

EXPLORING SAN PAOLO



Agnes Ladjevardi
Shichun Ni
Lola Osho
Samuel Rose

Table of Contents

Introducing you to San Paolo

1. Geographical Context	4
2. Historical Context	5
3. Boundaries of San Paolo	6
4. Statistical Background	7
5. Overall Impressions	8
6. Methodology	9

Observing San Paolo

1. Boulevards: Type 1	11
2. Mixed Use Streets: Type 2	12
3. Small Residential Streets and Spaces: Type 3	19
4. Private Streets and Spaces: Type 4	27
5. The Open Public Spaces of San Paolo	34

Perceiving San Paolo	46
1. San Paolo from the Outside: Our cognitive map	48
2. San Paolo from the Inside: The Residents	50
3. San Paolo in Passing: The Non Residents	61
Analyzing San Paolo	68
1. The University's Influence	71
Roma Tre's Spatial, Demographic and Economic Influence	71
Measuring Gentrification in San Paolo through Comparison	76
Forecasting the Evolution of San Paolo	82
2. The Basilica's Influence	86
Current influence of the Basilica on San Paolo	86
The Basilica as a landmark	87
Conclusion	88
Bibliography	89
Appendix	91

INTRODUCING YOU TO SAN PAOLO



1. Geographical Context

San Paolo is situated in the South of Rome, on the east bank of the Tiber River. It is a neighborhood strongly connected to the regional fabric by the river to Fiumicino, the sea, and once also to the industrial ports along the Tiber River, by the metro B line stops (Basilica San Paolo and Marconi) and buses, mostly, to central Rome, and finally by car access, as this neighborhood's boundaries are also two important Roman through ways. These are Viale Marconi and Via Ostiense.

San Paolo's existence is strongly linked to its position. It is situated 600 meters from the Tiber, at a point where the river draws a wide meander. This area can therefore be interpreted as a residential neighborhood which once served the purpose of housing the working classes employed in the industrial fringe along the Tiber River. This relationship between San Paolo and the city center can be seen in Figure 1:1.

Today, however, San Paolo is not truly a periphery of Rome, although it is outside the Aurelian walls, because it is so well connected to the central-most Rome, and also because it is seamlessly integrated in Rome's urban fabric. It also serves central functions, especially because San Paolo now hosts some parts of the University of Roma Tre, where there once was a car building factory. The adjacent image shows the ambivalent position of San Paolo: neither a true periphery, nor a real part of what we imagine to be Rome's true center.

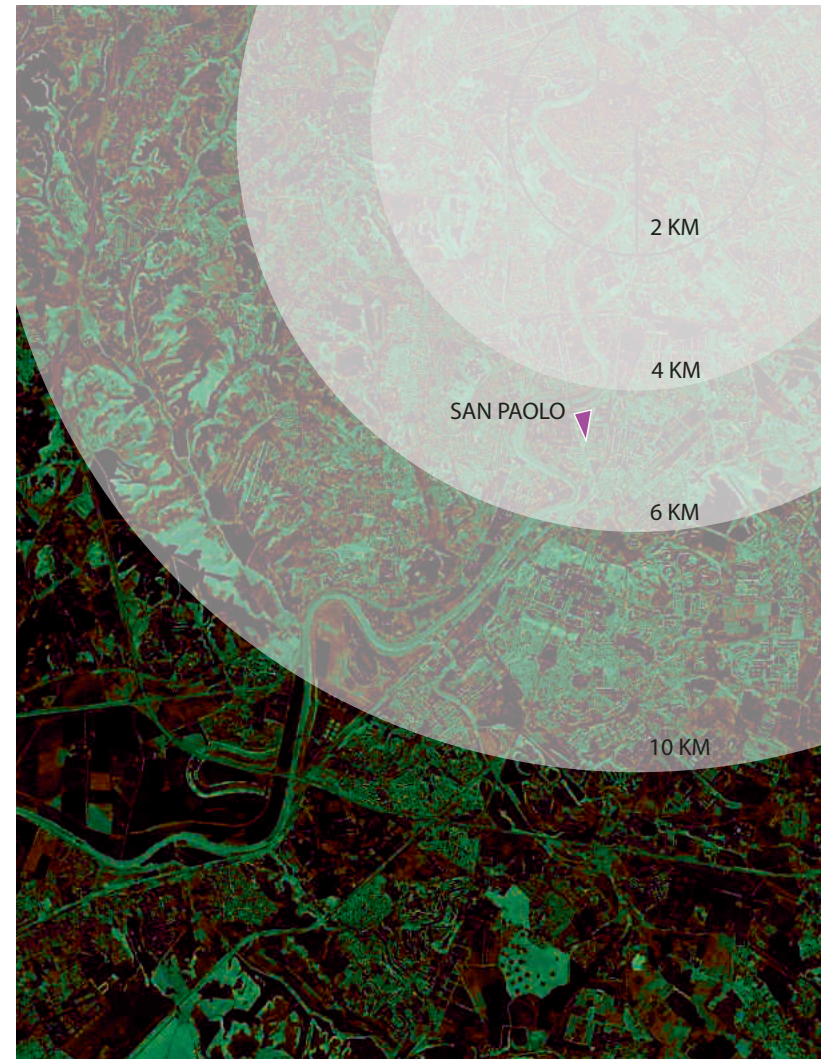


Figure 1:1: Roman Context. San Paolo: Center or Periphery?
Base map: Google Earth

2. Historical Context

Another way to give context to San Paolo is to mention its location with regards to the surrounding neighborhoods. It is situated South of Garbatella, a garden-city built in the 1920's, and North of EUR, conceived in the 1930's and built out in the 1950's and 1960's. If one assumes Rome's extension to be relatively concentric through time, San Paolo's birth could date back anywhere between the 1930's to 1950's.

However, in contrast to Garbatella and EUR, San Paolo is not a self-sufficient, master-planned neighborhood, but rather an "infill" urban development, which grew incrementally along and around infrastructure such as the railway, the river, Via Marconi and Via Ostiense.

It must also be noted that San Paolo's housing stock dates back to the 1960's, and not before, with the exception of the strip along the railway tracks, which seems to be the oldest urban fabric, dating back to the early 20th century. This indicates that the San Paolo one can witness today has been reshaped by private, and more importantly by public initiatives. This is especially true of the Southern residential areas of San Paolo, which are the result of an Istituto Nazionale delle Assicurazioni (INA) Casa intervention, a planning intervention which occurred across Rome in the 1950's, fuelled by the ideal of providing quality low-income housing with important private open spaces, and public green spaces.

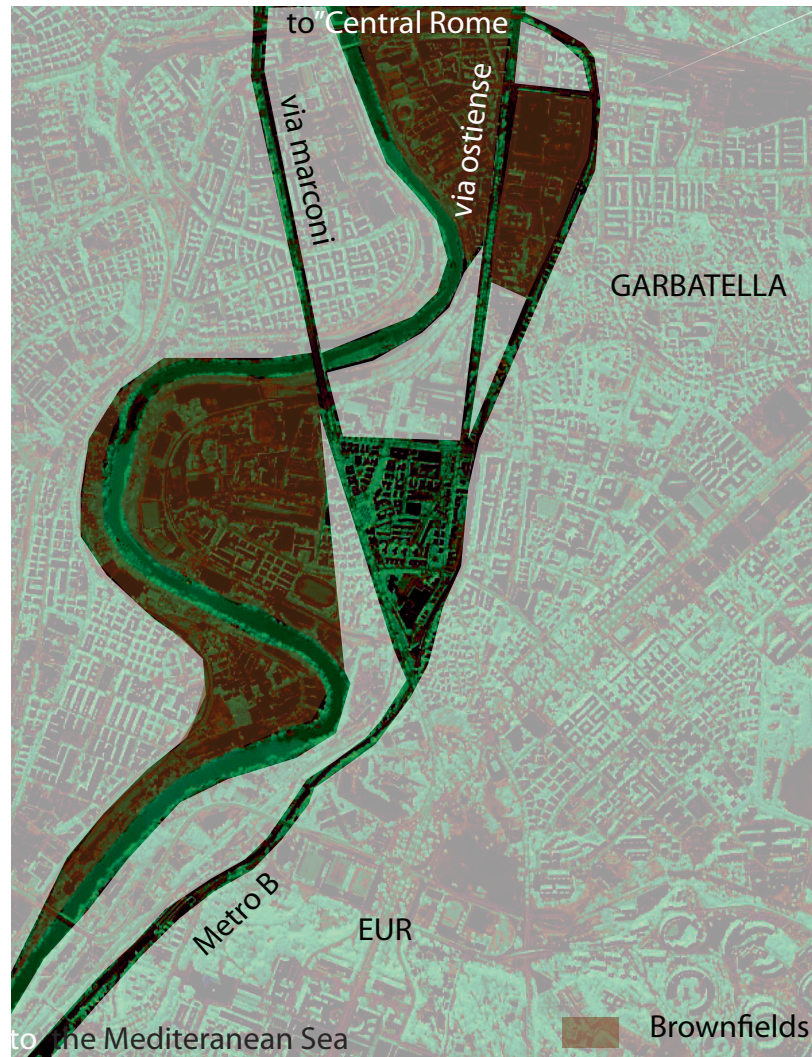


Figure 1:2: Local Context.
Base map: Google Earth

3. The Boundaries of San Paolo

The neighborhood takes its name from the Basilica di San Paolo, which attracts many tourists and tourist buses to the area, although this influx does not penetrate the fabric of the San Paolo neighborhood. For this reason, the Basilica and its block have not been included within the San Paolo neighborhood.

San Paolo stands separate from its surroundings because of the high traffic infrastructure that define its edges. These arteries are roads, with a minimum of four lanes, which makes them hard to cross, noisy, and appear to be mental barriers to the surrounding areas. These boundary roads are Via Marconi, Via Ostiense, and Via Ferdinando Baldelli.

Another barrier that gives the neighborhood its coherence is the Metro B railway line, which creates a physical barrier between San Paolo and the Ostiense neighborhood, with a system of underpasses and blocked vistas that disconnect the two areas.

Finally, the river acts as a distant mental barrier. It creates a place-making effect for San Paolo, and provides it with a distinct edge. It also creates a break with the fabric of San Paolo, as the river's edges are home to industrial brownfields of low density and low use.



Figure 1:3: San Paolo's boundaries
Base map Google Earth

4. Statistical Background

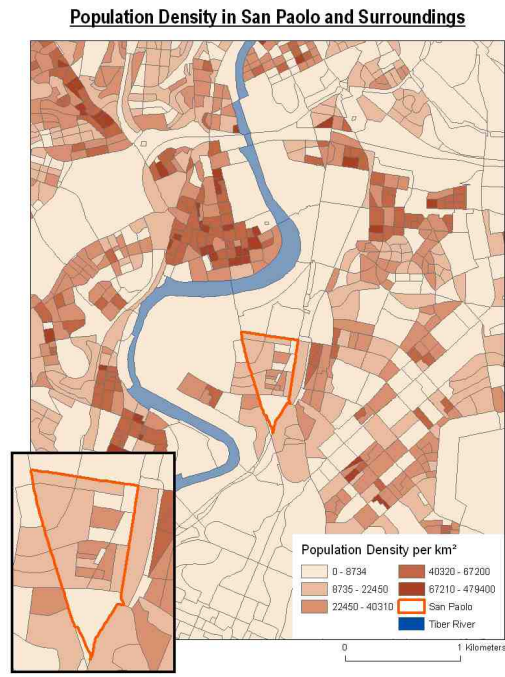


Figure 1:4:
Population
Density.
ISTAT Census
2001

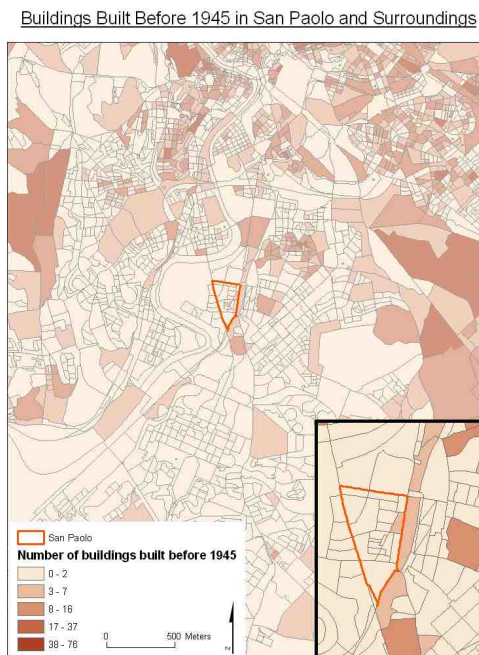


Figure 1:4:
Buildings
Built Before
1945
ISTAT Census
2001

San Paolo is a small neighborhood with a relatively high density, as compared to the Rome Metropolitan Area. San Paolo occupies 24.6 hectares (0.25 km²), and thus is an infinitesimal fraction of the total area of the Roman Metropolitan Area, which occupies 1,290 km². With 3,400 inhabitants, density in San Paolo is high (13,624 inh/ km²), six times above the Roman average of 2,105 inh/ km². This is especially relevant when one considers that about a quarter of San Paolo is occupied by a university block, and that open space is abundant. Inhabitants are therefore highly concentrated in mid-rise buildings, and one might imagine that the issue of lack of privacy, and other domestic matters, are common change in the neighborhood.

Most of San Paolo's residents are active and work in the tertiary sector. They most likely commute to work in other parts of Rome, as we could attest by the high number of residents which left in the morning for the metro and bus stations. Elderly populations are also prevalent, with 25% of residents being over 65, against 10% who are under 15. The elderly population of San Paolo could be interpreted as the original inhabitants of San Paolo's 1960's housing development. The fact that these elderly people are still in San Paolo in great numbers could signify there has been a low turn-over in the housing, and thus time for the stratification of human use of the space. San Paolo is truly a family-oriented neighborhood, as evidenced by the many pushchairs in ground floor apartment lobbies, as well as was evidenced by the large neighborhood day care center.

Foreign populations are scarce in San Paolo, with less than 1% of foreign born living in the neighborhood. However, perceptions of passers-by we talked to were very different and surprising: one mentioned the fact that this neighborhood was "full of oriental immigrants".

5. Overall Impressions

San Paolo is centered around a formalized covered market, Mercato Ostiense, but it is also organized around the existing infrastructure. It is both a residential area, with its share of elderly population, and an area that is increasingly pervaded by the student activity coming from Rome Tre University. Bars, cafes, restaurants have therefore an ambiguous clientele, both catering to working class residents and students. The reconversion of the car manufacturing plant into a university facility has also introduced a new dynamic into the neighborhood, which becomes more active during the day time as students come during their lunch break, or park their cars in the morning and afternoon. Further understanding the relationship between the students and San Paolo, in terms of rental housing for example, could be an interesting next step to take.

Traces of high neighborhood cohesiveness show that San Paolo has nonetheless a local existence beyond the student bustle: the Boccio Ball community center on Via Cesarea, the community center on Via Ostiense, the neighborhood dance school, the day care, the covered market and the high ratio of open green space attest to the high potential for socialization in San Paolo.

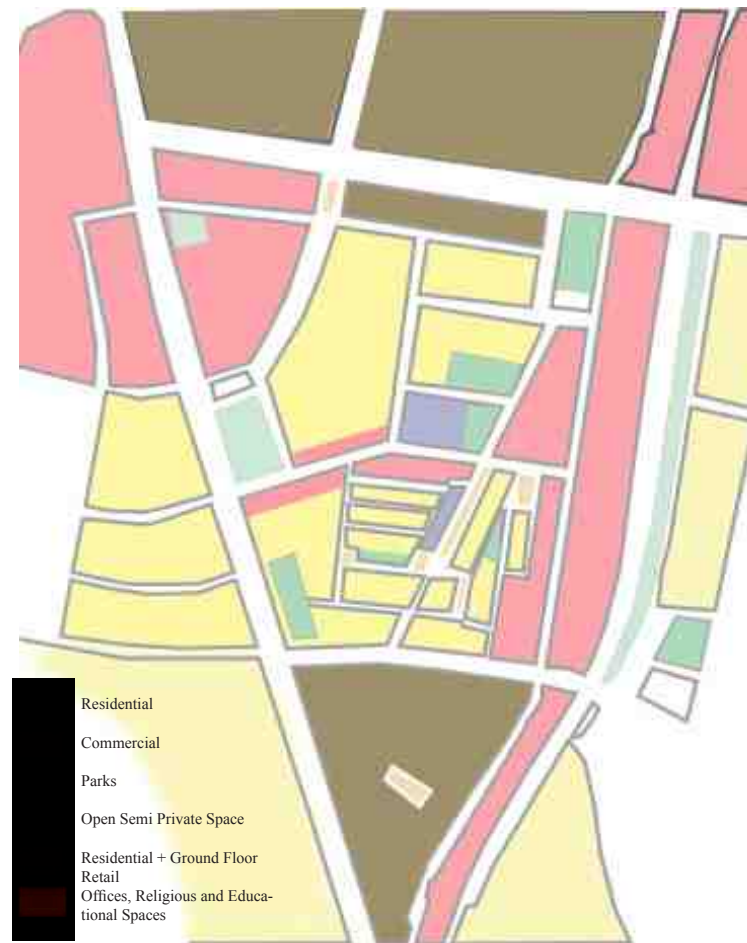


Figure 1:5: Land Use in San Paolo

6. Methodology

Street Observations

These were undertaken during the daytime in February 2009, in groups of two. Each group focused on coherent areas of the neighborhood. In order to obtain homogeneous data collections, we established an excel spreadsheet of elements to look at when walking around the neighborhood. These elements pertained to open space considerations, housing types, noise, urban vegetation, traffic flows, activities, and so on. An example of this table is given in the appendix. We consciously chose to study our neighborhood not by land use, but by space typology. A land use approach would have yielded a study such as: the university area, the market area, the residential area, the train station area. Such an analysis would have failed to provide a holistic approach to the common qualities of the space of San Paolo.

For instance, the interplay between public spaces and open private spaces is remarkable in San Paolo, and occurs homogeneously over the neighborhood. Using typology allows us to look at all the spaces of the neighborhood on an equal footing, to see the commonalities between them, as opposed to segregating space through use.

Four typologies of street spaces clearly distinguished themselves, in our eyes: busy arterial through-ways, mixed-use neighborhood serving streets, small residential streets, and private streets.

Photography

Both aerial using Google Earth, and pictures taken on site, were used to provide context to our findings.

Traffic Counts

Counts were conducted in groups of two to assess the precise level of activity in and around our neighborhood. Homogeneous data collections were once again obtained through the use of a common count methodology (15 min per count for both cars and pedestrians). The results of these counts can be found in the second part of the appendix.

Quantitative Data

Italian 2001 Census Data was used for statistical background on San Paolo and the production of GIS maps. Information taken from Italian websites, mainly the Comune di Roma, and the Roma Tre, were also widely used to fuel our analytical section.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted with as representative a sample of people we could find: students who lived in San Paolo, students who did not reside in San Paolo, long-time residents of San Paolo, workers who commute out, or into, San Paolo everyday, street vendors, shop keepers... Ages, gender, life situations all vary from interview to interview. However, one must bear in mind two elements which skew our results. First, most interviews were conducted in Italian, thus some information was lost in translation. Second, the people willing to be interviewed self-selected themselves, as people who could speak a little english, were present at the same time as us, which is to say, daytime. We missed, therefore, the best part of San Paolo's commuting working force.

OBSERVING SAN PAOLO



1. Boulevards: Type 1

Definition of Typology

The first of the road types which exist in the San Paolo neighborhood is the boulevard. For the purposes of this paper a boulevard will be loosely defined as a city street which is constructed to facilitate the easy movement of large numbers of vehicular traffic around or through an area. These boulevards form the major arterials around and through the neighborhood. The boulevard is typically characterized by multiple lanes of traffic going in either direction, as well as an island in the middle of the road which physically divides the traffic as it travels in opposite directions. Boulevards also tend to have very large sidewalks for pedestrians on either side of the road so as to facilitate this type of traffic as well.



Figure 2:1: Looking South on Viale Guglielmo Marconi (Rose, 2009)

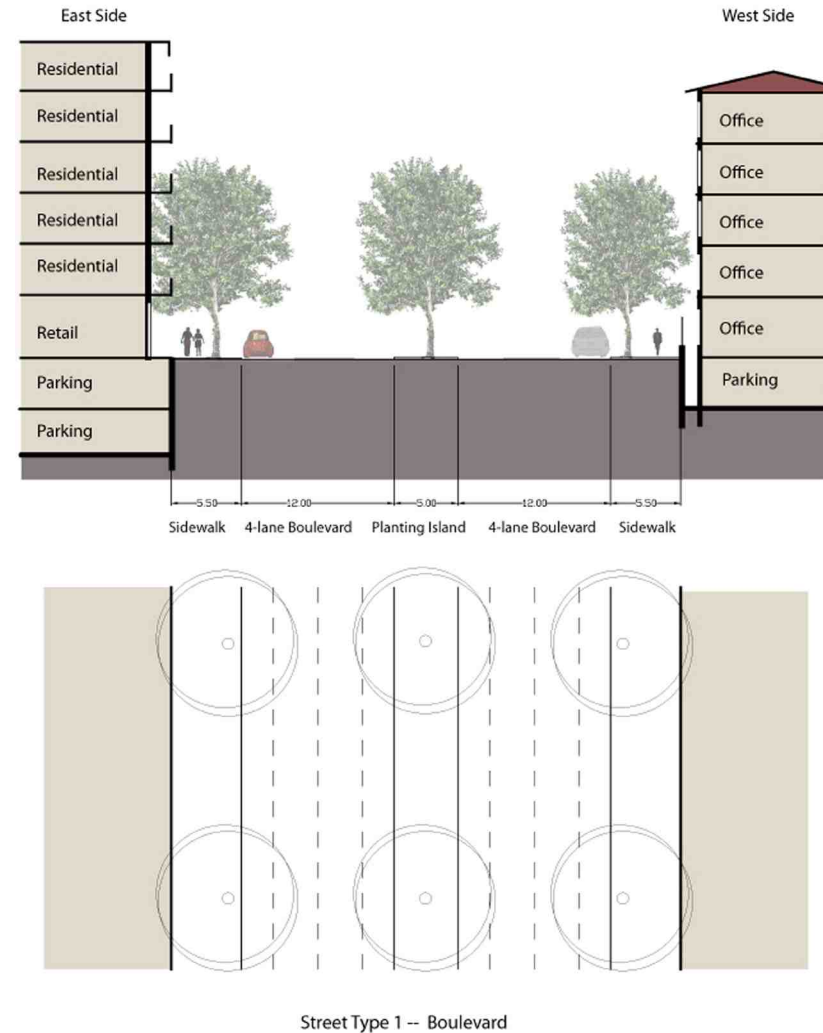


Figure 2:2: Section of a Type 1 Street

Viale Marconi

The first road Viale Marconi is the largest and busiest road in the neighborhood. The street frames the neighborhood on the western side and actually forms the western boundary of the neighborhood. The road consists of four lanes of fairly high speed traffic traveling in either direction with few cars parked on each side of the street. The street has a central island system which divides the lanes of the road traveling in either direction. This island is 5 meters across. The street also consists of many shops which for the most part form the ground floors of several five to six story mixed use residential structures. There are also two parks located along the street which break up the urban wall created by the line of shops. On the southern most end of the street one can find the university rather than the aforementioned shops and parks pattern.



Figure 2: 5: Looking toward North (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:6: Bus stop (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:7: Looking North (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:8: A crosswalk (Ni, 2009)

Via Baldelli/ Onesti

The next of these six roads is Via Baldelli/Onesti. Though this is one road the road name changes roughly halfway through the neighborhood. This road does on the north side of the neighborhood what Viale Marconi did on the west side. Baldelli/Onesti frames the neighborhood and serves as its northern border. This road is also important because it connects Viale Marconi with the San Paolo metro stop. Baldelli/Onesti is actually quite similar to Viale Marconi in a number of ways. First, it has room for four lanes of traffic to travel in either direction and is divided by a similarly sized island system in the middle of the road. Also this road facilitates the flow of large amounts of vehicular traffic around the neighborhood. The urban wall of the street is also broken up by a park. Despite these similarities there are also some important differences between these two roads. First, Baldelli/Onesti has large numbers of cars parked on either side of the street which actually reduces the number of usable driving lanes to two lanes in either direction. Another important difference with Marconi is that Baldelli/Onesti only has a few smaller ground floor commercial properties which are all on the part of the street that is closest to Viale Marconi. Instead the road is made up primarily of five to six story residential structures and a few small office buildings, which are owned by the Vatican.



Figure 2:9: Looking East at Residential structures (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:10: Looking toward South (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:11: Residential structure (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:12: Looking West at residences (Ni, 2009)

Via Tullio Levi Civita

The third boulevard road in the neighborhood is Via Tullio Levi Civita. Via Civita, though certainly a boulevard, has a much different character than either Marconi or Baldelli/Onesti. While both of these streets had a more commercial and vehicular feel to them Via Civita has much more of a residential or almost pedestrian feel to it. The reason for this is because the street is made up mostly of five to six story residential structures. The street itself also contains not only an island to divide the two lanes of traffic that it allows to travel in either direction, but it also contains a pedestrian walkway and lined parking spaces in the island system of the street. This layout coupled with the fact that this pedestrian walkway through the island system is tree lined on both sides creates a park-like feel to the street. It is this characteristic that really creates the pedestrian and residential feels that the street has. The street itself is not even exclusively residential. Several businesses including a Goodyear tire store and a pharmacy are located on the part of the street that is closest to Viale Marconi. The street actually houses an elementary school, a fairly large Todis supermarket, and a gym however these institutions also foster the feel that this street has because they are all either tucked behind or into the basement of the residential structures along the street.

