Garbatella

photo credit Spenser Gruenenfelder.

Two Neighborhoods, One Name: A Study

Katerina Athanasiou
Charles Bailey
Spenser Gruenenfelder
Kevin Yen

This study is a survey of Garbatella, a neighborhood south of the historic center of Rome, Italy. Its purpose is to present objective information on the urbanistic aspects of the neighborhood, including its history, layout, design, and demographics. To accomplish these goals, it uses a number of industry-standard methods of information gathering for neighborhoods, including formal and informal interviews, statistical analysis, and cartographic rendering. In particular, it focuses on the economic, demographic, and aesthetic differences between two distinct sections of Garbatella, each built either before or after the Second World War. The study concludes with remarks about the future of the neighborhood.

Table of Contents

Methodology

History, Background, and Context

The wealth of material published about Garbatella and garden cities in general facilitated research into the neighborhood's background, history, and context. A combination of academic papers, historical photographs, and copies of floor plans of the dwellings in the old garden city were compiled and used for this section. Historical narratives of Garbatella's founding and development came from academic sources as well as from interview accounts, while background on garden cities came from various works on urban issues written over the past eighty years.

Context maps were created in Adobe Illustrator 5.5 by drawing lines and polygons over high-resolution satellite images obtained from Google Earth. For the graphic displaying the study area's construction over time, city plans from a range of time periods were compared and translated into digital representations using a combination of provided CAD line work and a base 3D map extruded in SketchUp 8. The years 1925, 1935, 1960, and 1990 were chosen because of the clarity of cartographic images produced immediately before these years. Despite their clarity, such images may not be immune from errors, and so this timeline should be taken as a general overview of Garbatella's expansion over the twentieth century.

Street and Building Typology and Land Use graphics

Researchers surveyed the streets included in the study area in their entirety, taking note of visible attributes and standardizing and classifying the resulting qualitative data. With the help of a neighborhood survey form provided by the workshop instructors, researchers divided the streets of the study area into segments roughly 300m in length and used the survey form to note approximate street width, parking provisions, plantings, condition of repair, traffic intensity, noise level and sources, pedestrian presence and type, and sidewalk type and condition of repair. The surveys also included a description of the predominant building typologies found on each street segment.

The descriptive data gathered through this survey were sorted and classified into simple categories for legibility and clarity. For the street typology map, for instance, a group of similar, but not identical, one-way streets was combined under the label "one-way streets." The researchers saw little to be gained from cluttering a graphic with further detail. An exception to this came in the form of varying the hues of colors representing streets that had the same physical design, but widely different uses. Those uses are made clear in the text accompanying the street typology map. A combination of Adobe

Photoshop and Illustrator 5.5 was used to create the final image.

The same philosophy guided the making of the building typology and land use maps. The land use map, simply a colored version of the study area base map extruded from CAD lines in SketchUp, shows building massing and height in addition to land use. Land use colors are variations on the standard colors approved by the American Planning Association.

For the building typology graphic, finely grained data regarding building heights, styles, and states of repair were condensed for graphic clarity without sacrificing information density. To show the physical locations of various building typologies across the landscape, a modified form of the land use map was annotated with insets magnifying the parts of the study area with each particular typology. Photographs and accompanying text provide further detail on building typologies magnified in the graphic. Researchers believed that this combination of abstract and photographic representation would allow readers to better understand the physical context of the typologies discussed in the report.

Demographic Data and Visualizations

All statistical analyses are derived using statistical data from the Istituto Nazionale di Statistica's (ISTAT) 2001 Census. Our Garbatella study area consists of a total of 31 ISTAT census tracts. For further analysis, we divided the study area into two segments: Postwar Garbatella and Prewar Garbatella. Postwar Garbatella refers to the study area developed after the 1940s, with a total of 12 census tracts. Prewar Garbatella, with 19 census tracts, refers to the original Garbatella development from the 1920s and 30s. In our study area, the population of Postwar Garbatella is significantly higher (64%) than that of Prewar Garbatella (34%). This also affects the density of the two areas, as can be visually seen in the 3-D rendering of study area. For all statistical analyses, the total study area data is used for comparison with the rest of the city of Rome. Data from the two segments are used to compare and contrast within our study area.

Population Distribution in the Study Area

Prewar Garbatella, 34.00%, 34%

Postwar Garbatella, 66.00%, 66%
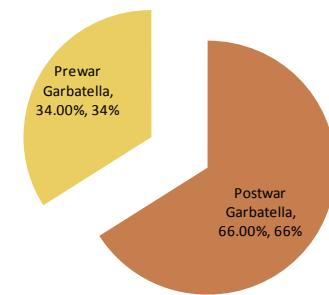
Every statistical map intends to visualize two sets of related data. Color-coding refers to the percentage derived from the number of a specific statistic divided by the specific statistics of each individual tract. The height of the tract refers to the percentage derived from a specific statistic in a census

tract divided by the specific statistic of the entire study area. For example, color-coding a percentage of residents between ages 0 to 5 refers to the number of residents in a census tract between ages 0 to 5 divided by the number of residents in the tract. The height of the tract refers to the number of residents between ages 0 to 5 in the tract divided by the number of residents in the total area.

Visualization of the two sets of data is necessary because of the difference between total population in Postwar Garbatella and Prewar Garbatella. Thus, color-coding shows a census tract's percentage of a statistic as compared to itself, and the height shows its relative relationship to the entire study area. Also note that four census tracts are color-coded white in all maps because data percentage in these tracts would distort the focus of the analysis. These areas have a residential population of 6, 3, 0, and 1, respectively. The average population per census tract in the rest of the study area is 291.

All statistical analyses are done on Microsoft Excel. Only supporting data are presented in this statistical analysis report.

Interviews and Lynch Maps

Interviewees were selected largely at random from pedestrians present in the study area at the time of the researchers' visits to the study area, usually in the late morning and early afternoon on weekdays. Researchers devised a series of questions which asked for both objective demographic information and subjective opinions on various aspects of urban life in the study area. To overcome researchers' limited language skills, Italian teaching assistants conducted most of the interviews by initiating conversations and adapting researchers' questions to individual contexts.

Roughly forty informal interviews were conducted over the course of three weeks. The information gathered could be divided roughly into three parts: the interviewee's demographic information, interpretation of social and physical resources, and opinion on the study area's strengths and weaknesses. Nine interviews were chosen for inclusion in this report due to the richness of their transcriptions in comparison to the others. In addition, two longer formal interviews were conducted with neighborhood residents who had special knowledge of the community. For these discussions, researchers prepared a number of questions tailored to each interviewee's expertise and used the answers to augment the types of information gleaned from informal interviews.

Due to language and cultural differences, the acquisition of Lynch maps from Garbatella's residents produced mixed results. In an informal street setting, researchers, led by an Italian teaching assistant, approached pedestrians and presented them with a pen and a blank sheet of paper, asking them in colloquial language to reproduce neighborhood landmarks, paths, nodes, edges, and districts. Unfortunately, most residents misunderstood the researchers' intentions, and instead of drawing Lynchian elements on their own, simply began describing their daily routines in the neighborhood. When this occurred, a researcher stepped in to interpret the interviewee's words graphically. Roughly ten Lynchian drawings were made in this manner. Regrettably, after consideration, only two were deemed legible or informative enough to be included in the final report.

History

photo credit Roma Sparita.

The Beginning

Garbatella is located in the Ostiense industrial district south of the historic center of Rome. Like many other neighborhoods, including Testaccio and San Saba, the area was developed by the Istituto Case Popolari (Michelis, 2009). The organization was known for attempting to provide high quality affordable housing. Its first stage of development was from 1920 to 1923 (ibid).

After the Great War, Rome experienced many economic and social problems. Urban planners studied how cities could evolve to deal with industrialization, and garden cities were one type among many urban experiments during this time (Michelis, 2009). Montesacro, Ostia Nuova, and Garbatella were three garden cities planned as a result (ibid).

Interestingly, Garbatella was originally named "Borgata Giardino Concordia." However, it later became known as La Garbatella. According to a blog written by Cornell in Rome architecture students from 2009, "Garbato is an Italian adjective meaning polite, amiable. The suffix 'ella' adds to it a bit of gracefulness and a female reference" (Cornell, 2009).

The Roman Garden City

Garbatella is Rome's interpretation of the Garden City concept, which originated with Ebenezer Howard's seminal work *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. According to Howard, a Garden City is to be a self sufficient community with a town-country dynamic, ample green space in the form of private lawns and public parks, and a number of central boulevards (Howard). The satellite city is easily accesible to the city center (ibid).

Ingersoll's *Sprawltown* explores recent trends in urbanism and also touches on Howard's philosophy. "Garden Cities were organized as polynuclear settlements meant to relieve the pressure from a single center. They were redolent of parks and gardens, thus offering the primary attraction to new dwellers, fixed in terms of their size, and meant to interact with other satellite cities" (Ingersoll, 2006).

The location for Garbatella was chosen because of cheap land prices, proximity to railways, and the industrial employment facilities on the adjacent Via Ostiense. According to Michelis, the characteristics of a Garden City are fulfilled in Garbatella. The "town-nature ideal is realized: the beauty of nature, social opportunity, easy access to fields and parks ... pure air and water, good drainage, bright homes and gardens" (Michelis, 2009). Additionally, Garden Cities introduced superblocks and cul-de-sacs, which both make appearances in Garbatella in the form of the two story *villino*, or small villa, and the larger *palazzina*, or apartment block (Michelis, 2009).

photo credit Kevin Yen.

Style and Design

Garbatella's dwellings and original public buildings are exmaples of the Baroccheto style. Low-cost materials such as local

photo credit Kevin Yen.

volcanic tufa, brick, and concrete were used to create intricate designs (Michelis, 2009). "Robust, neo-medieval and picturesque, this eclectic and historicizing style drew its motifs form the minor architecture of Rome and the Lazio region from the Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque periods" (ibid). The style promoted a Roman identity, but without the grandness of neoclassical Beaux Arts architecture. The ICP tried to create housing that was of high quality, affordable, and attractive (ibid). Furthermore, the organization attempted to impose social integration of the classes and did so through design. Featuring rooftop terraces, courtyards, communal laundry facilities, and many amenities, Garbatella was designed with local engagement and interaction in mind.

Landmarks: Prewar

A number of important landmarks, in the parts of Garbatella built before and after the war, define the neighborhood. These are listed below.

1) The **Public Baths** provided shower and bath facilities as well as places for barbers, hairdressers, and beauticians (Michelis, 2009).

2) The **Palladium Theatre**, built from 1927 – 1939, was recently acquired and renovated by Roma Tre University. This is an important cultural landmark for students and residents. The Romaeuropa Foundation has also worked with the theatre, which has brought about international involvement (Romaeuropa Foundation).

3) The **Cesare Battisti Elementary School** in Damiano Sauli Square, was designed by the architect Vincenzo Fasolo. The building was used for the television drama *I Cesaroni* (Lotto 5, 2011).

4) **Casetta Rossa** is a social center of Garbatella in the Park of Cavallo Pazzo. A group of activists from La Strada occupied the abandoned red house, renovated it and established a bar, restaurant, and social space for the neighborhood (Casetta Rossa).

5) The **Albergo Rosso** was an experiment in social housing intended to be a shelter for displaced famlies. During the fascist period they began by constructing larger and higher buildings to accommodate a growing number of immigrants, such as Lotto VIII in Luigi Fincati, near Piazza Eugenio Biffi (Michelis, 2009).

6) **Parco Cavallo Pazzo** is a park in Garbatella at the intersection of Via Ignazio Persico and Via Giovanni Battista Magnaghi. It houses the social center, Casetta Rossa. It is used all day by families with small children and patrons to Cassetta Rossa. As of September of 2011, the park officially came under the jurisdiction of Municipality of Rome XI (Rione Garbatella).

7) **Via delle Sette Chiese** is an ancient route that connects the basilicas of San Paolo fuori le mura on Via Ostiense and S. Sebastiano on the Appia Antica. It's name is derived from the pilgrimage from San Filippo Neri to the Seven Churches for the Jubilee of 1552. The route marks the southern border of Garbatella (Romani).

Photo credits, left to right: Roma Sparita, Panoramio, Spenser Gruenenfelder, Roma Sparita.

Landmarks: Modern

1) **Regione Lazio Palace** is in the Garbatella region on via Cristoforo Colombo and is the office of the Giunta Regionale (Rione Garbatella).

2) **ASL Roma C** in Largo delle Sette Chiese is an autonomous not-for-profit health services company and part of Municipio XI (Rione Garbatella).

3) The main hospital of the area is **Centro Traumatologico Ortopedico** (CTO) Andrea Alesini is an important reference point for the southern area of Rome.

4) The **Air Terminal** train station for Fiumicino Airport with a commercial district is an area for campers, which is no longer used. In 2009, the Italian Railway sold the terminal to società Geal s.r.l. They wanted to make it a Commercial center, but instead, in 2010, they decided to maintain it as an air terminal for Fiumicino. Currently, the site has been selected for the next franchise of local and slow food haven "Eataly."

5) **Universita' degli Studi di Roma Tre** is a public research university located in Rome, Italy. Founded in 1992, it is the second-largest university of Rome and one of the most important universities in Europe, playing a significant role in research and job training (Roma Tre Universita').

6) **La Strada** is a social center started by squatters – young people, locals, and activists, acting as a meeting point for people in the area as well as a place where people can receive many social services. The center also provides academic assistance for students, musical concerts, cultural outlets, and other services. This is a grassroots organization that provides multiple opportunities for local citizens and left-wing activists.

