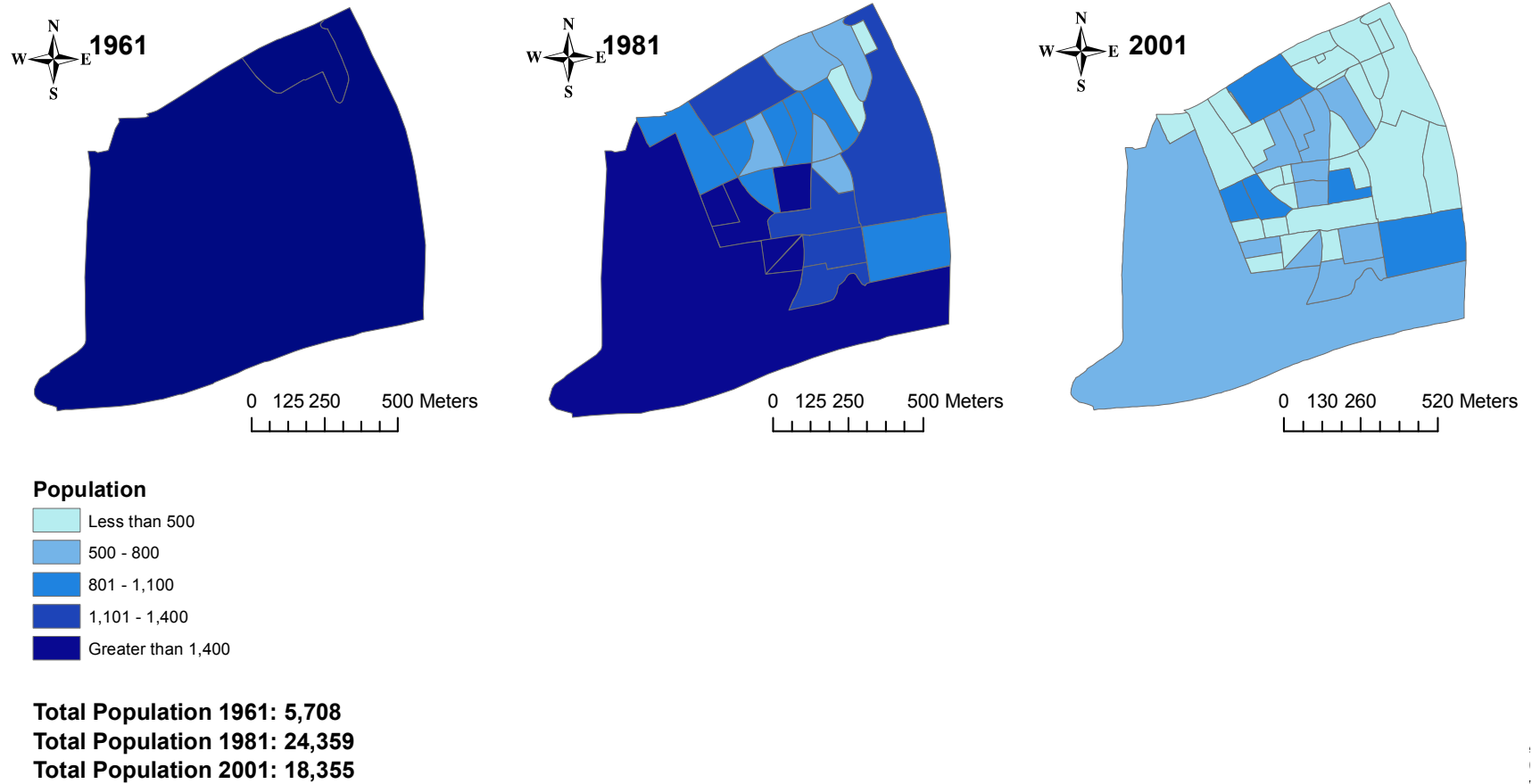


Figure 3.6 Population changes in Casal Bruciato per sezione

This map depicts the population changes per sezione in Casal Bruciato from 1961 to 2001 (Lane 2009).

it should be noted that Rome's college educated population also declined during this time. In 1981 25% of Rome's population over 6 held a post-secondary degree while in 2001, the figure was only 15% (see Figure 3.7).

Analysis of the ISTAT data over the 20 years from 1981 to 2001 indicates an increase in home ownership in Casal Bruciato, as seen in the dot density map of home-ownership in Figure 3.9. In 1981, about 33% of the neighborhood's owner and renter occupied units were owner occupied. The neighborhood demonstrated levels of ownership less than the total in Rome, where 49% of the total owner and renter occupied units were occupied by owners. These numbers changed in 2001, when 51% of Casal Bruciato's

total owner and renter occupied units were occupied by owners. Although home ownership increased in Casal Bruciato, it also increased in the city of Rome with 70% owner occupied units out of the total owner and renter occupied units (Figure 3.10). Although it is difficult to draw conclusions when considering the overall trends in Rome, it can be determined that the proportion of owner-occupied units in Casal Bruciato increased during this time interval while the proportion of renter-occupied units declined.

Looking at the ISTAT data, we do not clearly see trends of upward social mobility in Casal Bruciato. However, the neighborhood's origin as INA-Casa housing gives the increase in home ownership