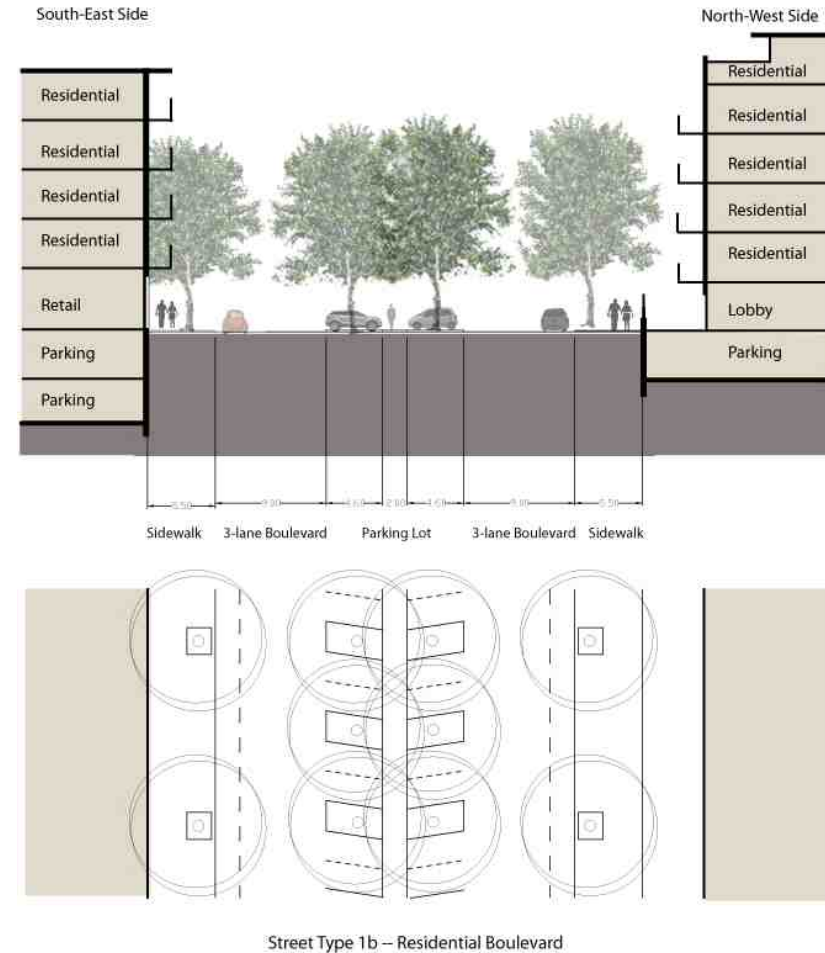


Figure 2: 13: Residential structure (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:14: Boulevard (Ni, 2009)

Figure 2:15: Section of Type 1b Street

Via dei Prati di San Paolo

The fourth of these streets is Via Dei Prati Di San Paolo. Via San Paolo is an interesting and difficult street to classify because it is not a boulevard in the traditional sense of a boulevard, because most of the road it is not a divided street. While it is divided for roughly one block on the east side of the neighborhood this does little in terms of an impact on or change in the character of the road. Via San Paolo as a road consists of two to three lanes of traffic going in either direction across the neighborhood on an east-west axis. The street also separates the university from the remainder of the neighborhood and thus in a sense it has isolated it from the residential population. Via San Paolo is actually notable more for what it doesn't have than for what it does have in terms of its relationships to the other major arteries in the neighborhood. Unlike the other boulevards, Via San Paolo is not a tree lined street. Also unlike the other boulevards, Via San Paolo has very few structures that face the road which creates a feel for the road of it almost being a highway. This is so because though sidewalks are present along the road, and are quite wide, there is really no reason to walk down the street unless one is simply using it to travel on because there is no real sense of place in the road and no reason for a pedestrian to stop walking. Also in this sense, unlike the other major arteries, Via San Paolo serves little to no commercial or residential purpose because neither homes nor businesses face the street.



Figure 2: 16: Looking West on Via di San Pao at how the residential structures both do not face the street but also how they are fenced off from the street (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:17: Looking East on Via di San Paolo (Ni, 2009)

Lastly there are two smaller roads which fit the aforementioned general description for a boulevard. These are Largo Beato Placido Riccardi and Via Enea Bortolotti. These two roads are actually very similar in the sense of their two main functions and characteristics. First these are both short “L” shaped streets that bend around pedestrian parks. Via Bortolotti bends around Giardino Albert Sabin, while Largo Riccardi bends around the unnamed park near to the San Paolo metro stop. Also these two streets also both allow the flow of large amounts of traffic around the park and also in connecting the major boulevards (Marconi, Civita, Baldelli/Onesti) with other important streets in the neighborhood. Largo Riccardi does this by connecting Via Baldelli/Onesti both Via Ostiense and Via Corinto. Via Bortolotti does this by not only connecting Via Civita to Viale Marconi, but by also connecting Via Civita to Via Efesso. In this sense these short streets serve the very important purpose of facilitating the flow of traffic between the other important streets in the neighborhood.



Figure 2:18: Istituto Tecnico Industriale Statale G. Armelini locatd on Largo Riccardi (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:19: Looking South on Largo Riccardi (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:20: Looking North on Via Bortolotti (Ni, 2009)

2. Mixed-Use Streets: Type 2

Definition of Typology

Our definition of a mixed use residential street or road in a mixed residential / local facilities area is a street that is mainly built up on both sides with a mix of residential and local facilities, shops, restaurants, bars, cafe and so on; is moderately to lightly trafficked; has limited time for Heavy Goods Vehicle (HGV) entrance and very few HGV flow (less than 100 per day, or no more than 5% of all traffic); has a speed limit of 50 km/h; is a 4-lane street parked on both sides by cars with 2 lanes in the middle; and is vegetated by street trees along at least one side of the street.

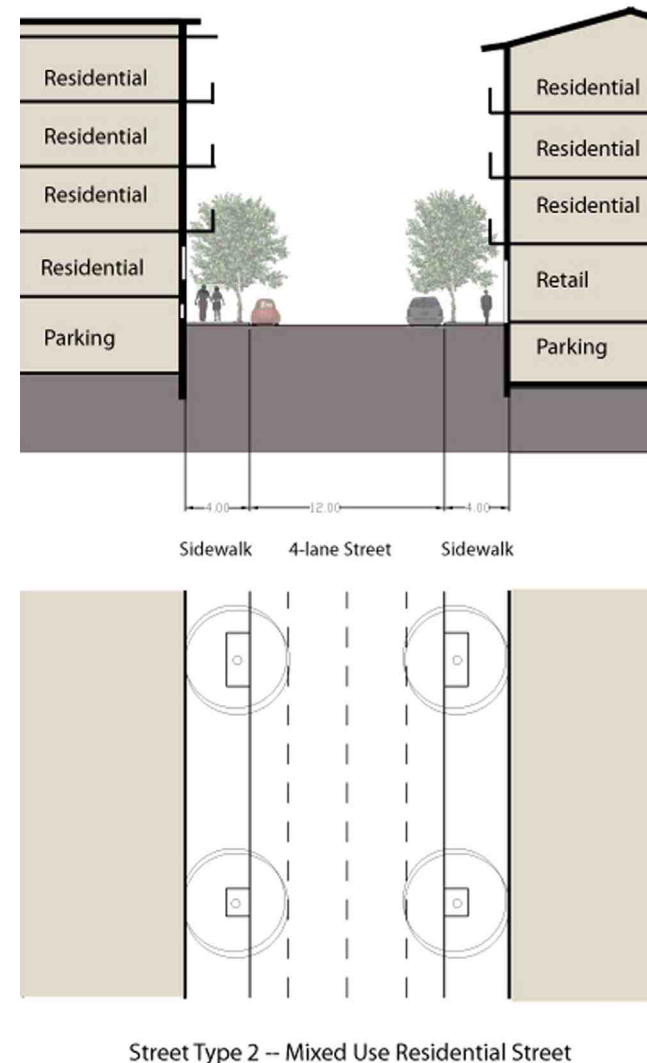


Figure 2:21: Section of Type 2 Street

Via Ostiense

Via Ostiense is a one way street with moderate to high traffic flow. It runs from South to North through the neighborhood. Both sides are fully lined by parked cars and some motorcycles. Big canopy street trees are planted along the street. The pedestrian sidewalks are wide (7 meters) and pleasant to walk on, although not many pedestrians were walking on the street. There are bus stops along the street. Bus numbers 23, 761 and 2 stop at these locations.

Most buildings are 5-8 stories. There are no balconies on the side facing the street. Most walls along the street have heavy graffiti. Some buildings have a pleasant backyard.

Garbage bins and recycling bins can be found along the street.

There are two big gas stations along this street. One is located near the intersection of Via Largo Riccardi and the other near Via Valco di San Paolo. One supermarket (about 1500 square meters) with a large parking lot is hiding behind the front buildings near Via Efeso. Other businesses such as restaurants, a radio station, a clothing store, a travel agency, a radiator shop, and other stores are located at the ground floor of the buildings. The upper levels are mainly residential with some for office uses like a dental office.

The only public green open space along this street is located between Viale Ferdinando Baldelli and Via Tessalonica. It has a fenced dog park and a wide open space under large pine trees. Evergreen hedges are around the park with frequent openings for people to move in and out. The benches in the park are well occupied by people. The park is used by many people as a cut through to the Metro Station which is at the East side of Via Ostiense.



Figure 2:24: Looking North (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:25: Looking South (Ni, 2009)

Via Corinto

This street is the most diversified street in terms of activities. A pizzeria, a cafe, a bookstore and other shops are located at the North end of the street. A park with a playground and the Mercato Ostiense, and in-house farmer's market form a public space in the middle of San Paolo. Vending booths can be found mainly at the eastside of the street across from the farmers' market. A linear shopping center along the west side of the street houses several pleasant restaurants, bars, a tabacchi, a hairstylist and other businesses. The South end of the street is composed of residential structures.

Via Corinto is a two-way street with low traffic flow running from South to North. It starts from Via Tessalonica and ends at Via Valco di San Paolo. Both sides are fully parked by cars and few motorcycles. The area at the South side of the shopping center and the area across the street from the shopping center consist of two major parking lots.

Only part of the West side of the street is vegetated by medium size street trees. However the park along the street and the green space in front of Mercato Ostiense provide good shading and open space to socialize in.

The pedestrian sidewalks are wide (5 meters). The market, shopping center and the street vendors attract a good number of pedestrians. Most pedestrians are old people and middle-aged women. At lunch time, more young people show up at the North end of the street where the pizzeria and cafe are located.

Most residential buildings are 4-5 stories with small balconies on the side facing the street. Balconies are often times full of plants and hanging cloths. The facades are also well maintained.



Figure 2:26:
Looking North
Vendors along the sidewalk across the street from Mercato Ostiense (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:27:
Looking South
Front: Shopping Center
Back: The social housing (Ni, 2009)

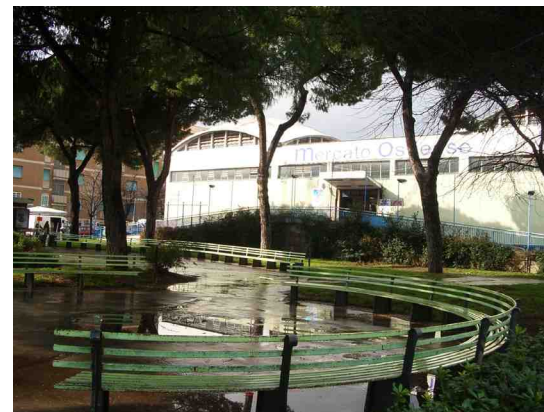


Figure 2:28:
Shaded area in front of Mercato Ostiense (Ni, 2009)

Via Filippi

Via Filippi is a quiet street with a very light traffic flow. It begins at Via Colossi as two-way street, continues to Via Loadicea, and ends as a one way street at Via Efeso. Both sides are fully parked by cars.

Big canopy street trees are planted along the street. The pedestrian sidewalks are wide (4 meters) and pleasant to walk on although not many pedestrians were walking on the street at the times of our visits. There are also no bus stops located on the street.

Most buildings are 5-6 stories residential housing complex with very simple design. The buildings are well maintained. The balconies are large.

Garbage bins and recycling bins can be found along the street. Some trash can be found on the ground.

Shops are commonly located on the first floor of the building close to Mercato Ostiense. Most of them are restaurants and bars.



Figure 2:29: Looking North (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:30: Looking South (Ni, 2009)

Via Ferdinando Nobili

Via Ferdinando Nobili is a short one-way street heading towards the West with a very light traffic flow. It begins at Via Tullio Levi-Civita and ends at Via Guglielmo Marconi. Both sides are fully lined by parked cars. Big canopy street trees are planted along the street. The pedestrian sidewalks are of a moderate width (4 meters). There are no bus stops along the street.

Most buildings are 5-6 story residential housing complexes with a very simple design. The buildings have gated courtyards and are well maintained. The balconies are large and full of plants. No clothes were found on the balconies.

Garbage bins and recycling bins can be found along the street. Some trash can be found on the ground.

Shops like a pizzeria, and an air conditioning and heating store are located on the first floor of the buildings on the North side of the street close to Via Guglielmo Marconi (see Figure 2:32).

A post office is at the South side of the street adjacent to Giardino Samuel Hahnemann. The garden is not big but is well designed. It is located at the corner of Via Leopoldo Nobili and Via Guglielmo Marconi. It has metal fences with 3 gates. The middle one is always locked. Pedestrians frequently use this park as a short cut. There is a circle in the middle of garden with a big tree at the center. Benches are placed around the circle. Trees and shrubs are planted behind the benches. The benches are well occupied by different people at different times. In the morning, older people and little kids with parents use the park more often. At lunch time, the benches are fully occupied by younger people, especially those who get their pizza from the pizzeria across Via Leopoldo Nobili.



Figure 2:31
The post office is on the ground floor (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:32:
Shops on the North side of the street (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:33: Giardino Samuel Hahnemann (Ni, 2009)

Via Laodicea

Via Laodicea is a very short one-way street with the very light traffic flow going West. It starts at Via Corinto and ends at Via Fillipi. Both sides are fully lined with parked cars.

The dominant building along this street is the Mercato Ostiense which occupies the entire block. A community park with a playground is located at the North side of the street. An old lady told us how she enjoyed coming to the park with her grandson because of the winter sun which bathes the park in sunlight. She complains, however, of vandalism occurring in the park, although she cannot say whether the vandals were not from the neighborhood or not. Beer bottles astray on the lawn suggest that the park attracts a different crowd at night. A 5 story residential housing complex with shops on the ground floor is located at the West end of the street.



Figure 2:35: Looking from the community park with Mercato Ostiense at the back (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:34: Looking North and East (Ni, 2009)

Via Efeso

Via Efeso begins as a one-way, low traffic street going East at Via Guglielmo Marconi. It changes into a two-way street with slightly more traffic from Via Fillipi to Via Ostiense. Both sides are fully lined with parked cars.

Medium street trees are planted along the street. The pedestrian sidewalks are of a moderate width. There are no bus stops located along the street.

Most buildings are 5-6 stories with well maintained balconies. The buildings near Mercato Ostiense have some graffiti. Some buildings have a pretty private courtyard. Garbage bins and recycling bins can be found along the street.

Shops are located on both sides of the street. They are mainly gelatterie, cafes and beauty shops. Mercato Ostiense is located at the East side of the street. Vendors on the sidewalk sell cheap clothes and other merchandise near Via Corinto. A magazine kiosk and a cafe are located at the corner of Via Corinto. This corner is probably one of the most popular corners in this community. Many older people sit there and have a coffee or get their newspapers in the morning.

A large park is located at the West end of this street. The park is under-utilized. It has a playground, but it is not well maintained. A large covered walkway cuts down the center of the park along its north-south axis. This structure is made primarily of wood, but partially enclosed by concrete benches which create a sense of isolation and cut the structure off from the remainder of the park. We saw a couple passionately kissing there, which might suggest that this park is seldom used by many and is a good hang-out spot for lovers.



Figure 2:36: Looking East (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:37: Park at West end (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:38: Looking West (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:39: Vendors start a day at 9:30am (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:40: East end (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:41: Looking toward the West (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:42: Parking lot at the South side of the street (Ni, 2009)



Figure 2:43: One sunny morning outside of the cafe in front of the Farmer's Market (Ni, 2009)

3. Small Residential Streets: Type 3

Definition of Typology

San Paolo can be described as a residential neighborhood, built in the 1960's, in which clear planning efforts have been conducted to propose a livable environment, with mixed-use streets, locally oriented services and open spaces. However, within this general "lived in" feeling, a portion of San Paolo distinguishes itself from the rest by the intricacy of its residential space, the complex interplay between private, semi-private, communal and public spaces, the particular circulation flow within the streets, and the strong impression one has that this residential space has been the result of a public planning intervention, because of the relative homogeneity of the building forms.

Common attributes of this typology include first a narrowness of the street: 9 meters wide including the sidewalks, which are very narrow and impracticable. Another attribute is the pedestrianization of the car's right-of-way. Passers-by were seen to use the street itself as a sidewalk, because of the impracticability of the sidewalk, but also because of the low traffic of the street, and the general feeling of being in an intimate street with little danger of speeding cars. Another was the low traffic flow as well as breaks in traffic flow with surrounding streets. Many of the streets in this typology are either one-way, dead ends, or one lane two-way streets.

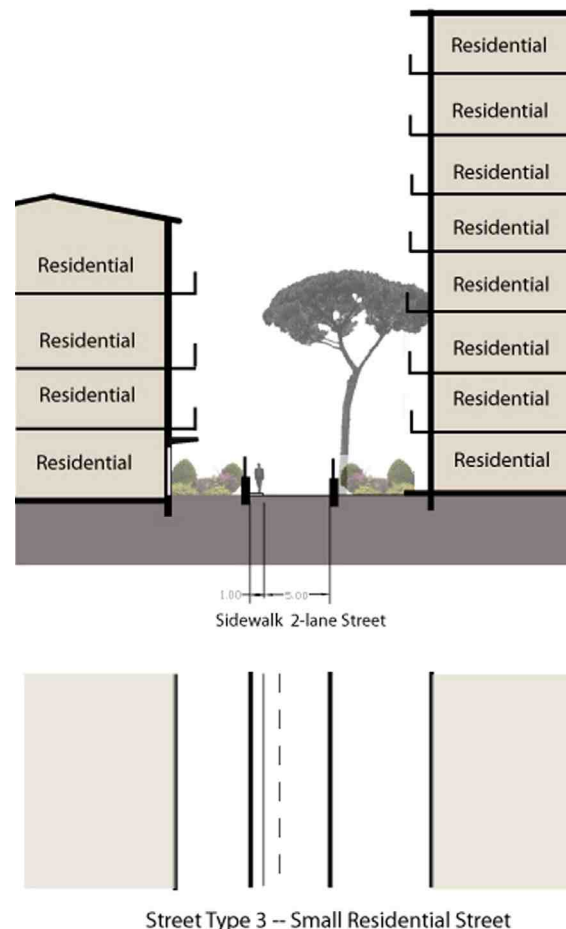


Figure 2:44: Section of Type 3 Street

Another very important aspect of these streets is a high parking presence. All the spaces of these streets have been taken over by parking. Parking occurs either on one side of the right-of-way, because the street is narrow, or staggered on both sides. Most of the spaces are occupied. This could indicate a lack of parking space with regards to the number of units of the neighborhood. This could also mean San Paolo receives a great number of “outsiders”, coming to park their cars in its small side streets. We are inclined to think of the latter interpretation as the correct one: inhabitants told us of the changing nature of the neighborhood since the conversion of the Alfa Romeo factory into the University of Roma Tre. San Paolo now receives greater influx of student activities, even within its inner most residential streets. We witnessed some students park their cars on these small residential streets. There also exists in these areas a pedestrian pathway network. The streets of the typology are often flanked by, continued by, or connected to each other by informal, narrow pedestrian pathways, or stairways which lead to other levels of the neighborhood.

The interplay between private and public spaces is also very important to these streets. There are no street trees on these small streets, however, the feeling of greenery is very present, because small private gardens, communal spaces, balconies are full of plants and trees. All the apartment blocks are fenced off and set back by a few meters behind a small courtyard, in which mature pines are growing, and curving onto the street. Also, a feeling of intrusiveness is characteristic of these streets. These streets are not through-ways, but service roads to access residential blocks. They are not, therefore, open to the outsider, and we were many times looked at suspiciously, either from the street level or from inhabitants peering through their windows.



Figure 2: 45: Via Cesarea's Dead End: dedicated to parking (Osho, 2009)



Figure 2: 46: Pedestrian Path along the private gardens to the back of Largo Corinto (Osho, 2009)

Another characteristic of these streets is the quality of definition of the private spaces. Although the housing blocks seem to cater to lower to middle income populations, the quality of its private space is remarkable: all units are flanked with good sized balconies which are fully appropriated, ground level apartments have small private gardens, the blocks themselves have all some form of communal entrance open space, which is clearly separated from the public realm through fencing. Open space as a component of the built environment seems to have been a key factor in the development on these housing blocks.

The amount of neighborhood amenities are also important. These streets are mostly single use residential, but they do show signs of catering to local needs: recycling bins, street lights, small public green spaces (for instance, off Via Cesarea, or off Via Tarso), but also community centers, such as the Boccio Ball center, which seems to predate the 1960's housing intervention, and which, we are told, is a very popular elderly people hang out spot, a child day care center which has newly been renovated, and a dance center, at the basement floor of a cruciform shaped mid rise buildings.



Figure 2: 47: Via Jerapoli's beautifully green mid-rise buildings, dotted with ample private balconies (Osho, 2009)



Figure 2:48: Neighborhood Dance Association: in the basement of a Via Cesarea housing complex (Osho, 2009)

A final attribute of these streets is the cohesiveness of the housing types. The impression of cohesiveness in housing types partially stems from the preceding comment: all houses have in common a high presence of private open spaces, such as balconies. The arrangement of the housing blocks themselves denote a wide scale architectural intervention. The buildings along Via Jerapoli are a good example of a homogeneous development: four cruciform eight storey buildings line one side of the street, each separated by private open green space. Another good example of a wide scale planning intervention occurs on Via Damasco, which is bordered by a repetition of identical blocks, all of which are free standing, like islands, between Via Damasco and Via Ostiense. The blocks situated within the Via Ostiense, Via del Valco di San Paolo, Viale Marconi, and Via Efeso have a particular cohesiveness to them in terms of their treatment of private space. However, it appears also clear that a strong intention to diversify the housing stock was here at work: housing heights vary greatly, from 4 or 5 stories to 8, shapes of the buildings also vary, from cruciform shapes to linear blocks broken down into more intimate units of approximately six flats. Further research has allowed us to give light to these observations: the particular fabric here describes corresponds to an INA Casa intervention, a post war effort to provide good quality low-income housing across Italy, which was driven by strong ideological principles and architectural figures, and notably emphasized on the importance of private spaces such as balconies to provide privacy and open space within a high density development.

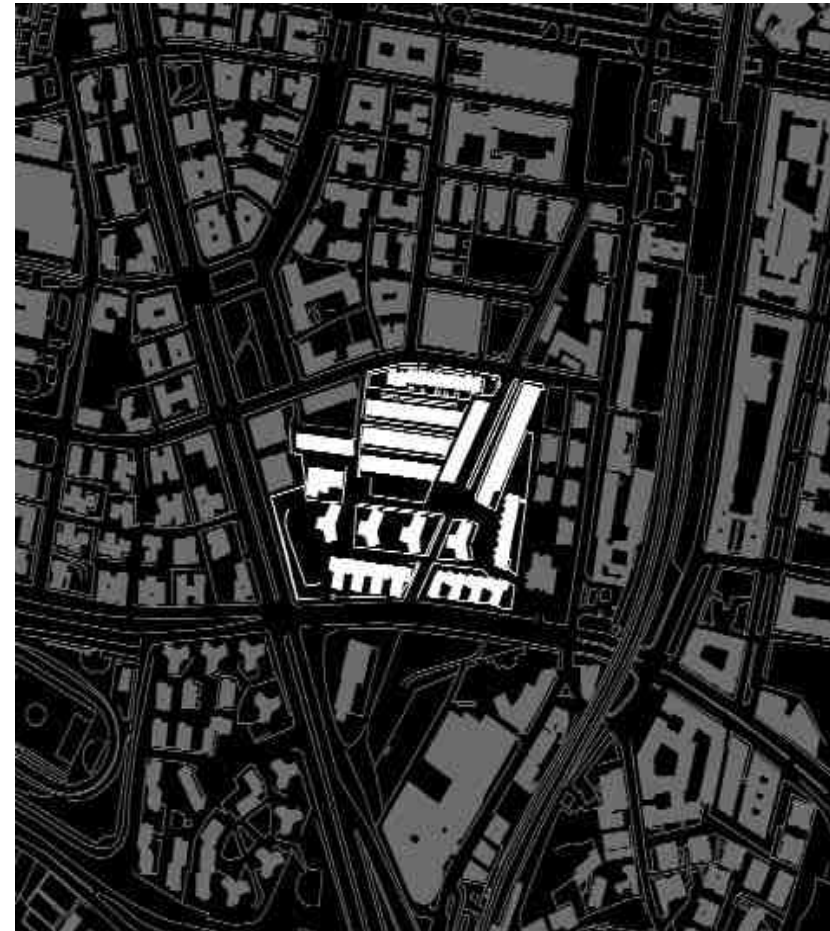


Figure 2:49: INA Casa's masterplan for housing development in the Valco di San Paolo (in white): we can see the repetition of building types along roads such as Via Jerapoli

Description of an Archetypal Street:

Via Filemone

Here is a more detailed description of the particularly intricate residential fabric of San Paolo.

Via Filemone is situated in the South West portion of the neighborhood, tucked within the particular street layout complex of the INA Casa housing development. It starts off on Via Jeropoli as a one-way service street which gives car access to the innermost housing blocks of the INA Casa development. It is a one lane street with parking on both sides, pavements are a meter wide. Even though the housing blocks are setback from the street by about three meters, and even though these housing blocks do not propose a continuous edge to the street, the street remains well defined by low walls with fences. The setback houses behind the fences have facades parallel to the streets, with a high level of overlook on the street from the many windows. This also frames the street and defines it.