7) The construction of the **Cavalcaferrovia** bridge over the Metro B railroad tracks on Garbatella's western border will significantly enhance the road system of the Ostiense area, cutting journey times of employees moving from Via Cristoforo Colombo to Via Ostiense. It will also be a new urban landmark for the city. The project has faced setbacks by the Soprintendenza Archeologica and an appraisal for compliance with seismic standards.
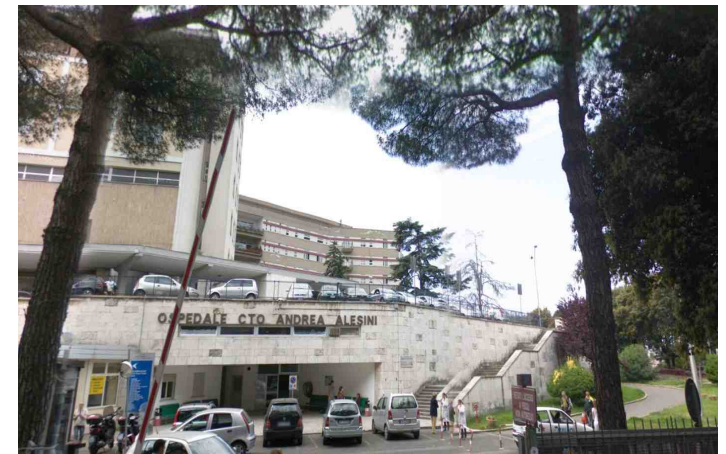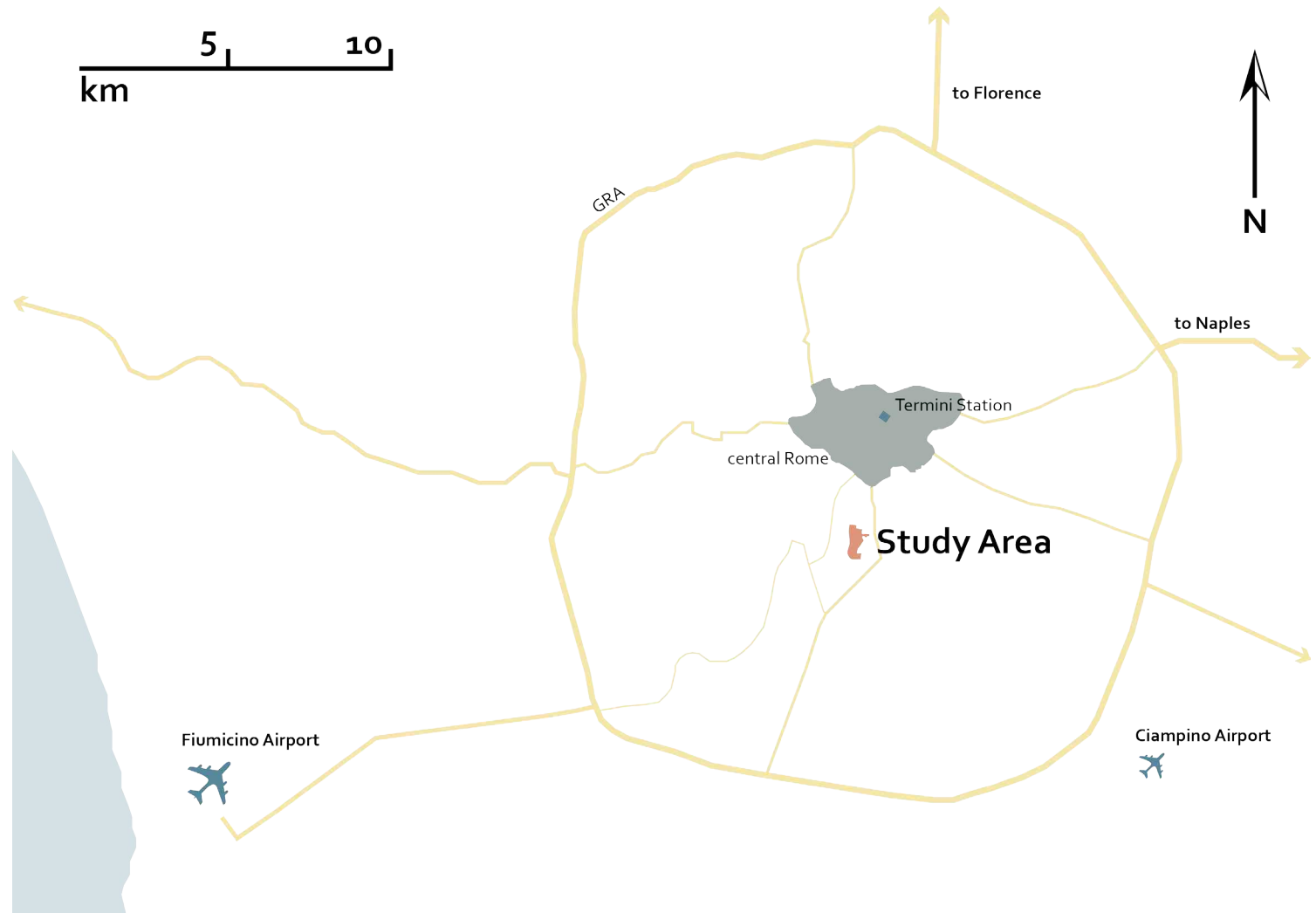

photo credit Google Street View.

Photo credits, left to right: Roma Today, www.apiroma.it, Viviana Andriola, www.garbatella.it.

Context

Located about 3.5 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of Rome's historic center, Garbatella is part of the larger Ostiense district that makes up the southern portion of the city along the Tiber River. The neighborhood's total area is 1.2 square kilometers (0.47 square miles) and it is bounded by the FR1 regional railway line to the north, Via delle Sette Chiese to the south, Via Cristoforo Colombo to the east, and the tracks of Metro line B to the west.
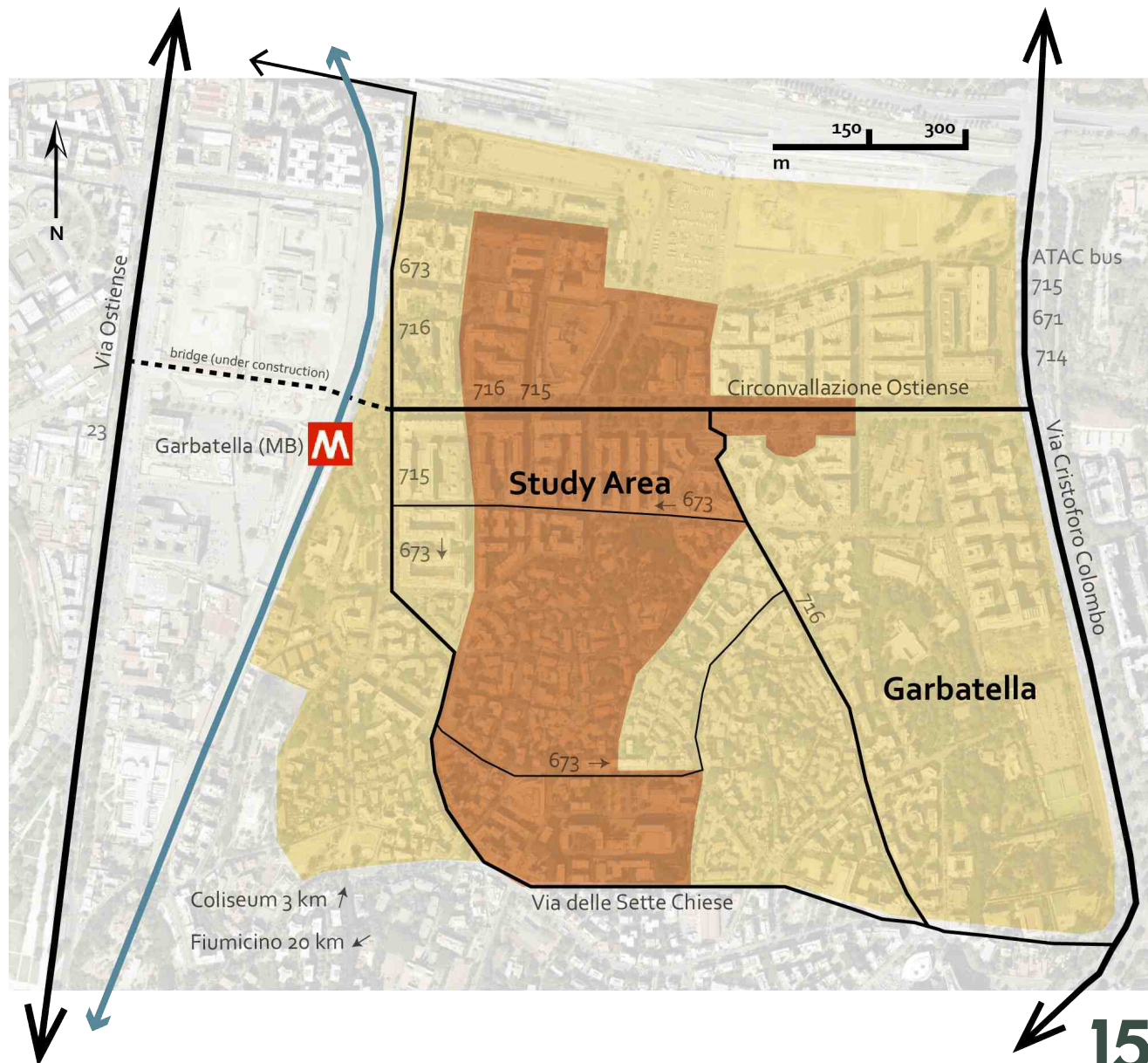
The study area within Garbatella selected for this report is a roughly north-to-south cross section of the neighborhood bounded by Via Francesco Antonio Pigafetta to the north, Via delle Sette Chiese to the south, Via Enrico Cravero to the west, and a number of roads and landmarks generally aligned with Piazza Eugenio Biffi to the east.

5   10
km

to Florence

GRA

to Naples

Termini Station

central Rome

Study Area

Fiumicino Airport

Ciampino Airport

N

The study area was chosen due to the diversity in physical characteristics, demographics, and history within its borders. Its shape, reminiscent of a seahorse, comes from the boundaries of the census tracts chosen for statistical analysis.

With its location relatively close to Rome's historic center, Garbatella benefits from excellent transit accessibility. Its namesake Metro station connects it with the Ostiense and and Termini Stations to the north, therefore linking it with both the rest of Rome and the rest of Italy. The ATAC bus service has a number of lines which circumnavigate and pass through the neighborhood, allowing easy access to parts of Rome inaccessible by train.

A number of historically important roads also border the neighborhood, including Via Ostiense and Via Cristoforo Colombo. Both of these arteries connect central Rome to the Mediterranean coast. Finally, Circonvallazione Ostiense will connect Via Ostiense and Via Cristoforo Colombo with a bridge scheduled for completion within five years.
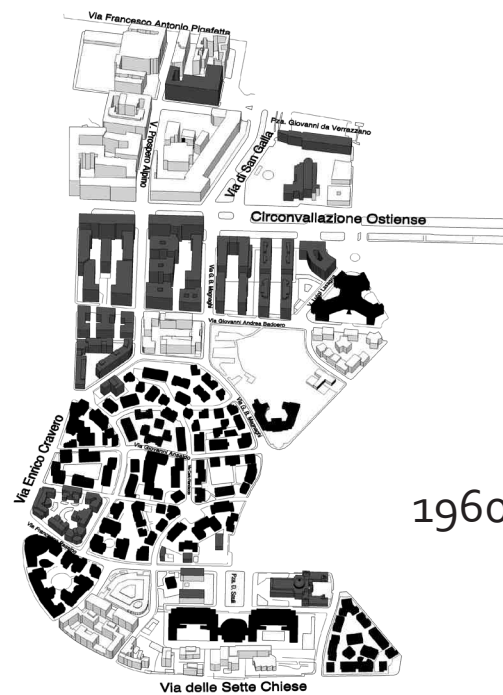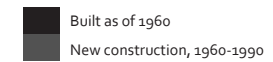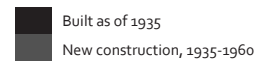
N

150   300
m

Via Ostiense

bridge (under construction)

673

716

716   715   Circonvallazione Ostiense

Garbatella (MB) M

715   **Study Area**   ← 673

673 ↓

716

ATAC bus
715
671
714

Via Cristoforo Colombo

Garbatella

673 →

Coliseum 3 km ↑

Fiumicino 20 km ↙

Via delle Sette Chiese

23

Historical Development
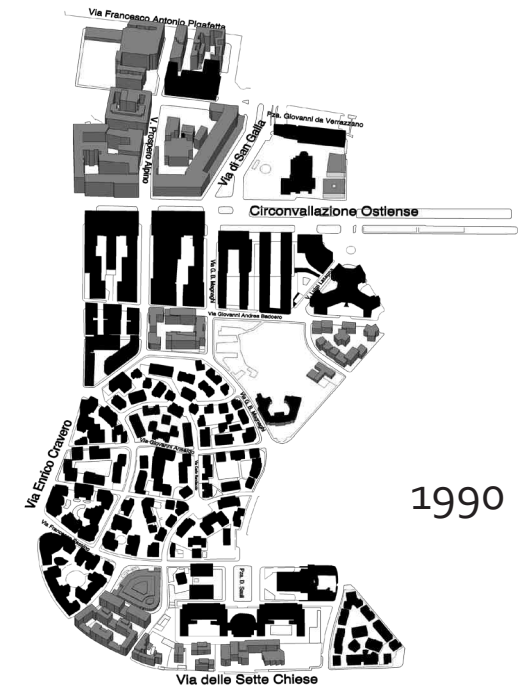

1925

1935

After the Second World War, development proceeded to densify and intensify in the northern part of the study area. Instead of small multifamily homes, apartment high-rises of roughly five to ten stories were laid out on an increasingly gridlike pattern. By about 1990, the study area was fully built out, with no new construction in the past twenty years.