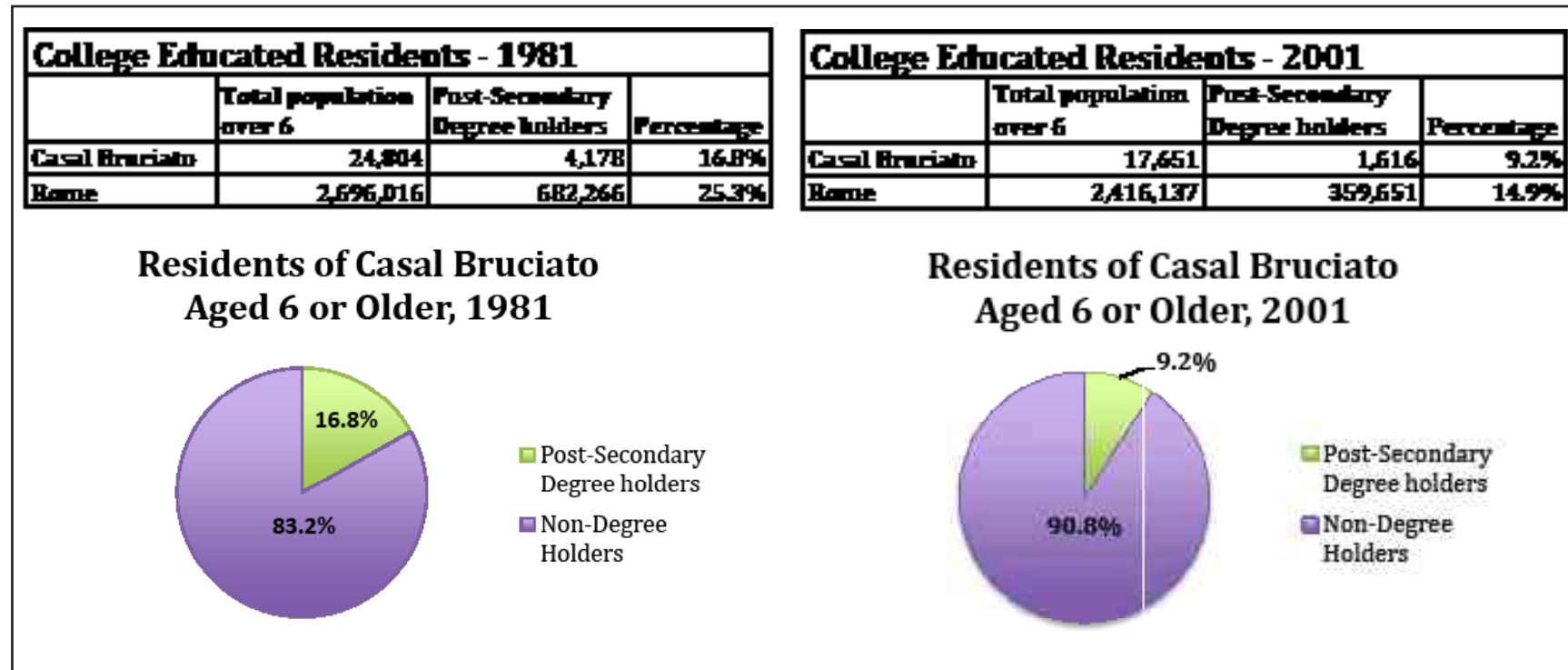


Figure 3.7 College educated residents in Casal Bruciato

The percentage of residents in the neighborhood with post-secondary degrees declined between 1981 and 2001. The percentage of residents in Rome with post-secondary degrees also declined during this time period (Lane 2009).

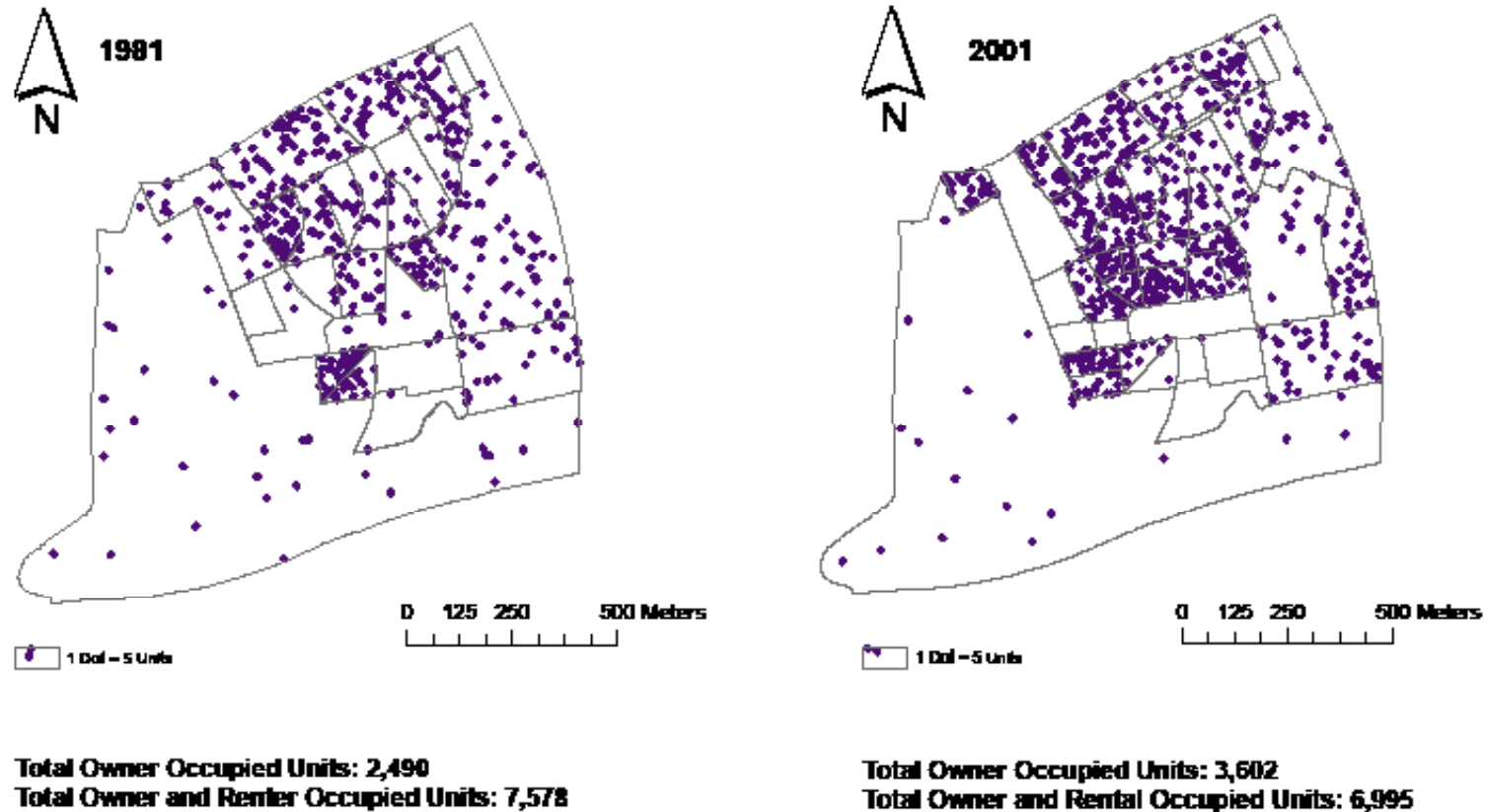
College-Educated Residents per Sezione in Casal Bruciato, 1981-2001



Figure 3.8 Changes in college-educated residents in Casal Bruciato per sezione

This map depicts the change in college educated residents per sezione in Casal Bruciato from 1981 to 2001 (Lane 2009).

Owner Occupied Housing Units per Sezione in Casal Bruciato, 1981-2001



Created by: Barrett Lane
 April 24, 2009
 Cornell University, Ithaca, Italy
 ISTAT 1981, 2001 Data
 UTM Europe 1950, Zone 33N
 To show the increase in owned
 property in Casal Bruciato over a twenty year period

Figure 3.9 Changes in home ownership in Casal Bruciato per sezione
 This map depicts the change in owner occupied housing units per sezione in Casal Bruciato from 1981 to 2001 (Lane 2009).

great significance. It appears that Casal Bruciato, although not increasing in level of education, has increased in home ownership between 1981 and 2001. The neighborhood's origins as INA-Casa housing gives this increase in ownership greater significance, as the residents not only gained assets but made the change from public tenants to private owners, the first step in the process of in-place gentrification.