Motorinis parked in the communal driveways could denote the presence of youths, while other signs, such as one prohibiting motorini riders to leave their engine running when they have mounted off the motorini, which could also denote a high presence of elderly people who are strong enough to organize themselves and take care of community life. Through the fences, the pedestrian can see trees growing in the semi-private spaces, tall pine trees towering over the public street, or smaller trees, which further defines this narrow street, and gives it depth.



Figure 2:51: The West-most portion of Via Filemone: a one-way residential street with much vegetation, although this belongs to the private sphere of communal ground floor entrance gardens (Osho, 2009)

Via Filemone then breaks out into a confused space, which is mainly overtaken by parked cars. This type of break is common in this typology: the street brightens and loses definition on both edges, there is a change in circulation flow (Via Filemone becomes a two-way street), and the structure of the space is highly dependent on the presence of cars. A bocce ball community center on one side gives this street a particularly strange overlay between two ages, the bocce ball center perhaps predated the war, as it is made out of makeshift corrugated metal sheets, and the housing blocks postdating it.

Continuing past this “residential dead-end”, which could also be read as a residential center, as many elderly residents can be seen talking in front of their housing entrances, Via Filemone takes on a drier character, with less overlook from houses, a bigger importance of private spaces looking away from the public street and rather facing the many private streets which stem off perpendicularly from Via Filemone. The street is still one lane, but now caters to a two-way circulation.

Cars are parked on either side of the street, and are parked half on the sidewalks, and half on the right-of-way. Traffic is low enough, here to allow the street, to belong to the pedestrian. The street loses much of its interest and richness to its private streets. Negative facades face Via Filemone, broken at regular intervals by fenced off private streets, upon which the life really occurs. Some posters on lighting posts advertise for cheap moving companies, while another is offering to buy up housing in the area, which might indicate a changing occupation pattern of the housing, because of increased student populations wanting to live close to Roma Tre.



Figure 2:52: An opening in Via Filemone overtaken by parked cars (Osho, 2009)

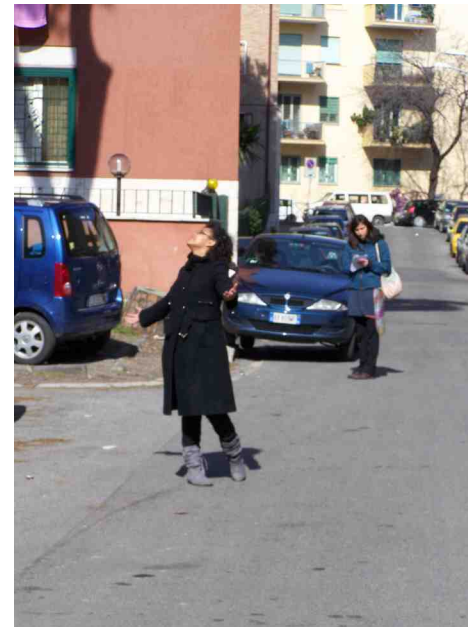


Figure 2:53: East-most portion of Via Filemone: a two-way dry and empty service street (Osho, 2009)

4. Private Streets and Spaces: Type 4

Definition of Typology

While walking through the residential space in San Paolo we encountered certain streets that we felt were privatized residential streets. Characteristics of the space include a gated off entrance to the road, private parking, small sidewalks, one way traffic, 3-8 story buildings, private green space, and an appropriation of space. These are just some characteristics that we found as recurring patterns on private streets, but each street had unique characteristics that did not always fit these criteria.

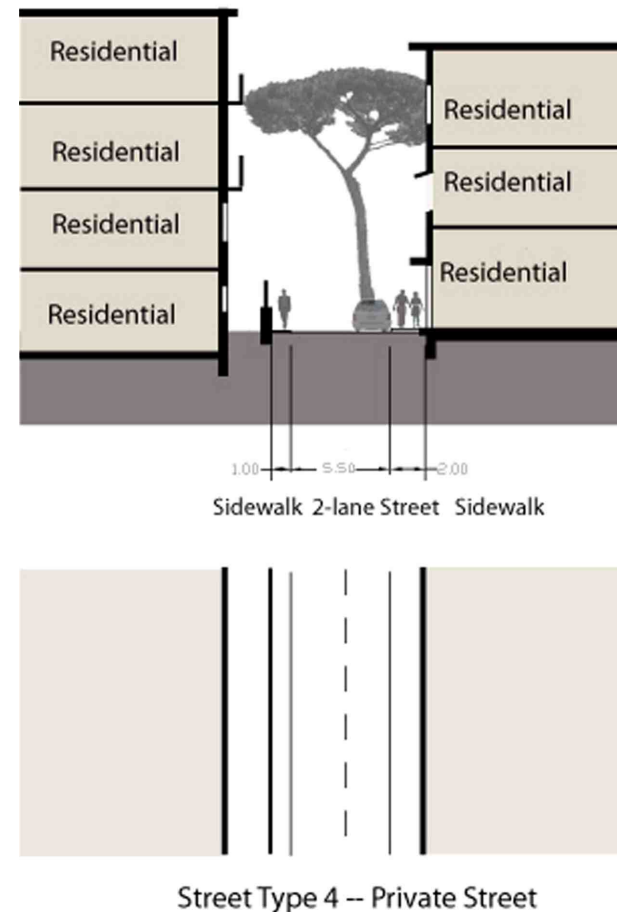


Figure 2: 54: Section of Type 4 Street

Another element that indicates care for the space is the presence of green space. Most of the streets are either tree-lined or have private green courtyards visible from the street. The trees look well groomed and are mature. The facades of the buildings on these streets are well preserved and have recently been renovated. Private spaces such as lobbies or balconies are also well maintained.

Another important aspect of this street typology is that of private green space. In general the private green spaces fit into two basic types including courtyards and street trees, neither of which are accessible, but are certainly visible from the street. The courtyards of green space are visible from street level and are gated off usually with trees and bushes, or fences. The courtyards have small walkways that allow the people within the space to see outside the courtyard to other trees or spaces. Transparency of private green spaces is key: the passer-by benefits from the lovely glimpses of gardens through the fences, while the inhabitant can sit in his private space, and “spy” on the neighborhood, as we saw many older women doing. Meanwhile the tree lined private spaces are usually the streets that are gated off. Via Iconio is gated and has shorter trees that are closer to the neighboring private green space of Via Efeso. Via Timeteo on the other hand is not gated off and has trees that are closer to the entrance of the dwellings.



Figure 2:56: Inhabited Spaces: Neighborhood Graffiti photos (Osho, 2009)

The existence of enclosures and fences is a commonality. Typically the fences that mark private space are between 5-6 feet high. They typically start at the beginning of the building and end at green spaces of other private property. In the case of the buildings on Via Jerapoli the fence surrounds the entire building complex and has only one entrance. In the case of gated streets there are usually two entrances onto the street; one for pedestrian traffic with doorbell information and the other for vehicular traffic with automatic gates. The fences are typically metal bars. The spacing of the bars and the height of the fence makes them transparent and allows a good view into the space without entering. Some fences including the fence blocking access to Via Timeteo have barbed wire on top of the fence structures. What does this indicate? Desire for security or true risks?

Another commonality is a similarity in building type. Most private streets that are accessible from Via Filemone are 3-4 story residential buildings, each street with slight variations in building characteristics, but with a remarkably similar layout. The buildings have simple shapes with little to no surface decoration besides paint. Most of the buildings have balconies on the back of the building. With all the buildings we encountered the private balcony space starts on the second story of the building. Each building has 8-9 living units with about 3 buildings per street with an average of about 24-27 dwellings per street according to doorbell information.



Figure 2:57: The promise of green space behind fences (Osho, 2009)

The residential buildings that line Via Jerapoli on the northern side are between 7-8 stories high with the same building style, with their entrance on Via Cesarea. The color of the buildings are a muted yellow with green shutter windows, with little surface decoration (Figure 2:58). There are white parallel stripes that wrap around the entire building marking each story clearly. Each building has 15-16 dwellings with 2 buildings per street with about 30-32 dwellings for the entire complex.

The gated off housing on Largo Enea Bortolotti, Via Tullio Levi-Civita and the intersection of Via Marconi and Via Efeso all fit a typical pattern. The housing is 6-7 stories tall with a visible public entrance, private courtyards, private parking and large balconies spaces about 7 feet wide. The façade is simple brick construction with more detail on the balconies and windows than on the building surface. The private parking is below street level.



Figure 2:58: A typical private street, fenced off from the main public street, with street trees, parking spaces, sidewalks and overlook from adjacent blocks. (Osho, 2009)

Another common attribute is that of the existence of signage and the appropriation of space. We discovered that streets that were gated off had no graffiti in them because the graffiti makers have no access to the space. The only visible graffiti tends to be at the entrance to the street in small legible Italian writing. In the case of the more accessible private gated housing, the amount of graffiti is higher, but still is not present within the gated space. Most of the graffiti had personal messages in them such as professions of love “Alessia ti amo Pikola” or is not legible enough to read. The lack of graffiti on private streets signifies that most of the graffiti is probably done by people who do not belong to the neighborhood or these streets in specific. It could also mean the exact opposite is possible and the graffiti artist does belong to the neighborhood but chooses to tag in spaces further away from their place of residence.

The signage that occurs in these street spaces occurs in the form of signs, doorbells, and balcony space. Some advertisement signs are signs for movers which are small magnet sized ads which are placed in a way that does not seem strategic besides the choice to put it in a residential space. Several of the signs read “Proprieta Privata” or “Reservato ai Condomini” which translates into “Private Property” and “Reserved for Condominium” respectively. Other signs at gated entrances explain that only motorcycles are allowed to enter through the entrance, or that the area is under video surveillance.



Figure 2:59: Lamp post (Osho, 2009)



Figure 2:60: Fenced in area (Osho, 2009)



Figure 2:61: Example of signage (Osho, 2009)



Figure 2:62: Fenced in area (Osho, 2009)



Figure 2:63: Fenced in area (Osho, 2009)



Figure 2: 64: Inclusion of green space (Osho, 2009)

Balcony use is the greatest sign of an appropriated space. Most of the balconies have potted plants while other balconies have clothing hanging from them. Often times the back balconies are used to hang clothes while the front balcony is more manicured with plants and decorations. Balconies here become legible objects that indicate ownership and inhabitation of a space. One balcony on Via Timeteo in particular has figurines of snow white and the seven dwarfs.

Other attributes of these streets include the small width of streets, the levels of traffic, and their walkability. Typically the width of these private streets is narrower than other streets with just enough space get into or out of parking spaces. Traffic is one way on these private streets used only to park on the street or leave the street. The amount of traffic entering or leaving the street is low. Since there is little to no sidewalk, foot traffic occurs on the car's right-of-way. With the lack of foot paths it does not seem intended for high amounts of pedestrian traffic. The spaces on the streets that are most walkable tend to be in front of the entrances to the buildings.



Figure 2:65: Example of an appropriated balcony (Osho, 2009)

A final commonality of these streets is their level of activity. The amount of visible activity tends to be low and quiet. The activity that we did encounter involved people setting clothes out to dry, looking out the window, walking, delivering packages, talking, listening to music or cleaning their balcony space. The most activity is visible on balconies and does not take place at the street level.

The demographics that we encountered and estimated to be in the space included older women, older men, Italian born, and retired. Most of the residents seemed to be Italian, according to door bell information. The breaks in patterns were rare and small in comparison to the rest of the names. Only two last names broke the pattern: Lucarini Ismajlai on Via Sostene and Xian ShouChu on Via Ceserea, both of which seem of oriental decent.



Figure 2: 66: Via Iconio, Looking west.

Archetypal Street: Via Iconio

According to the characteristics listed above the best example of a private residential street would be Via Iconio. Via Iconio is situated on the western side of Via Licaonia between two parallel streets; Via Timoteo to the south and Via Efeso to the north. Via Iconio is a gated street with one lane of traffic, two entrances, tree lined, with 3-4 story building opposite the marked parking spaces.

5. Parks and Open Spaces

An important characteristic of this neighborhood that can be found in the urban landscape is the plethora of green and open space. There are a total of eight different parks in the neighborhood. There is nothing in this neighborhood which is comparable to a large open space or even a villa which can be found in other parts of the city. Instead all of these parks and open spaces are small in size and are community oriented spaces. These spaces will instead be divided based upon their geographical orientation and positioning in the neighborhood. The two separate classifications for parks will be that of border parks and interior parks. For the purposes of this paper border parks are defined as those parks which are adjacent to one of the two main framing boulevards of the neighborhood. These two framing boulevards are Viale Marconi, and Via Baldelli/Onesti. An interior park will simply be defined as those parks which are not adjacent to one of these framing boulevards. This classification system actually allows for the even distribution of the parks into these two categories.



Figure 2:67: Large park near Ostiense Market (Rose, 2009)



Figure 2:68: Unnamed park near San Paolo metro stop (Rose, 2009)

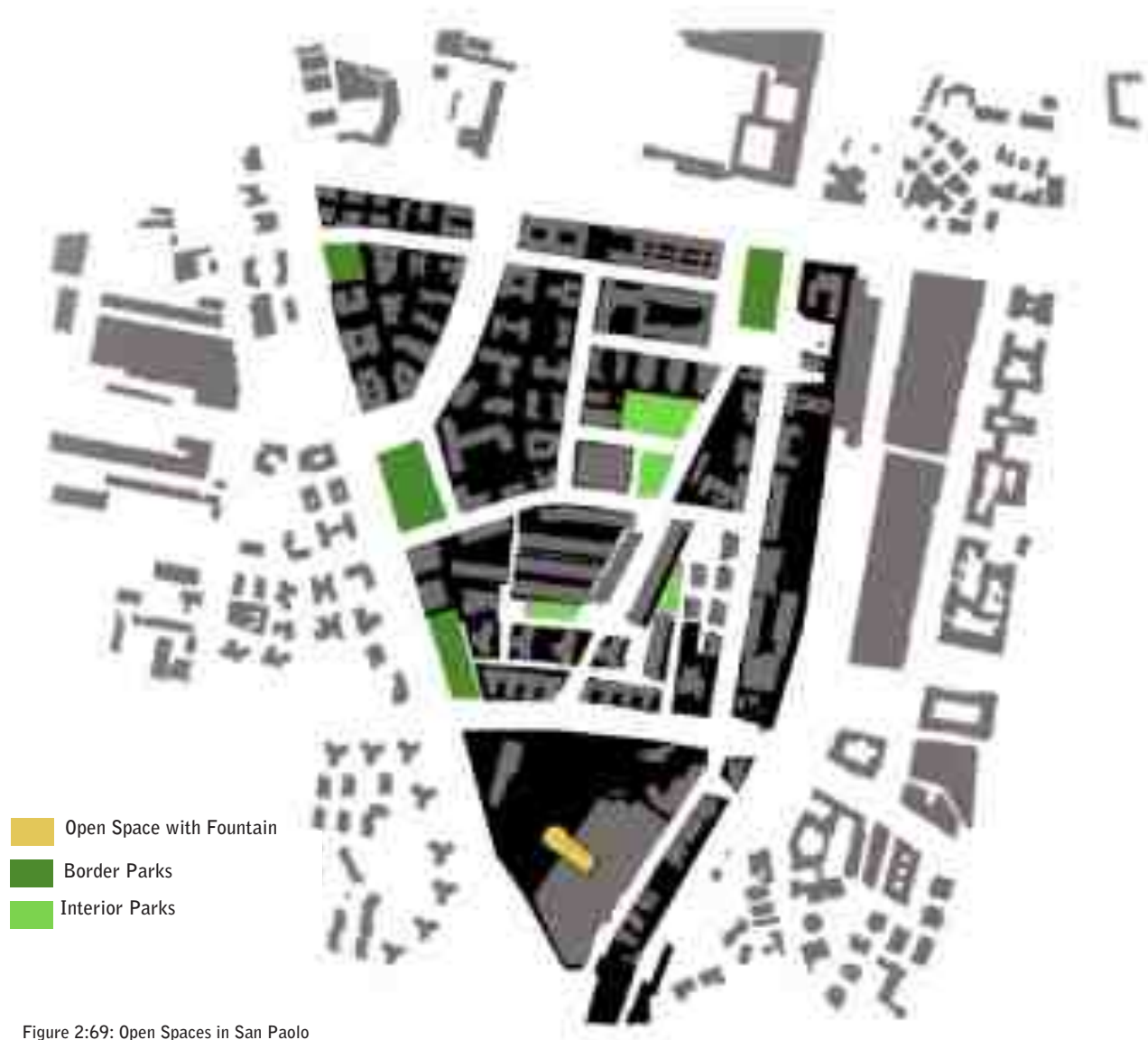


Figure 2:69: Open Spaces in San Paolo

As has been stated before, there are four border parks in the San Paolo neighborhood. They are the: Giardino Samuel Hahnemann, Giardino Albert Sabin, an unnamed park near the bus stop on Viale Marconi south of the previous two parks, and lastly the unnamed park at the corner of Via Baldelli/Onesti and Via Ostiense. The first three parks are all located in relative north to south succession along Viale Marconi while the last one is at the northeast corner of the neighborhood bordering Via Baldelli/Onesti, Via Ostiense, and Largo Riccardi. These four parks are grouped together because though all of the parks are community spaces these spaces are also open and easily accessible for the average passerby without them having to actually go looking inside the neighborhood. The first three are easy for someone coming up or down Marconi to find while the fourth would be easy for someone coming from the metro or from the Basilica of San Paolo to find.



Figure 2:71: Unnamed park near bus stop on Viale Marconi (Rose, 2009)



Figure 2: 709: Giardino Samuel Hahnemann (Rose, 2009)



Figure 2:72: Giardino Albert Sabin (Rose, 2009)

The second group of parks is of those which are not located on a bordering area of the neighborhood and which may require the average passerby to do a bit more exploring in order to find them. The first two of these parks are located near to the Ostiense Market along Via Corinto. Though proximity to a market such as this may not seem to have these parks qualify for this classification, however the positioning of the market in terms of its geographical location in the neighborhood in a sense preserves the community feel to both itself and its adjacent parks. The next park is actually quite small and is located near to Via Corinto also near to the Bocce ball center. The last park is located just off of Via Corinto between two residential structures where it is mostly surrounded by metal fencing. These last two parks are definitely the most secluded of the eight parks in the neighborhood. When one walks through them it is very easy to get the feel that these areas are rarely if ever used because they feel abandoned.



Figure 2:73: Small park near Ostiense Market (Rose, 2009)

PERCEIVING SAN PAOLO



Introduction

In our second chapter we try to enter the reality of San Paolo through three perspectives.

The first of these three perspectives includes our own as foreigners, outsiders, and perhaps even as tourists who have no link to San Paolo. The second is “theirs”, meaning the residents of San Paolo. These people are the insiders, the locals, the inhabitants and the living soul of the neighborhood. The last perspective includes the “rest”. This includes all of these people who weave in and out the neighborhood on their way to work, to study, to shop; including the transients, the passers-by, and the students.

Methodology

Our methodology is two fold: we undertook interviews primarily in Italian (though two were in Mandarin), which were then translated into English and placed in the appendix. These were conducted over a random circumstantial sample including: students, older residents, office workers, shopkeepers, and even a street preacher. We tried our best to make these interviews conversational, listening as much as we could to these snippets of these peoples lives, and preventing ourselves from asking questions which would unduly influence or prejudice their answers.

The second tool used is Kevin Lynch’s cognitive mapping exercise, which we undertook with three of our interviewees. This helped us gather a different type of information, more geographical, more tied to issues of scale and perceptions of connectivities. For other residents we were able to more or less construct cognitive maps for them based upon their statements.

The results of our interviews and cognitive maps will here be presented in the form of a thematic analysis. Our analysis is divided into two parts: resident and non-resident perceptions of San Paolo. Interviews, however, have not been separated in these two categories, as some interviewees, such as the 24 year student Anita, are both residents to her own eye, and passers-by to the eyes of the old residents of San Paolo. The interview analysis has been organized thematically for ease of reading.

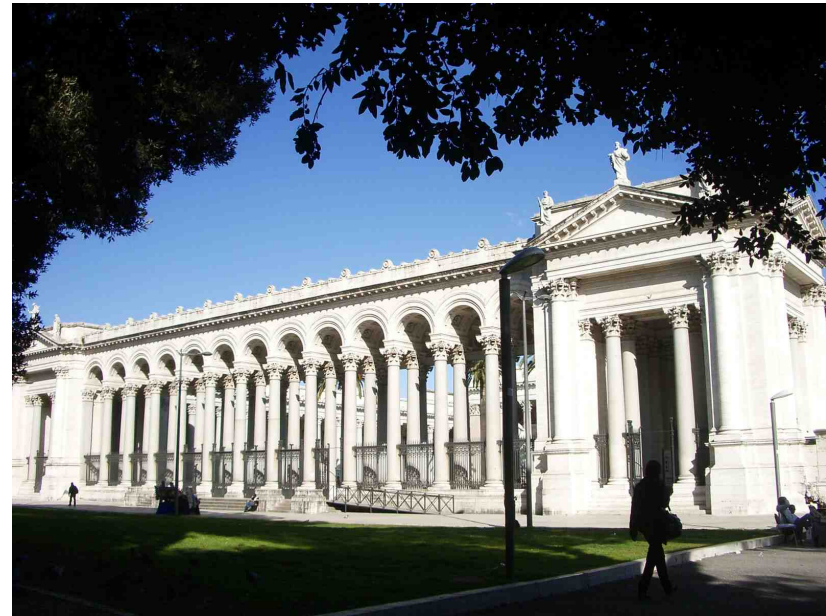


Figure 3:1: The Basilica San Paolo: A landmark for all (Ni, 2009)

1. San Paolo from the Outside: Our cognitive map

In developing the collective cognitive map for our group, we decided to first make individual cognitive maps of the neighborhood using the Kevin Lynch methodology and symbology. We individually made our maps at the same time on tracing paper over a common base map, but individually. We then compared our conceptions of the neighborhood in order to come up with a collective cognitive map for the group.

The four individual maps can be seen to be similar in some ways but also quite different in other ways. One area of contention was the differences between what were nodes and what were landmarks. Subjects of contention were especially the Ostiense Market, the Roma Tre University, and the Basilica di San Paolo. In the case of the Ostiense Market we all had it more as a node but at the same time at least one of us felt that it was also a landmark. In the case of the Basilica di San Paolo three of us had made this a landmark while one had not included it at all. Also the nature of the university, was debated because one of us did not have it as either a node or landmark, two of us had it as both, and one of us had it simply as a node.

As a group, we decided to make the Basilica di San Paolo a landmark, and the University and the market both landmarks and nodes, distinguishing between the physical structure of the building (which is a landmark), and the social structure within (which is a node).

There was also discussion in our group about what should be classified as an edge and what should be classified as a path, because many times something can be both depending upon the desired direction of travel. The one that brought about the greatest amount of debate was the question of Viale Marconi. Three of us had it as an edge, and one of us had it as a path. In the end

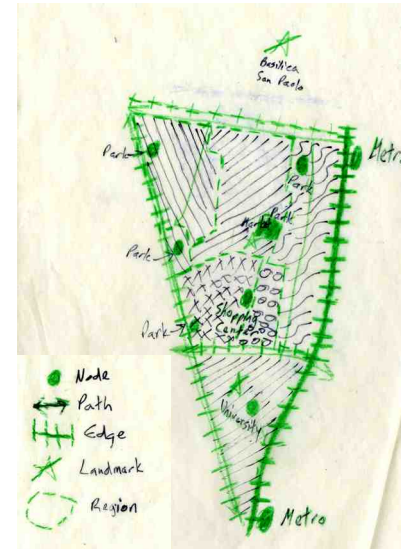


Figure 3:2: Rose's Map



Figure 3:3: Ladjevardi's Map

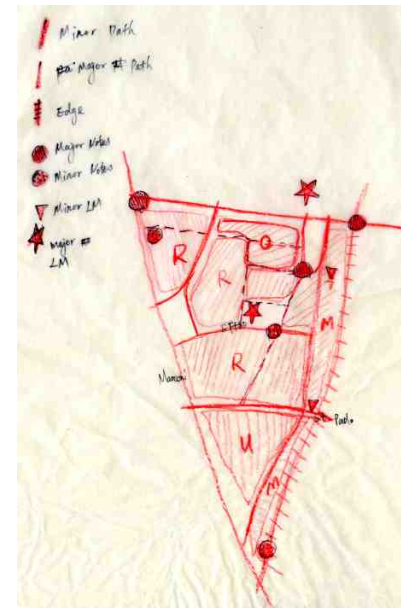


Figure 3:4: Ni's Map

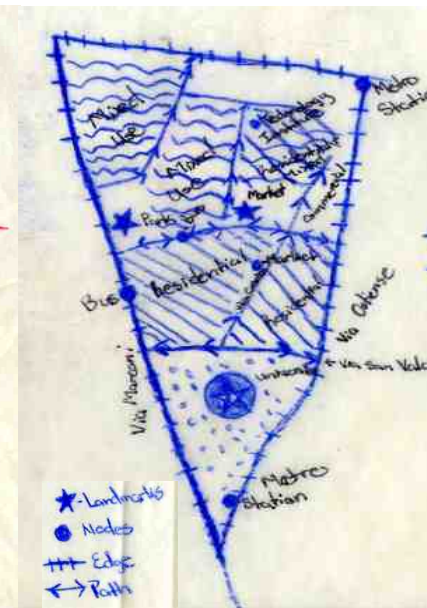


Figure 3:5: Osho's Map

we were able to agree that it possesses many of the qualities of both. Because of its width Marconi is imposing and dangerous to cross for a pedestrian but at the same time apart from the metro line it is the main entryway into the neighborhood. It is for that reason that we decided to include it on our collective map as a pathway. The other form of symbology, those of districts did not actually create that much of a problem in forming the collective cognitive map.

