

A vibrant outdoor market scene in Torrevecchia, Italy. The market is covered by large, colorful awnings in shades of blue, green, and red. Stalls are filled with a variety of goods, including clothing, shoes, and fresh produce. People of various ages are seen browsing and shopping. In the foreground, a man in a black leather jacket is looking towards the market, and a woman is pushing a stroller with a child inside. To the right, a woman with red hair is looking towards the camera. A sign in the background reads "SCARPE ITALIANE TUTTE IN PELLE".

# TORREVECCHIA

## TRANSFORMATION UNDER TENSION

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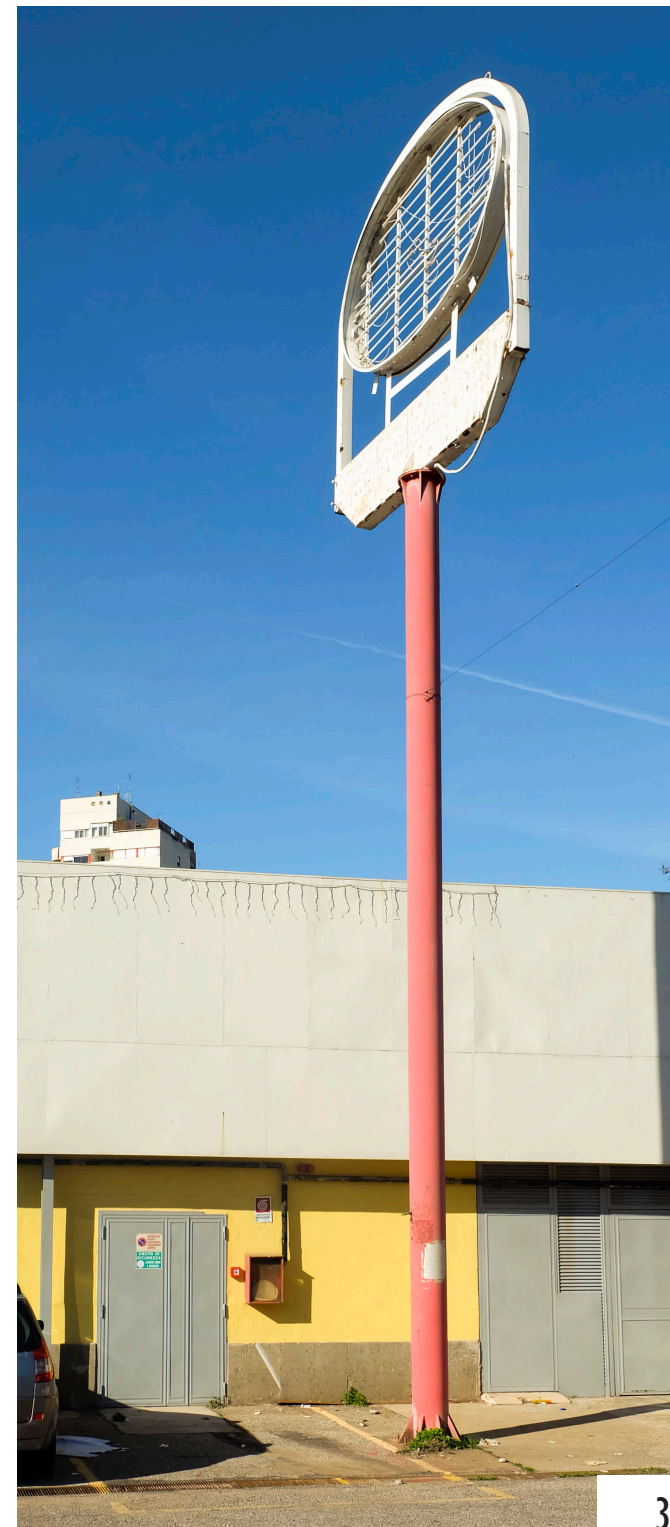
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# INTRODUCTION