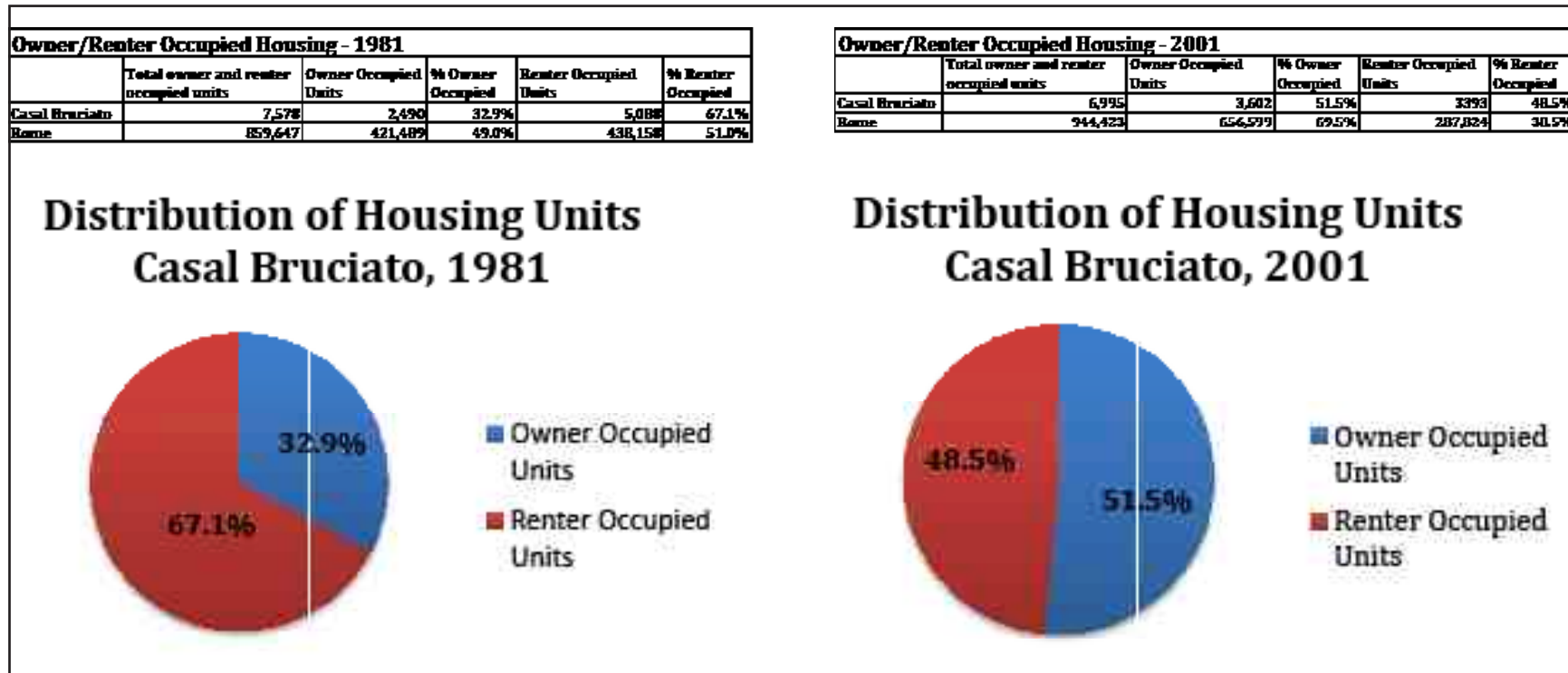
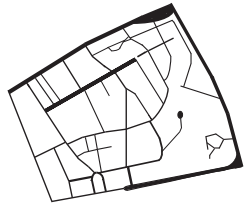


Figure 3.10 Home ownership in Casal Bruciato

The percentage of owner occupied housing units in Casal Bruciato residents in the neighborhood with post-secondary degrees declined between 1981 and 2001. The percentage of residents in Rome with post-secondary degrees also declined during this time period (Lane 2009).



4. Gentrification Models in the United States

Characteristics of North American Gentrification

North American gentrification often takes place differently than in Europe. Characteristics indicating a high likelihood of gentrification in the United States include elevated rate of renters, convenient accessibility to the urban economic core, increased level of metropolitan congestion, high architectural value of buildings, and moderately undervalued housing markets. Trends such as shifts from rental leases to homeownership, increased downpayment ratios, introduction of households attracted to certain “urban amenities and cultural niches,” and an influx of businesses and services serving higher income levels indicate a current process of gentrification (Kennedy & Leonard 2001, 8). Further, gentrification does not simply entail a replacement of minorities by whites. Wealthier minorities will also buy homes in gentrifying areas, specifically the San Francisco Bay Area for Asian

American households and Washington, D.C. and Atlanta, Georgia for African American households (Kennedy & Leonard 2001, 2).

Washington, DC: Columbia Heights Case Study

District of Columbia trends

Many of these gentrification trends highlighted by the Brookings Institute are occurring throughout certain areas of Washington, D.C. The District of Columbia is structured on a historic east-west divide of growth and economic prosperity, rather than the doughnut shape of geographical economy common in other contemporary American cities. Many of the neighborhoods close to the downtown and east-west divide have high traffic

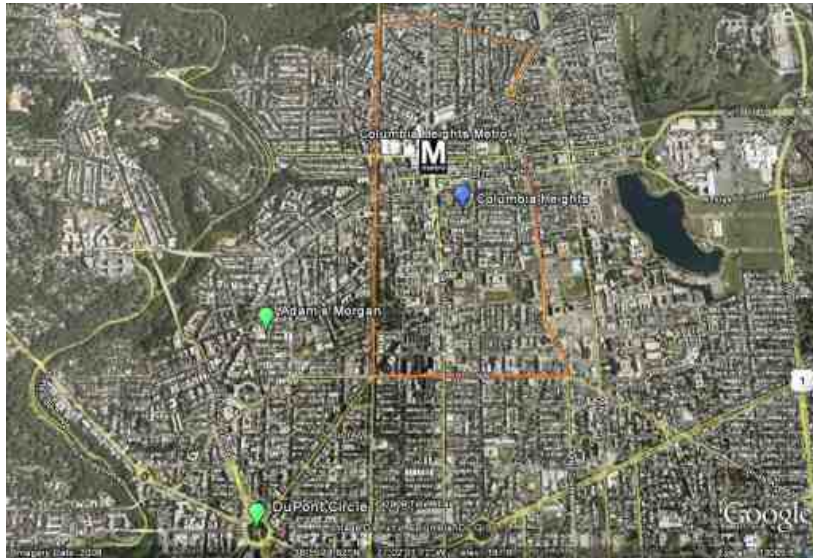


Figure 3.11 Columbia Heights

Outlined in orange is Columbia Heights, a gentrifying neighborhood in Washington, D.C. Green markers indicate nearby areas Adam's Morgan and Dupont Circle, north to south (Buller 2009).

congestion, pointing to the metropolitan congestion of gentrifying areas. There is optimism regarding the future of these neighborhoods due to many new cultural and social investments.

Columbia Heights History and housing

Columbia Heights is one neighborhood currently experiencing these pressures of gentrification in Washington, D.C (Kennedy & Leonard 2001, 54). Bounded by U Street on the south, 16th Street on the west, Spring Road on the north, and 9th Street on the west (Figure 3.11), the neighborhood was devastated with abandoned properties and unchecked drug violence following the urban riots of the 1960s (Thompson 2006, 123). Beginning slowly in the 1960s, middle-class families began to move back into the area.

Today, Columbia Heights holds one-third of all subsidized housing, including numerous public housing sites, for Washington, D.C.

As private market rental values become more profitable, the neighborhood is at risk of losing its 2,300 units of subsidized affordable housing (Rodrigues 2005, 84). African American households and newly arrived Latino immigrants largely make up the current resident population, which must renew their federal Section 8 subsidy contracts or lose their housing to the private rental market (Kennedy & Leonard 2001, 58).