Despite these differences there were actually many similarities between our individual maps. For instance all of us viewed the metro line as a major edge to our neighborhood with exception to the space that goes under it preventing both vehicular and pedestrian traffic from crossing it. Also, other than the issue of Viale Marconi we were all fairly consistent on what we thought the major pathways through the neighborhood were. Overall the collective cognitive map that we were able to create represents fairly accurately our collective view of the study area and how it functions.

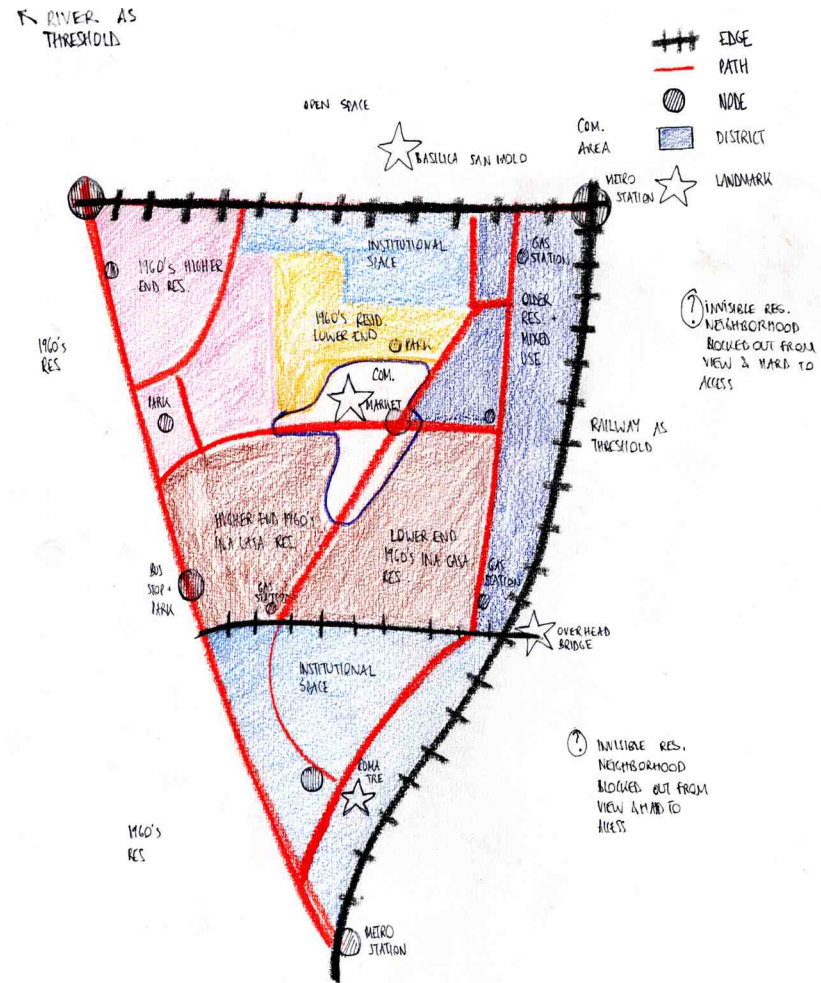


Figure 3:6: Our Common Cognitive Map

2. San Paolo from the Inside: Residents

Our body of resident interviewees was composed of:

- a middle-aged lady, Renata, for whom San Paolo had been home for decades for her along with her parents, although her work took her daily into “Central Rome.”

- a fifty year old lady who worked at the University of Roma Tre, and had lived in San Paolo since her childhood.

- an elderly lady who also happened to be a Jehovah’s Witness, who lived in an area just outside our San Paolo boundaries, and had lived in San Paolo since the 1950’s.

- two older men, without employment, for whom San Paolo had always been a home.

- a 24 year old student who had graduated from Roma Tre and now works far from San Paolo, but has chosen to remain in San Paolo.

- an engineer, Giambattista, who had lived in San Paolo for 30 years, and had been the head of a resident committee of San Paolo.

Let us now present a thematic analysis of the topics and perceptions these very different people had in common or in difference about San Paolo.



Figure 3:7: What does the Basilica of San Paolo represents to insiders?(Ni, 2009)

Thematic interview analysis of residents

San Paolo as a story in which the resident has a role.

The first striking characteristic of what we listened to was how much residents included themselves into the story of their neighborhood. All of the residents, with the exception of Anita, talked about the beginnings of San Paolo, as if they had witnessed them with own eyes, although in some cases the interviewees were not alive at the time of San Paolo's beginnings, back in the 1950's. Here are a few quotes which illustrates this theme well:

"We were here from the start. Here, there was nothing before. You know, just fields, and then three houses, standing, near the rail tracks. There was also the Basilica, the Basilica of San Paolo. It was the countryside here. Behind, there was nothing." Appendixed interview 3

And also, in answer to the question, "How long have you lived in San Paolo?"

"Me? For 40 years. We were here right from the beginning with my husband." Appendixed interview 4

San Paolo has a "beginning", which also often coincides with an important moment in the lives of its inhabitants: the family moved from city center to the "countryside", the post-war aftermath and its promise of better housing. Even to Anita, although she has been in San Paolo for only a year, it seems that San Paolo for her is more than a physical location, but instead is the title of a story.

"San Paolo was the first neighborhood of Rome I lived in." Appendixed interview 5

Perception of industrial past.

The importance of San Paolo's industrial past was often one of the first things mentioned by residents. This might be because the residents felt it necessary to give us some background on the neighborhood, or because they truly feel San Paolo's roots are to be found on the industrial riverbanks of the Tiber River, or finally because they preferred giving us objective data in a defensive way, so as to protect themselves from our intrusive questions.

The river is very much tied to this industrial heritage. Talk about the recent industrial brownfield reconversions was frequent. The University of Roma Tre was often cited as an example of reconversion of an Alfa Romeo plant.

"All back there (pointing beyond Marconi towards the river), it used to be factories. But now, it's all been reconverted into third sector activities, mostly university buildings. I helped a couple of architecture students a while ago about those topics." Appendixed interview 2

The architectural and urbanistic knowledge of the residents, whatever their age, was remarkable. To the question: "Could you describe San Paolo in three words?", one answered in these few words:

"With a Strong Story Behind It" Appendixed interview 6

The industrial past pervades the physical fabric of San Paolo's residential areas, as a few interviewees pointed out to us how some entire blocks were workers' housing.

Boundaries.

To all interviewed, the boundaries of San Paolo went far beyond those that we had been led to consider. Our boundaries (from Via Marconi to Ostiense to the University of Roma Tre) were far outdistanced by theirs. Most times, San Paolo to them found its limits far out, constrained by Garbatella to the North East and EUR to the South East. Via Marconi remained the Western boundary.

San Paolo therefore exists to some of its residents more as a diffuse area name than a precisely bounded space. This is especially true for Anita, the young student, and a young man working at the university and living close to San Paolo. San Paolo stands alongside Garbatella and EUR, as well as Testaccio and Trastevere as an area of Rome with outstretched boundaries.

“To you, where are the frontiers of San Paolo?
At the Laurentino bridge, on this side, Via Libetta, where there are all those places to go out for students I told you about, and on the West, Via Marconi, and on the East side, Via Cristoforo Colombo.” Appendixed interview 5(Anita)

Or: “Viale Marconi, from the end of the bridge to San Paolo. The bridge and Via Marconi. The bridge on the Tevere, the white one. Between the two bridges. The Marconi bridge. Garbatella. Garbatella is here. And EUR. To the end of Colombo.” Appendixed interview 6 (Anna)

However, to some other residents, San Paolo’s boundaries were the same as ours, hence tightly defined. This was especially the case for the older residents. In all cases the river is present in the minds of residents as a barrier.

“How would you define the boundaries of San Paolo?
Well, Marconi, Ostiense, and the river.” Appendixed interview 2(Engineer)

From Countryside to Neighborhood.

San Paolo approximately 60 years ago would not at all have been considered a neighborhood but countryside. One elderly man who has been in the neighborhood for more than 45 years, described the space as empty

“Here, there was nothing before. You know, just fields, and then three houses, standing, near the rail tracks. There was also the Basilica, the Basilica of San Paolo. It was the countryside here. Behind, there was nothing.” An nexed interview 3(Two elderly men)

The Jehovah’s Witness, resident for 40 years of San Paolo, says:

“But here, it was just countryside, there was just fields, just four houses, and nothing.” Appendixed interview 4 (Jehovah’s Witness)

San Paolo used to represent the free space of countryside where growing families could settle and thrive. San Paolo initially was driven by suburban ideals.

“We were here right from the beginning with my husband. We had a house up near San Pietro, near the Vatican, but it was so small for a family. So we heard about this place, and we applied to get housing to the government, and we got it, so we came.” Appendixed interview 4 (Jehovah’s Witness)

In San Paolo’s early history, its vast open fields and its close relation to the river also made it an optimum location for industries, such as the Alfa Romeo factory. An elderly male resident of 55 years, an engineer, referred to the industrial spaces as “river industries.” The river therefore must have also been the theater for a perception change, from natural element to industrial element.

The Center of Rome as symbol.

In the majority of the interviews the center of Rome was often mentioned as a foreign notion, which was consistently represented through symbology. In the following quote, the Colosseum becomes the receptacle or symbol of the entire central area of Rome, by lack of better knowledge or affinity with it:

“How often do you go to the “city”?”

I never go. I do everything here. I mean, sometimes my son drives me there by car, we go to the Colosseum. But everything is close by here.”

Appendixed interview 4 (Jehovah’s Witness)

Here, tourism becomes the symbol for central Rome:

“We have no tourists here. The center is full of Americans, tourists. There’s no more real people in central Rome. Well, a part from Testaccio. There are real ones left there. No, not even Trastevere. In Trastevere, there are none now. There aren’t that many foreigners here.” Appendixed interview 3 (Two Elderly Men)

Here, finally, central Rome becomes “old Rome”, the antiquated city:

“Is San Paolo part of Rome?”

Absolutely yes. I am a bit embarrassed to say this, but I really don’t know old Rome, even though I’ve been here for a while, because I have everything here to look for something.” Appendixed interview 5 (Anita)

The self-sufficiency of San Paolo is remarkable, and eclipses the city center. The only thing that lacks in San Paolo, according to one youngster, is a “theater”, while another youth refutes this by pointing out a few places for culture in San Paolo.

The Basilica as Universal Landmark.

Not one interview failed to mention the presence of the Basilica di San Paolo, a papal church which is the third most famous in Rome. The Basilica has been in the neighborhood before it was even considered a neighborhood, which explains why the neighborhood took its name after it. Searches refer to the Basilica as “San Paolo Outside the Walls” again enticing ideas of this as a space less central and more exclusive.

Mentioning the Basilica could also be a way to give San Paolo a place in Rome, and a connection to the center. More than speaking of its beauty, there was a true keanness in the tone of some of the interviews in emphasizing the presence of the Basilica as place making for San Paolo. The Basilica of San Paolo gives the neighborhood its regional legitimacy and fame. The older men proceed to compare the Basilica to that of San Pietro.:

“We also have the Basilica. It’s beautiful. Have you been in there? I’m sure you’ve been to San Pietro. It’s right up there, with San Pietro. “ Appendixed interview 3 (Two Elderly Men)

The importance of the church is due mainly to its size. Its dome is visible from several different nodes such as the market, the university, the metro and the parks in the area, which makes it a landmark, similar in function to that of the Duomo in Florence (p. 82 Lynch).

All other residents have a tendency to describe the green space around the Basilica more than the actual building itself. The Basilica is therefore important because it is both landmark and node. The physical structure itself is the landmark, while the park surrounding it is a node.

The University's Presence as Positive Change.

However much the University's arrival in San Paolo in 1992 has gentrified the neighborhood, increased rent prices, increased parking congestion and traffic, a majority of residents, see the arrival of the university as a positive element for the neighborhood:

"For the better. It got cleaned up. The university helped a lot. I'd say everyone here agrees that the university has had only a positive impact on the neighborhood." Appendixed interview 2 (Engineer)

Or, coming from Anita, the young student:

"For me, the university is a positive thing. I feel very welcome here." Appendixed interview 5 (Anita)

Another resident mentioned that the university has changed the nature of the shops and services that are offered in the neighborhood which once used to be mainly shoe and clothing repair shops but are now cafes, bars, and pubs. This statement is not said, however, with an angry or regretful tone. It seems change is very much accepted as part of the story of San Paolo.

For the most part, residents seem to have adopted a neutral attitude towards the university and the student population probably due to the lack of interaction and communication between the two communities.

Neighborhood consistency.

All consider San Paolo as a self-sufficient neighborhood which eclipses the need to go to Central Rome:

"I have everything here." Appendixed Interview 5 (Anita)

Or, in response to the question "What is missing here?"

"We have a lot. We have the bus stops, the metro, we have the hospital close-by, we have the schools... We have the market. Ok, maybe not theaters, but as an area we have been lucky, we have everything." Appendixed interview 6 (Anna and 3 friends)

Or: "I like coming here, to San Paolo, round the market. Everything is practical and close by, and for me, I can't walk too much, it's hard for me. I like San Paolo a lot. I mean, there's Tiburtina but I don't like that place. Here there is everything I need. I never go to the city." Appendixed interview 4 (Jehovah's witness)

Socially, the neighborhood has consistency: the relationships between residents is cordial, even though not intense. The resulting feeling is that of being in a small village:

"I would say that this is a democratic area. People are very close, they help each other. If you have a problem they give you suggestions. Also the health community is very active here." Appendixed interview 1 (Renata)

Or: "My favorite place is also the market, I like it a lot. I go there and know everybody, when I go talk to everyone they ask "What's going on?" " Appendixed interview 1 (Renata)

To many interviewees, there was a pride in comparing San Paolo's homeliness to that of the surrounding quarters, especially the EUR. Much parallel is made between San Paolo and Testaccio, as these are perceived to be the last two authentic remaining neighborhoods of Rome.

Cognitive mapping and analysis of Anita's map

The adjacent map (Figure 3:8) was drawn by Anita, a 24 year old ex-student of Roma Tre.

What is most noteworthy in her map is where her perception of “San Paolo proper” lies: to her, the heart of San Paolo is beyond the railway lines, which is not included in our definition of San Paolo. The area our group was considering is the part she deems least important. She says, when drawing, that she “merely just passes through it” to go to the supermarket or to go to Via Marconi, which takes her to shops and the city center.

Via Marconi is therefore very much of an edge for Anita, beyond which there is absolutely nothing. Via Ostiense is a definitive edge also, in the way it is drawn on her map, although it is also a definitive mental axis around which she structures much of her daily life.

Her house is the epicenter of her movements. She also draws the previous house she lived in, which lies on the other side of Via Ostiense. She then goes on drawing all the daily elements scattered around her house from which she obtains all she needs. Her world is therefore very small, and as she says about San Paolo, which is visually represented on her map:

“The neighborhood is complete. There is everything here: the florists, the cinema, bars, supermarkets, restaurants, the markets, shops, McDonalds, there is everything. Really close to the train stations too.”

Appendixed interview 6 (Anna and 3 friends)

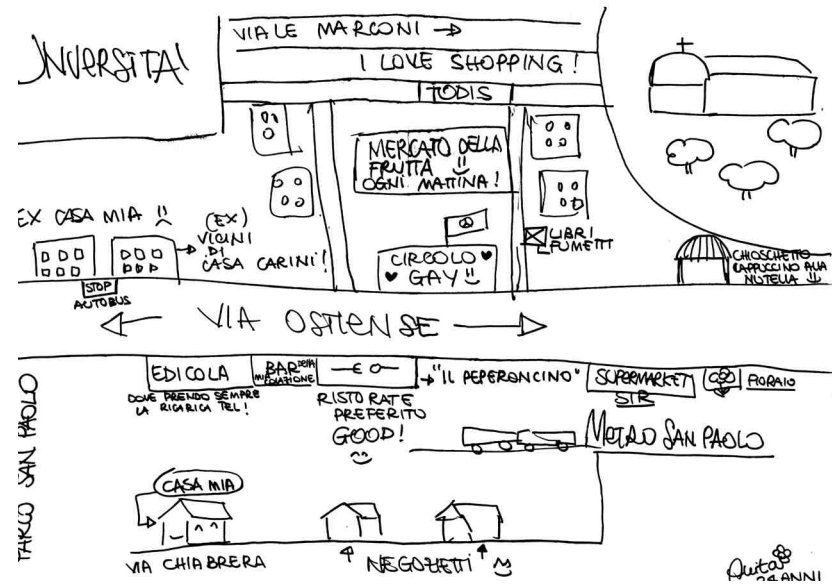


Figure 3:8: Map drawn by Anita

Noteworthy is also the lack of context given to the map: the only context given is edge information: the Basilica of San Paolo, the University part of San Paolo. This powerfully illustrates the self-sufficiency and inward-looking nature of San Paolo to Anita.

Finally, comparing her words and her drawings shows a discrepancy: her universe in words is very conscious of the surrounding areas of San Paolo:

“Very close is Garbatella, which is truly marvelous. For the rest, there is EUR Magliana, but I don’t have any contacts there. Otherwise, there’s the Piazza della Radio and Marconi, and then Trastevere. So my life is tripled in three places: Garbatella, Trastevere and San Paolo.”

Appendixed interview 6 (Anna and 3 friends)

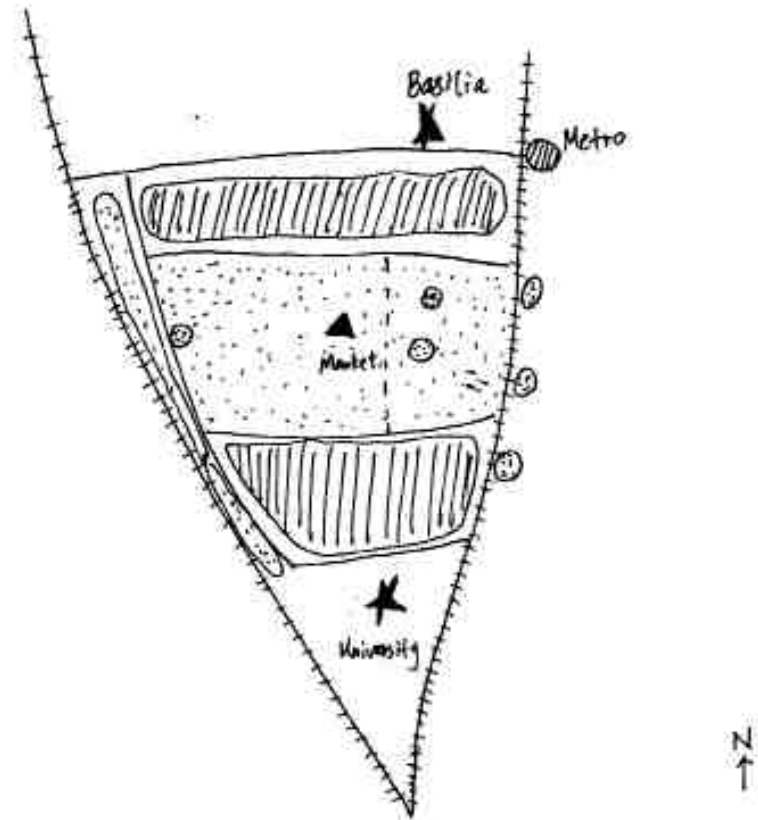
Her drawing shows a privatized and appropriated space. Anita states “My favourite restaurant”, “My neighbors”, ... Her drawing seems to enlarge her home beyond her house and to the entire San Paolo area, which caters for her every need.

Adjacent (Figure 3:9) is the Kevin Lynch transcription of her map in terms of nodes, paths, edges, landmarks and districts. The Basilica appears as a clear landmark feature, by its form, but also by its park-like surroundings: the Basilica doubles up as structure to behold and infrastructure to gather around, which might explain why prominence in many interviewees mental maps.

Another landmark, or reference point from which Anita gives orientation to her map is the University buildings. The university and Basilica are boxed, which could be read nearly as tags affixed to a space, such as tags on clothes, which gives the space universal meaning and immediate recognition.

The market to Anita is a landmark of San Paolo, but the social structure within it is very much a node. She says her interactions in the market are friendly, and contribute to making her feel at home in San Paolo.

Her vision of the San Paolo area as defined by us is segmented. The market section is a clear district in her eyes, because it is more active, and she couples it with the gay community center. The surroundings, on either side, are residential, empty. They have no meaning to Anita as she is a newer resident. They are traversed by paths which are the quickest way to access Via Marconi, which get her out of San Paolo, as does the Metro. In this way, Via Marconi and the metro station could be read as the context to her map which we mentioned was initially lacking.



Legend:

	Landmark	Nodes	Path	Edge	District
Major	★	●	—		▨
Minor	▲	⊙	- - -	◌

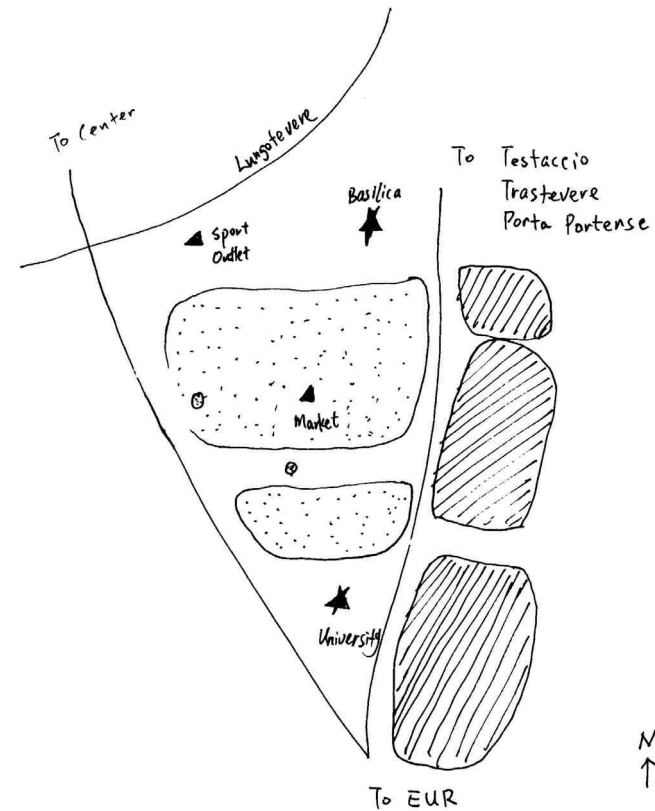
Figure 3:9: Transcription of Anita’s map into Kevin Lynch language

presence of the river is strongly felt by Renata: she only marks the cycling path on her map, but comments at length on the beauty of cycling down the Tiber to the center of town in the spring time. The river is therefore felt, for Renata, as a path towards the center.

Renata’s understanding of San Paolo is very much integrated into greater Rome.

The adjacent map differs from the two others by its lack of edges. San Paolo is not an entity which exists because of separation. San Paolo is a neighborhood, with its share of landmarks, such as the market, the Basilica, the University. It has an inner consistency. However, this consistent identity does not need to exclude its surroundings to exist.

In the Lynch map, a distinction was made in terms of districts between those of San Paolo as defined by us, which are described as poorer income by Renata, and the districts on the other side of the railway, which are described as higher income. Renata’s paths are Anita’s edges: they connect, more than they divide.



Legend:

	Landmark	Nodes	Path	Edge	District
Major	★	●	—		▨
Minor	▲	⊙	- - -	⊕

Figure 3:11: Transcription of Renata’s map into Kevin Lynch language

Cognitive mapping and analysis of Anna's map

Figure 3:12 was drawn by Anna, a middle aged lady who works and lives in San Paolo.

Her map shows a new perspective on San Paolo: it integrates the San Paolo area into the wider Southern section of Rome. The Piramide of Ostiense is drawn, showing that the spread of San Paolo, or least the traces which announce San Paolo start farther North than we had predicted.

The Ostiense “Iron Tank”, which stands on the river’s border, is another landmark which stands as a beacon for San Paolo. These two symbols, Piramide and the “tank”, act as landmarks for San Paolo, which lie not in San Paolo’s fabric, but in Central Rome’s fabric.

The map therefore testifies, perhaps, a neighborhood-centric perspective, which takes the whole of Rome as a preparation of one’s own neighborhood.

The bridge is also drawn, and commented upon at length: it seems to be understood as the formal entrance into the realm of San Paolo.

The lower part of the map introduces the “real”, local, landmarks of San Paolo: the Basilica and the University.

The river also becomes a part of San Paolo, here again through the mention of the cycling path.

This map differs from the others because it shifts San Paolo slightly up North. The river is “in” the neighborhood, and not an edge any more. The blocks are open, little defined:

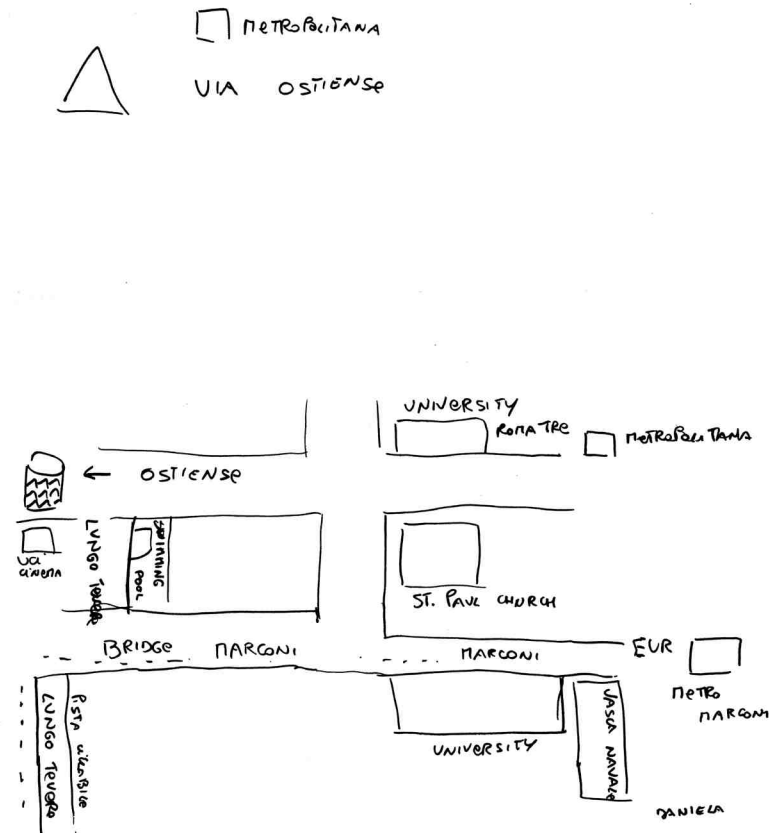


Figure 3:12: Map drawn by Anna, a 60 year old resident

San Paolo once again is an neighborhood open to the rest of Rome, the latter existing only in its relationship to San Paolo. Anna’s cognitive map transcription shows how vague her perception of the actual fabric of San Paolo is: it is all made up of one single district.