Built as of 1925

Built as of 1925
New construction, 1925-1935

Built as of 1935
New construction, 1935-1960

Built as of 1960
New construction, 1960-1990

The graphics on this page shed light on the phasing of the construction of buildings in the study area over the course of the twentieth century. Prewar Garbatella in particular was constructed in units called *lotti*, or blocks of residences that share a courtyard. *Lotti* were built in groups of one or two blocks from about 1920 to 1930 throughout prewar Garbatella.

1960

1990

Street Typology

Aesthetic differences accompany demographic ones in the comparison between Prewar and Postwar Garbatella. This graphic illustrates the various basic street types found in the study area.
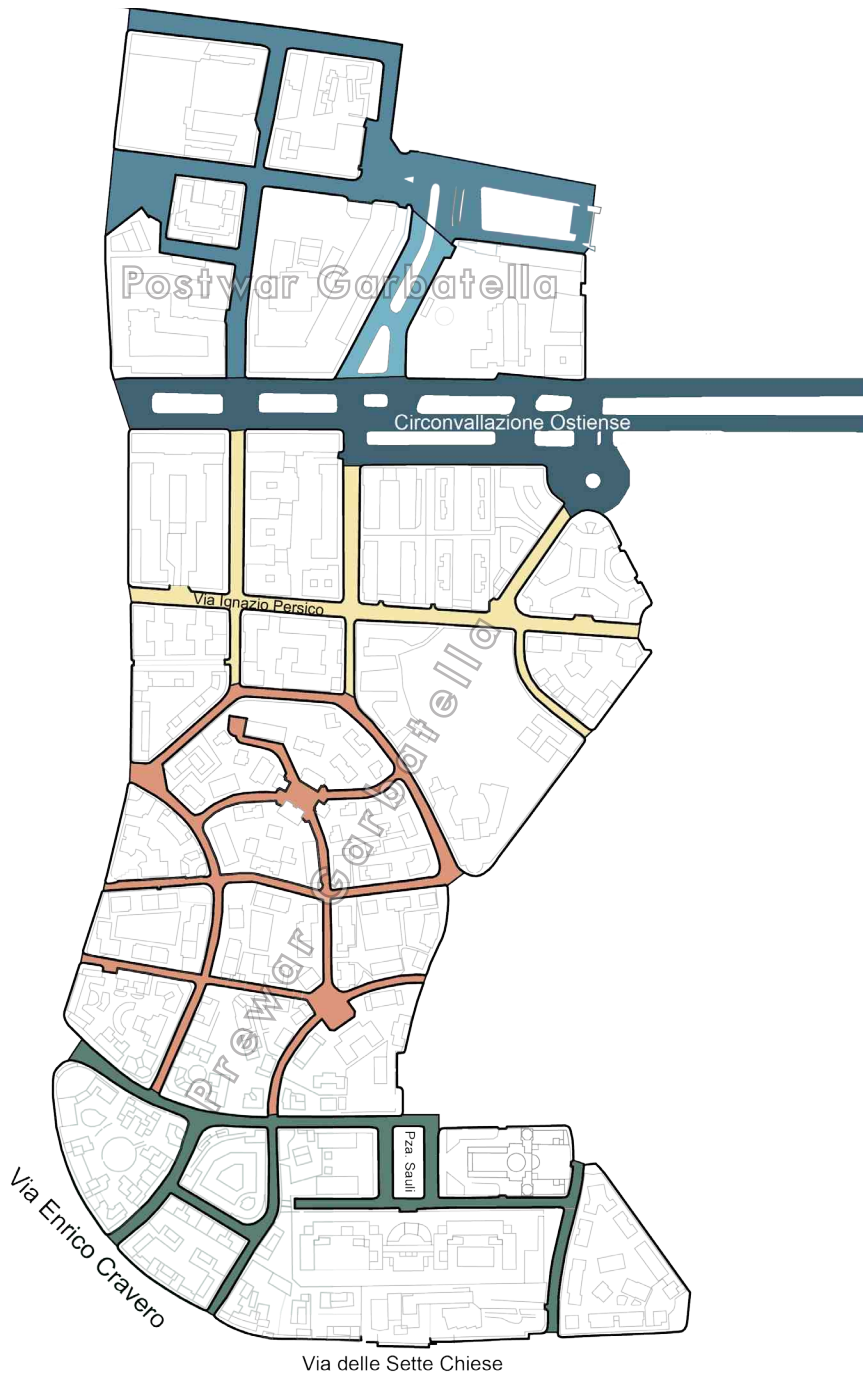
Streets in these shades of blue comprise Postwar Garbatella. The darkness of the shade correlates with the amount of vehicular traffic found on the street type. Shared characteristics include tree plantings, wide asphalt sidewalks, and ample parking. The lightest shade denotes the street space used as a daily open-air market.

Streets with this color are narrow, one- or two-way roads with parking on both sides and wide, asphalt sidewalks. Tree plantings are common as well.
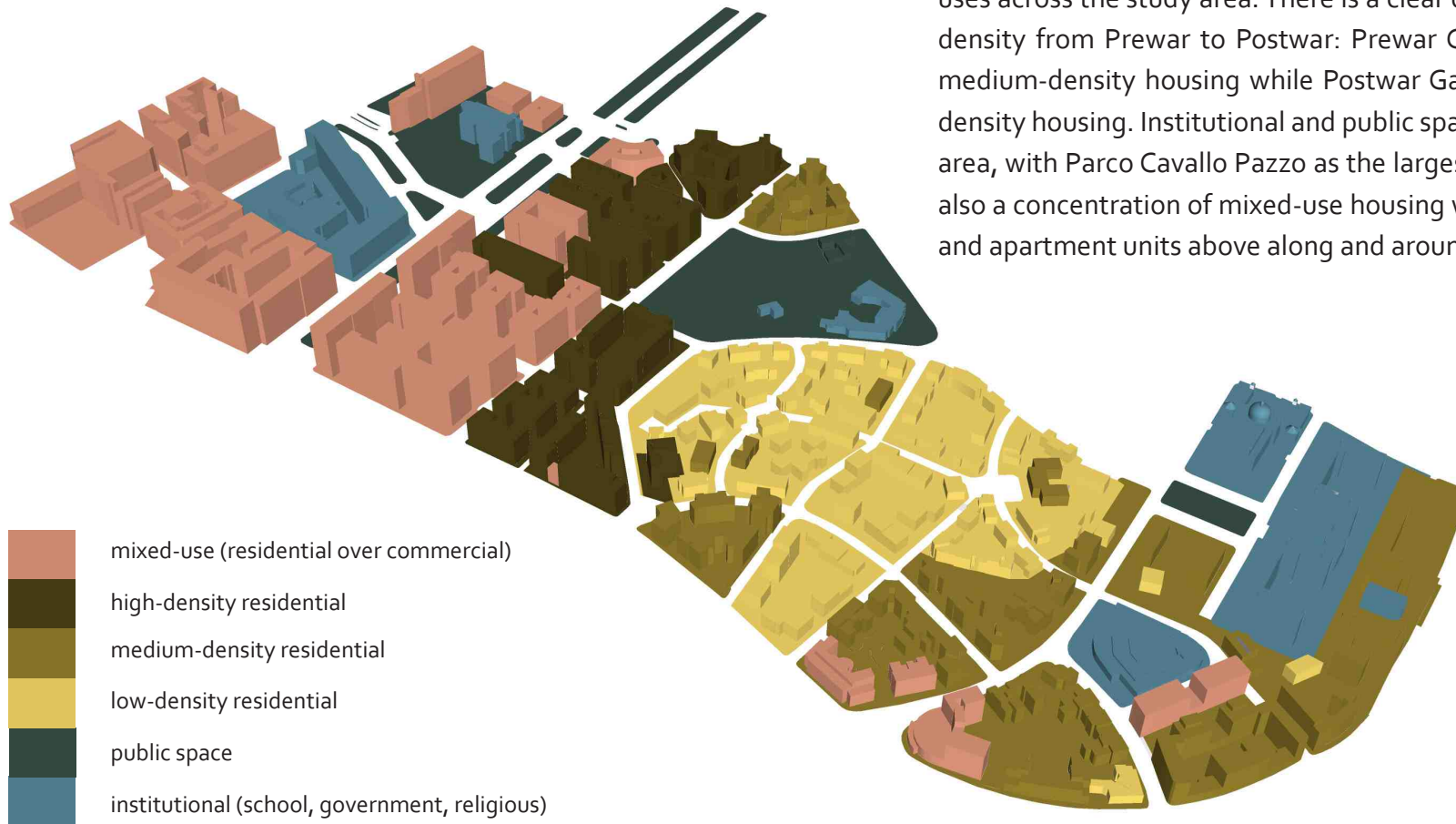
Streets with this color are one-way, usually with parking on one side. Due to their low vehicular traffic, they lack sidewalks, giving pedestrians a wide space in which to move about. Other features include stucco walls separating semiprivate courtyards from the street, and minimal tree plantings.
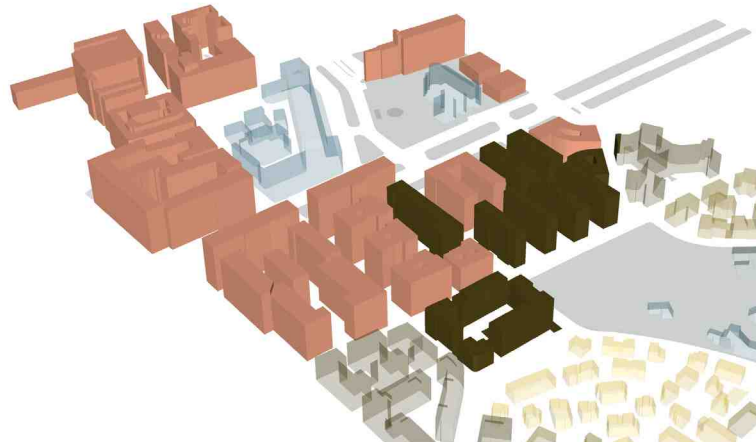
Streets with this color are one- or two-way, with parking on one or two sides. Traffic is light, and sidewalks are of medium widths. Plantings of flowers, trees, and shrubs are common, with unwalled semiprivate courtyards opening onto the street.

Land Use

The three-dimensional land use map visualizes the different land uses across the study area. There is a clear distinction in residential housing density from Prewar to Postwar: Prewar Garbatella tends to have low to medium-density housing while Postwar Garbatella is predominantly high-density housing. Institutional and public spaces are present across the study area, with Parco Cavallo Pazzo as the largest piece of public space. There is also a concentration of mixed-use housing with retail space on ground floor and apartment units above along and around Circonvaliazione Ostiense.

mixed-use (residential over commercial)

high-density residential

medium-density residential

low-density residential

public space

institutional (school, government, religious)

Building Typology

Predominant building types in the study area are indicated with a highlighting effect around the buildings of that type.

Photo credit Google Street View.

Built in the postwar period up to the 1980s, these high-rise residential buildings were part of Garbatella's later development. They resemble the high-rise mixed use buildings found throughout the periphery of Rome.
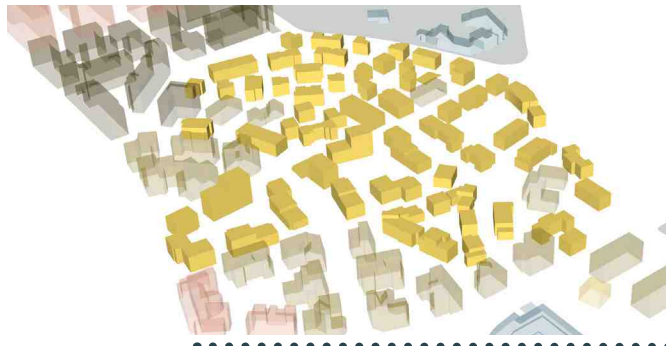

Photo credit Spenser G.

This is the iconic low-rise public housing built in the original iteration of Garbatella. The structures are built in a Barocchetto architectural style.
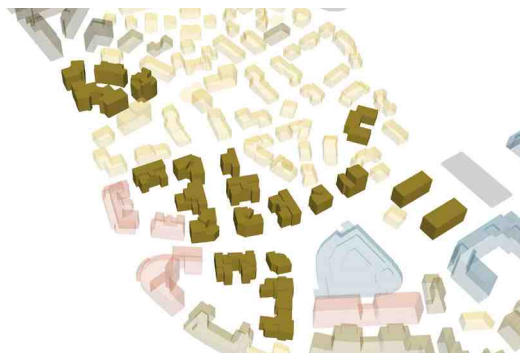

Photo credit Spenser G.