Metro Station: Catalyst of gentrification processes

With the introduction of Columbia Heights' new metro station, previously sluggish gentrification processes have begun to generate concrete physical examples (Figure 3.12). Private competition for the commercial areas surrounding the metro stop has developed retail venues anchored by big boxes like Bed, Bath, and Beyond and Target, both never so accessible from downtown



Figure 3.12 Columbia Heights metro

The new metro station in Columbia Heights has catalyzed gentrification in the area (Smith 2009).



Figure 3.13 Big Box retail

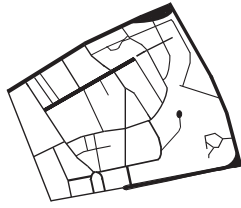
Columbia Heights has been experiencing much commercial development, such as this big box retail area, upon completion of the nearby metro station (Flickr 2008).

D.C. (Figure 3.13). Further plans include the construction of Ellwood Thompson's Local Market, Virginia's largest independent natural grocery store catering to upper-middle class needs (Columbia Heights News 2008).

The housing stock in Columbia Heights consists of many grandiose Victorian homes of 10 to 12 rooms with affordable housing prices, less desirable than housing in the neighborhoods of DuPont Circle or Adam's Morgan. Yet many young professionals, both white and black, are now moving into these homes to enjoy close proximity to downtown via the metro (Kennedy & Leonard 2001, 58).

Current residents in a gentrifying neighborhood

This gentrification effort is leaving some current residents to question how long they can remain in Columbia Heights. March 2000 saw the beginning of the Neighborhood Stabilization Program, a city-led initiative to improve housing by prosecuting negligent landlords. This initiative was met with resistance from many community groups who felt the program was a convenient way to involuntarily displace tenants, enabling the transformation of properties into luxury housing (Arcangeli, 17). The proposal was to relocate residents of severely damaged structures with new federal housing subsidies. After much struggle from the community groups, the first negligent landlord fined by the city sold the building to the tenants for \$1, in addition to \$275,000 in aid of the building renovation (Kennedy & Leonard 2001, 58). If efforts like this continue, Columbia Heights may achieve neighborhood revitalization while accommodating both original and new residents.



5. Analysis of Casal Bruciato and Columbia Heights

Comparisons between Casal Bruciato and Columbia Heights are grounded in the shared history of public housing. Both of these neighborhoods, which experienced riots in their history, now have improved reputations. The central question examined is what brought both of these urban places to a more desirable social standing and how are the current residents affected by these alterations? Having an international comparison of these issues is useful for generating better social practices in handling the process of gentrification.

Trends for Home Ownership

Home ownership rates were used as a signifier for potential gentrification in our study of Casal Bruciato. To summarize, in 1981 home ownership was at 33% of total owner and renter occupied units with 49% for Rome total. Then in 2001, home ownership rose to 51% with 70% for Rome total. Columbia Heights has a much weaker home ownership trend with only 21% of units being owner occupied in 1980, compared to a 35% average for the District of Columbia. Then

in 2000, home ownership increased to 25% with 41% for District of Columbia total (NeighborhoodInfo DC, 2009). The elevated rates of ownership shown in Casal Bruciato are consistent with the Italian practice of owning homes across all social classes (Bernardi & Poggio 2004). Rather as in America the model is for higher rates of renters with home ownership more exclusive to the middle and upper social classes.

Ethnicity in Gentrification

Brookings Institute Researchers, Kennedy and Leopard (2001), contend that “the issue of gentrification in the United States has historically included a strong racial component—lower income African American residents are replaced by higher income white residents.” (Kennedy & Leonard 2001) While this is visible throughout the gentrification of Columbia Heights, there is also an influx of young professional African Americans into the neighborhood. In contrast, Casal Bruciato is distinct from this American characteristic of gentrification. With few foreign-born residents, Casal Bruciato lacks a visible ethnic

displacement. Yet the comparison can be made that many original residents of Casal Bruciato came from the Italian countryside of the central and southern regions, facing stigmatization similar to that experienced by African Americans migrating from the rural South to Northern urban centers.

Changing Neighborhood Identity

Further, a neighborhood’s “character and flavor” is expected to change during gentrification (Kennedy & Leonard 2001, 5). Residents are displaced and their old social practices dissolve while new ones are popularized by the incoming residents. There is an inherent lack of control by the original residents in this process.

For Columbia Heights, the construction of new commercial businesses by private developers and infrastructure additions by the city government were witnessed by residents, but not championed by them. Researcher Fraser (2004) explains, “The combined power of investment interests, city government, and new neighborhood residents points toward an increasingly common situation where, in

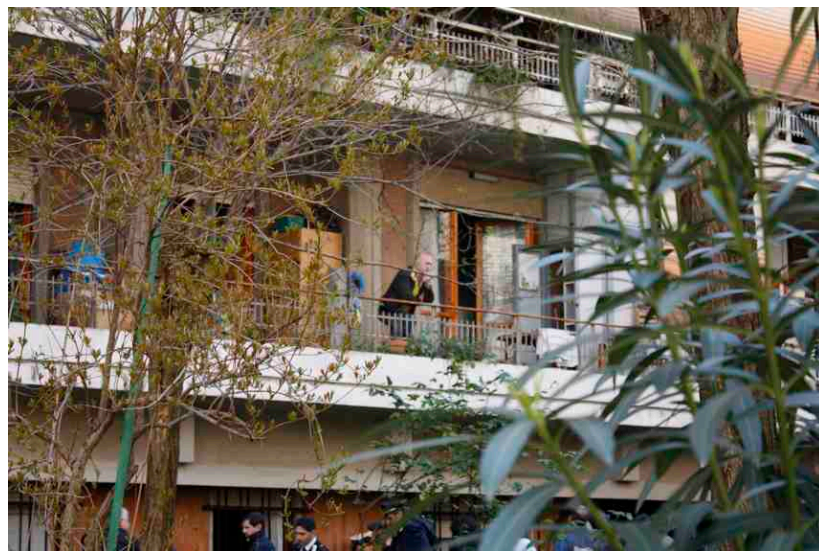


Figure 3.14 Casal Bruciato eviction
An eviction in the INA-Sarco public housing area (Lane 2009).

the name of neighborhood revitalization and city competitiveness, neighborhood space and identity is being transformed.”

Casal Bruciato seems to be more successful in preserving the residents’ power and authority. During our resident interviews, many recalled that they were the first tenants in their homes and remained so today. Residents seemed less worried about maintaining their homes and were more concerned with mobilizing efforts to preserve and increase access to green spaces. Further, there are no current large scale commercial development plans for the neighborhood and the nearby presence of metro accessibility does not seem to have a current effect on gentrification.

Role of Private Investment and Government

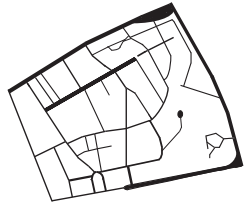
A final insightful comparison between Casal Bruciato and Columbia Heights can be drawn from the varying roles of the government and private investments through the examination of evictions (Figure 3.14 and 3.15). Italian housing practices have traditionally been pro-tenant, but the current center-right national government, led by Silvio



Figure 3.15 Columbia Heights eviction
An eviction in the Columbia Heights neighborhood (Vota 2007).

Berlusconi, has begun enforcing increased evictions. The tenants evicted have been previously overlooked: keeping their homes while defaulting on rents for extended periods of time. These evictions are government driven and of public nature, not occurring due to private interest as they are in Columbia Heights. For Columbia Heights, pressures from lucrative private housing markets are causing many residents to be involuntarily evicted from their previously subsidized homes.