However, her map is remarkable by the amount of landmarks she feels are relevant to San Paolo, even if they lie far from the neighborhood. Context is also given with no respect to true scale: EUR seems to lie extremely close to the University: this might indicate that our interviewee circulates by car, and thus distorts distances. Connectivity between San Paolo and EUR, in any case, appears obvious to this interviewee, and perhaps EUR also serves once again as a “tag” or anchor which places San Paolo with respect to Rome.

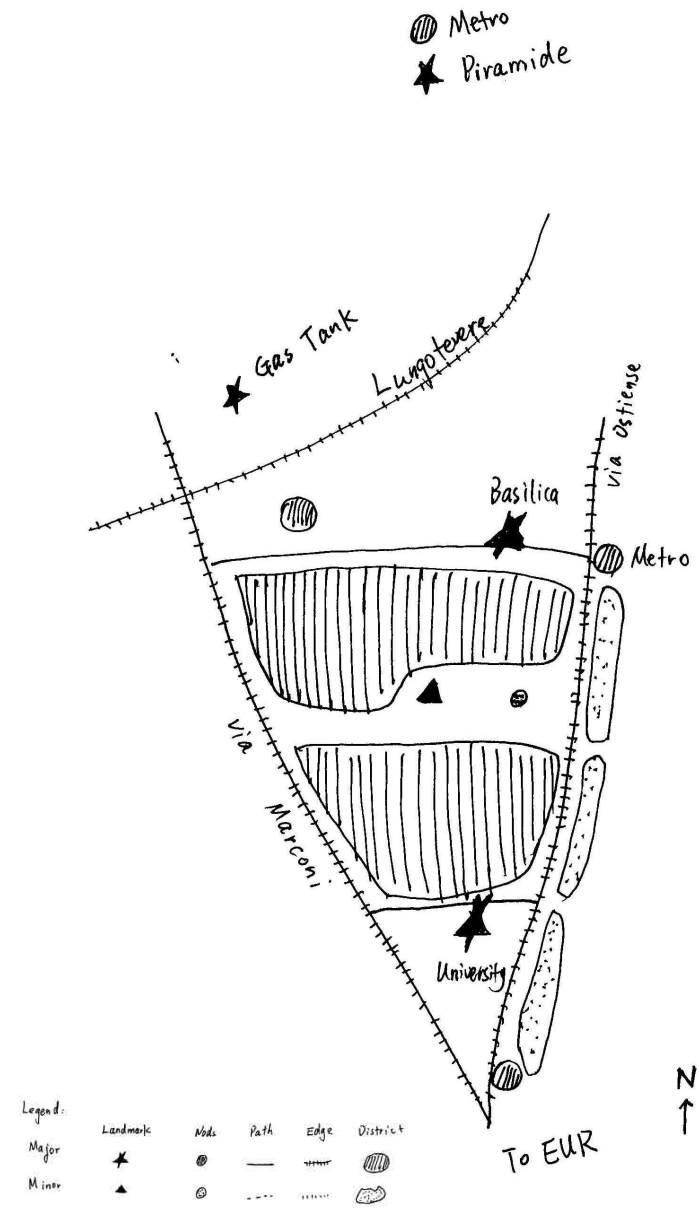


Figure 3:13: Transcription of Anna’s map into Kevin Lynch language

3. San Paolo in Passing: Non-Residents

The second group of interviews involved people whom, we could classify as being “foreigners” or more simply as non-residents. They are defined as people not living in or near the neighborhood, and have little interaction with the neighborhood beyond their own particular and immediate interests. Included in this group is a total of nine persons. These persons break down into the following categories: three current students, two professors, two store workers, one younger aged adult worker, and one street artisan/vendor. These persons will be discussed and evaluated in these general groupings with the themes that came out of their statements being discussed afterwards.

University Students.

The first of these subcategories is the university students. These students are all currently attending Roma Tre University, which is located within the neighborhood. Of these three students it is important to note that two were male students and the other was a female student. They were all interviewed individually on March 30, 2009 in the vicinity of the fountain behind the university building which serves as an open space and a gathering and relaxation space for the students. Commonalities between these students were first a similarity in ages. All three of them were in their early to middle twenties (25, 22, and 23). Another commonality between them was that all three lived outside the neighborhood, but still within the city of Rome, and thus commuted to this area for class. A common theme that arose in the interviews was that the university students in general did not really interact with the local inhabitants and the local spaces of the neighborhood. This came out in a number of ways. For one, all of the students said that they do not leave the university to eat lunch, that is if they even eat lunch at all. Secondly, one of the males stated that he doesn't interact with the community at all

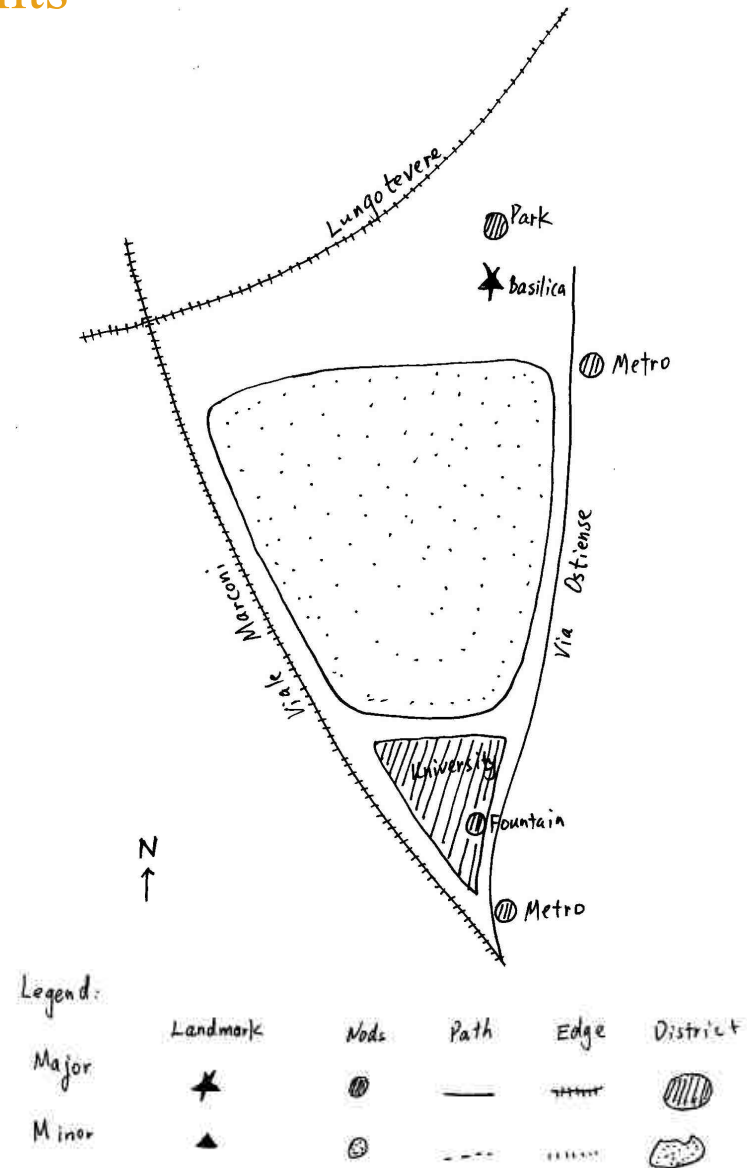


Figure 3:14: Transcription of university students' interviews into Kevin Lynch language

because he doesn't ever leave the campus when he is in this area. The other two students use only the park near the Basilica di San Paolo. It is interesting that these two students only use the park near the Basilica because there are several other parks that are located nearer to the university. In fact, no matter how one chooses to walk from the university to the Basilica it is necessary to pass by at least one small park on the way there. Thus it is interesting to see that these students, excluding perhaps the female student who stated that she spent a good deal of her free time in the neighborhood, do not really take part in the activities and the spaces in the study area. It is also important to note that two places that came up in the interviews which the students did not like were the Lungotevere and Viale Marconi. It was also stated that the students in general liked the area's accessibility to public transportation, its level of green and open space, and that geographically it was positioned, as they described it, in the middle between the center and the periphery of the city.



Picture 3:15: University of Roma Tre Entry on Via Ostiense

University Professors.

The second subcategory of people were professors. The two professors, one male and one female, were interviewed on March 30, 2009 in the Roma Tre University building located in the study area. The two professors were interviewed together so their answers are similar because they were able to share and agree on ideas coming to a consensus about their views and answers. Both teachers taught English language at Roma Tre. One shared experience between the two professors was that they both did not live in the neighborhood. The female professor lived in Rome. The male professor lived as he described it about 60 kilometers away. However he stated that he used to live in the area during the 1980s. He then moved out of the area and the city because of the high levels of pollution and how expensive it was to live in the city of Rome.

They both stated that the Basilica and the various green spaces are assets to the neighborhood. However, despite this they did not seem to be very pleased with the area as it is. They talked in some length about how the coming of the university into the area was a very good thing and that they were in favor of more commercial redevelopment of the area. Also, they mentioned how, though they had occasionally eaten lunch at a local bar, they do not really leave the university for lunch. They admitted that they do not really interact with this neighborhood at all because they commute to the university for their jobs and then they return to their homes. In this vein it is also interesting to note that they think that no one really ever comes to the area for any other reason than to go to the university. It is also important that when asked what they liked about this neighborhood, they were not able to come up with anything. However when they were asked what they did not like about this neighborhood, they responded with ease that they did not like the level of traffic and the level of pollution that existed along Viale

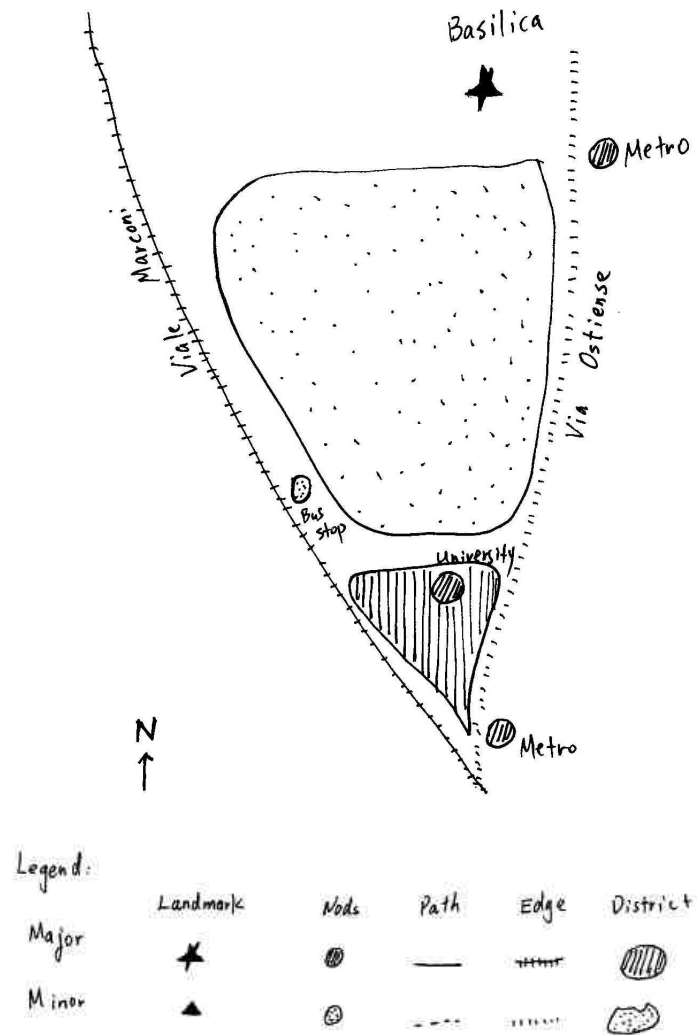


Figure 3:16: Transcription of Professors' interviews into Kevin Lynch language

Marconi and Via Ostiense.

Restaurant workers.

A third subcategory of people is that of a business owner or worker. One business owner that was interviewed was the owner of the Chinese restaurant on Viale Marconi. He was interviewed on April 9, 2009 at the restaurant. This man came over to Italy from China only two years ago. He does not live in the neighborhood and despite having his business here he really does not feel that he belongs to the neighborhood. He does not interact with his customers other than on a business level. For him they are all just Italians and he does not differentiate between them. He also said that he does not really venture out into the neighborhood and instead he stays in his restaurant. Also, he said that he does not have any feelings about this neighborhood in terms of its positives and negatives because of limited interaction with it.

A shorter interview was done of a man who works at the Gelateria on Via Efeso. This interview was conducted on March 26, 2009 at the Gelateria. This man said that he does not live in the neighborhood and instead he said that he lives in the center. He stated that he comes here only to work.

"I only come here to work. I came here because there was a job opening at the ice cream place. But I hardly have anything to do with the neighborhood."
Appendix interview 7

He has been working at this ice cream place for three years now. He stated that in this time he has seen the area get better thanks to the university and that it is cleaner now than it was.

Young Adults

Included in this section are the parts of the interview with Anita where she discusses her memories as a college student at Roma Tre and thus her existence then is classified with the other students as nonresidents. She spoke of the things that she likes about the neighborhood which included the friendliness of the people, the amount of open space (specifically the park near the Basilica di San Paolo which she frequents), the large number and variety of stores, and the proximity and ease of access to public transportation. She viewed the university as having a positive influence on the neighborhood. She did not think that the university has affected the rental prices of housing in the area. With regard to the other parks in the area she said:

“I see that most times, the parks of the residential areas of San Paolo, like the one near Mercato Ostiense, are used by children.” Appendix interview 5 (Anita)

This statement is indicative of the age dynamic of the neighborhood and how different age groups interact with one another along spatial lines. It is also interesting to include that when she was speaking specifically of the study area she said:

“This area is just a zone of passage for me, in going to the bus stop on Marconi or to the Market”. Appendix interview 5 (Anita)

This is interesting because it shows that though outsiders are present in the neighborhood, outsiders see the area as being characterized mostly by private residential space. When asked to describe the neighborhood in three words Anita said that it was “functional, welcoming, and green”.

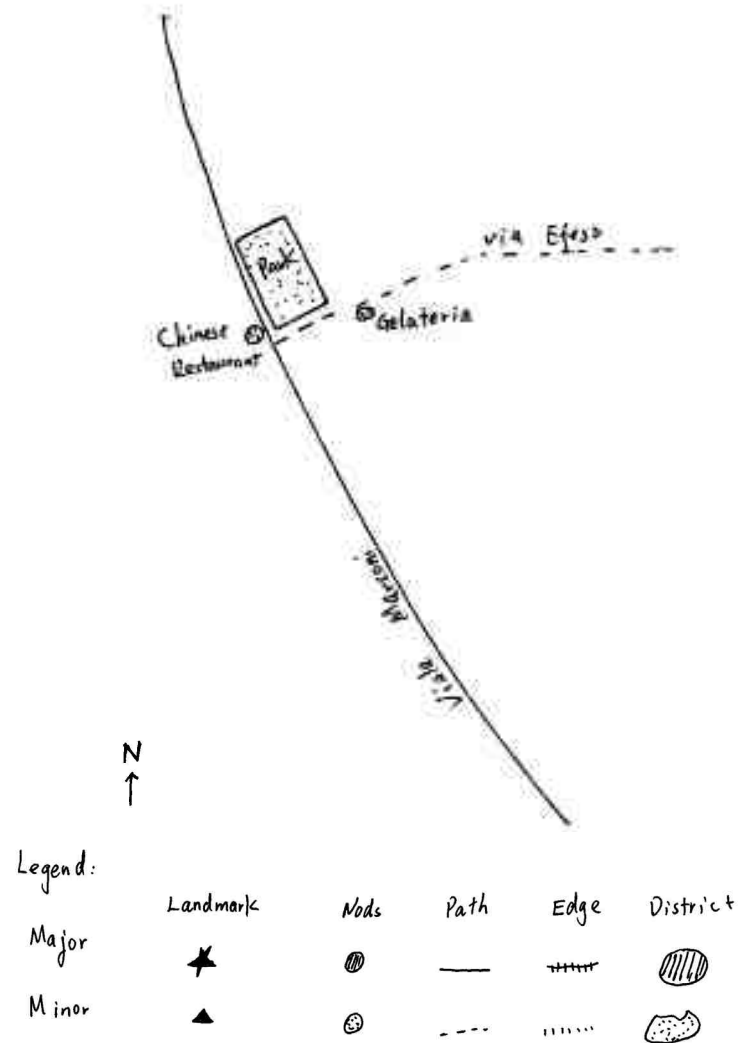


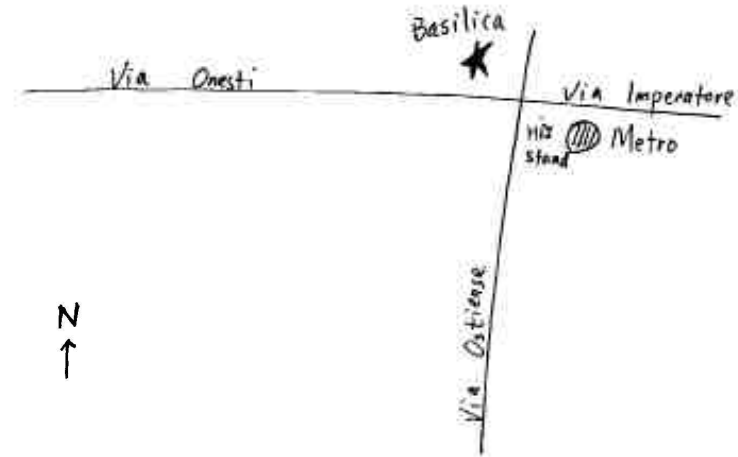
Figure 3:17: Transcription of restaurant workers’ interviews into Kevin Lynch language

Street Vendor

The last subcategory is that of a street vendor. Only one interview falls into this classification. The street vendor was interviewed on April 9, 2009 at his stand on Viale Ferdinando Baldelli near to the Basilica di San Paolo metro stop. He does not live in the neighborhood and said that he commutes to the area in order to sell his handmade bracelets. He has only been here selling for two months. He mentioned that he chose this location in particular because of its position near the Basilica di San Paolo, he said the Basilica attracts tourists to the area, especially between the metro line and the Basilica. His knowledge of the neighborhood, is limited to the other vendors. He has no real impression of this neighborhood because of his limited interaction with it.



Figure 3:18: The park adjacent to San



Legend:

	Landmark	Nods	Path	Edge	District
Major	★	⊙	—		⊙
Minor	▲	⊙	- - -	⊙

Figure 3:19: Transcription of vendor's interview into Kevin Lynch language

Thematic Analysis of Non-Resident Interviews

Apart from mentioning green and open spaces as an asset for the neighborhood, the accessibility of the area to public transportation, and the neighborhood's status as "middle zone", neither periphery nor center, here are some recurring themes touched upon by the non-residents.

San Paolo is not a home.

Obviously no single interviewee lives in this neighborhood specifically in terms of the specific study area. Their mental constructions of this neighborhood may shed light on how the remainder of the city views this neighborhood.

San Paolo is attractive to them for its university or its Basilica.

Destinations in San Paolo consist mainly of the Basilica di San Paolo and Rome Tre University. Examples of this are seen in all seven interviews, except the restaurant owner, and then only because he never really leaves his restaurant. For students the university is the obvious reference point however, at least two of them also frequent the park near the Basilica. For instance, Anita mentioned that when the weather is nice and the sun is shining she likes to frequent the park near the Basilica.

For the teachers they also work at the university but they also identified the Basilica as a important feature to the neighborhood. The street vendor supported this because he stated bluntly that he sells here because of the Basilica.

University as an engine of change in San Paolo.

Also it is important to consider the idea of the transformative effect that the university has had on the neighborhood. This idea came out in the interviews of the two professors, as well as in the interviews with Anita and the man who worked at the Gelateria. All stated that the university has had a very positive effect and has raised the level of maintenance of the neighborhood. In this sense it can be concluded that the Basilica and the University for these people are the two major destinations and landmarks for the neighborhood. Also related to this idea is the idea of San Paolo as being youth friendly because of the university. This idea came out specifically in the interview with both the female college student and Anita.

Mental Boundaries.

Several of the interviewees mentioned and considered areas outside of the study area as being local to them. In general it was true that the interviewees had a mental conception of the neighborhood as being much larger than the study area. Though for the most part, it was consistently stated that the western border of the neighborhood was Viale Marconi and that with that the bridge and river were also boundaries of the neighborhood of San Paolo.

Conclusion: Comparing Cognitive Mapping and Perceptions of Space

The most striking opposition between our mental image of San Paolo, and that of residents and passers-by was the difference in boundary setting. To us outsiders, boundary setting seems more objective, and thus somewhat arbitrary. Having conducted our interviews, we have come to realize just how little our boundaries for the San Paolo neighborhood had significance. Boundaries are much wider, and San Paolo is better described as bordered by EUR, Garbatella, and the river, as opposed to being described as “stuck” between Viale Marconi and Via Ostiense. The railway tracks, which in our mind, created strong barrier between San Paolo and the rest of the area, did not bear weight on the interviewees’ description. Although the railway line is a strong physical barrier, it is not perceived as such by residents. These have developed an environmental imagination about the place in which they live.

Between us and them, a common language made of landmarks emerged: the Basilica, the University, the Market: these are the sites which give San Paolo its inner consistency. San Paolo’s exterior consistency, in other words, San Paolo’s place within wider Rome, is either provided to us through the mention of adjacent neighborhoods such as EUR, which place San Paolo on the map, or is not provided to us at all, for the good reason that San Paolo is a world in and of itself, with no need of self justification.

Finally, a worthy comment is the surprising distance between some interviewees and the reality of their neighborhood. Some complained about the lack of green space of San

Paolo. These people mentioned the Basilica’s park as the only green space of the area. When we enquired about all the other parks of San Paolo, these were dismissed as being neighborhood parks for children. We are therefore confronted with the idea that the San Paolo is far more private than it is public: the outsider and the passer by is unable to easily integrate themselves into the neighborhood fabric, or justify their presence in these intimate spaces.

The Basilica of San Paolo and the University, as the two most mentioned landmarks of San Paolo call for more attention. The third part of this study will therefore focus on the relationships between the San Paolo neighborhood and these two landmarks. It already appears to us that the Basilica and the University connect San Paolo to the wider Rome, anchoring it physically in a territory because of the scale and appearance of these buildings, and also because of the life they infuse into San Paolo.

ANALYZING SAN PAOLO



Introduction

San Paolo strikes one as a well-functioning European style 1960's residential and mixed-use housing complex with a strong open public space realm. However, what strikes us as a main theme of the neighborhood lies not so much in its local quality, as in its relationship with the institutional spaces which border it: the religious complex of the Basilica di San Paolo to the North, and the Roma Tre University to the South.

Both of these complexes stand aside from the inner, lived-in, and fairly self-sufficient characteristics of the middle portion of San Paolo. Roma Tre University, on the one hand, is an institutional space with a scope much wider than San Paolo can grasp: it is a national-scale space, to which students and professors from around the country are drained. These students and professors do not necessarily have a historical tie to San Paolo, and yet, they might spend several years of their lives in this area. The conversion of this structure, which used to be a factory, is recent, and thus the wave of change brought by the university has not yet fully hit San Paolo, in its most intimate and local scale.

Studying how institutional space has started to modify the old, stable dynamic of this residential neighborhood is to us both instructive and fascinating. Instructive because it allows us to understand what the impacts of nationwide or citywide policies, such as converting a space into a higher education facility, can have on a small neighborhood. What other developments does the arrival of a university trigger

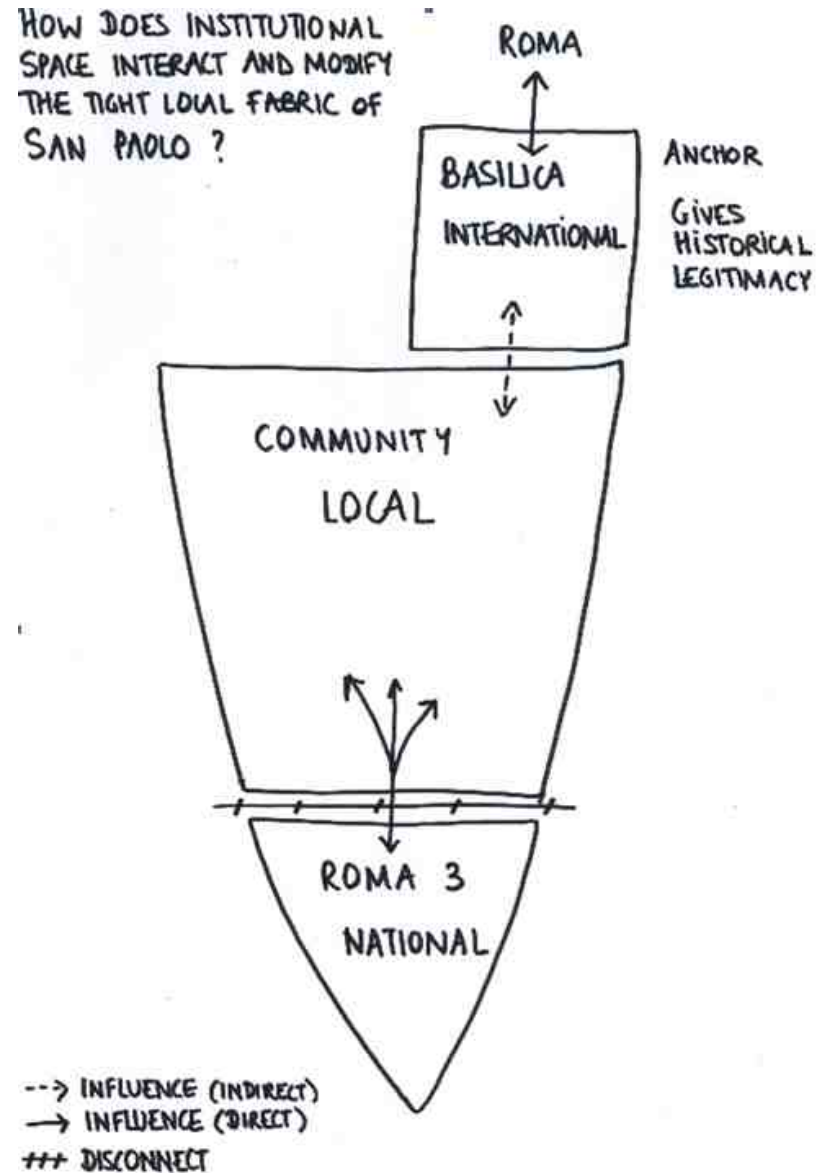


Figure 4:1: Concept diagram showing the influence of Roma Tre and of the Basilica San Paolo on the neighborhood

in a neighborhood? It would be equally fascinating to understand the perceptions of the local inhabitants of San Paolo towards the university: what is the university to them (A node, because they use it? A landmark, from which they might feel separate but that still has been integrated in their world? An edge?) What are the students to them? Neighbors, members of the community, outsiders, tourists? This would then tie back to Kevin Lynch and the cognitive mapping exercises we have been undertaking. How has the arrival of the university changed the way San Paolo perceives its place with regards to the rest of the city and its history?