These original multistory residential buildings of Garbatella's garden city are built in clusters around an easily accessible central courtyard with additional communal amenities.
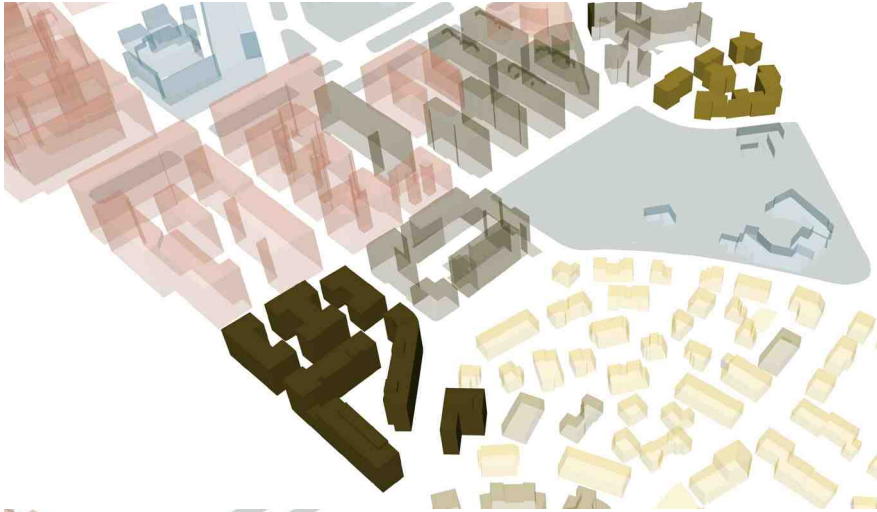
photo credit Spenser G.

Built well after the initial construction of Garbatella, these were high density residential buildings to hold the growing number of residents in the area. They were designed more simply than the older low-rise buildings.
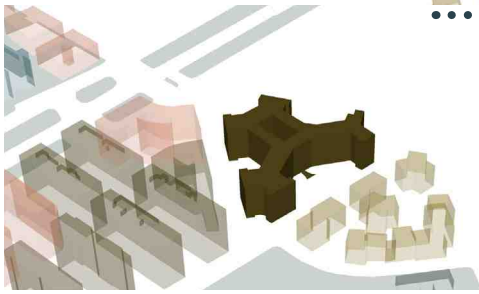

photo credit Google Street View.

Built as temporary housing to displace evicted residents of the historic center, this building is characterized by its unique concave triangular shape in plan.
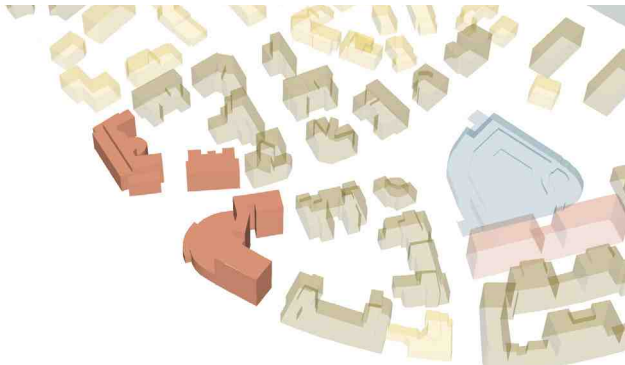

photo credit Google Street View.

Buildings such as the Palladium and public bath complexes were built along with the original Garbatella project for public use. The Palladium is now used by Roma Tre University, and the public baths are now mid-rise housing.
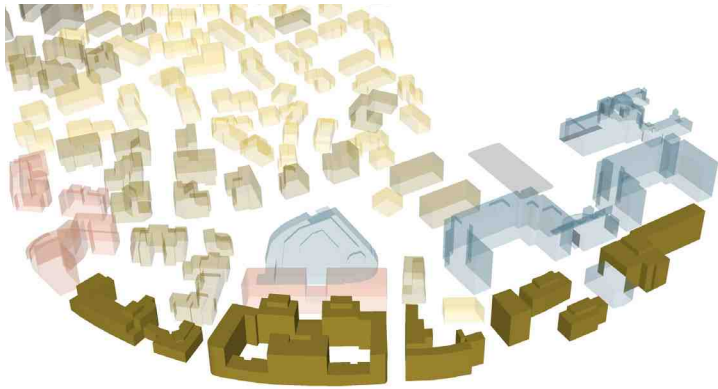
Built after 1960, these buildings are found along Via delle Sette Chiese. They are characterized by mid-rise residential complexes with commercial uses between them and on their lower floors such as restaurants and stores.
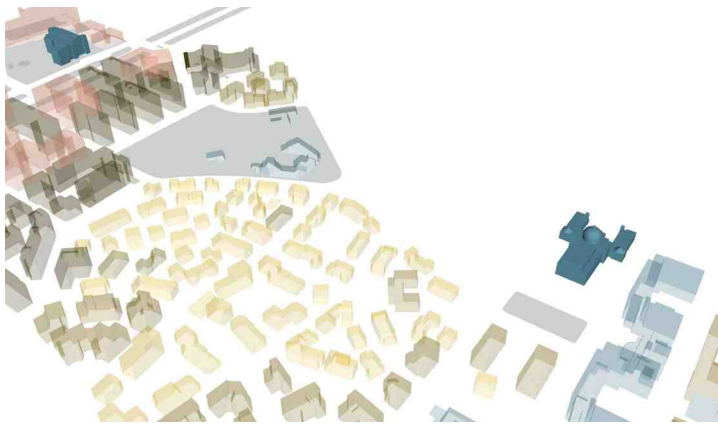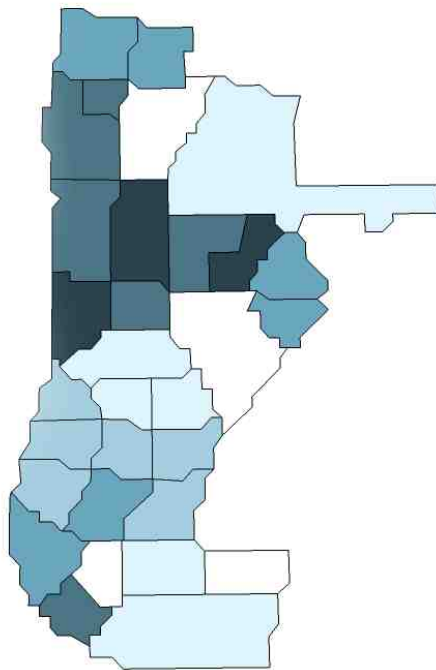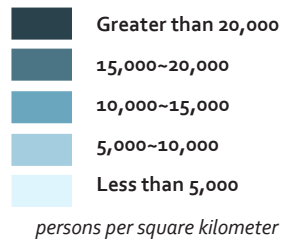
Built from the 1940s onward, following a traditional style to complement the churches of Saint Paul Outside the Walls and San Filippo Neri.

Statistical Analysis

Introduction

The statistical analysis of our study area is focused on comparing the Rome Average with the entire study area, and on comparing Postwar Garbatella and Prewar Garbatella, two areas distinguished by researchers. The contrast is necessary to denote the differences between the social housing created in the 1920s and 30s with developments after World War II. The density map reveals the much higher density in Postwar Garbatella than in Prewar Garbatella. Note that the density map reflects the density of each census tract by showing the amount of residents per square kilometer in area. Generally speaking, the density and the total population in the two areas are significantly different (see table at right). This is true because of the types of residential housings present, which can be understood from the land use map. Postwar Garbatella is composed of entirely high-rise apartment buildings, while Prewar Garbatella consists of low-density apartments and multifamily housing units. The statistical analysis will reveal 1) the total study area's performance against the Rome Average and 2) the contrast between Postwar and Prewar Garbatella in terms of each area's historical and social background.

DENSITY PER CENSUS TRACT

■	Greater than 20,000
■	15,000~20,000
■	10,000~15,000
■	5,000~10,000
■	Less than 5,000

persons per square kilometer

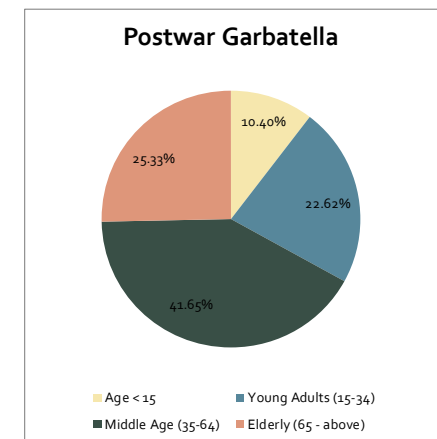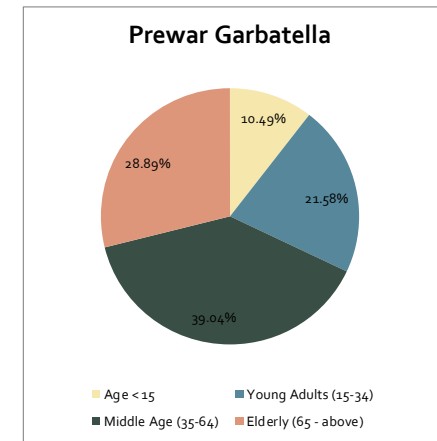| General Statistics	
Total Population	7,879
Postwar Garbatella	5,200
Prewar Garbatella	2,679
Total Area (square km)	0.941
Area of Postwar Garbatella	0.468
Area of Prewar Garbatella	0.473
Postwar Garbatella Density (persons per square km)	11,118.26
Prewar Garbatella Density	5,659.68

Age Distribution

The age distribution data shows a significantly older population in our study area. The percentage for population over age 65 is 19% in Rome, compared to 26.54% in the study area. This can be explained by the proximity of the study area to central Rome. High real estate values mean that only the population with higher wealth and more established living conditions has the ability to access the area. The large working-class population that has moved to Prewar Garbatella social housing in the first half of the twentieth century also contributes to the difference. The percentage of the population under age of 15 in Rome is 13%, whereas Garbatella is at 10.43%. This could be true because the higher elderly population means a lower proportion of middle age residents, the group that most likely would have children under age 15.
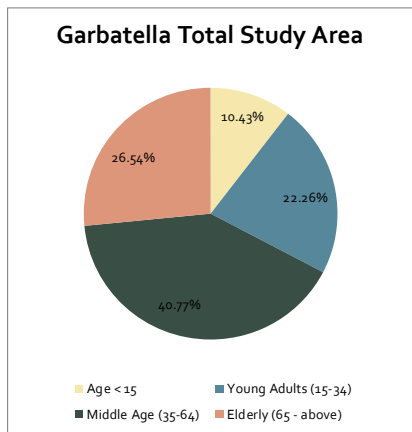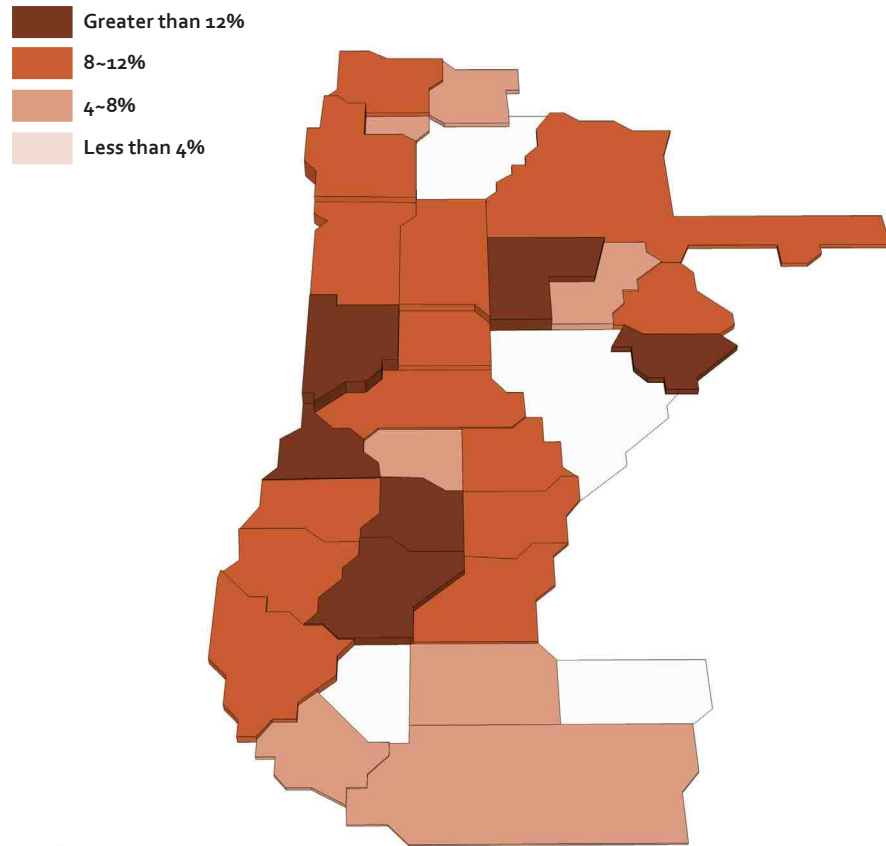
The four maps are the comparisons of each of the four age groups (children, young adults, middle age, and elderly) throughout the study area. Color codes in the maps refer to the population of the age group in a census tract divided by the total population of the tract itself. Height refers to the population of the age group in a census tract divided by the total population of the study area. Color-coding thus identifies the percentage of a certain age group within its community or tract. The heights identify the age group's relevant size compared to the entire study area. Note again that Postwar Garbatella comprise of 64% of the total population in the study area.