Governments in both places have been shown to target revitalization and eventual gentrification through funding streams. In Italy, public programs provided the INA-Casa housing occupants with a structured rent to own program, although residents in the new INA-Sarco development lack such a program, remaining more susceptible to evictions. Targeted programs have also assisted gentrification in Columbia Heights through DC's Neighborhood Stabilization Program.



6. Conclusion

While Casal Bruciato appears to be experiencing some characteristic effects of gentrification, many of the usual indicators, both positive and negative, are not present.

The most devastating result of gentrification, resident displacement, does not appear to be occurring in Casal Bruciato nor does it appear to have occurred in the area's past. We observed increased home ownership rates in the neighborhood as the greatest indicator of gentrification. Many of these new homeowners were originally tenants, as seen in previous census collections.

Furthermore, we cannot say that these developments are indicative of revitalization either, as this would imply a history of prosperity, followed by a period of decline, and finally by a renewed sense of prosperity. This pattern has not occurred in Casal Bruciato's history.

In recent times conditions in the neighborhood appear to have simply stabilized after its beginnings amongst housing riots and

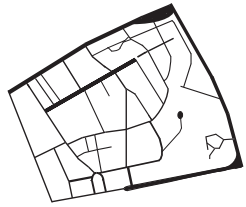
real estate speculation, something which we believe is the biggest conclusion to be drawn from statistics indicating increased home ownership. Residents we encountered now appear comfortable investing in the area, looking forward to improving the neighborhood through additions and repairs of existing spaces and advocating for green spaces.

While developers in Columbia Heights are constructing numerous residential units and elaborate commercial establishments catering to niche markets, members of the Casal Bruciato community associations are attempting to reclaim underutilized spaces for public interaction. This is not to say that Casal Bruciato does not remain susceptible to the development of undesirable neighborhood characteristics. In fact, the neighborhood currently experiences elevated pollution levels and government enforced evictions. These are two issues that residents are attempting to combat in hopes of bettering their

quality of life and that of their neighbors, an attitude usually missing from similar neighborhoods experiencing gentrification.

To see evidence of an already strong and growing sense of community in the neighborhood, one needs to look no further than the show of support given to the family we observed being evicted from the INA-Sarco projects on April 2nd, 2009. Though signs of progressing gentrification do not readily appear in Casal Bruciato, the eviction of even one long-established family prompts everyone to reflect on how to reinvest in their neighborhood and work for a brighter future.

Research on gentrification and reflection on our past observations and interviews offers a better understanding of Casal Bruciato: a neighborhood exhibiting few signs of gentrification but greatly changing in character.

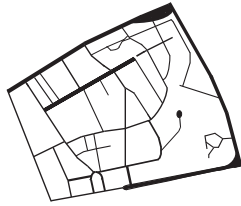


Closing Remarks

The three parts of our neighborhood study allowed us to gain an understanding of the neighborhood of Casal Bruciato in multiple aspects: physical environment and neighborhood characteristics, visual form and image, and prominent issues.

With further time for study, a more insightful grasp of how the four quarters of Casal Bruciato can be interwoven could be obtained. Though more must be understood about the different patterns of development and resulting weak collective identity in Casal Bruciato, our recommendations may aid in the unification and stabilization of the neighborhood. What actions are taken remains to be seen. The presence of strong citizen associations already working toward neighborhood improvement are good indications for continued progress. Future challenges for Casal Bruciato, such as the aging population of INA-Casa residents and the Autostrade's desire for office expansion, must be considered and found an appropriate solution. A detrimental future for the neighborhood is a return to its unregulated and unchecked speculative planning and growth past.

As our study of Casal Bruciato and also our semester conclude, we are left with a priceless connection to Rome. The opportunity to connect to a place in Rome, beyond the postcard stands and costumed gladiators, has truly deepened our experience. It is a reminder that travelers to Rome must not only focus on the antiquities but consider how an urban center and its people function in this historical context. We hope that the residents of Casal Bruciato were enriched in return by our presence, and we leave this study with a better understanding of Rome, its periphery, and the vibrant neighborhood of Casal Bruciato.



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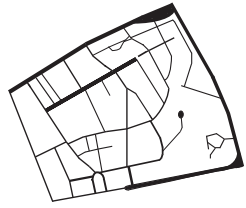
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Abbreviations

After the first mentioning in each Part, street names will be abbreviated in the following manner:

Via Tiburtina - V. Tiburtina

Via Diego Angeli - V. Angeli

Via dei Crispolti - V. Crispolti

Piazza Riccardo Balsamo Crivelli - Pza. Crivelli

Additional names are abbreviated throughout:

La Cacciarella social cooperative - La Cacciarella, social cooperative, cooperative, co-op

Italy's National Institute of Statistics - ISTAT

Education, Labor, Instruction, Sport - ELIS

Istituto Nazionale per le Assicurazione Casa - INA-Casa

Appendix 2: Street Survey Form

Date/Time:

Weather Conditions:

Location:

Street:

- Type of street (residential, mixed, commercial)
- Repair of paving
- Number of lanes
- Formation of parked cars (on sidewalk)
- Traffic intensity: Number of vehicles/minute
- Noise intensity (overall)
- Street furniture
- Number of trash/recycling dumpsters

Sidewalk:

- Repair of paving
- Paving
- Presence on both sides

Green:

- Planned planting
- Structures in green spaces
- Location of walls

Building:

- Ground plan
- Number of stories
- Number of balconies
- Repair/upkeep of structure
- Public and private access points
- Facade color, material
- Construction style, period

Human Activity:

- Demographics: age, race, gender, occupation, socio-economic status, profession
- Pedestrian flow
- Possible reasons for observed activity

Retail Systems:

- Name of store
- Address/location
- Presence of empty storefronts
- Size of retail outfit
- Signage

Appendix 2: Street Survey Tables

Location	Via Umberto Notari
Date/Time	2/26/09 at 12:50
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2-lane local, 2-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Diagonal parking on both curbs/ Parallel parking in the median
Sidewalks	8 ft sidewalks on both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Fair condition, looks noticeably dirty
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	None on north side, Mixed foliage visible on south side but all within enclosed area of daycare facility
Dumpsters	0
Noise Level	Low-Medium
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	0 cars
Land Use	Mixed-use street/ Primarily Residential/ Daycare facility on south side
Building Typology	8 story residential building on north side/ 1 story daycare facility on south side enclosed by iron fence
Façade	Stucco with earth tones and recessed balconies, lots of plants and objects on the balconies/ Daycare facility is stucco as well
Façade Conditions	Fair-Poor condition, appears noticeably dirty and unkempt
Closed Spaces	Daycare facility on south side completely enclosed
Public Spaces	Piazza Balsamo park located on eastern end of the street
Remarks	
*Traffic was counted over a one minute period of time during midday hours	

Location	Via Ugo Bertosi
Date/Time	2/26/09 at 14:30
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2 -lane local, 1-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Diagonal parking on both curbs, Underground private parking, Street-level private parking in closed off areas (minimal)
Sidewalks	7 ft sidewalks, both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Saplings spaced 20' to 30' apart / Other plants only located within courtyards not on streetscape
Dumpsters	7
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	4 cars
Land Use	Residential north of Via Carlo Tenca, Mixed-use between Via Carlo Tenca and Piazza Balsamo
Building Typology	8 story residential with street level retail on buildings close to Piazza Balsamo on east side
Façade	Brick facades, either yellow or red, with recessed balconies, large interior courtyards
Façade Conditions	Good, little graffiti
Closed Spaces	Courtyards separating individual buildings
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	