A second institutional space that we would like to study, albeit in less detail than the first, is the Basilica of San Paolo. Frequently, in interviews, the Basilica was mentioned as a landmark, almost as if this historical building, the oldest of the area, gave San Paolo a historical legitimacy with regards to central Rome, and thus gave it a place “on the map”. The Basilica stands separate from San Paolo, and yet towers over the neighborhood: it is a symbol full of meaning to the older generations of San Paolo, especially, but also to students to whom the Basilica’s park is a place of recognition. The Basilica therefore reinforces San Paolo’s place “on the map”, gives it quite literally its name and focal point, however minimal its direct impact on San Paolo.

1. The University's Influence

Roma Tre's Spatial, Demographic and Economic Influence on San Paolo

It is our belief that San Paolo is currently in the first stages of a gentrification process. The newly-established University of Roma Tre seems to be the prime motor of change in San Paolo. Roma Tre University was established in 1992, and has since moved into the southern portion of San Paolo in 2002. The increase of faculty and more importantly students brought by the new presence of the school has had distinct impacts on the development of the neighborhood with concern to demographics, housing prices, shops, municipal and private services. We will here state the perceived and true consequences the University has had on San Paolo.

Change in Demographics

According to 2001 census data, there were approximately 400 people between the ages of 20-29 living in San Paolo. With consideration to Roma Tre's presence in San Paolo in 2002, one can assume this population number has naturally increased in subsequent years. Paolo, Anna, and Renata all stated that the area has a much younger population then it had 10 to 15 years ago. Before the arrival of the university, the area used to be much older, made up of residents who had lived in San Paolo since the 1950's, thus made up of mostly forty to sixty year olds.

The following quote shows how quickly the demographic situation of San Paolo has changed. We asked a student:

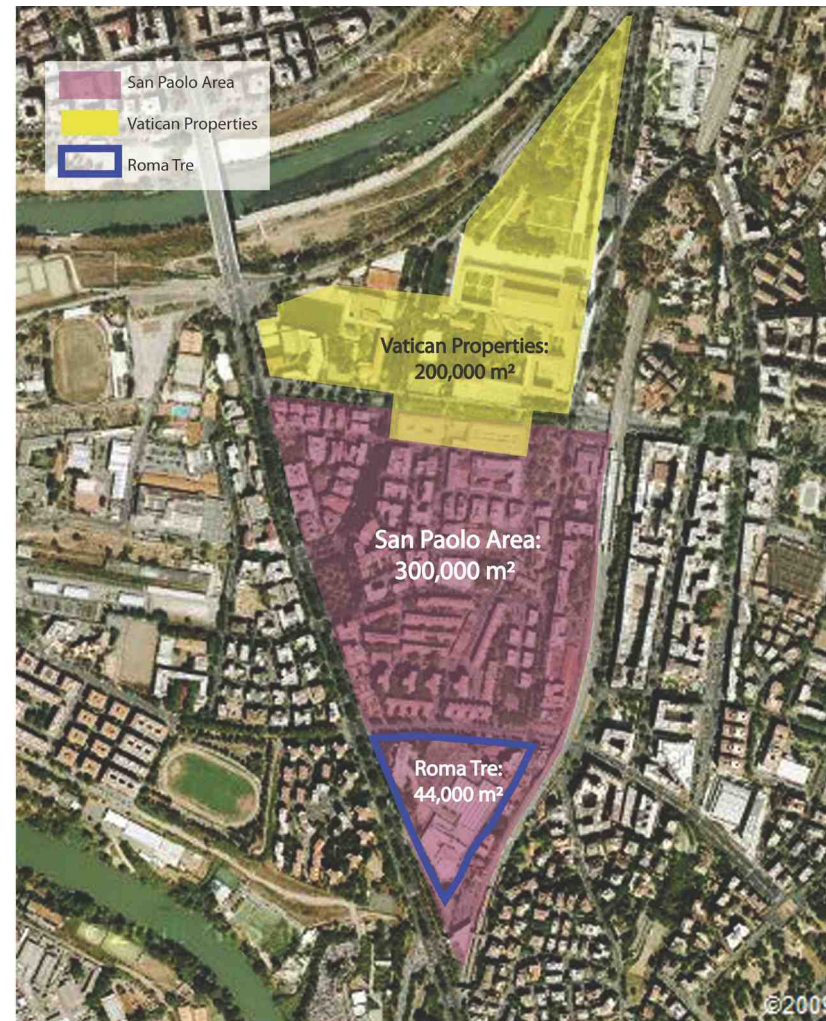


Figure 4:2: The physical domination of San Paolo's land by two institutions: Roma Tre University and the Basilica San Paolo

In three words can you summarize San Paolo?
Anna and her friends: “Young, With a Strong Story behind It, Popular.”

Physical Impact

The University of Roma Tre has made a clear effort to integrate itself into the existing landscape by rehabilitating industrial buildings, as opposed to building new ones. However, it clearly outcales the surrounding residential fabrics by the sheer amount of land it occupies. The faculty of Humanities alone occupies 15% of San Paolo’s ground, that is,



Figure 4:3: The fountain in Roma Tre at San Paolo (14)

44,000 square meters. Furthermore, the multiple Roma Tre buildings which have sprouted all around the San Paolo area, especially in Valco San Paolo and along Via Marconi has created a new realm of circulation paths and public spaces. It has also weaved together different areas which might not have been so clearly connected before, such as the Valco di San Paolo area with Viale Marconi and the San Paolo area.

Rent Prices

Since the formation of San Paolo as a neighborhood in the 1950’s, housing was built for lower to middle income families through the INA CASA initiative. Several of the people who moved in during this period still live in the neighborhood or have very recently moved out. On average the amount that a resident would have to pay a month was based on their income and thus was very low. The average rental price per month ranged from 400-800 euro, according to Renata. Currently, older residents who have been in the neighborhood since the beginning have paid off their homes and own them. According to a local, named Paolo, who has owned a store in San Paolo for fifteen years, more people have decided to move out of the neighborhood and rent out their property in San Paolo to students. He also mentioned the average price for a bed is 350 euro, and the average price of a room is 500 euro. An apartment on Via Chiabreba, on the other side of Via Ostiense, also had a room available for 500 euro a month which seems to be the average price for housing in the neighborhood.

Another long-time resident, Renata, also mentioned that the price of housing in the neighborhood has become more expensive. She mentions the “chaotic” housing situation, and how there is no regulation to control the price of rent for students. Unless students go through a student housing ser-

vice they are probably paying an unusually high amount for rent.

How have students affected rent prices in the neighborhood?

“Italy is chaotic. People do what they want. There is a lady in my building that rents to students... She rents a 120 square meter apartment, with two rooms and one bathroom, and she used to rent the rooms for 500 euro per student. It’s very expensive. In my area, for a 60 square meter apartment, which is very small, with an open kitchen and one bathroom, they ask for 1,200 euro.”

Without more stringent regulations on housing, the price of homes in the neighborhood could remain expensive or increase for both residents and students. Landlords do make benefits, but the community as a whole might not if the increased prices drive up rents for established residents and eventually force them out of the neighborhood (13). Although Anna, a university professor views the increased property value as a positive change, her statement is also very indicative of a gentrifying neighborhood.

What’s the average income of the area?

Renata: “ In San Paolo it is very strange; some spaces here are very poor. In the other area it is very rich. Where a rent is very low in this older housing area, they give it to the children. Here I think the income would be 1000 euro a month, on the other side it is higher. Rent is not regulated, for students, so they get over charged.”

Evolution of Shops and Services (private and municipal)

Attached is Table (1), which list all the shops in the neighborhood based on when they entered the neighborhood; either before or after the installment of the university. After looking at the table one can see an increase and change in shops that are directed towards a younger academic population. Interestingly, the increase is seen mainly in the amount of bars, pubs, bookstores, and copy centers which are concentrated in the space directly surrounding the university. Renata mentioned that before the arrival of the university, there were more service-based stores like laundromats, dry cleaners, and shoe/dress repair stores. While some service based stores are still visible, they are sparse in comparison to the types of shops that students would more commonly frequent. Paolo, the stationery store owner, cites the same noticeable changes in store evolution.



Figure 4:4: A bookstore in San Paolo (Photo by Shichun Ni)

Table(1): List of Shops in San Paolo by Street

Street Name	Via Corinto	Via Laodicea	Via Fillipi	Via Ostiense	Via Ostiense near Roma Tre	Via Valco di San Paolo	Via Efeso	Largo Enea Bortolotti
Before Roma Tre	Dry Cleaners, Shoe Repair Store, Restaurant and Book/Stationery Store	(attached to the back of the market)- Dry Cleaners, Shoe Store, and Service Agency	Pasticceria, Dry Cleaners, Pasta Shop, Butcher Shop	Paint store, Autoscuola, Hair Salon, San Paolo Radio Station, Home Repair Service, Car Battery Store, Radiator Shop, Spare Automotive parts	Tabacchi and Bar	None	Car Repair Store, and Beauty Salon	None
After Roma Tre	Pizza shop (2), Bar in the Park, Bar (2), Detached Bar, Faucet Store, Clothing Store (2), Speaker Installment for Cars, Pizza Shop, Minimarket Shop, Beauty Salon	None	Bookstore (2), Toy store	Agip Gas Station, Bag Store, Travel Store, Shoe/Clothing Store, SIT Supermarket, Al Peperoncino Restaurant, Home Repair Shop, Bar, Bike and Scooter Shop, Veterinarian Shop, Q8 Easy Gas Station	Pizzeria, Skateboard/Snowboard clothing and accessories store, Lighting Store, Tire Car Garage, Clothing Exchange Store, University Bookstore, Student Bar, Student Bar within the University, Copy Shop (20)	Quick Stop gas station (2)	Gelateria, Bar, Arte-Bistrot, Real Estate, and Stationery Store	Clothing Store, Car/Tire Repair Shop, and Pharmacy
Informal Shops	Used clothes stand, shoe seller both outside the market	None	None	None	Bracelet Merchant, multi-good stands outside of the Basilica Metro Station	None	None	None

How have the types of stores in the neighborhood changed since you've been here?

Paolo: "When I first opened my store, I was the only bookstore in the area, now there are more about 10-12 bookstores in the area. There are more copy shops. Before the university, there were no pubs, only a few bars, now there are more bars. But not as many as in San Lorenzo. Most of the students go to the center to go out."

The increase in student population also seems to have encouraged an increase in private services and improvement of municipal services. One example in particular of a private service which is very apparent in the neighborhood, is that of moving companies which have flyers pasted all over trash cans, lamp posts, and building facades. The large amount of moving advertisements is very indicative of a transitory neighborhood, where more and more people are moving out, or where people like students are constantly moving in and out of the space. In terms of municipal services, some residents mention that the university has changed the neighborhood for the better by cleaning it up. There is an abundance of trash receptacles available to the community. Public transportation is also very good: it runs frequently in all four directions. An engineer, resident for fifty-five years, stated that the University helped to "clean up the neighborhood a lot". This shift in shops and services helps to promote a more diverse and self-sufficient neighborhood which meets the various needs of its community members, without having to leave the neighborhood.

Although the university has been seen as positive change by many, there are still issues such as the lack of parking and the high traffic that continue to persist in San Paolo. "There's also traffic. You can't find parking. It's a great problem, the parking, especially on Saturday," say Anna and her friends.

Issues such as traffic and parking control, highlight a lack of efficient infrastructure with consideration to the growing needs of the current population.

Interaction with the Neighborhood

Even though the neighborhood has adapted, in some ways, to the needs of its new student population, there is still the issue of whether or not the students and faculty are active members of the community. In several interviews, including one with two professors, they mentioned that once they get to campus they do not leave until they go home. Several interviewees state that they don't even leave the campus to eat lunch. There are several factors that contribute to this kind of "island" mentality, including the presence of a bar on campus, the close proximity of the university to public transportation, and the fact that the university block is surrounded by high levels of traffic on all three sides.

While watching students interact with the space outside the university, it became apparent that they have limited to no contact with the rest of San Paolo. The exit that opens onto Via Ostiense, has two main foot traffic flows, one of which was to the shops across the street on Via Corinto, and the other was to the Marconi metro station. In all of the interviews with students, with the exception of Anita, they do not live very close to the university, and thus only use personal cars or public transportation. Most transportation routes rapidly take students out of the neighborhood and to their desired destination.

Although the new shops, bars, bookstores, which have sprouted all over San Paolo, are being used by students, they don't seem to patronize them outside of term-time and university hours. This is a recurrent issue for "college towns", and an

interesting further exploration would be to understand how students could further integrate themselves within the fabrics which surround their university.

Measuring Gentrification in San Paolo through Comparison

This section aims to quantify the rate of gentrification of San Paolo. Quantifying San Paolo's rate of gentrification through comparison with other areas of Italy, and Europe, allows us to put into perspective the changes San Paolo is currently experiencing. Also, it allows us to predict how San Paolo could evolve in the coming decades: A lively and integrated student neighborhood, where most of the current residential social housing is taken over by students, and most services cater to these students? A student ghetto, repulsive to Romans, where all social housing becomes student housing, and the demographic shift is absolute? A balanced neighborhood, where some students decide to cohabit with the older residents, and share services: the locals benefiting from new services such as the restaurants, the students benefiting from older neighborhood services such as the Ostiense Market?

Let us now proceed to a two-scale comparison of San Paolo with other neighborhoods: one at the European scale, and one at the Italian scale. San Paolo is compared to two towns which have, in the past decades, been subject to a rapid change in population due to the presence of a higher education institution: Loughborough and Bologna. This change will from now on be referred to as "studentification", a word coined by Darren Smith when he was describing the process of gentrification following the development of university campuses, in several English university towns (12). "Studentification" will here be defined as "contradictory social,



Figures 4:5 and 4:6: Two streets of Loughborough showing the transformation of a residential street into a "studentified street", where all houses are available to rent. (16)

cultural, economic and physical changes resulting from an influx of students within privately-rented accommodation in particular neighborhoods” (11).

We immediately understand how pertinent this concept is in describing the situation of San Paolo. The changes in shop typology (economic change), in the parking situation (physical change), in demography (social change), in values (cultural change), in rent prices (economic change) all spring to mind when considering San Paolo. The question to keep in mind is therefore: How studentified is San Paolo becoming, and is San Paolo strong enough as a cohesive residential neighborhood to positively absorb this change?

The European Comparison: San Paolo versus Loughborough, England

The phenomenon of “studentification” was first observed and analyzed in English university cities. This is mainly due to the post-Dearing project of massification of higher education led by the New Labour and the creation of “new-universities” in the 1990’s (8). The number of students dramatically increased, from 1,600,000 in 1995 to 2,470,000 in 2004. Although most students, pre-1990’s, used to be housed on campus, the greater number of students forced them into off-campus housing solutions. This started a process of “invasion” of the private housing market by students, and the speculative process of developers in transforming single-family rental units into student flats and houses. In the case of Italy, it is clear that policies, ever since the fascist era, have emphasized the massification of higher education. The expansion of the Roma Tre University into San Paolo is a physical sign of these policies.

However, unlike England, and this is a difference of capital importance, students in Italy have always been more integrated into society, because the idea of a self-sufficient “campus” does not truly exist in Italy, nor does it exist in most of continental Europe. In England, the opposition between “town” and “gown” goes back centuries. This does not stay true for Italy. Students most often live with their parents or in off-campus housing, which helps spread the students all over the city, and minimizes the formation of “studentified” neighborhoods, or, worse, “student ghettos”.

In reading the report on the “studentification” process of Loughborough, England, a post-industrial city which hosts the relatively new University of Loughborough, several commonalities could be drawn with San Paolo.

Both Loughborough and San Paolo were originally the homes



Figure 4:7: The University of Loughborough towering over the residential fabric of Loughborough (16)

of industrial workers, and have both been rehabilitated into third sector activities. Both have become the hosts in the past few decades to a higher education institution. Both have somewhat similar experiences with students and can claim to be experiencing the phenomenon of “studentification” of once residential neighborhoods. Residents speak of:

-changes in shop typology and neighborhood character

In Loughborough:

“the undermining of local retail and recreational facilities which cater exclusively for students and their distinctive life-styles” (8)

In San Paolo:

“there didn’t used to be so many cafes, pubs, and restaurants in the area. If you go all around the university, it is full of them, especially in the evening, because they want to go out... There were more service based stores like a Laundromat, dry cleaners, shoe and dress repair stores. Service stores.” (Renata, 2009)

-car parking problems

In Loughborough:

“students park on yellow lines, over dropped kerbs, and block driveways” (8)

In San Paolo:

“There’s also traffic. You can’t find any parking. It’s a great problem, the parking, especially on Saturday. That’s the first problem, the parking.” (Anna, 2009)

-increases in housing prices

In Loughborough:

“this process is seen to fuel house price inflation. The aver-



Figures 4:8 and 4:9 : Object of contention in Loughborough University: rubbish on a Loughborough street, and a sign on a shop saying “Please respect the right of the resident to park his car in his neighborhood” (16)

age rise in property prices across the towns and cities of the top-twenty performing universities was 88% between 2000 and 2005, compared with the UK average of 83%" (7)

In San Paolo:

"The rents have sky rocketed. One room, 550 euros. A whole apartment..., it depends on the area, if it's near Marconi or the University, it's more expensive, let's say around 1,000 euros. But this is a problem all over Rome. The La Sapienza area is the same. Before, a room was 250 euros, now it's double if not triple. All these palazzi have changed tenure. It's easier to rent them to students." (Anna, 2009)

It is important to mention how the similarities between the Loughborough situation and the San Paolo situation stop here. A San Paolo interviewee, after listing the three previous problems, says: "Then, other problems, no.". Most notably, the attitude of residents in San Paolo regarding the influx of students in their streets is very positive. That of the residents of Loughborough is extremely negative:

In Loughborough:

"Who do these people think they are, coming into this town, taking our houses, causing mayhem and chaos around the town and disturbing residential neighbors, some of whom are at retirement and do not want midnight parties?" (8)

or "Students are not neighbors, and have no interest in connecting with those next door" (8)

In San Paolo, either coming from students or from the interviewed residents, the University has brought life, cleanliness and youth to the neighborhood. It is a blessing, not a blight. Students and residents say:

"For me, the university is a positive thing. I feel very welcome here. Coming from a small city, I have found something For instance when I go out, people say hello to me, the florist,

the barman, ..." (Anita, a student, 2009)

or "I've seen it change. Thanks to the university. It's changed a lot. Thank God for that. It's cleaned up so much."

(Ice Cream Vendor on Via Efeso, 2009)

or (I've seen it change) "for the better. It got cleaned up. The university helped a lot. I'd say everyone here agrees that the university has had only a positive impact on the neighborhood." (Giambattista, a long-time resident, 2009).

Loughborough's studentification has brought about consequences that were unspoken of in San Paolo. These were:

- absentee landlords who do not care for their houses falling in disrepair
- physically degraded streets littered with trash and with untidy front lawns
- low feeling of belonging to the neighborhood coming from the students, which translates into their low local political participation.
- noise
- antisocial behavior, especially at night
- loss of "neighborhoodliness"
- term-time "student enclaves" and holiday "ghost towns"
- loss of local life leading to loss of local jobs and activities such as primary schools
- lack of understanding between the local residents and the students.

There can be several explanations for the differences found between San Paolo and Loughborough. First, the rehabilitation of the Alpha Romeo plant into the University of Roma Tre is recent: it dates back to 1992, whereas Loughborough has always had its share of universities for several decades. Second, the campus of Roma Tre is spread over many Roman neighborhoods: Marconi, Garbatella, and San Paolo, but

also Castro Pretorio and the center. This helps disperse students around the city, and prevents the formation of student ghettos, as can be seen in extreme cases in France, such as in the Madeleine Champs de Mars neighborhood in Nantes (6). Third, and perhaps most importantly, university culture in Italy is dramatically different to that of the Anglo-Saxons. As was previously mentioned, the distinction between “town” and “gown” does not clearly exist in the imagination of Italians as strongly as it does in England or the United States. This is mainly because the university, in continental Europe, was never imagined as separate from the city and its social fabric. The idea of the “campus” separate from the “real life” is an Anglo-American one. It is also a dangerous one, because it is by essence exclusionary and encourages the formation of a ghettoized student population. A pertinent quote, taken from the official Roma Tre brochure, states:

“One of the milestones for Roma Tre, as well as a guideline for its development, was its incorporation in the surrounding area, characterised by the reclamation of old factories and school buildings, transformed into modern facilities for study and research.” (10)

To conclude this comparison, one should strive to imagine whether San Paolo’s future situation could ever evolve to become another “Loughborough”, a student city. In our opinion, the extent of studentification of San Paolo would never reach that of Loughborough, because of the difference in size of the University of Roma Tre and the University of Loughborough. The presence of the University of Roma Tre in San Paolo is limited to the faculties of Humanities, Engineering, Mathematics and Law, while the other departments are further up Rome, near Garbatella, Marconi, ... The University of Loughborough, on the other hand is very large and concentrated on a campus. To us, the tightly-knit fabric of San Paolo,

attested by its low housing turn-over, the diffusion of the student body all over Roman neighborhoods, and the culture of student integration are three factors which will protect San Paolo from tipping into a student-only zone.

The Italian Comparison: San Paolo versus Bologna, Italy

The previously mentioned concept of studentification is known to have taken place in other areas of the world outside of places like Britain and the United States. One of these places is that of Bologna, Italy. In Bologna, the existence of a university is not new. On the contrary, the University of Bologna is perhaps the oldest university in the world. Since the presence of the university is far from a recent occurrence, it seems surprising that studentification of the city is now an important issue for the city.



Figure 4:10 : Seal of the University of Bologna (14)

Studentification is an issue for the city because, like all Italian cities, Bologna went through the process of deurbanization following the decline of some of the industries in the city. This decline is best seen in the fact that in the years between the years of 1973 and 1996 the population of the city declined every year except during the anomalous year in 1992 when the population rose (1). In the case of Bologna, it is also important to differentiate between studentification and 'reurbanization'. When the term reurbanization is used it means only the moving of people back into the city following the process of deurbanization. In this way the term fits into the commonly understood processes in cities of urbanization, suburbanization, deurbanization, and now reurbanization.

It is also important to understand how the studentification and reurbanization processes in Bologna are shaping the city especially in contrast to how these processes shaped the aforementioned area in Britain and how they are currently affecting San Paolo. For one, in Bologna, the student ghetto effect, which could be seen in Britain, does not exist. Instead, students disseminate themselves fairly evenly around the different neighborhoods of the city. In this way, the student population of Bologna forms what is called a "splintered urban geography" (2). Because of this residential trend, the effects of the presence of these students is likewise diffused across the city, which leads to a more generalized reinvestment in the city as these students are more likely to be integrated into their communities. It could also be understood that the strong negatives to student neighbors and neighborhoods that were expressed in Britain are seemingly negligible here in Bologna in terms of the stability and vitality of the city as a whole.

What is even more important is that in the case of Bologna, we are not talking about a small amount students. Of the city of Bologna's total population of 373,170 people, it is estimated that about ten percent are students (2). Furthermore, students make up about twenty six percent of all in-migrants to the city of Bologna (2).

It is also important to note that in Bologna, this reurbanization process is not being carried out exclusively by students. In reality, it is a combination of at least three different groups. These are students, immigrants, and young families. These three groups of people are reinvesting the urban core of the city. Young families nowadays often prefer the urban core to living in a suburb. Immigrants themselves often favor the housing that was previously for working class people (1). The force of these groups is significant and can be seen



Figure 4:11: Campus of University of Bologna (14)

simply in the population trends of the city. Since 1996, the population of the city of Bologna has increased by an average of 1,000 persons per year directly because of in-migration (1).