According to the four maps, age distribution for residents aged 0-14 and aged 15-34 are more evenly distributed throughout Postwar Garbatella and Prewar Garbatella. However, the density is higher for the distribution for residents aged 35-64 in Postwar Garbatella while the density is higher for the distribution for Age 65 and above in Prewar Garbatella. Percentage-wise, Prewar Garbatella has a much larger elderly population than Postwar Garbatella, connecting to the theory that the large

Garbatella Total Study Area

- Age <15 — 10.43%
- Young Adults (15-34) — 22.26%
- Middle Age (35-64) — 40.77%
- Elderly (65 - above) — 26.54%

Prewar Garbatella

- Age <15 — 10.49%
- Young Adults (15-34) — 21.58%
- Middle Age (35-64) — 39.04%
- Elderly (65 - above) — 28.89%

Postwar Garbatella

- Age <15 — 10.40%
- Young Adults (15-34) — 22.62%
- Middle Age (35-64) — 41.65%
- Elderly (65 - above) — 25.33%

Age Distribution by Census Tract for Age 0~14

Greater than 12%

8~12%

4~8%

Less than 4%

Age Distribution for Age 15~34

Greater than 25%

20~25%

15~20%

Less than 15%

Age Distribution for Age 35~65

Greater than 45%
40~45%
35~40%
30~35%

Age Distribution for Age 65 and Above

Greater than 34%
27~34%
20~27%
Less than 20%
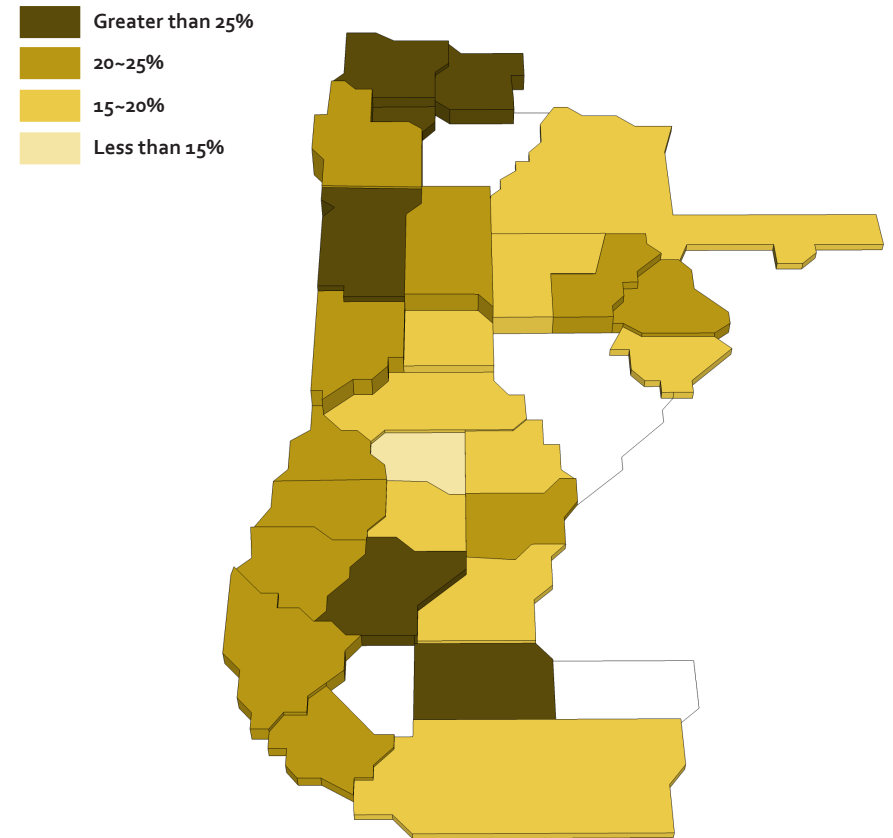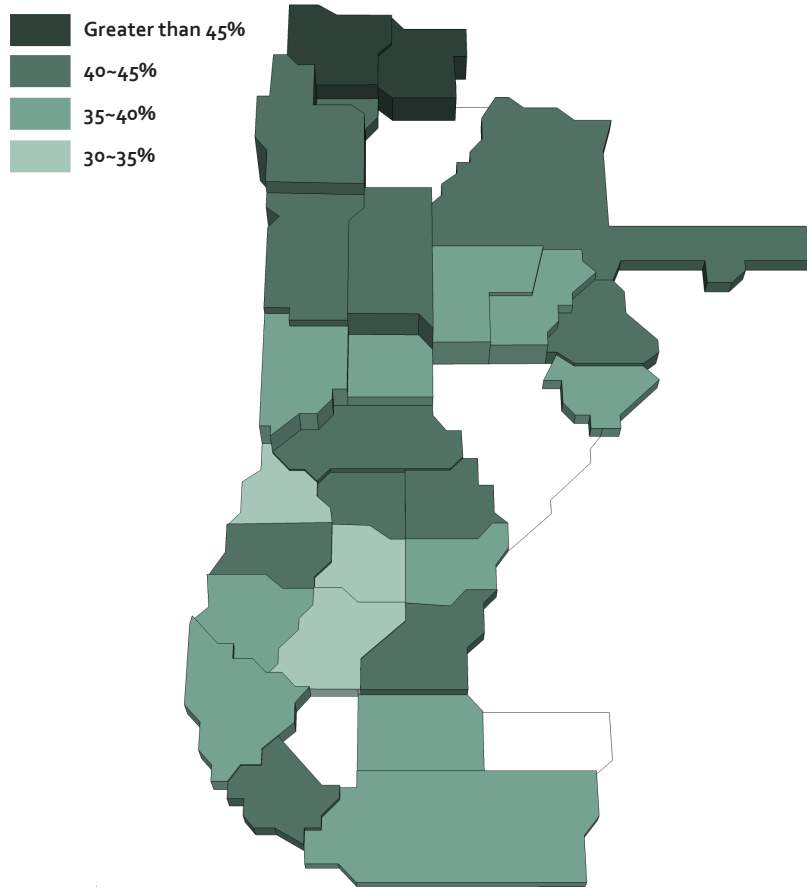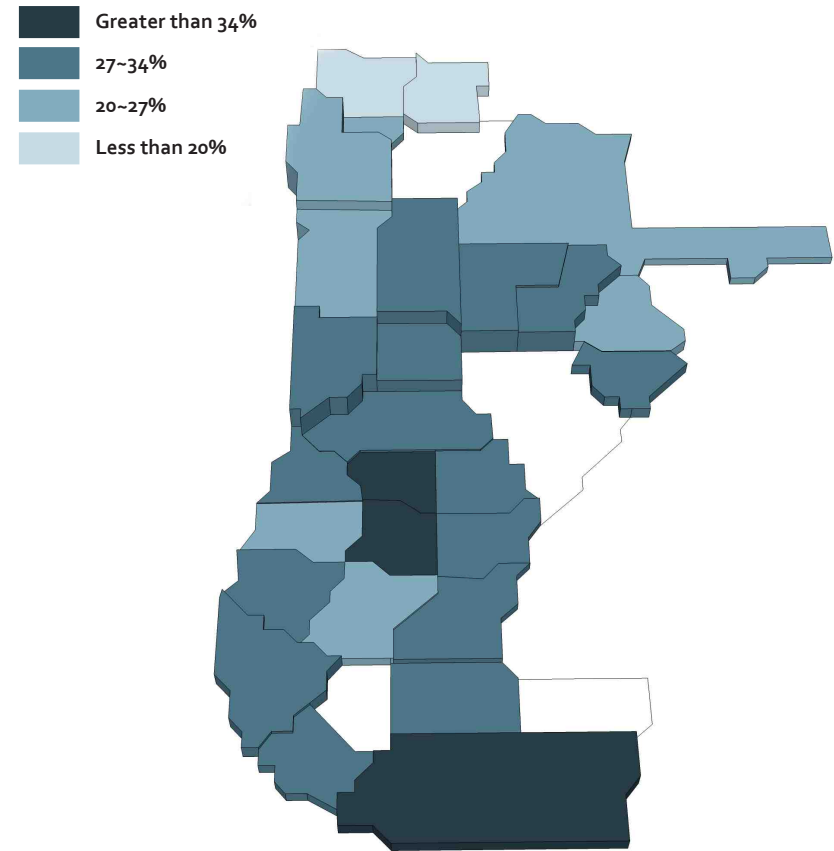
population of the social housing from the 1920s remained in the area until today.

To determine the age distribution of the two sections, Postwar Garbatella and Prewar Garbatella, the population of a specific age group was divided by the entire population of the study area. The data show a relatively small difference in proportion of age distribution between the two areas. An exception is found in Prewar Garbatella's elderly population, which is 3.56 percentage points higher than Postwar Garbatella's elderly population.

Employment Data

Employment rate is defined by the total employed population aged 15 and over divided by the total population aged 15 and over belonging to the workforce. Unemployment rate is defined by the total population aged 15 and over, both unemployed and actively seeking employment, divided by the total population aged 15 and over belonging to the workforce.

The study area's total unemployment rate (7.50%) is significantly lower than the average of Rome (11%). This correlates to our field observation of this area to be a middle- to upper-middle income neighborhood. It also means that the area is only accessible to higher-income households with stable income sources whose members are less likely to be unemployed.

A comparison of Postwar Garbatella and Prewar Garbatella data exposes an interesting phenomenon. The unemployment rate in Prewar Garbatella is slightly higher than the Rome average, whereas Postwar Garbatella has an extremely low unemployment rate.

Based on our field interviews in the two different areas, we observed that apartment turnover rates in Postwar Garbatella are higher. People there also tend to talk about

Garbatella Total Study Area		
	Employed	Unemployed
Total	**88.62%**	**7.50%**

Postwar Garbatella		
	Employed	Unemployed
Total	**91.49%**	**5.73%**

Prewar Garbatella		
	Employed	Unemployed
Total	**81.99%**	**11.59%**

Unemployment Rate

Unemployment Rate
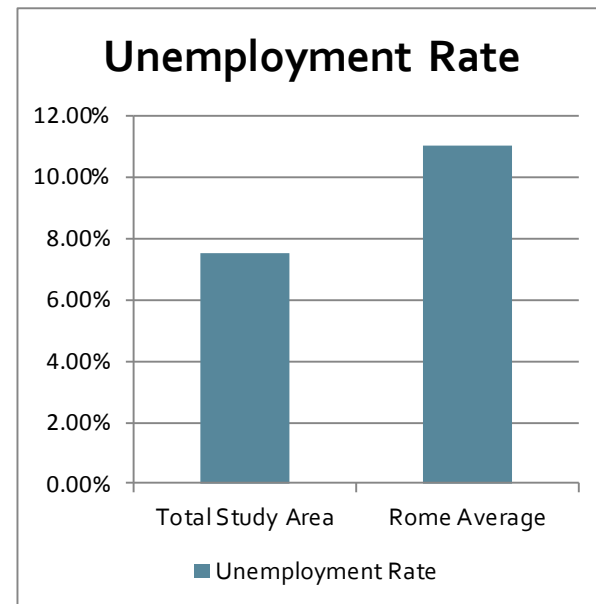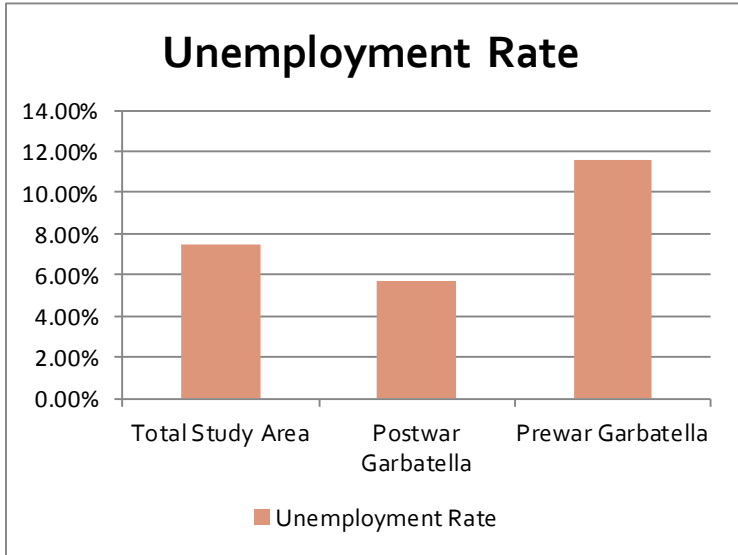
traveling to work via the Metro and bus systems. The apartments are sold at market price, meaning only people with stable incomes can move in and out of the area.

Prewar Garbatella was originally social housing. Despite the fact that the area is becoming privatized and homes are being sold at market value, the majority of its population is working class that has lived there since the 1920s. These differences could explain the higher unemployment rate in Prewar Garbatella compared to Postwar Garbatella, where households are part of the open market. The unemployment rate map of the study area visually represents the higher unemployment rate found in Prewar Garbatella.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY CENSUS TRACT

Greater than 15%

12~15%

9~12%

6~9%

3~6%

0~3%

Labor Pool Data

The category "workers seeking jobs" is defined by the population aged 15 and over belonging to the workforce divided by the total population of the study area. The category "percentage of female workers in the total workforce" is defined by the female population age 15 and over belonging to the workforce divided by the population aged 15 and over belonging to the workforce. "Percentage of females seeking jobs" is defined

Labor Pool

Garbatella Total Study Area			
	Workers Seeking Job	Percentage of Female Workers in Total Workforce	Percentage of Female Seeking Jobs
Total	**40.60%**	**44.61%**	**33.11%**

Postwar Garbatella			
	Workers Seeking Job	Percentage of Female Workers in Total Workforce	Percentage of Female Seeking Jobs
Total	**42.94%**	**44.96%**	**35.72%**

Prewar Garbatella			
	Workers Seeking Job	Percentage of Female Workers in Total Workforce	Percentage of Female Seeking Jobs
Total	**36.06%**	**43.79%**	**28.22%**

by the female population aged 15 and over belonging to the workforce divided by the total female population of the study area.

Compared to the city of Rome (44%), a smaller portion of the population in our study area (40.60%) is in the workforce. However, the female workforce in our study area participates more in the workforce than the average in Rome. The percentage of female workers in the total workforce in the study area (44.61%) is higher than the Rome average (43%). This statistic remains true for both Postwar Garbatella (44.96%) and Prewar Garbatella (43.79%).