Location	Via Carlo Tenca
Date/Time	2/26/09 at 14:15
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2-lane local, 1-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Diagonal parking on both curbs, Underground private parking
Sidewalks	5 ft sidewalks on both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Fair-Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Saplings spaced 25' apart on south/ other trees located within private courtyards
Dumpsters	5
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	2 cars
Land Use	Mixed-use street/ Primarily Residential
Building Typology	8 story residential with some street level retail only on north side
Façade	Brick facades with recessed balconies
Façade Conditions	Fair-Good
Closed Spaces	Courtyards in between individual buildings
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	Street east of Via Ugo Bertosi is blocked off by arm gate, but listed as a through street on Google Maps

Location	Via Aureli Bianchi Govini
Date/Time	2/26/09 at 14:10
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2-lane local, 1-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Diagonal parking on both curbs, Underground private parking
Sidewalks	6 ft sidewalks on both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	No trees or shrubbery
Dumpsters	0
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	1 car
Land Use	Residential
Building Typology	8 story residential
Façade	Yellow brick facades with recessed balconies
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	N/A
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	

Location	Piazza Balsamo
Date/Time	2/26/09 at 12:50
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2-lane rotary, 1-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking with median parking along south side/ Underground private parking
Sidewalks	7 ft sidewalks on both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good, sidewalks are a bit worn from bus traffic
Street Furniture	Benches and tables located inside park areas on the Piazza interior
Trees and Shrubbery	All inside park and piazza interior, mostly deciduous trees spaced 25' apart with surrounding benches on north side of interior, some hedges surrounding playground
Dumpsters	10
Noise Level	Medium
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	21 cars/ 7 motorbikes
Land Use	Mixed-use street with some solely commercial outlets
Building Typology	7-9 story residential with street level retail surrounding most of the Piazza
Façade	Stucco facades with earth tones and recessed balconies/ Brick facades with recessed balconies/ Concrete facades with no balconies
Façade Conditions	Most are in fair condition/ stucco and concrete on the poorer side/ Many balconies overflowing with plants and TV dishes
Closed Spaces	Day-care facility on west side of Piazza
Public Spaces	Large park in the middle of the Piazza including bus terminal/ playground on east side of the Piazza interior/ Table area on north side of Piazza interior with ample seating
Remarks	

Location	Via Silvio Negro
Date/Time	2/23/09 at 12:00
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2-lane local, 2-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Diagonal and Parallel parking on both curbs/ Underground private parking, Median parking on southernmost block
Sidewalks	8 ft both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Fair, sidewalks and street appeared dirty
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	No street trees except in closed off spaces adjacent to the streetfront
Dumpsters	6
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	2 cars
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	7-8 story residential with street level retail for some closer to Via Notari
Façade	Stucco facades in earthtones with recessed balconies/ Brick facades with protruding balconies
Façade Conditions	Fair-good/ some street-level graffiti for stucco buildings
Closed Spaces	Courtyards separating stucco buildings on either side, grass area on east side near Via Notari
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	One unnumbered fruit vendor located halfway along block between Via Notari and Via Donati on west side

Location	Via Riccardo Zampieri
Date/Time	2/23/09 at 11:40
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2-lane local, 1-way westbound
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Diagonal parking on both curbs/ Underground private parking/ Parallel parking only east of Via Silvio Negro
Sidewalks	8 ft both sides west of Via Silvio Negro, 7 ft east of Via Silvio Negro
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good to fair, street in fairly good condition, sidewalks had lots of animal waste
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	No street trees except in closed off park adjacent to streetfront
Dumpsters	0
Noise Level	Low-Medium
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	11 cars/ 2 motorbikes
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	7-9 story residential with street level retail
Façade	Stucco facades in earthtones with recessed balconies/ Brick facades in either red or ochre with protruding balconies
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	Open grass area on north side of street parallel to Via Umberto Notari
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	

Location	Via Tiburtina
Date/Time	2/26/09 at 11:30
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	4-lane arterial, 2-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Diagonal parking on both curbs / Storefront parking lots / Underground private parking
Sidewalks	8 ft both sides, 3 ft in few sections
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good, increased wear and cracks in few sections
Street Furniture	Few benches / Outdoor dining sets at some eateries
Trees and Shrubbery	Street trees ~30 ft. apart / Plantings in private courtyards and balconies
Dumpsters	20
Noise Level	Medium-High
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	58 cars / 12 motorbikes
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	5-8 story residential with street level retail / 1-2 story commercial
Façade	Stucco facades in earthtones, beige and grey / Brick facades / Recessed and protruding balconies on most buildings
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	Gated parking / Walled lawns
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	Street trees on the eastern portion of Via Tiburtina were heavily trimmed / Residential buildings in eastern portion oriented towards side

Location	Via dei Crispolti
Date/Time	2/26/09 at 14:00
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2-lane local, 2-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on both curbs / 2 rows of diagonal parking in the center / Underground private parking / Occasional double-parking
Sidewalks	10 ft both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Street trees (saplings) ~16 ft. apart / Plantings in private courtyards and balconies
Dumpsters	25
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	9 cars
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	4-6 story residential, some with street level retail/ 1 story commercial
Façade	Brick facades ranging from light to dark brown / Stucco facades in earthtones / Recessed and protruding balconies on newer residential building
Façade Conditions	Good except for 19A residential complex / Minimal street level graffiti
Closed Spaces	Walled residential complexes / Gated courtyards / Fenced open space
Public Spaces	Fenced open space on Via dei Crispolti and Via Diego Angeli
Remarks	Road construction on Via dei Crispolti near Via Cipriano Facchinetti and near Via Diego Angeli / More brick facades on western portion /

Location	Via Cipriano Facchinetti
Date/Time	3/2/09 at 11:00
Weather	Cloudy/rain
Street Type	2-lane local, 1-way southbound street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on both curbs / Diagonal parking on west curb south of Crispolti / Parking lot in front of school
Sidewalks	8 ft both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	20 benches and some outdoor dining sets inside grounds of La Cacciarella
Trees and Shrubbery	Plantings in private courtyards and balconies / Greenery inside grounds of La Cacciarella
Dumpsters	8
Noise Level	Low (more noise towards Via Tiburtina)
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	12 cars / 1 motorbike
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	6 story residential, some with street level retail / 4 story school building / 1 story co-op buildings
Façade	Mostly brick facades on residential buildings / Recessed and protruding balconies on every residential building / Cement facades in yellow and orange on school and co-op
Façade Conditions	Good, some street level graffiti
Closed Spaces	Gated courtyards / Walled school and co-op but with open gates
Public Spaces	La Cacciarella co-op (walled, but with open gates)
Remarks	The façade of the school is covered in graffiti art, much of it food-themed

Location	Via Yambo
Date/Time	3/2/09 at 13:15
Weather	Cloudy/rain
Street Type	1-lane local, 1-way southbound street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Diagonal parking on both curbs / Underground private parking
Sidewalks	8 ft both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Very good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Plantings in private courtyards and balconies
Dumpsters	6
Noise Level	Very low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	1 car / 1 motorbike
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	5-6 story residential, some with street level retail
Façade	Cement facades in earth tones / Brick facades / Balconies on every residential building, most are recessed
Façade Conditions	Good, some street level graffiti and posters
Closed Spaces	Gated, private street north of Via dei Crispolti / Semi-gated courtyards
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	