This comprehensive report is intended to analyse historical and existing conditions of the Roman neighborhood of Torrevecchia, and explore possible future trajectories of this dynamic area. With its vibrant mix of market activity, varied subsectors of food systems and immigrant communities each actively redefining Torrevecchia's sense of place, this modest area of 21 census tracts has changed from a satellite residential district bearing the typical stigma of peripheral *Borgate* into a developing and self-sustaining neighborhood with an identity all its own. Through in-depth historical research, empirical data collection and ISTAT analyses, we were able to probe the many tensions embedded in the process of transformation in Torrevecchia. We have divided our report into three main parts: Context, Neighborhood Statistics, and Physical Characteristics. Together, these illustrate the interdependent relationship between the evolving demographic and socioeconomic conditions of Torrevecchia, and its effects on the existing infrastructure and community.







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## 2.0 CONTEXT





## 2.1 LOCATION

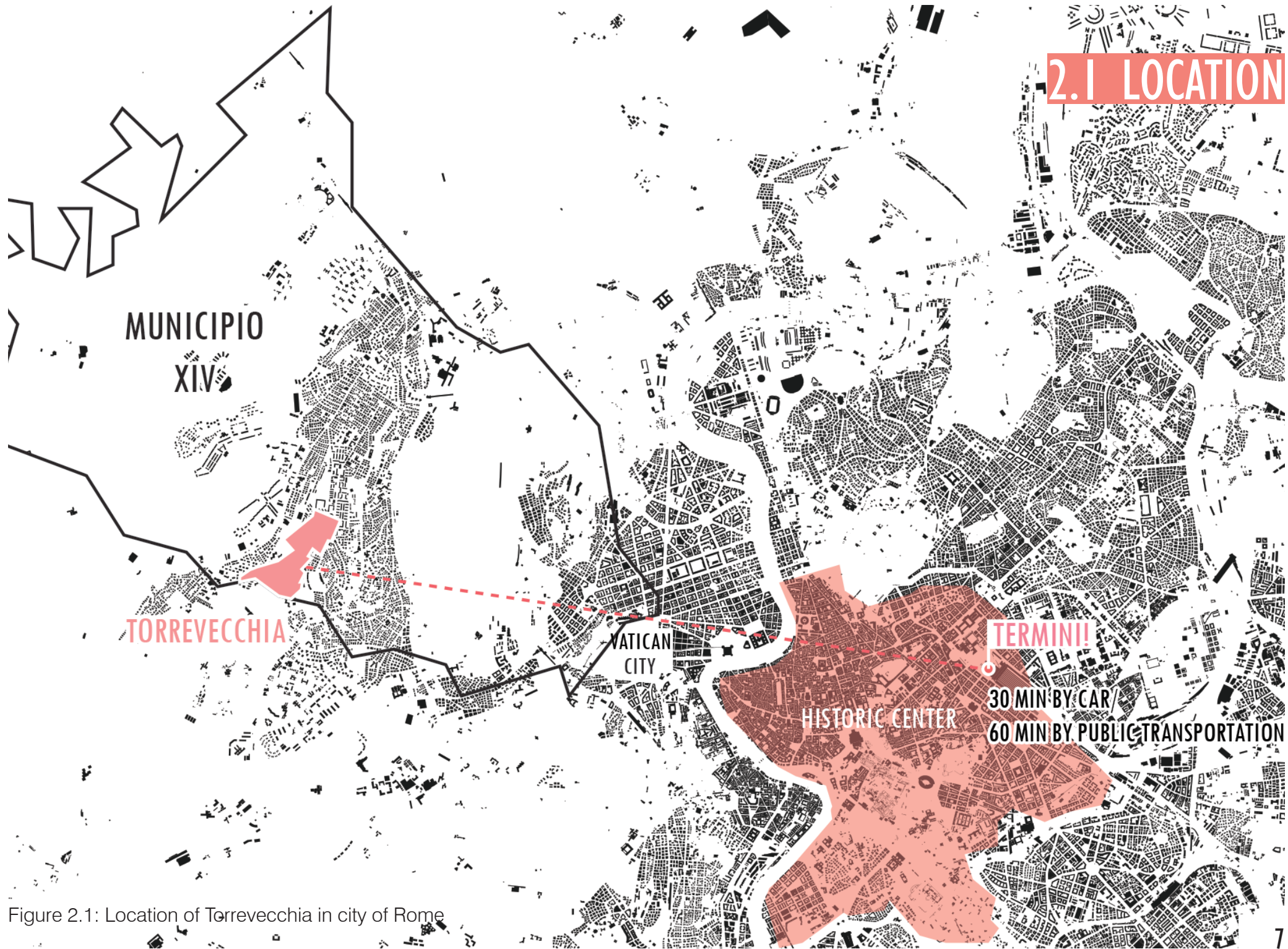