The population in Postwar Garbatella is more active in the workforce than Prewar Garbatella's residents. Forty and six tenths of a percent of the population in Postwar Garbatella belongs to the workforce as opposed to 36.06% in Prewar Garbatella. The percentage of females seeking jobs is 35.72% in Postwar Garbatella as opposed to a low 28.22% in Prewar Garbatella. The Rome average of this statistic is 32%, meaning that female participation in the workforce is much higher in Postwar Garbatella.

Job Seeking Distribution for Total Population by Census Tract

Legend:
- Greater than 45%
- 40~45%
- 35~40%
- 30~35%
- 25~30%
- Less than 25%

Job Seeking Distribution for Female Population

Legend:
- Greater than 45%
- 40~45%
- 35~40%
- 30~35%
- 25~30%
- Less than 25%
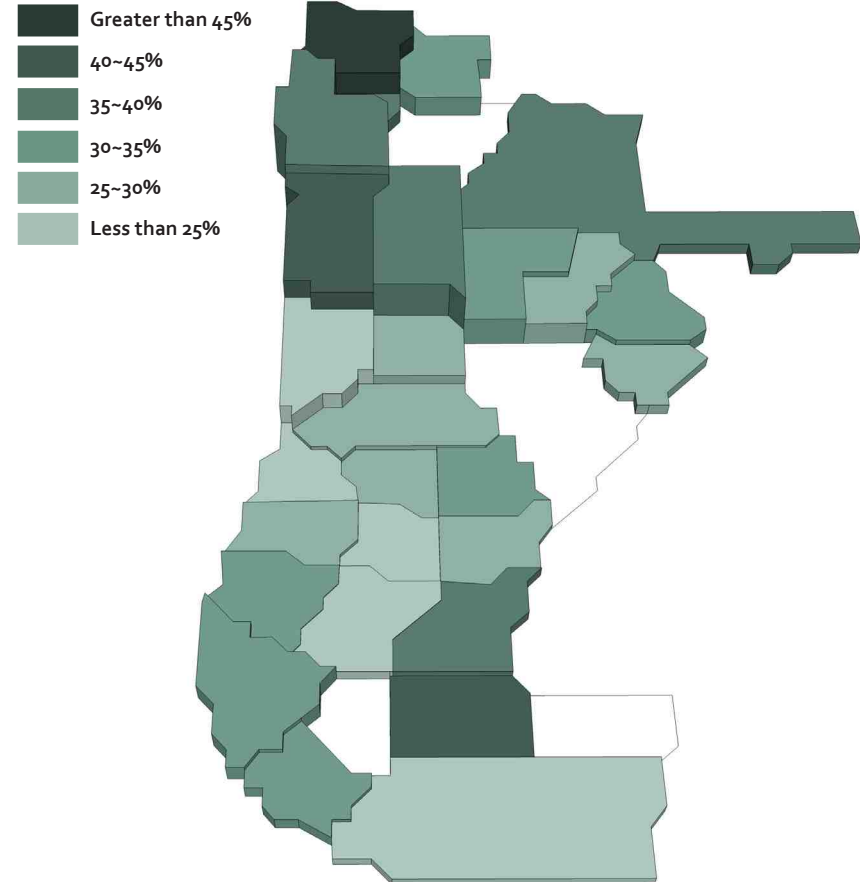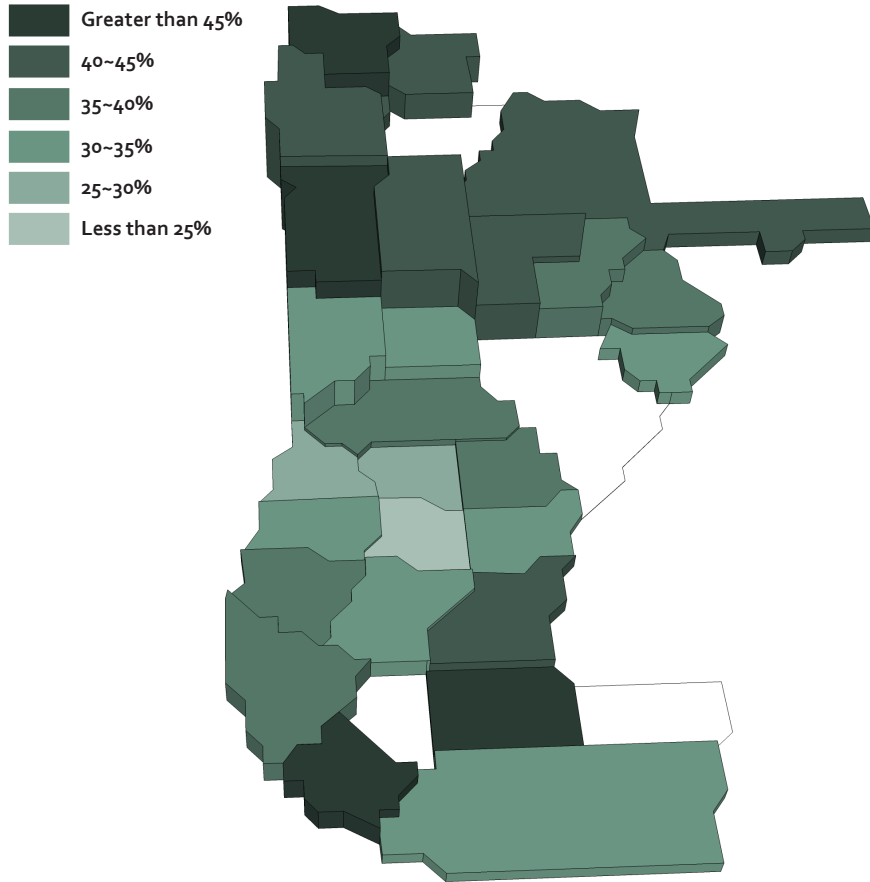
The two labor pool maps continue to support this observation. In terms of both the total population and female population, Postwar Garbatella has a higher percentage of job seekers. Postwar Garbatella is affected directly by its market-priced real estate, thus requiring a higher employment rate in order to be sustainable. Social housing provided by the government, on the other hand, usually acts as protection for unemployed or low-income families.

Job Sectors

Job sector data is derived from the total population aged 15 and over working in each sector or subsector divided by the total population aged 15 and over belonging to the workforce. Data for Postwar Garbatella and Prewar Garbatella is thus derived using a denominator of the total population aged 15 and over belonging to the workforce within each area. Note that the sum of "agriculture total," "industrial total," and "services total" of each of the three tables corresponds to the percentage of workers employed in each area (See Employment Tables on page 31). For instance, the agricultural (1.16%),

Garbatella Total Study Area													
Agriculture Total	Mining, Energy Production	Manufacturing	Construction	Industrial Total	Trade / Repair, Hotel/Restaurant	Transportation, Communication	Mediation	Real Estate, Professional, Business	Public Administration	Education	Health, Social Service	Public Services, Households	Services Total
1.16%	1.50%	8.66%	3.84%	14.00%	17.04%	9.03%	5.25%	8.88%	14.97%	5.81%	5.85%	6.63%	73.46%

Postwar Garbatella							
Agriculture Total	Manufacturing	Construction	Industrial Total	Real Estate, Professional, Business	Health, Social Service	Public Services, Households	Services Total
0.94%	8.06%	3.54%	13.08%	10.12%	6.00%	6.31%	77.47%

Prewar Garbatella							
Agriculture Total	Manufacturing	Construction	Industrial Total	Real Estate, Professional, Business	Health, Social Service	Public Services, Households	Services Total
1.66%	10.04%	4.55%	16.15%	6.00%	5.49%	7.35%	64.18%

industrial (14.00%), and services (73.46%) employment sectors of the total study area are equal to the total study area's employment rate of 88.62%.

Industrial and service jobs are the two main job sectors in Garbatella, specifically manufacturing (8.66%), hotel and restaurant (17.04%), transportation and communication (9.03%), real estate and business (8.88%), and public administration (14.97%).

A larger portion of the workforce in Prewar Garbatella (16.15%) works in the industrial sector than in Postwar Garbatella (13.08%), while a larger portion of the workforce in Postwar Garbatella (77.47%) works in the service sector than in Prewar Garbatella (64.18%). The subsector "real estate, professional, business," which can be associated with higher income, is much higher in Postwar Garbatella (10.12%) than in Prewar Garbatella (6.00%). The "nature of employment" section will further demonstrate a possible link between income levels and types of jobs associated with job sectors.

Nature of Employment

Total Study Area											
Total				Industrial Sector				Service Sector			
Employer	Self-employed	Domestic Workers	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Domestic Workers	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Domestic Workers	Employee
5.78%	11.18%	0.99%	80.07%	5.13%	14.73%	0.22%	77.46%	6.00%	10.38%	1.15%	80.60%

Postwar Garbatella											
Total				Industrial Sector				Service Sector			
Employer	Self-employed	Domestic Workers	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Domestic Workers	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Domestic Workers	Employee
6.56%	10.72%	1.13%	79.88%	6.85%	15.75%	0.00%	76.71%	6.59%	9.77%	1.33%	80.46%

Prewar Garbatella											
Total				Industrial Sector				Service Sector			
Employer	Self-employed	Domestic Workers	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Domestic Workers	Employee	Employer	Self-employed	Domestic Workers	Employee
3.79%	12.37%	0.63%	80.56%	1.92%	12.82%	0.64%	78.85%	4.35%	12.10%	0.65%	80.97%

The distribution of the employment sectors in our study area (5.78%, 11.18%, 0.99%, and 80.07%) correlates closely to the average of Rome (9.1%, 11.1%, 1.4%, 76.8), with the exception of employer population.

The Postwar Garbatella proportion of employers is higher than Prewar Garbatella in both industrial and service sectors. The "proportion of employees" category is also lower than Prewar Garbatella in both sectors. This could show that Postwar Garbatella has a higher level of entrepreneurship activities, and is perhaps associated with higher income.

Education

Note that ISTAT 2001 census data provide education statistics only for the male population. The consolidated data on the education maps thus does not include the female population. However, the data are still valuable in serving the purpose of comparing differences in education level between Postwar Garbatella and Prewar Garbatella. Note also that the terminal education level in the ISTAT data is defined by the total number of people with a

Terminal Education Level of Male Population in Study Area

- university diploma
- high school diploma
- middle school diploma
- primary school diploma
- others

9.58%
27.38%
36.10%
17.17%
9.77%

Terminal Education Level of Male Population
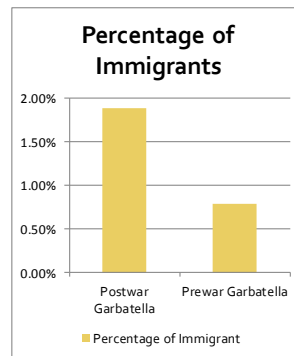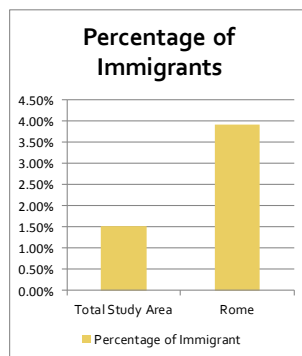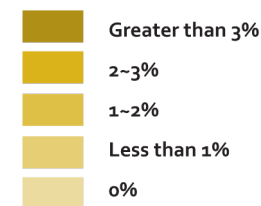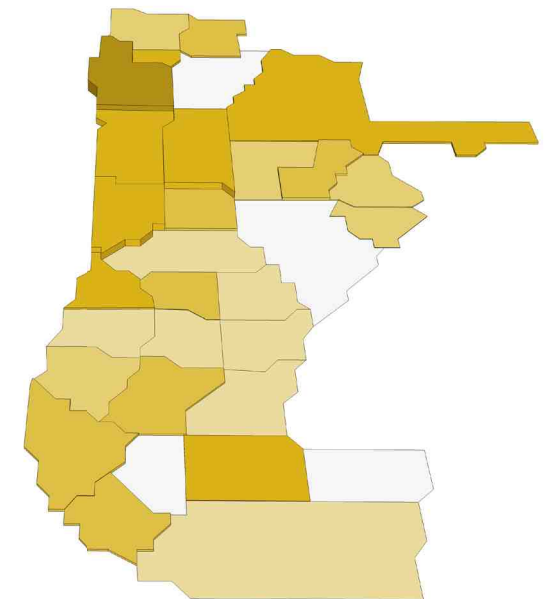
Total Study Area, Postwar Garbatella, Prewar Garbatella
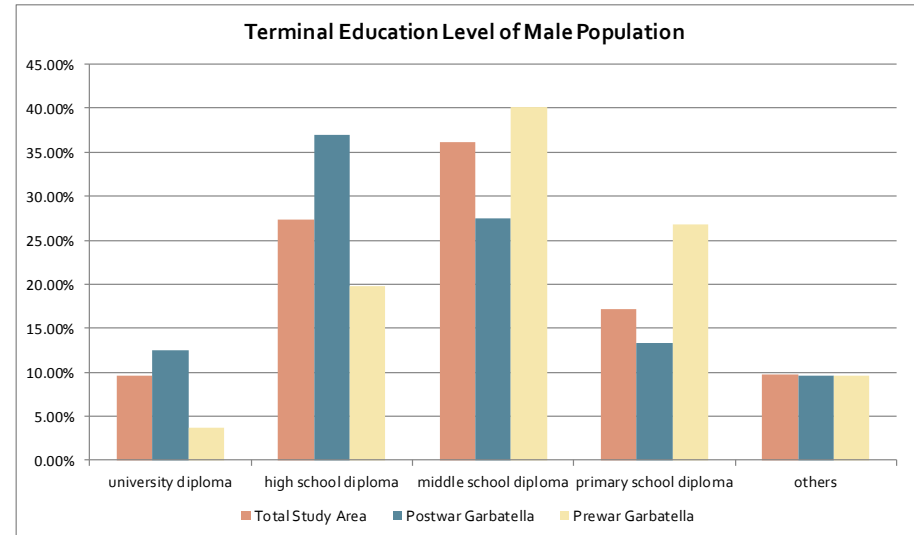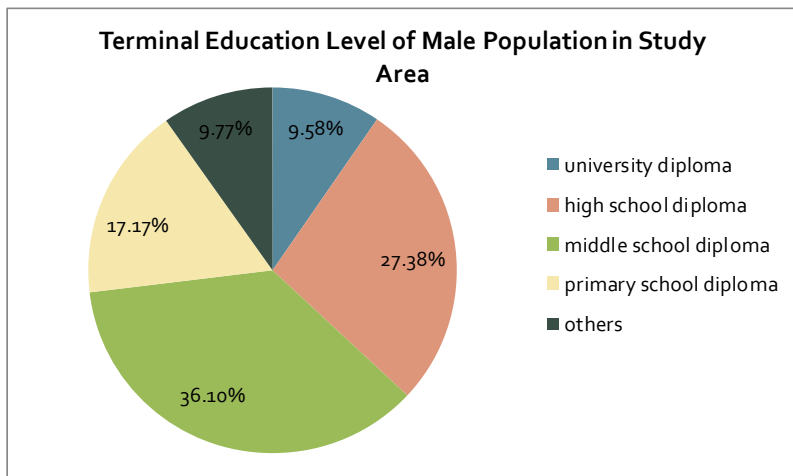
"terminal degree" in the total population over age six. This could create potential confusion because it includes a population that does not hold what are commonly referred to as "degrees." For example, a nine year-old individual cannot hold a high school or university diploma, but is defined in the data as having a terminal degree from primary school.