Location	Via di Casal Bruciato
Date/Time	3/4/09 at 15:30
Weather	Cloudy
Street Type	1-lane connector, 1-way northbound street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on both curbs
Sidewalks	10 ft both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good-Fair, some cracks in pavement near Via Tiburtina
Street Furniture	N/A (only inside grounds of La Cacciarella and private courtyards)
Trees and Shrubbery	Cherry blossom street trees ~20 ft. apart north of Via Giuseppe Donati / Deciduous street trees ~20 ft. apart on west side of street, south of Via Giuseppe Donati / Plantings in private courtyards and balconies of residential buildings / Abandoned lot
Dumpsters	13
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	13 cars
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	6-9 story residential, some with street level retail / 4 story school building / 1 story co-op buildings
Façade	Stucco facades in yellows and tans with some brick accents / Orange stucco facades on co-op buildings / 1 brick building on Via Casal Bruciato and Via Giuseppe Donati
Façade Conditions	Fair, some street level graffiti
Closed Spaces	Semi-gated courtyards / Walled abandoned lot west of Via Casal Bruciato
Public Spaces	La Cacciarella co-op (walled, but with open gates)
Remarks	Road construction on Via di Casal Bruciato near Via Tiburtina

Location	Via Diego Angeli
Date/Time	3/4/09 at 16:00
Weather	Cloudy
Street Type	2-lane connector, 2-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Mix of parallel and diagonal parking on both curbs / Some cars impeding sidewalk
Sidewalks	8 ft both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	1 observed bench
Trees and Shrubbery	Street trees (saplings) ~12 ft. apart south of Via Giuseppe Donati / Plantings in private courtyards and balconies
Dumpsters	24
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	4 cars / 1 motorbike
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	3-8 story residential, some with street level retail
Façade	Stucco facades in yellow, brown, grey and pink / Brick facades in tan and brown / Balconies on every building, mostly protruding
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	Some gated courtyards / Gated parking garages
Public Spaces	Piazza Riccardo Balsamo Crivelli
Remarks	More recessed balconies on west side of street north of Via Giuseppe Donati / Building fronts not abutting street had more worn facades

Location	Via Arnaldo Cervesato
Date/Time	3/4/09 at 16:30
Weather	Cloudy
Street Type	1-lane private street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on both curbs
Sidewalks	2 ft both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Plantings in private courtyards and balconies
Dumpsters	0
Noise Level	Low-Medium (noise from Via Tiburtina)
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	No traffic
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	5-6 story residential, street level retail on west side / 1 story bar
Façade	Brick facades / Protruding balconies
Façade Conditions	Very good
Closed Spaces	Gated courtyards / Walled residential complex
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	Closed, private street with bollards on Via dei Crispolti and a gate on Via Tiburtina

Location	Via Giuseppe Donati
Date/Time	3/4/09 at 17:00
Weather	Cloudy
Street Type	2-lane local, 2-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	No parking on either side of street beginning east of Via Alfredo Comandini / West of Via Alfredo Comandini both parallel and diagonal parking on both street sides / Presence of handicapped parking
Sidewalks	6 ft sidewalks on both sides with a 3ft section near the intersection of Via Luigi Lucatell
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Private green spaces behind walls or gates / Potted trees every 8 ft. starting west of Via Raffaele Calzini (only on southern side).
Dumpsters	24
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	4 cars
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	4-8 story residential with street level retail starting west of Via Raffaele Calzini.
Façade	Stucco facades in earth tones and Brick facades / Balconies on the newer buildings only, all protruding
Façade Conditions	Good except for poor conditions for apartments between Via Raffaele Calzini and Via Diego Angeli.
Closed Spaces	Mosted gated courtyards and one semi-gated courtyard.
Public Spaces	Park on the corner of Via Raffaele Calzini.
Remarks	

Location	Via Giuseppe Canepa
Date/Time	3/9/09 at 13:00
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	1-lane, private street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on both curbs
Sidewalks	N/A
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Plantings in private courtyards and balconies
Dumpsters	4
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	0
Land Use	Residential street
Building Typology	5-6 story residential
Façade	Brick facades with recessed and protruding balconies
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	Private property sign at street entrance / Gated courtyards
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	Clearly marked private street intended solely for residents' use

Location	Via Pietro Ferrigini
Date/Time	3/9/09 at 13:30
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	1-lane, 1-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on both curbs
Sidewalks	N/A
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Plantings in private courtyards and balconies
Dumpsters	0
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	0
Land Use	Residential street
Building Typology	5-6 story residential
Façade	Brick facades with recessed and protruding balconies
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	Gated courtyards
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	

Location	Via Filippo Fiorentini
Date/Time	2/23/09 at 11:00
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	4-lane arterial, 2-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on Southbound curb only
Sidewalks	4 ft sidewalks on both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good repair for street with fair sidewalk repair
Street Furniture	Billboard structures in sidewalk
Trees and Shrubbery	Plantings behind walled Autostrade office park / Continuous manicured bushes about 6 ft high on northbound side
Dumpsters	4
Noise Level	Medium-High
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	42 cars / 4 motobikes
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	6-8 story residential units enclosed by gate with street level retail all starting in the Southern end / 3 story elementary school and 4 story middle school
Façade	Stucco facades in creams, reds, and brown / Both recessed and protruding balconies /
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	Gated condo complex with toll gates at the two entrances
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	Physically separated condo complex by the Autostrade office park from the rest of residential buildings

Location	Via Alberto Bergamini
Date/Time	2/23/09 at 11:30
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2-lane local, 2-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on both curbs east of Via Mario Borsa / Parallel parking on both curbs and both medium sides from Via Cesare Spellanzon west to Via Deigo Angeli
Sidewalks	6 ft sidewalks on both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Trees in medium every 8 ft / Planted trees in the sidewalk with large, purple flowering potted plants in front to the Autostrade office complex
Dumpsters	14
Noise Level	Medium
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	34 cars / two public buses
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	6-9 residential with street level retail / 8 story commercial office building
Façade	Stucco facades in earth tones with recessed and protruding balconies / Concrete grey facades with protruding balconies
Façade Conditions	Good until west Via Cesare Spellanzon then poor
Closed Spaces	Low wall with 6 ft fence enclosing Autostrade office park / Gated school (2 story) and public park also with low wall and 6 ft fence on Northern side
Public Spaces	Large park on the Northern side between Vai Cesare Spellanzon and Via mario Borsa / No public access to park from Via Alberto Bergamini / Open air market on Southern side just west of Via Cesare Spellanzon
Remarks	

Location	Via Raffaele Calzini
Date/Time	2/23/09 at 12:00
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	2-lane local, 2-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parking lot bordering Via Diego Angeli / Diagonal street parking on both curbs / 2 rows of parking in the middle of street at the bend fo Via Raffaele Calzini
Sidewalks	6 ft sidewalks on both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Three large trees in the road and sidewalk / All other green space in private courtyards and balconies or behind Autostrade office park wall
Dumpsters	8
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	4 cars
Land Use	Mixed-use street
Building Typology	7-8 story residential units with some street level retail / 2 story middle school
Façade	Stucco facades in tans with protruding balconies (some wooden balconies) / Some brick facades
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	8-10 ft wall enclosing Autostrade on the Eastern side / Gated courtyards and condo entrances on the west side
Public Spaces	Large park on the Southeastern side of Via Raffaele Calzini
Remarks	