In many ways what is happening in San Paolo can be seen to be similar to what has happened and is happening in Bologna. For one, there is not the residential concentration of students that is typical of “studentification” in Britain. In San Paolo and Bologna, the students tend to actively disperse themselves around the city and thus promote a more widespread redevelopment of the city. This trend itself seems to be very consistent with what Buzer et al. call the “Mediterranean” style of gentrification, which focuses on many small investments in different parts of the city. Also, in their view, this trend occurs because of the fundamental social and functional complexities of these older historic centers (1). Though San Paolo is obviously not in the historic center of Rome, the lack of a push for concentrated student housing near the university will generally ensure that San Paolo will continue on the path that Bologna is on. This is also because the social and more specifically the university cultures are very similar. Though students will quickly become an even greater statistical group in Rome, like they have in Bologna, there will still not be the complete exclusivity that is found in Britain. Of course, neighborhoods in the city will be changed to varying degrees, but it is doubtful that there will arise any exclusive ‘student’ areas of the city as opposed to exclusive ‘resident’ areas of the city. This will be so because students in Italian universities seem to become residents and members of the communities that they live in.

Forecasting the evolution of San Paolo

Research into the Rome master plan and other planning documents have shown that San Paolo is part of a larger urban regeneration project named “Progetto Urbano Marconi-Ostiense”, which plans to rehabilitate the southern section of Rome into a thriving, youthful, tertiary activity pole of Rome.

According to Rome’s new masterplan (here translated into English):

“The objective of this urban program is the creation of an urban centrality made up of these two neighborhoods [Marconi and Ostiense], today no longer peripheries.” (9)

The “New Regulatory Plan” of Rome has chosen the notion of “culture” as the key motor for economic development. It gives universities a strategic role in promoting competitiveness of Rome against other big European cities. The Marconi-Ostiense area is one of Rome’s elected sites for knowledge-based development (9). The government’s intention for the area is clear: San Paolo is going to become a neighborhood specialized in higher education. The following diagram is telling: South Western Rome is as if under the “sphere of influence” of the Roma Tre University.

Here (see Figure 4:13) follows a comprehensive map we have made which gives an idea of the sheer breadth of the urban projects occurring in the Marconi-Ostiense area. Most of these projects are driven with the idea of reconverting old industrial fabrics into state of the art cultural, commercial and higher education facilities. Examples are most notably the creation of a modern art museum, MACRO, in the former warehouses of Testaccio, the rehabilitation of the Alpha Romeo plant, the glass factory and the naval factory into Roma

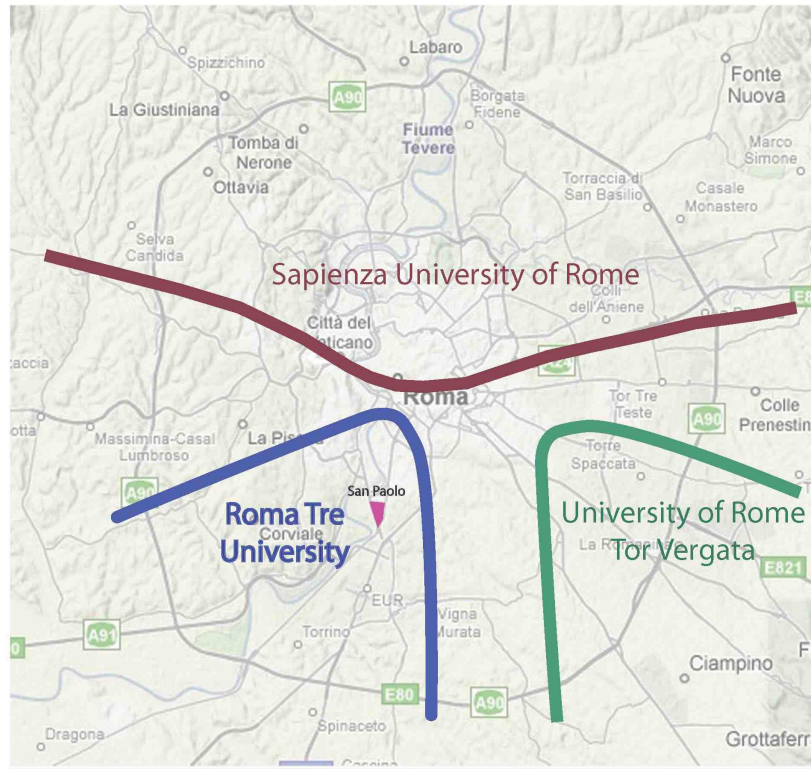


Figure 4:12:: Diagram of the Influence of the Roman Universities (4)
 (Base map from Google Earth)

Tre university buildings, and the reconversion of the Mercati Generali, by Rem Koolhaas, into a commercial and cultural space. The development of the Roma Tre university is further accompanied with the development of several student housing endeavors, such as the Papareschi student housing. The rationale behind the rehabilitation of industrial buildings and sites, as opposed to their demolition and reconstruction, is a desire to insert new uses into the city of Rome without disrupting the urban fabric. The will is therefore of integration.

Infrastructural developments are also planned, most notably to decongest the area from traffic, promote the interconnectedness of the two urban fabrics of Marconi and Ostiense. The best illustration of this is the Ostiense bridge, which will go over the railway track, thus symbolically seaming two urban fabrics into one, and promote pedestrian mobility. The Bridge of Science is the best example of this. These infrastructural developments also aim to give back visibility and accessibility to the Tiber River.

It is most likely that the current urban projects will deeply restructure the Marconi-Ostiense area. In looking at the plans, and especially at the intended student housing developments which will sprout all over the area, one can easily picture San Paolo slowly turning into present day San Lorenzo. The threshold between positive studentification and student invasion of residential fabrics lies in the hand of policy makers. In the case of the Marconi-Ostiense urban development project, accent has been placed on “integration” of the new into the old industrial fabric, to create a seamless new city.

Figure 4:13 and Figure 4:14 suggest the difficulty of predicting the future situation of San Paolo as a result of studentification. The high density of Roma Tre buildings in the south-



Roma Tre at Mattatoio (Testaccio)



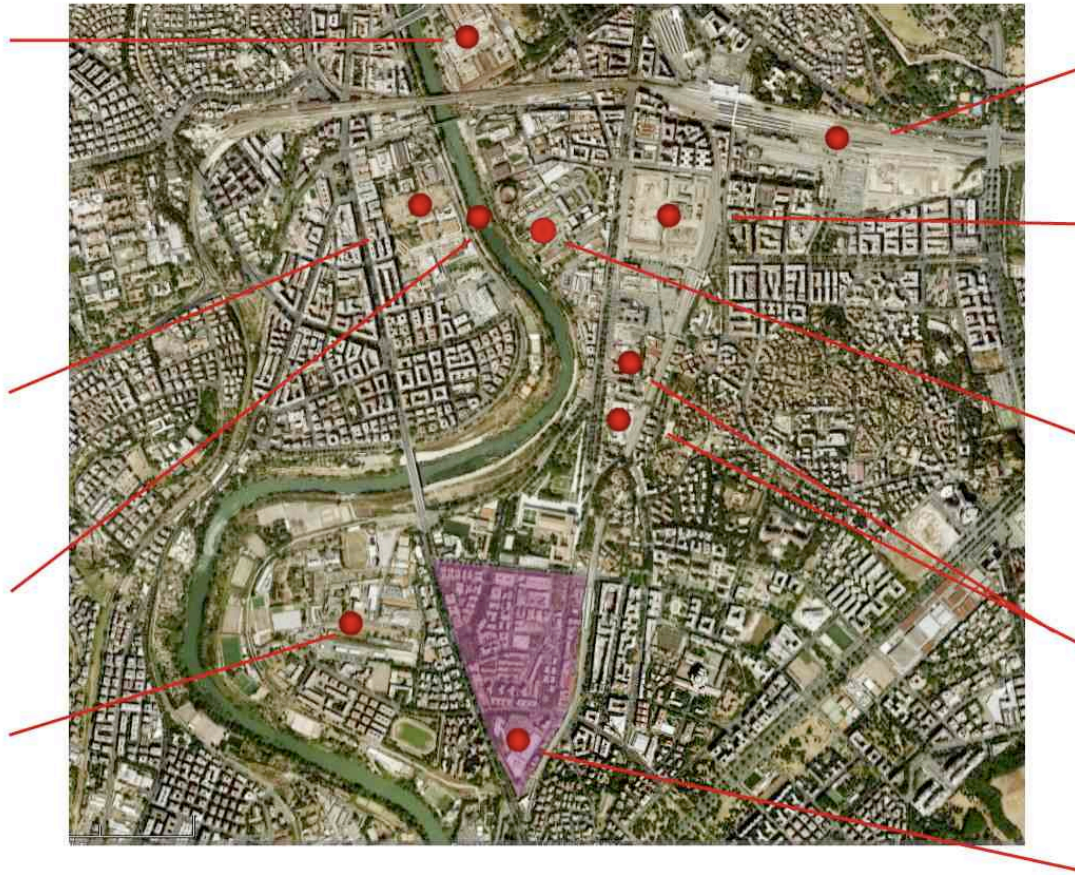
Roma Tre at Papareschi



Bridge of Science



Roma Tre: Mathematics, Physics,
Natural Science



Ostiense Bridge



Roma Tre at Mercati Generali



Roma Tre at Italgas



Roma Tre at Ostiense



Roma Tre: Humanities

Figure 4:13: New Interventions of Roma Tre
(Base map from Google Earth)

ern wedge of Rome. The red dots suggest a future increase in student activity in the area. On the other hand, none of these buildings stand out as dominating the urban fabric. They all have expressively tried to integrate themselves into their context, especially by being the fruit of reconversions, as opposed to new constructions. They are islands amidst residential fabrics, as opposed to residential areas being the islands amidst a tightly-knit university campus.

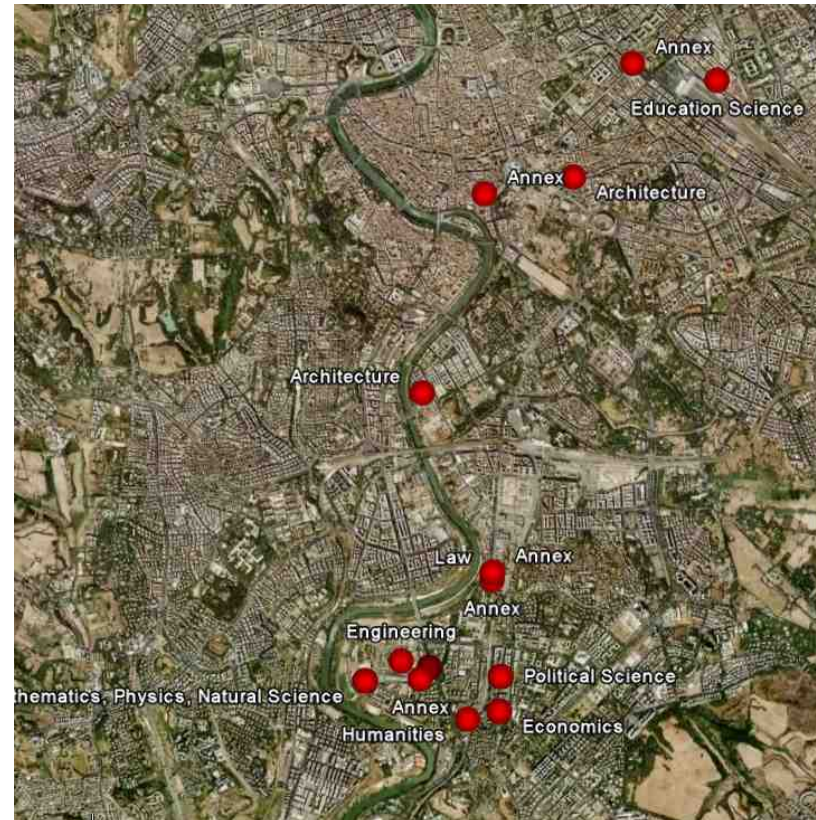


Figure 4:14: Diagram of Existing Facilities of Roma Tre in 2007

2. The Basilica's Influence

Current influence of the Basilica on San Paolo

The Basilica's influence on San Paolo is paradoxical. On the one hand, the Basilica is the one landmark of the area, which acts as a place marker. From interviewees to policy makers, not one fails to note the place of the Basilica as a point of reference. Visually, the tower of the Basilica is visible from all sides of San Paolo: it is omnipresent, always, in the landscape.

Furthermore, physically, the Vatican occupies a very large amount of land in the area (See Figure 2 on page 5, 200,000 square meters, against the 300,000 square meters of the San Paolo neighborhood). This land includes the private gardens and edifice of the Basilica, the public green spaces-Parco Schuster Ildefonso in front of it, the block across from the Basilica. This block belongs to the Vatican, and will soon be transformed into the "Ospedale Gesu Bambino". The "Ospedale Gesu Bambino" aims to become the city's top pediatric hospital. Its arrival in the San Paolo neighborhood is bound to bring a great change in the area, with increased noise (ambulances), traffic, and public recognition. The Basilica block also includes a pastoral college, which is the property of the Vatican, and attracts priests from all over the world.

However, the direct influence of the Basilica and the Vatican on San Paolo stops here. Contrarily to the university, the Basilica itself does not connect to its surroundings. Entrance into its structure and gardens is subject to a fee, and it is separated from street life by a wall. There are only two entrances into the block, as opposed to the porous entrances of the university -several entrances on each of its edges. The

structure is opaque to passers-by, fairly irrelevant to locals in terms of religious significance -locals prefer other smaller parishes to that of San Paolo. Its interactions are more to be found at wider scale: with the international religious community, the Basilica being the third most important catholic building of Rome, with the international medical community as regards the annexed Hospital, and with the ephemeral world of tourists.

The Basilica as a Landmark



Figure 4:15: Basilica San Paolo as a Landmark, Looking from South to North on Via Ostiense (Photo by Shichun Ni)

The Basilica di San Paolo is without question a major landmark for the neighborhood. Evidence of this point exists in the frequency with which it was brought up both in our resident and nonresident interviews. For instance, only four of the fifteen interviewees failed to mention the Basilica. For the vast majority of people that did mention the Basilica they tended to mention it in different ways. Some mentioned specific elements they liked about the Basilica. By far, the most common of these was the park-Parco Schuster Ildefonso. Five of the fifteen people interviewed mentioned the park in front of the Basilica explicitly. For all five of them this was both a beautiful and an important place. A good example of this can be seen in the interview with Anita when she states that:

“Starting in May, the park of the Basilica is beautiful, every Sunday I go there, it’s full of people and it’s stupendous.”

Another occurrence was the using of the full name of the Basilica, that of “Basilica di San Paolo Fuori le Mura” or “Basilica of Saint Paul Outside the Walls”, for the positioning of the neighborhood. With this we mean that they used the phrase “outside the walls”, which is attached to the Basilica, to describe the relationship that the neighborhood of San Paolo has to the rest



Figure 4:16: Tourists and tourist buses outside of the wall of Basilica San Paolo (Photo by Shichun Ni)

of Rome.

“It’s always considered the periphery. Rome is either inside the wall or outside the wall and this part is outside the wall. It is called San Paolo outside the walls.”

Another important occurrence of the Basilica is that of a tourist destination. Two of the people mentioned the Basilica explicitly in this manner. One old man said: “I haven’t gone there in years. It’s for tourists. I go to my own parish.” Also the vast majority of the people who mentioned the Basilica spoke of it either neutrally or positively. Only one of the people interviewed spoke badly of the Basilica. The one person who did was the woman who was the Jehovah’s Witness, and she hated it because it was owned by the Vatican. This is telling: for some, the Basilica is truly extra-territorial land. As can be seen from these interviews, the Basilica whose prominent structure can be seen from much of the surrounding neighborhood, is an important landmark and gives identity to San Paolo.



Figure 4:17: Inside of Basilica San Paolo (Photo by Shichun Ni)

Conclusion

Studying the impact of wider scale institutions on a small neighborhood has taught us two lessons. First, no matter how large the scale of the institution, its success is widely dependant upon the approach it has to the smallest scale to which it seeks to integrate itself. Neglecting to reflect upon what kind of relationship Roma Tre wants to entertain with San Paolo is taking a great risk: that of alienating the host community from the newly grafted students. The result could be a great rejection of both parties, and a situation of unwelcomed and undesired gentrification, such as in Loughborough.

A successful integration of institutions such as universities at the local scale can be achieved in several ways:

- quality design: the university of Roma Tre is open to passers by, it is made from a rehabilitated plant, thus offers from the offset a desire of integration and historical continuity

- adequate housing policy: controlling the amount of students who will actually inhabit San Paolo, through such policies as ‘threshold” management – studentification is stopped when a certain ratio of students per locals is reached - can help maintain San Paolo’s balance

- positive attitude: stating in Rome’s masterplan and in Roma Tre’s brochure that the prime goal for the university is to achieve sustainable integration in the Marconi-Ostiense area is already a powerful first step. On the micro level, residents and students themselves can help integration happen through a positive and caring attitude for each other. This is particularly easier to achieve in countries where the concept of the self-sufficient university campus is weak. The students brings life to the neighborhood, and the older locals bring

meaning to the neighborhood; both help San Paolo become a thriving new centrality of Rome.



Figure 5:1: The green spaces and benches of San Paolo: stil welcoming to the older generation (Ni, 2009)

Bibliography

1. Buzar, S., Hall, R., Ogden, P., 2007, "Beyond gentrification: the demographic reurbanisation of Bologna." *Environment and Planning*, 39, pp. 64-85
2. Buzar, S., Hall, R., Ogden, P., Haase, A., Kabisch, S., Steinfuhrer, A., 2007, "Splintering Urban Populations: Emergent Landscapes of Reurbanisation in Four European Cities." *Urban Studies*. 44, pp. 651-677
3. Citta Sostenibili. OSTIENSE MARCONI: un Progetto Urbano in corso. Web. <http://www.cittasostenibili.it/html/Scheda_13_SITO.htm>.
4. Comune di Roma. Progetto Urbano Ostiense Marconi. Web. <http://www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it/urbaroma/resources/cms/documents/125121slide_lantierostiense.pdf>.
5. DGI Studio. Progetto Urbano Ostiense-Marconi Roma, Italia. Web. <http://www.dgistudio.it/Works_01_Ostiense_marconi_01.htm>.
16. Forester, John. "Introduction," and "Beyond Dialogue to Transformative Learning: How Deliberative Rituals Encourage Political Judgment in Community Planning Processes." Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999.
6. Garat, I., Vernicos, S., 2006, "Ville des jeunes, ville des vieux", *Les annales de la recherche urbain.*
7. Halifax Estates, 2005, "House prices in university towns" PRS Newsfile, London
8. Hubbard, P., 2008, "Regulating the social impacts of studentification: a Loughborough case study", *Environment & Planning A*, 40: 2, pp. 323-341
17. Huynh, Niem Tu. "Interpreting urban space through cognitive map sketching and sequence analysis." *Canadian Geographer*, 2008-07.
18. Jacobs, Allan B. "Clues," in *Looking at Cities*, Cambridge: Harvard University, 1985. Press
19. Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1960. Print.
9. Nuovo Piano Regolatore, 2009, Roma Comune
10. Roma Tre Brochure, Academic Year 2007-2008, http://www.uniroma3.it/downloads/1799_Romatre%20bilingue%20int%20ok.pdf
11. Smith, D., 2002, "Patterns and Processes of Studentification in Leeds", *Regional Review*, pp 6-7
12. Smith, D., 2008, "The Politics of Studentification and "(Un) balanced" Urban Populations: Lessons for Gentrification and Sustainable Communities?", *Urban Studies*, 45:12
20. Squires, A. "Methodological challenges in cross-language qualitative research: A research review", 2009.
13. Steinacker, A., 2005, "The economic effect of urban col

leges on their surrounding communities”, Urban Studies; 42:7, pp. 1161-1175

14. Università di Bologna. Web. <<http://www.eng.unibo.it/PortaleEn/default.htm>>

15. Università di Roma Tre. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. June 2008. Web. <http://www.uniroma3.it/downloads/Guide08_09/LETTERE%20E%20FILOSOFIA.pdf>.

16. University of Loughborough. Web. <<http://www.lboro.ac.uk/>>

21. Wainwright, E. “Manufacturing space: gendered cityscapes and industrial images in Dundee” 2009-02.

Appendix

Street Survey

NAME OF STREET/ OPEN SPACE	VIA GUGLIELMO MARCONI	VIA TEMASTECLO CALZECCHI ONESTI
GENERAL CHARACTER OF SPACE (choose)		
1 Busy Through Way	yes	yes
2 Busy Mix Use Neighborhood Rd		yes
3 Residential, Privatized, Calm, Secluded St (We feel as		
4 Open, Busier Residential St, less private green space		
5 Well Defined Green/ Open Space		
6 Poorly Defined Green/ Open Space		
7 Pedestrian Pathway		
8 Other (please define) or Comments	acts as barrier between San Paolo and neighboring spaces	boulevard but also has local shops and only medium traffic flow
DIMENSION OF STREET OR OPEN SPACE		
1 Lanes or Rough Area of Open Space	8 with island	6-8 lanes depending on how one counts them, limited green space in the boulevard
2 Sidewalks (presence or abs, rough size)	both sides, 4m each	both sides, wide
3 Parking Space	on both sides	on both sides
4 Other Comments		
ACTIVITY OF SPACE		
1 Car Traffic + One way? Two way traffic? Bus Through Way?	Heavy traffic. Two way street. Bus: 23, 170, 670, 761, 791, n2	medium traffic; bus stop
2 Pedestrian Traffic	Along the street: moderate. Crossing the street: Sporadic low pedestrian traffic	
3 Statism (Spots where people congregate, hang out)	at Bus Stop and Crossings; some in front of cafés	
4 What kind of people in the space?	Women in pairs: old ladies with caddies, mothers with pram	primarily elderly
5 What are people doing?	Walking through (to home?), waiting for the bus, shopping	going to their homes
6 Other Comments(i.e.noise level)	Street is transitory space with little identity. Life is behind it. Buffer to residential San Paolo; width and heavy traffic on street make it unlikely that people cross the street to patronize stores on the other side	
STREET AMENITY		
1 Bins (Number, Maintenance, Trash on st?)	Yes. Maintained, except in green space by bus stop. Recycling.	dumpsters present
2 Benches (Number, Maintenance, Used?)	Benches on green space adjacent to Marconi, by bus stop only at bus stop	
3 Lighting	Yes. Bollards and stairs that regulate access to ped st leading to San Paolo residential neighborhood. Graffiti on housing heaviest on Marconi side. Street trees on either side + on island	
4 Other Comments (bollards, billboards, trees...)		
HOUSING, IF ANY		
1 Age	approx 1950	approx 1950
2 Building Type	residential	residential
3 Height	5-6 stories	5-6 stories
4 Private open space description (Balconies, ...)	some closed in private spaces on ground level	balconies, courtyards
5 Maintenance (Graffiti? Trash? Well kept garden?)		well kept

7 Interpretation or Guess at Type of Resident		
8 Part of a Housing Complex?		yes
9 Inward Looking, Street looking? Where is the entrance?	entrance on street	gate entrance is on the street
10 Are there signs of appropriation of the housing by the residents?		
11 Level of Definition of Private versus Public Space (Fence?)		all fenced in
11 Other comments		
COMMERCIAL OR EDUCATIONAL SPACE		
1 Presence of Shops, or Cluster of Shops on St?		shops concentrated on the part of the street that is closer to Viale Marconi
2 List shop types, importance, frequency of use	computer store, pizzeria, panini place, publishing store, profumeria, tour agency, fabric and stationary store, snack bar, Parmedial Original Parquet, Ferramente, women's store possibly called "Il Ricamo", Xerodigital, Electricita, Ottica	Caffe Tazza D'oro; Riparazioni (small radio and tv store); Alpine (auto repair store); unnamed auto repair store; MLS immobiliare
3 Hours of opening, or are they closed?		
4 Relationship to St (St level?, clear signage, Windowfront Display?)	all on street level	all on street level
5 Other Comments		
PUBLIC OPEN SPACE		
1 Size	One across from bus stop. About 100 square meters.	none
2 Level of Definition (Fenced, Negative Space, ...)	Well defined but open: two sides are buildings, the rest is open to street access	only a very small amount on boulevard
3 Level of Use	Low at time of audit (11 AM). Men reading on benches who are not from the neighborhood	low
4 Types of Use	Reading on bench, walking the dog, waiting for the bus, enjoying the sun	going home, and passing through
5 Types of Amenities (Playground, Benches, Bins, Lights ...)	Playground, benches, bins	dumpsters, bus stop
6 Level of Overlook from surrounding buildings	Well overlooked by housing	
7 Car presence	No	
8 Vegetation	Yes but no luscious, slightly battered looking lawns and vegetation	
9 General Feeling the Open Space gives off	Poorly appropriated, poorly maintained, but welcome greenery for the street and sun spot.	
10 Other Comments	This space is mainly used by outsiders to San Paolo and little by San Paolo residents	
OTHER COMMENTS OR CONCLUSIONS		
	Artery which brushes by San Paolo without much relationship. However, it does link San Paolo to Stazione Trastevere and Centre of Rome	

Traffic Counts

COUNTS EACH 15 MIN

Date: March 9, 2009

Sam and Shichun

Points	Time	# CARS GOING SOUTH	# CARS GOING NORTH	# CARS GOING WEST	# CARS GOING EAST	Turn from Primary to Secondary	Turn from Secondary to Primary	# PEDS on Primary St	# PEDS on Secondary St	Turn from Primary to Secondary	Turn from Secondary to Primary
Marconi/ Nobili	10:25 AM	389	488	17	N/A	N/A	17	42	43	13	9
Marconi/Civita	11:07 AM	796	592	188	60	60	168	44	34	8	12
Onesti/Civita	1:25 PM	204	128	190	275	57	84	86	79	16	37
Filippi/Tessalonica	1:35 PM	13	4	17	N/A	N/A	17	48	24	10	8
Riccardi/Tessalonica	2:00 PM	64	29	N/A	N/A	71	N/A	71	65	23	16

Lola and Agnes

Date: March 5, 2009

Points	Time	# CARS GOING SOUTH	# CARS GOING NORTH	# CARS GOING WEST	# CARS GOING EAST	Turn from Primary to Secondary	Turn from Secondary to Primary	# PEDS on Primary St	# PEDS on Secondary St	Turn from Primary to Secondary	Turn from Secondary to Primary
Marconi/Efeso	2:30 PM	211 in 5 min	178 in 5 min	x	14 in 15 min	29 in 15 min	x	7 in 15 min	3 in 15 min	0 in 15 min	1 in 15 min
Efeso/Corinto	2:00 PM	x	15 in 15 min	3 in 15 min	21 in 15 min	68 in 15 min	21 in 15 min	16 in 15 min	23 in 15 min	8 in 15 min	10 in 15 min
Corinto/Valco S.Paolo	3:45 PM	x	x	167 in 15 min	46 in 15 min	26 in 15 min	32 in 15 min	11 in 15 min	14 in 15 min	17 in 15 min	16 in 15 min
Valco S. Paolo/Ostiense	4:05 PM	x	112 in 10 min	81 in 10 min	32 in 10 min	56 in 10 min	30 in 10 min	?	?	?	?

here in the 1960's, I think it is a little bit before. It is a covered market, they have rebuilt the inside. It is only useful in the mornings, Tuesday and on Friday in the afternoon until 6-7 pm. The market was renewed in 1985 and now they are changing again. Down stairs you can store food and boxes.