A breakdown of the Postwar Garbatella and Prewar Garbatella education levels reveals a significant gap between the two areas. A significantly higher percentage of Postwar Garbatella males received university and high school diplomas than in Prewar Garbatella. At the same time, a higher percentage of Prewar Garbatella males only received middle or primary school diplomas.

Immigration

Immigration data show that our study area has a significantly lower percentage of foreign-born and stateless residents than the Rome average. There are also more immigrants in Postwar Garbatella than in Prewar Garbatella, a strong community with a long family tradition. On the immigration map, many tracts within Prewar Garbatella essentially have no foreign-born residents.

IMMIGRATION DISTRIBUTION BY CENSUS TRACT

- Greater than 3%
- 2~3%
- 1~2%
- Less than 1%
- 0%

Percentage of Immigrants

Total Study Area | Rome
■ Percentage of Immigrant

Percentage of Immigrants

Postwar Garbatella | Prewar Garbatella
■ Percentage of Immigrant

33

Extensive Interviews

The researchers were pleased to hear perspectives on Garbatella from two important residents: first, an activist running an organization there, and second, from an architecture professor residing there. Both praise, most of all, the neighborhood's strong social capital. Summaries of the interviews are transcribed below.

La Strada Interview

Interview with Amedeo, an activist from CSOA La Strada:

La Strada was established on October 8, 1994, by a group of local high schoolers and students attending the University of Roma Tre, as well as by a small group of residents of Garbatella who wanted to create a place where they could set up different social activities for the inhabitants of Garbatella and of Rome. They decided to occupy an abandoned building owned by the City Council. In fact, this building initially hosted a market (the one that now is on Via di San Galla), but then was left without any social purpose for years and instead was used to store pieces of furniture coming from a shop. In the end, it was abandoned.

For eight years, La Strada had no legal right to stay in the building that it occupied. Its members tried to reach an agreement with the Rome City Council for recognizing their social relevance. La Strada and the public authority, after years of struggles, came to an agreement in 2002: La Strada had to found a cultural association in order to get a tax reduction and permission to stay in this public building.

La Strada is connected with other Roman social centers and shares with some of them common causes, including addressing the lack of public housing and places for social activities. Furthermore, they tackle issues of occupying private and public buildings. La Strada's program of activities has two goals: to guarantee a rich program of activities for free, in order to make its services accessible for everyone, and to set up a program of alternative activities regarding music and theater. One of the most important activities organized by the social center is the "Popular School," which aims to give a second chance for students who have problems at school or who dropped out. The "Popular School" offers two services: homework help three afternoons a week and a personal program of classes for dropouts, helping them earn their diplomas. This service is offered thanks to a group of volunteer university students, who do it for free and often are not part of the political group of La Strada. This kind of service is very well known in the neighborhood and appreciated by
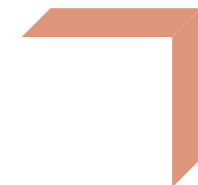
parents because Italian public school over the last few years has no longer been able to offer any kind of help to students who have special learning issues.

The social center funds its program of activities from tickets for music and theater shows, which take place on Friday and Saturday nights, and from the rental of its spaces to dance and theater companies, who use it to rehearse their shows.

La Strada and its activities are appreciated widely by Garbatella's residents; however, they do face some opposition from certain older citizens who dislike noise during nighttime hours.

This social center has a very important role in the neighborhood and it is well connected with the other local social and cultural associations. For example, the story of Casetta Rossa is tied with La Strada, because it was founded by a group of people coming from there: they started to refurbish Parco Cavallo Pazzo and the small bulding that now hosts a restaurant and a caffeteria. This richness in social relations is evidenced by a monthly assembly of social and cultural association of Garbatella, which is an important signal of social participation in neighborhood life.

La Strada is part of a system of Social Centers called "Action," composed of five similar centers. "Action" is an active player in the building occupation process, which is illegal. Often, after years of struggles with public authorities and police, the actors involved come to an agreement, obtaining permission to stay in the building legally, or, more frequently, the City Council assigns a flat in public housing to families who were original occupants, moving them away from the building. A few years ago, an activist from Action was elected to the Rome City Council and now he advocates for the issues coming from the social center scene in Rome.

The activities organized by La Strada are attended by people of different ages. The elderly use its spaces for aerobics classes and participate in projects held by Ciclofficina (an onsite bicycle garage) to promote cycling. Young people attend classes of the "Popular School" and spend their free time there, going to the bar, concerts, and other similar events. The "Ciclofficina" is used by a wider range of people who want to fix their bicycles on their own, at a low price. The activities of La Strada often go outside the building and use public spaces: some examples include the "street feast" and the "Piazza Sauli Feast," organized in Garbatella every year.

When La Strada was opened, the political scene in Rome was very different from now and the cultural program of the Social Center was different too. It was more related to the urban counterculture of the time, hosting hip hop and skinhead concerts. Now the image of the city, and of the neighborhood, has changed. In Garbatella over the last ten years, new actors, such as Roma Tre University, the owner of Palladium Theater, and new residents (due to the slow gentrification occurring) has come, requiring a transformation in the program of activities promoted by the Social Center.

The vitality of La Strada Social Center is due to the generational turnover in the group of people who still continue to organize all the activities that attract a large portion of Garbatella inhabitants, keeping alive the ideas brought to the table in 1994 with the foundation of this social center.

Gabriele Mastrigli Interview

Interview with Professor Mastrigli, Architecture Theory Professor at the Cornell Rome Program who lives in Garbatella:

Professor Mastrigli lives on the eastern edge of Garbatella, outside the study area, in a building built in 1952. He chose Garbatella because of its extensive greenery, good provisions for pedestrians, proximity to the city center, and an "intense sense of district" among residents. When he moved into the neighborhood, people immediately welcomed him. His building, called a *palazzina*, is a short tower with two apartments per floor. Mastrigli notes that the social structure in place in the historic center of Rome at the time of Mussolini's evictions held together when transplanted to Garbatella, and that this structure is still in place today. The prominent demographic today, at least in Mastrigli's immediate vicinity, is young couples with children. He believes that these families are attracted by Garbatella's many public spaces, and that the family is the defining unit of Garbatella society, just like in Italy as a whole.

Mastrigli notes a slow gentrification process in the neighborhood, led primarily by new young families. Factors slowing the process include the lack of shopping opportunities and the absence of programmed spaces, such as bars and art galleries. He reflects that if Garbatella did not have its unique urban design, it would have become like San Saba, an immaculate, tree-lined neighborhood with a woeful lack of public space and community interaction. Despite Garbatella's public housing stock, Mastrigli says that squatting is not an issue. He notes that public housing is key to Garbatella's ample social capital, but worries that gentrification could diminish this quality in the future.

In regards to the neighborhood's politics, Mastrigli talks about the anti-fascist resistance movement during the Nazi occupation of Rome during the Second World War and how that transitioned into a communist ideal during the rest of the century. With the exception of La Strada social center, this activist mentality has faded from the neighborhood in recent times. Mastrigli praises Garbatella's primary schools for their beauty and small size, but criticizes the secondary schools for lingering integration issues. Mastrigli also lauds the neighborhood's transportation connectivity, especially the Metro,

but would like to see more parking provisions, as many residents have cars. He concludes with an anecdote illustrating the ups and downs of Garbatella's social life: once, while witnessing a domestic argument in the street, clearly over private matters, he saw other neighborhood residents join in uninvited. Mastrigli uses this example to pose the question of how to balance public and private life, especially in Garbatella.

Street Interviews

Roughly forty informal interviews were conducted for the duration of the study. Researchers approached pedestrians on the street in the study area and asked basic questions about the interviewee's use and opinion of the neighborhood. Resulting responses can be divided roughly into three parts: demographic information, how the interviewee used the study area's social and physical resources, and his opinion on the study area's strengths and weaknesses. The only standout issues gleaned from interviewees' responses were that Garbatella had somewhat too much street dirt and grafitti.

Interview 1

We interviewed a lady in her 60s on Via Francesco Antonio Pigafetta, the northern edge of our study area, who originally came from London. She moved into Garbatella in 1965 and has since lived there. She observed a low birth rate and low population growth in the neighborhood, and talked about how the area has become less laid back and more cosmopolitan in the last 40 years. When asked about how she would define Garbatella, she admitted that the core of the neighborhood and the so-called "Garbatella" is in the original 1920s Garden City. She also mentioned the difficulty in moving into the actual garden city because of the high real estate prices and the nepotism of generations passing down the old garden city apartments to younger generations.

Interview 2

We met a middle-aged woman with two children living in one of the high-rise apartments in Postwar Garbatella around 11 A.M. The family has been living here since 2004, when they moved to Rome from Florence because of her husband's job. She complained about the dirty streets and excessive number of cars in the neighborhood. Her family has a car that rarely gets used, and she parks it on the toll-free streets to avoid parking fees in the apartment complex. Most of the time, her family members use public transportation. She liked how connected Garbatella is to the rest of Rome, with a Metro stop and multiple bus lines nearby. The supermarket in the area is convenient, but she also shops at the traditional market for fresh produce. She also thought apartments in Postwar Garbatella are better for families because the units are much bigger with more rooms and are much cheaper than housing units in Prewar Garbatella. Her children do not go to the two schools located inside Prewar Garbatella.

Interview 3

We interviewed a middle-aged woman on Via Edgardo Ferati just north of the Palladium. She is a medical doctor working in a nearby large hospital

facility. She lives inside the garden city in a two-floor apartment that she purchased in 2011. The unit was bought from a seller who was the grandson of an elderly couple who had lived in the unit but had passed away. The reasons she moved into the neighborhood were because of its proximity to her family living on Via Cristoforo Colombo and Garbatella's quiet atmosphere despite its central location in Rome. She admitted that the market price for these garden city units was extremely high. This has also become a growing concern for the elderly community. People are becoming concerned about the privatization of public housing, which is raising housing prices and bringing in new residents like herself. However, she thought she was definitely welcomed into the community and has a great relationship with her neighbors. She mentioned the easy access to the Palladium, art shows, bars, and restaurants around her.

Interview 4

We stopped by a bar in early afternoon at the corner of the Palladium and talked to a group of three young adults in their early 20s, specifically to one of the young men whose whole family has lived in the garden city for generations. He showed us a photo he kept in his wallet from an old newspaper article about the first wave of residents into Garbatella in the 1920s and pointed out his great grandmother to us. He said he knows a lot about the neighborhood because the community is very tightly connected and people know each other on a personal level. He thought the tight regulations on privatization of the public housing are preventing huge changes in Garbatella and keeping the built environment stable. He would like to keep it that way and thought most of the community would agree with him too. His main source of income comes from the bar that has benefited a lot from the Palladium, which has been attracting people from around the city to Garbatella.

Interview 5

We encountered a young man in his late 20s on Piazza Sauli in the early afternoon who said he lived on Via Persico, in the postwar part of Garbatella, and moved there when he was very young. He worked in the neighborhood and used public transportation, but had a car, which he used when there was no alternative. He had three children who were older and went to school outside the study area. He thought Garbatella was a good and tranquil neighborhood, but was frustrated with the amount of gossip exchanged among residents. He shopped at a store in front of his house.

Interview 6

We encountered a middle-aged shopper at the market on Via di San Galla in the late morning. He grew up in the prewar section of Garbatella but later on moved to the postwar section, and now lives on Circonvallazione Ostiense. He did not have a car, but used public transport only a little. He was unemployed and his children were not enrolled in school. He did not think there were many places to hang out in the neighborhood, but still admired the openness of the residents and felt safe there.

Interview 7

We approached a woman at the market in the late morning hours. She was standing in front of a stand, with a market vendor. She explained that she moved to Garbatella because she was assigned public housing in the area. She lived in an ICP block apartment unit on Via Persico. She was an unemployed housewife with a car, though she did mention using public transportation. She expressed feeling safe in her neighborhood, with no particular favorite places. She did mention that the area used to be more communal, but now is less so. She considers Garbatella to be very beautiful and when asked about a local problem, mentioned parking shortages. The market vendor chimed in for a moment and said the maintenance of the market needed improvement and that the historical market is better in that sense.