Location	Via Luigi Lucatelli
Date/Time	2/23/09 at 11:40 AM
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	Two-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on either side of street, parking in private driveways and courtyards as well
Sidewalks	4-5 ft sidewalks both sides
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Fair to Good, better condition south of Via dei Crispolti
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Trees and plantings in private courtyards, patios
Dumpsters	8
Noise Level	Low-Medium, high north of Via dei Crispolti because of Via Tiburtina
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	4 cars/2 mopeds
Land Use	Mixed-use
Building Typology	5-6 story residential with minimal street level retail
Façade	Stucco facades in tan and white earth tones, some balconies
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	Courtyards/patios in front of apartments gated off and most locked. Some shared courtyards between buildings also closed
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	

Location	Via Luigi Cesana
Date/Time	2/26/2009 at 12:20 PM
Weather	Partly cloudy
Street Type	One-way street
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel Parking on either side of street, mostly on western side, though
Sidewalks	4-5 ft sidewalks on either side
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Fair, worn areas and cracks observed
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Trees/plantings on private spaces
Dumpsters	10
Noise Level	Low-Medium, high north of Via dei Crispolti because of Via Tiburtina
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	2 cars
Land Use	Residential
Building Typology	5-6 story residential, one group of townhouses with apartments underneath
Façade	Stucco facades in earth tones, only some balconies
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	Courtyards/patios in front of apartments gated off and most locked. Some shared courtyards between buildings also closed
Public Spaces	Community center at top of street near intersection with Via Lucatelli
Remarks	

Location	Via Alfredo Comandini
Date/Time	3/2/09 at 11:25 AM
Weather	Overcast, just rained
Street Type	One-way street, local
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Angled parking spaces on either side of street
Sidewalks	4-5 ft sidewalks either side
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	No trees or plantings. Grassy hillside behind community center abuts the street
Dumpsters	4
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	2 cars
Land Use	Residential
Building Typology	5-8 story residential. None of the buildings face street. Back of older housing on east side of street, new housing block enclosed by fences and gates on west side
Façade	Older housing=earth tone stucco, Newer=tan brick
Façade Conditions	Good for older housing, newer parts dirty, graffitied
Closed Spaces	No housing directly on street, newer housing block is closed off from street by fences and gates, always locked
Public Spaces	Church, Santa Maria della Visitazione
Remarks	Street almost like service road, little other reason for its existence other than parking

Location	Via Edoardo Arbib
Date/Time	3/2/09 at 11:45 AM
Weather	Overcast, just rained
Street Type	Two-way street, local
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parking on sides of street and around retail block, a few private, gated spaces in front of buildings
Sidewalks	No sidewalks
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	Small bench near retail block
Trees and Shrubbery	Trees and bushes in median on east end of street, spots around retail block. Lots of potted plants in private courtyards
Dumpsters	4
Noise Level	Medium
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	3
Land Use	Residential and commercial
Building Typology	5-6 story residential, one story retail block in center
Façade	Earth tone stucco, some balconies
Façade Conditions	Good
Closed Spaces	Fences and gates closing off private patios and courtyards
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	Set up almost like town square, apartment buildings surround and look out on parking areas and retail center

Location	Via Virgolio Ramperti
Date/Time	3/8/2009
Weather	Sunny
Street Type	Two-way, local
Pavement	Asphalt
Parking	Parallel parking on either side of street, underground parking under buildings, two paid parking garages as well
Sidewalks	4-5 ft sidewalks on either side
Street/Sidewalk State of Repair	Good
Street Furniture	N/A
Trees and Shrubbery	Trees/plantings in courtyards between buildings
Dumpsters	2
Noise Level	Low
Motorized Vehicles per Minute*	1 car
Land Use	Mixed-use
Building Typology	6-8 story residential with first floor retail near intersection with Via Diego Angeli
Façade	Brown, tan and gray brick, all with balconies
Façade Conditions	Fair to good, condition of building facades seemed to vary between those that faced the street and those that faced the inner courtyards. Those facing street usually better
Closed Spaces	Fences and gates closing off courtyards and entryways. Some unlocked. Gates closing off access to private parking/garages.
Public Spaces	N/A
Remarks	

Appendix 4: Questions for Tiburtino Interviews

1) Come se definisce il tuo quartiere?

How would you define your neighborhood?

2) Come se definisce i limiti del quartiere?

How would you define the boundaries (edges) of the neighborhood?

3) Che cosa le caratteristiche saliente della questa comunità? Che cosa è la reputazione del quartiere? L'ho qualcosa che lo farrebbe famoso?

What are some salient identity features of the community? (what kind of reputation does your neighborhood have?)

4) Ci sono i punti riconoscibili del quartiere?

Are there any recognizable features (landmarks, sacred places)?

5) Pensa che il tuo quartiere diventa migliore o peggiore? Perché? Come il quartiere ha evoluto durante i anni? Che cosa sono o sono stato qualche delle caratteristiche costante che sostiene la comunità?

Do you think your neighborhood is improving or declining?

How has the neighborhood evolved over the years?

What are/have been some of the constant features that sustain the community?

6) Trova il tuo quartiere nella carta di Roma. Che cosa i quartieri sono la vicino?

Locate your neighborhood within the quadrant (map) of Rome

What are the neighboring neighborhoods?

7) Perché si conosce questo quartiere? Che cosa differenzia questo quartiere?

What is the prestige difference (prestige factors) of the neighborhood within the quadrant?

How would you rate your neighborhood among neighborhoods found in the quadrant?

8) Perché lascia il quartiere, meno lavorare o per scuola? Perché lascia il quartiere sul fine settimana?

What are the occasions when you have to leave the neighborhood?

9) Come, o dove, si lascia il quartiere? Quale strade si usa per lasciare il quartiere? Dove va e come va là? Quale le migliore uscite e entrate del quartiere?

What are the pathways leading out of the neighborhood? Where do you go and how do you get there?

What are the chief entryways into and exits out of the neighborhood?

10) Come si va interno del quartiere?

What are the pathways within the neighborhood?

11) Il quartiere ha bisogno delle comodità o dei attrazioni? Ci sono groupi o associazioni comunali (per la comunità)? Dove lei incontra i suoi amici o altre persone nel quartiere?

What amenities are lacking in the neighborhood?

Are there any community groups? Public spaces – parks, markets?

Is there a meeting point for your demographic?

12) Se può costruire un monumento per simboleggiare il quartiere, dove lo metterebbe e che cosa assomiglierebbe?

If you could build a monument in your neighborhood, where would you put it and what would it include?

Additional Issue-based Questions

Access

What are the neighborhood access points? How does the significant presence of private gated areas affect quality of life for residents? Where would you go during the day but not at night?

Community Identity

How do you draw community support for neighborhood initiatives? Is there a positive, helpful reception to these efforts? What is missing from your neighborhood that you would like to see added? What is the relationship to the surrounding communities?

Transportation

What are the systems of parking for the area? How does the elevated levels of auto parking, often informally, affect your transportation choices?