Q- Do people use the space in front of the market?

A- Yes it is a space just like this one, (referring to the park area in front of the Basilica). The people that go to the market are women and old people. The women have children, and so they can go all around the market.

Q- Is the neighborhood very cohesive?

A- Yes, I would say that this is a democratic area. People are very close, they help each other. If you have a problem they give you suggestions. Also the health community is very active here.

Q- What is this area (pointing to space next to the Basilica)?

A- There is the hospital called the Ospedale Bambino Gesù, which is close to the Vatican. The hospital is not so big, and here they say they are going to open a day hospital (kind of like a clinic). They are rebuilding over there. In Italy, it is very frequent that you go to the church and you ask for a place to stay, and you pay 30-40 euro and it's close to the subway.

Q- How about the importance of the Basilica for the neighborhood?

A- It is very important. It's the 3rd in Rome, one of the biggest and it is always full of people. The Basilica is huge and they have a lot of masses. Last year they celebrated the Paolinia year, and lots of people came to visit the Basilica and for us it was a mess.

Q- Tourist will not come?

A- Yes but if you go on the other side of the Basilica there is a big space, you can run, you can bike, and just sit there, children can stay there. When there are tourists it is impossible to do anything because it is full. That part is devoted to old people where they can dance. There is also a place devoted to our people that died in

Naceria, in Iran, there was an explosion and 17 people died and to us it was a big tragedy.

Q- Are there any issues with the open spaces here?

A- Okay, this is young area and we have people that use drugs. I have the same experience in the center.

Q- There is not a perception of any danger here?

A - No, I don't have this perception here, it's my home.

Q- What are the important places for you in the area?

A- The Basilica, I love the place in front of the Basilica, the school where I used to go. The place is very nice, it's up on the hill, and there are tombs and you can go and have a life in an open space. So that is a place that is close to my heart. My favorite place is also the market, I like it a lot. I go there and know everybody, when I go talk to everyone they ask "What's going on?" Behind my house there is the university.

Q- How do you feel about the river?

A - The river? The river is part of us. The river is not very close, I take my bike and go around to Viale Marconi and go to the bridge about 2 km for me. You go to this space that is devoted to bikers and you go down the river and there you can go directly to Ponte Milvio and place through the Center. It is very long and very beautiful; you can ride, walk, or run. There are places where you can sit, have a drink. Especially in the summer time, there is an exhibition, and you just have a long that sells lots of things. You can sit in front of the river and it is very beautiful. It is a problem in summertime because we have a lot of mosquitoes. You have to go down, if you look from the top of the bridge you won't see people, you have to go down. The weather is changing, but right now people don't go because they worry that it might rain.

Q- What do you consider to be the boundaries of San Paolo?

A- The part on the other side of Viale Marconi. There is a part that is really strange; it's not strange there are people with low social

level and problem of drugs. Pinkerle varies a little bit. There are some strange places on Ostiense. Before life cost less here, now its changing because of the university.

Q- How have students affected rent prices in the neighborhood?

A- Italy is chaotic, people do what they want. There is a lady that rents in my building to students. I am in a residential area, there are no services, and I have to come here to pick up things. She rents a 120 square meter, 2 rooms 1 bathroom, and she used to rent the rooms for 500 euro per student. Its very expensive. In my area 60 square meter (very small), with an open kitchen and one bathroom they ask for 1,200 euro.

Q- Whats the average income of the area?

A- In San Paolo it is very strange, some spaces here are very poor. In the other area it is very rich. Where a rent is very low in this older housing; they give it to the children. Here I think the income would be 1000 euro, on the other side it is higher. I think every Italian has a house, or some family that can give it to you. Rent is not regulated, for students, so they get over charged.

Q- When you say the other part what do you mean?

A- Up on Laurentina. This part is very rich. It is also a touristic area; we have hotels, about 2 different hotels.

Q- So the market serves both sides?

A- Yes I would say so.

Q- Where do people go to school?

A- There is the middle school where I went, the university, the technical school. There is also the place where my daughter goes she is about 2-3 years old. There are also trade skills. Some people think that the church is very good, but I don't think so. I used to go there and I had a bad experience and I don't want to use it for my daughter. Here I think the public is very good, in some situation private is better but not here.

Q- Can you explain the presence of the separate Christian

church?

A- It is true, but what they are doing is true. We all have the same faith but it is different how every person perceives it. Exactly what they are doing I don't know. I don't feel it.

Q- Important places?

A- The ice cream place, bookstore, another supermarket where I used to go.

Q- How often do you go to central Rome?

A - Very often. There is a subway that I take from Marconi, and you arrive at a central station in 15 minutes. From there I can go everywhere, I can go Parioli, and I can go anywhere.

Q- For you where is the centre of Rome?

A - For me Piazza Ezedra.

Q- Do you think there is anything that lacks in this neighborhood?

A - In my opinion the parks are not so well maintained.

(2)

Interviewee: Engineer sitting on a park bench for break

Time: 26th March 2009, 2:00 PM

Place: Park at the intersection of Via Efeso/Via Marconi.

Q- How long have you been living in the neighborhood?

A- Ah! You couldn't have had it better! I've been here since the beginning, for 55 years now. And my parents are also here. I've been here since the beginning. The government did an initiative to build public housing here after the war. So you can see over there, the INA CASA, but also over there, across Marconi, that's a really sweet place too. These houses used to be worker's houses. Over there, you see, that building was only for cooks that worked for the President. The rent was cheap, or you could buy (words get very technical and I do not understand anything).

Q- How would you define the boundaries of San Paolo?

A- Well, Marconi, Ostiense, and the river.

Q- Oh, you wouldn't exclude that portion, between the Basilica and the river?

A- No, up till the river, or if you want, up till the road by the Basilica.

Q- And how have you seen it change?

A- For the better. It got cleaned up. The university helped a lot. I'd say everyone here agrees that the university has had only a positive impact on the neighborhood. You see, this place lived because of the river industries. All back there (pointing beyond Marconi towards the river), it used to be factories. But now, it's all been reconverted into third sector activities, mostly university buildings. I helped a couple of architecture students a while ago about those topics. I could introduce you to the head of the current neighborhood committee if you would like that.

Q- What do you think of the cohesiveness of San Paolo?

A- It's low. I mean, we talk, I was on the neighborhood committee board for a while, but people mostly keep to themselves, there polite between themselves but not much more. I think the most socialization happens within the buildings. I mean we have a lot of places where we could socialize, these parks, (we add the BoccioFila, he dismisses it slightly), the market, but it's hard to get people involved with their neighborhood. I wouldn't go so far as saying that this neighborhood is a dormitory, but we are not far from that.

(4)

Interviewee: An elderly lady walking in the street near the Mercato Ostiense. She is a Jehovah's Witness trying to get people to come to a religious meeting.

Time: 30 March 2009 at 11 am

Place: Near the Mercato Ostiense

Q- How long have you lived in San Paolo?

A- Me? For 40 years. We were here right from the beginning with my husband. We had a house up near San Pietro, near the Vatican, but it was so small for a family. So we heard about this place, and we applied to get housing to the government, and we got it, so we came. But now we have to sell our house, because the terms are coming to an end. But my grandchild is buying it, so it's going to stay in the family. But here, it was the countryside, there was fields, just four houses, and nothing.

Q- How do you go about doing your daily preaching?

A- I come here and there. I like coming here, to San Paolo, round the market. Everything is practical and close by, and for me, I can't walk too much, it's hard for me. I like San Paolo a lot. I mean, there's Tiburtina but I don't like that place. Here there is everything I need. I never go to the city. The Basilica of San Paolo is bad, the Vatican, the priests, they are not good, they don't do good things to the children (she starts trying to revert the conversation back to religion).

Q- How often do you go to the "city"?

A- I never go. I do everything here. I mean, sometimes my son drives me there by car, we go to the Colosseum. But everything is close by here.

(5)

Interviewee: Anita, a 24-year old student residing in San Paolo since 2007.

Time: 2nd April, 11.45

Place: Park by Metro Basilica di San Paolo

Q- How long have you been in San Paolo?

A- I have lived here for 1 year and 1 month. Before, I did not live in Rome. San Paolo was the first neighborhood of Rome I lived in. I am from Cotenta, in Calabria, where I graduated, and then I came here specially to do my Masters, at Rome Tre.

Q- When you arrived here, was it easy to find housing?

A- Absolutely yes. Especially because being close to universities, there are many, many places to rent.

Q- We have the impression that San Paolo was a zone where people have been living here for a long time ...

A- Yes, this is true. It's so true that the previous house I lived in, it was the house let out by old people who rent to gain money.

Q- How has the neighborhood changed since the arrival of the University?

A- For me, the university is a positive thing. I feel very welcome here. Coming from a small city, I have found something For instance when I go out, people say hello to me, the florist, the barman, ...

Q- Is it a neighborhood life?

A- Yes, and especially because the neighborhood is complete. There is everything here: the florists, the cinema, bars, supermarkets, restaurants, the markets, shops, McDonalds, there is everything. Really close to the train stations too.

Q- We had also the impression that San Paolo was becoming a

dormitory. Many people have told that they live here but work elsewhere, so there is not really an intense neighborhood life...

A- According to me, the neighborhood does not lack spaces to congregate. There is the beautiful park over there (the Basilica San Paolo's park), in our neighborhood. We are also really close to the other university, DAMS, still of Roma Tre, (she points to the North East of our neighborhood), and personally, I always hang out there Friday and Saturday night to meet up with friends. There is everything for young people. It's at the frontier between San Paolo and Garbatella.

Q- Is San Paolo part of Rome?

A- Absolutely yes. I am a bit embarrassed to say this, but I really don't know old Rome, even though I've been here for a while, because I have everything here to look for something. This is so true that a month ago I moved house, even though I've finished university and work in Flaminio, which is so far from here. But I love this zone too much to leave.

She then does her cognitive map.

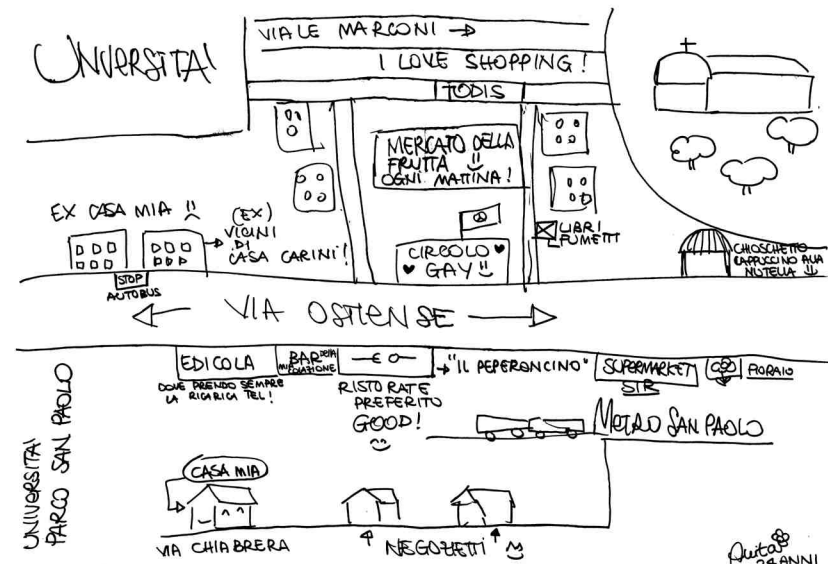


Figure 6: Map drawn by Anita

Q- Do students use the parks of San Paolo?

A- Look, I see that most times, the parks of the residential areas of San Paolo, like the one near Mercato Ostiense, are used by children. Starting in May, the park of the Basilica is beautiful, every Sunday I go there, it's full of people and it's stupendous.

Q- How do you use this area (San Paolo as defined by us)?

A- Well, I only pass through this area, because it's mostly residential. There are houses. A part from the supermarket. The life is on the other side. On Via, I don't remember, there's a supermarket where I go often. It's on Civita. This is a residential area. There aren't many shops there. There's also a Baretto here, in front of the Market, but I don't really go there. But also there's here the bus stop to which I go. It's not that it's not interesting. Here there's a small bookstore I go from time to time. But for me, this area is just a zone of passage for me, in going to the bus stop on Marconi or to the Market. I know very well the gay and lesbian community center on Via Ostiense. But here horrible things happened, some fascists came at around 8 pm to wreck the place. But it's beautiful, they organize many concerts. Oh, here, (on the edge of the Basilica di San Paolo's park), there's a delicious bar that does cappuccino with nutella, it's the only place.

Q- In three words, could you summarize San Paolo?

A- Functional. Welcoming. Green.

Q- To you, where are the frontiers of San Paolo?

A- At the Laurentino bridge, on this side, Via Libetta, where there are all those places to go out for students I told you about, and on the West, Via Marconi, and on the East side, Via Cristefero Colombo.

Q- How do you perceive the neighborhoods around San Paolo?

A- Very well. Very close is Garbatella, which is truly marvelous. For the rest, there is EUR Magliana, but I don't have any

contacts there. Otherwise, there's the Piazza della Radio and Marconi, and then Trastevere. So my life is tripled in three places: Garbatella, Trastevere and San Paolo.

Q- What do the other Romans think of San Paolo, according to you?

A- Well, even on the postcards, it says that San Paolo is "fuori le mura", outside the walls. If it were not for the university which enriches the neighborhood, this area would be ghettoized as a place absolutely peripheral. This is so true that many of my friends who live in central Rome go "Where is San Paolo?", when I talk about San Paolo.

Q- What do you think is missing in this neighborhood?

A- Missing? At the level of structures, Oh God, I don't know. I would say, at the human level, the will of Romans themselves who do not live in San Paolo and who do not valorize this neighborhood, and for me it is a shame because this neighborhood is wonderful.

Q- Do you often use open space, and how do you use it?

A- To study, play, smoke, dance, take in the sun, sing, ...

(6)

Interviewees: Anna and three friends of hers

Time: 2nd April, 2pm

Place: Park in front of Mercato Ostiense

Q- How do residents feel about the arrival of the university?

A- Badly. The neighborhood is changing. It's become much more young. The part near Testaccio has become really young, the Ostiense part. I'm talking about the zone around the Pyramid. It's become really young.

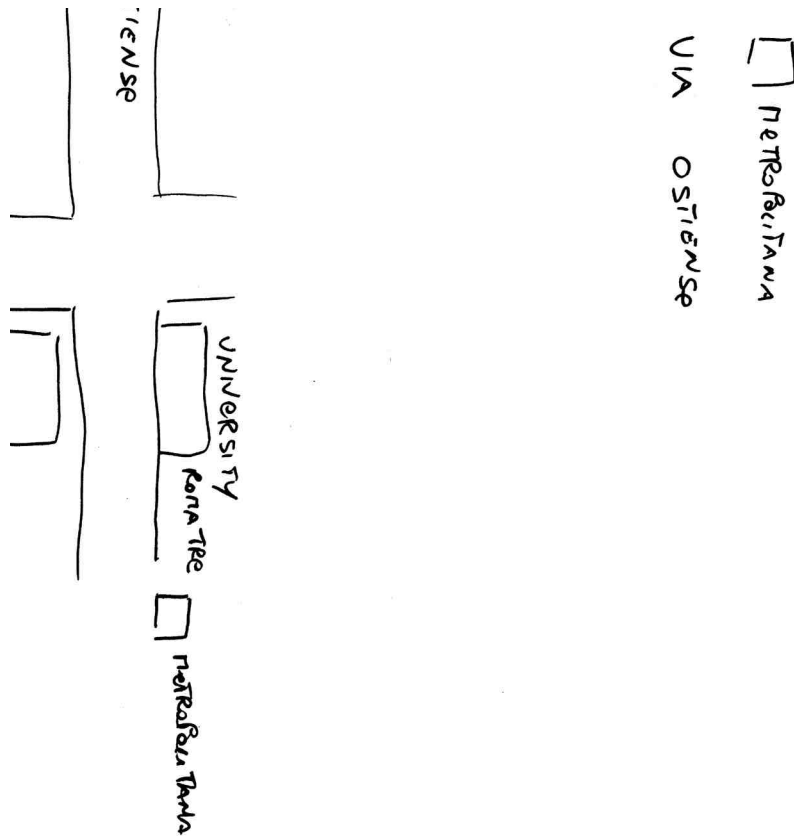


Figure 10: Map drawn by Anna

Q- How is the neighborhood changing?

A- The rents have sky rocketed. One room, 550 euros. A whole apartment, depends on the area, if it's near Marconi or the University, it's more expensive, let's say around 1,000 euros. But this is a problem all over Rome. La Sapienza area is the same. Before, a room was 250 euros, now it's double if not trouble. All these palazzi have changed tenure. It's easier to rent them to students. There's also traffic. You can't find no parking. It's a great problem, the parking, especially on Saturday. That's the first problem, the parking. Then, other problems, no.

Q- How is the relationship between the students and the locals?

A- Well, you see, this area was originally a popular area. The people who came live here, 40 years ago, they were, they interacted with the neighborhood differently. They are welcoming.

Rome was formed of old bourgades. People lived in these bourgades as in a village, people knew each other. Older people here will remember how this area used to be a village. Today, youth can also buy houses here. They don't "live" the neighborhood like it used to be "lived". Same thing for San Lorenzo. It used to be "lived" like a village. Now it is lost.

We are more used to see foreigners today. The people 40 years ago were not used to that. I have lived here for 40 years. And my parents lived here before me. There is a great stability in this neighborhood. My grandchildren live here too.

Q- In three words can you summarize San Paolo?

A- Young, With a Strong Story Behind It, Popolare.

Q- And for you?

A- I don't know it well, but: Chaotic. (there's always chaos with the traffic, even on Sundays, and especially when the shops are open, and during holidays), Cute. ...

Q- What is the relationship between this neighborhood and the Basilica?

A- The Oratorio in front of the Basilica is the true center for youth, because a lot of people from all over Rome come to do sport there, basket ball, volley. The Basilica doesn't have much relationship with the neighborhood. I haven't gone there in years. It's for tourists. I go to my own parish.

Q- Do tourists come to San Paolo?

A- No, we are separate. They go in the park, in the Basilica. The tourists see the Basilica and the Pyramid. They can also go see Garbatella. Q- What are the boundaries of San Paolo, to you?

A- Viale Marconi, from the end of the bridge to San Paolo. The bridge and Via Marconi. The bridge on the Tevere, the white one. Between the two bridges. The Marconi bridge. Garbatella. Garbatella is here. And EUR. To the end of Colombo.

Q- How do you perceive neighboring areas?

A- That of Monteverdi. The EUR. It's beautiful, elegant. It depends what you like. I prefer Testaccio, Trastevere. Near EUR there are some beautiful houses. Garbatella is beautiful. Another says: Garbatella is too antique. I prefer EUR, more modern.

Q- What do other people think of San Paolo?

A- Honestly, I don't live here. I came here to work, but also to do sport at the Oratorio, and to come to the zone around the Gasometro. I don't like the Marconi zone, it's too chaotic. San Paolo is not perceived as a horrible neighborhood.

Q- Would you consider this area as central, peripheral?

A- No neither. Before, this zone used to be isolated. Now, ... It's been requalified. We have seen it changed. Another banal thing, on the other side of the Tevere, they've done a new multiplex cinema. The zone changed a lot thanks to the university, and it's been requalified.

There's a cycling route that is really nice. I think Marconi is too chaotic.

Q- What is missing here?

A- We have a lot. We have the bus stops, the metro, we have the hospital close by, and we have the schools. Perhaps a bit of green, but it depends where. Here there's enough green. We have the market. Ok, maybe not theaters, but as an area we have been lucky, we have everything. As I keep telling you, this area was planned by Mussolini. It was part of the Regulatory Plan.

(7)

Interviewee: an ice cream vendor on Via Efeso

Time: 26th March 2009, 2:00 PM

Place: Ice cream shop on Via Efeso

Q- So I see that you work here, but do also live around here, around San Paolo?

A- No, I only come here to work. I came here because there was a job opening at the ice cream place. But I hardly have anything to do with the neighborhood. I've been here for three years.

Q- But within these three years, how have you seen the neighborhood change?

A- Oh, I've seen it change. Thanks to the university. It's changed a lot. Thank God for that. It's cleaned up so much.

(8)

Interviewee: a clerk inside the university of Rome Tre **Time:**

30 March 2009 at 11:30 am

Place: University of Roma Tre

Q- So I see you work here, but do you live around here?

A- No, I actually live up North. I only come here to work by car.

Q- So you don't interact much with San Paolo?

A- I'd say I don't interact at all. I don't even buy lunch in the neighborhood. I come to my desk in the morning, stay here until the day's end, and go home. There's really nothing I could tell you about San Paolo.

Thanks!

(9)

Interviewee: Emanuele

Time: March 30, 2009

Location: in the university complex

Age: 25

1. lives on Via Vitovoltterra
2. he says that the neighborhood is okay and likes that it is located between the center and the periphery
3. says that he feels that he belongs both as a student and as a resident
4. he usually goes to the university; he goes to the library at Palazzo Venezia to study; and he occasionally goes to the university near San Lorenzo
5. (a) he likes to read in Schuster park near the Basilica
(b) doesn't like the Lungotevere

(10)

Interviewee: Andrea

Time: March 30, 2009

Location: fountain at the university

Age: 22

School Year: Third

Major: Scienze Storiche

1. lives on Tor Pagnotta (doesn't live in San Paolo)
2. doesn't think much about the neighborhood because he always stays at the university
3. he doesn't belong to the area only to the university
4. he primarily goes between his own house and the university but will occasionally go to a friend's house; he doesn't eat lunch and he eats dinner at home
5. he couldn't name anywhere because he doesn't leave the university

(11)

Interviewee: Anna

Time: March 30, 2009

Location: in the university

Telephone: 3346721398

Job: Teaches English language

1. doesn't live in San Paolo, she lives in Monteverde
2. not the worst area, there are some green spaces, it is near to the center, there is good public transportation, and it is near to the Basilica
 - a. is in favor of the change of the area into a more commercial zone
 - b. says that the changes in the neighborhood were initiated by the university and have been positive specifically in the form of increased property values
 - c. redevelopment is part of the general redevelopment of the Ostiense corridor
 - d. doesn't think that people come here for anything other than to come to the university
3. only as a commuter who comes here for work and then leaves
4. usually goes between home and work; travels on public transportation to work (takes 170 bus); doesn't really eat lunch here though she said she has occasionally eaten at a bar across the street
5. (a) said she likes Garbatella, Pyramide, and Tesstaccio, but not really anywhere closer to the university
(b) doesn't like high traffic on Viale Marconi and Via Ostiense

(12)

Interviewee: Simon

Time: March 30, 2009

Location: in the university

Telephone: 3486618979

Job: Teaches English language

1. lives 60km outside of Rome, but lived here near the university in 1980s, he said he moved out because he didn't like all of the pollution, also it is more expensive to live in the city
2. answer is the same as Anna (since they were interviewed together and spoke together on many issues so it is not possible to separate their answers)
3. only as a commuter who comes for work and then leaves
4. said he just commutes; he also doesn't really eat lunch here but will occasionally eat at a local bar or at the university bar upstairs
5. (a) not really anywhere, he says the area isn't that fantastic
(b) doesn't like the high traffic on Viale Marconi and Via Ostiense

(13)

Interviewee: Julia

Time: March 30, 2009

Location: fountain at the university

Age: 23

School Year: Third

Major: Languages (is also a beginner in Chinese)

1. lives near Aurelia
2. says that you can find a lot of parks, specifically she mentioned the one near the Basilica; she likes that with the university there are many younger people in the area; mentioned that people here are kind; she likes that the area is near to the center of Rome and that it is walkable and has good public transportation
3. she says that she does belong to this area, she takes breaks here (literally she said that she “rests” here in the area), she usually brings lunch from home and eats here, she spends her free time in the library here at the university, she also said that she takes public transportation from her house to the university
4. says that she sometimes eats at university bar, she sometimes goes to the center and said that she uses public transportation to get there; she also studies theater in her free time near Piazza Risorgimento and uses public transportation twice a week to get there; she also sometimes visits friends who live in the northern periphery and she uses her car to drive there
 - a. she also commented that at the university there were many students from Rome as well as some from the rest of Lazio and Campania but not really anyone from the north
5. (a) she said that she likes the park near the San Paolo Basilica
(b) she said that she doesn’t like Viale Marconi because it is

too dirty and has too much pollution and traffic

(14)

Interview done in Mandarin

Interviewee: Unknown

Date: April 9, 2009

Location: at the Chinese restaurant

Age: around 36

Occupation: Owner of the Chinese restaurant on Viale Marconi

1. He lives outside of the neighborhood
2. Says that it is just Italy for him since he just arrived in Italy 2 years ago.
3. Says that he doesn’t feel that he belongs here. For him, it is a place to have business. He doesn’t go into the neighborhood much; instead he stays in the restaurant and takes care of the business.
 - a. He doesn’t differentiate his customers. For him, they are all Italians and he never asks where they live or they are from.
4. Says that other than his business he does not really interact with the neighborhood.
5. Has no feeling at all about this neighborhood.