Interview 8

We met a woman along the sidewalk of Via Giovanni Battista Magnaghi in the late morning after visiting Parco Cavallo Pazzo. She was sitting along the railing near the Scuola dell'Infanzia. She was born and raised in the low-rise social housing of Garbatella. She witnessed the expansion of Garbatella as a little girl when it was just grass. She absolutely loves the area and mentioned the strong community in the older social housing. She finds it safe in Garbatella now although in the 1980s she felt the area was more dangerous with young people on motorcycles and small crimes throughout the area, such as vandalism and other petty crimes.

Interview 9

We met a man on Piazza Sauli who was waiting for his child to get out of school at the Scuola Pubblica Elementare Cesare Battista with a group of
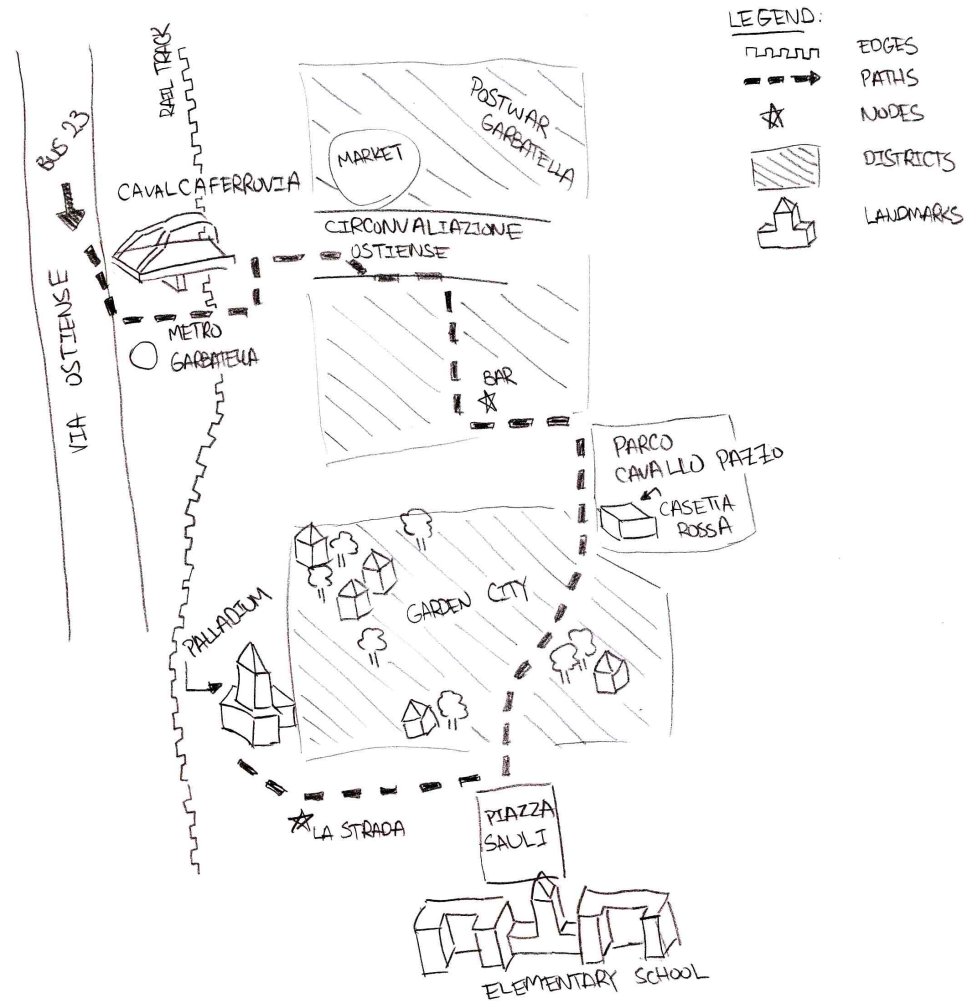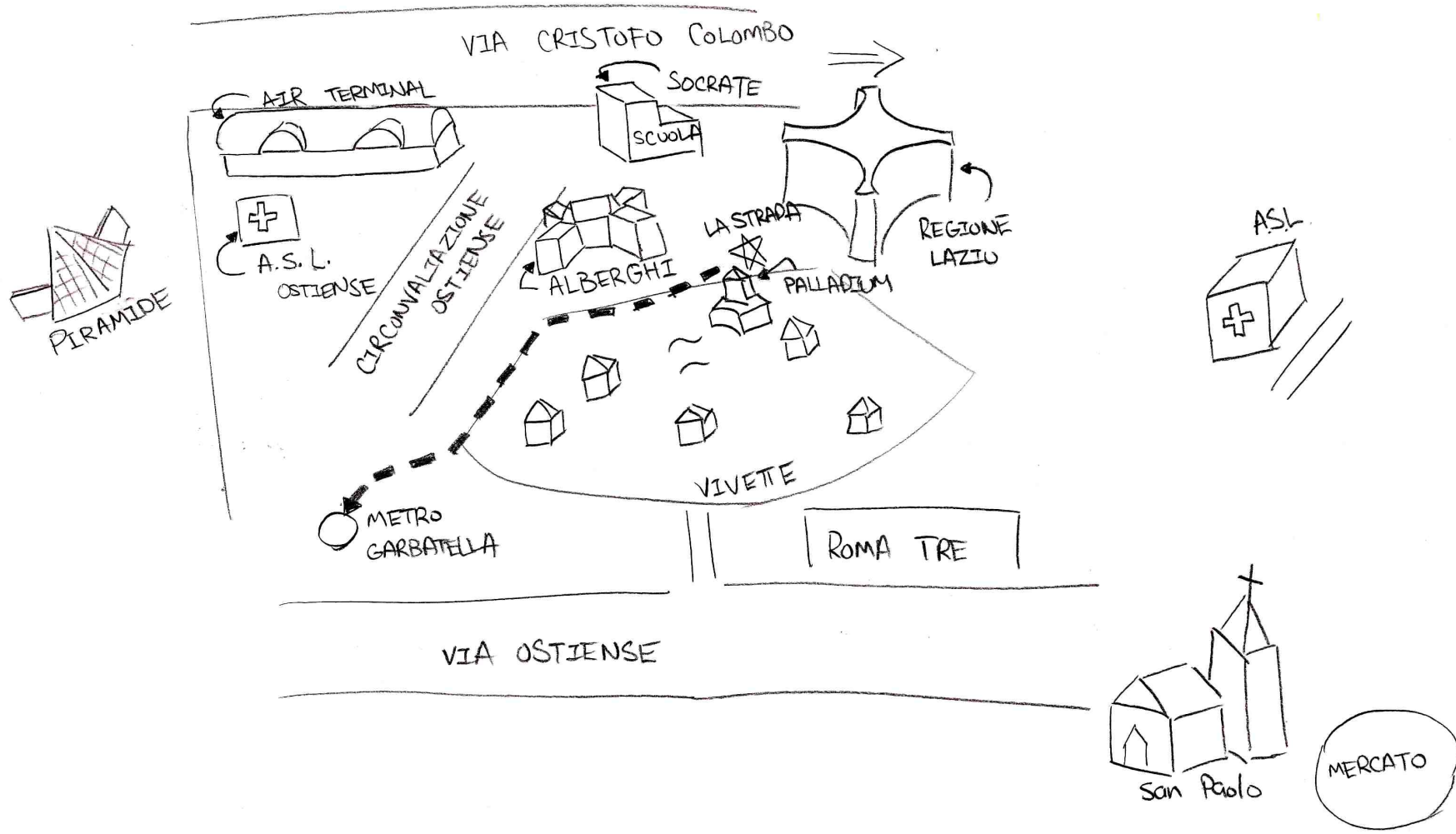
other parents. He is not originally from Garbatella but moved there to be with his wife. They live in the Post-war high-rise housing, and find the community very good and the people nice. He finds Parco Cavallo Pazzo dirty but is content living in Garbatella.

Lynch Maps

The two best examples of Lynch maps of the study area are presented below. The second is an interpretation of a map drawn by Amadeo (no surname given) of La Strada, while the first is a joint map drawn by researchers. Amadeo's map is notable for its emphasis on civic landmarks and striking inaccuracy, while the researchers' map stands out for its focus on the paths the group took through the neighborhood over the course of the semester.

VIA CRISTOFO COLOMBO

AIR TERMINAL

SOCRATE

SCUOLA

A.S.L. OSTIENSE

CIRCONVALLAZIONE OSTIENSE

PIRAMIDE

ALBERGHI

LA STRADA

PALLADIUM

REGIONE LAZIU

A.S.L.

VIVETTE

METRO GARBATELLA

ROMA TRE

VIA OSTIENSE

San Paolo

MERCATO

43

Conclusions

Despite the sharp rise in population and the construction of larger multi-level residential blocks, the design of the lots promoted communal living with shared spaces and services, laundry and catering facilities, schools and nurseries, gardens and courtyards, and the architecture and planning of the Garbatella contributed to the development of a sense of community and a distinct Roman identity (Michelis, 2009).

From its architectural style to its unique history of emigration from Rome's center, Garbatella is known for its strong sense of community. With shared courtyards, terraces, and laundry areas in many of the residential complexes, Garbatella's design embraces interaction. To go about daily life, citizens must negotiate the spaces they share with their neighbors, and as evidenced by multiple interviews, residents feel they live in a pleasant, safe community. While some mentioned Parco Cavallo Pazzo and Casetta Rossa as important landmarks, most maintained that the entire neighborhood was a landmark on its own. No specific place was considered the "main gathering point," or node, in Lynchian parlance. In fact, when asked about prevalent issues in Garbatella, many were left dumbfounded, without much to say. The most popular response was "gossip." It seems that the strong notion that every place was familiar did have its downside -- that "everyone knows everything."

It is no surprise, then, that the name "Garbatella" brings to mind an idyllic view of Rome's Garden City. The area, characterized by ample green space and *barochetto* architecture, creates a specific sense of place. Walking through Garbatella, even a first-time visitor can detect that the neighborhood is both secure and tight-knit. After months of observations, interviews, and analysis, such an assumption is valid. However, there is more to Garbatella than meets the eye.

It is easy to forget that Prewar Garbatella is no longer the only developed part of the neighborhood. Regardless of its pastoral charms, it is now, in absolute terms, a minority in the shadow of Postwar Garbatella. The postwar section of the study area has double the prewar section's population and almost triple its percentage of residents with college degrees, and it will almost certainly be the focus of new development in the future. Though no residents voiced this concern specifically, this analysis brings up the question of just what will happen to the old neighborhood as the new section's population continues to grow, bringing about change to the built environment as well.

Prewar Garbatella's iconic design seems to be both its savior and its downfall. Its villas and *palazzine* make it a highly desirable residential district worthy of extensive research, restoration, and preservation. This report shows, however, the tension between preservation and development. In the future,

will the market favor a place where development is strictly controlled by historic designations and design guidelines, or will it focus on a place where it has considerable freedom to build as densely and intensely as the postwar section? Demographics and statistical data seem to favor the latter situation, but only time will tell.

Bibliography

"Benvenuto in Rione Garbatella - RIONE GARBATELLA." Benvenuto in RioneGarbatella. Web. 11 Apr. 2012. <http://www.rionegarbatella.it/>.

"Casetta Rossa." Benvenuti Nel Sito Della. Web. 11 Apr. 2012. <http://www.casettarossa.org/>.

De, Michelis A. "The Garden Suburb of the Garbatella, 1920-1929: Defining Community and Identity Through Planning in Post-War Rome." Planning Perspectives. 24.4 (2009): 509-520. Print.

Diplomati E Mercato Del Lavoro. Roma: ISTAT, n.d.. Print.

Fabiani, Guido. "Universita Roma Tre." Roma Tre University. Web. 12 Apr. 2012. <http://www.uniroma3.it/>.

Frutaz, Amato P. Le Piante Di Roma. Roma: Istituto di studi romani, 1962. Print.

Howard, Ebenezer, and Frederic J. Osborn. Garden Cities of To-Morrow. Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1965. Print.

Ingersoll, Richard. Sprawltown: Looking for the City on Its Edges. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006. Print.

"Itopia." *: The Garbatella: The "Garden City" and Its Community*. Web. 12 Apr. 2012. <http://itopiarometheeternalcity.blogspot.it/2009/05/garbatella-garden-city-and-its.html>.

La Garbatella. Guida all'architettura moderna, il libro di Antonella Bonavita, Piero Fumo, M. Paola Pagliari edito da Palombi Editori

"LOTTO 5 PORTINERIA." Web. 12 Apr. 2012. <http://www.lotto5.it/en/sezione.php?idsezione=3>.

Romani, Luoghi. "Via Delle Sette Chiese, Strada Di Pellegrinaggio." Archivio Storico Del CORRIERE DELLA SERA.it. Web. 11 Apr. 2012. <http://archivios-torico.corriere.it/2004/novembre/07/Via_delle_Sette_Chiese_strada_co_10_041107044.shtml>.

"Romaeuropa Fondazione." *Romaeuropa Fondazione*. 2012. Web. 12 Apr. 2012. <http://romaeuropa.net/>.

Sparita, Roma. "Foto Di Roma Sparita." Roma Sparita. 2012. Web. 11 Apr. 2012. <http://www.romasparita.eu/foto-roma-sparita/category/xi-municipio>.

"URBAN CENTER ROMA XI." URBAN CENTER ROMA XI. Web. 11 Apr. 2012. <http://www.urbancenter-roma11.it/>.

Report Word Count: approx. 8,300