Figure 2.1: Location of Torrevecchia in city of Rome



# 2.1 LOCATION

Torrevecchia is located 7.5 kilometers from the historical city center of Rome within Municipio XIV, which is about 40 minutes away by public transportation and 30 minutes by car. Our neighborhood is made up of 6,698 residents and 21 census tracts, covering 0.82 square kilometers. Through multiple visits to Torrevecchia and collecting empirical data from local residents and observing the existing infrastructure, we concluded that these 21 census tracts contained the central neighborhood of Torrevecchia. Surrounding Torrevecchia are boundaries of wide streets, elevation, and open agricultural land that further indicate that the community is focused within our chosen census tracts.

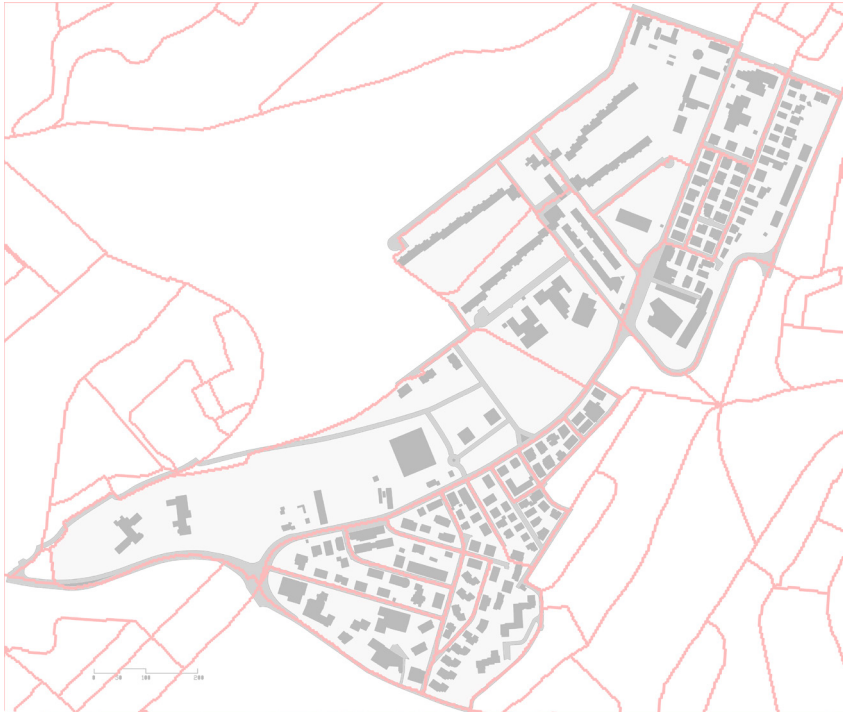


Figure 2.2-3: The 21 census tract which comprise the study area

## 2.2 HISTORIC BACKGROUND

Torrevecchia, like many Roman neighborhoods on the west side of the Tiber River, developed in the second half of the 20th Century, with its earliest origins reaching slightly farther back to Italy's fascist rule.

Today, several bustling arterials radiate outward from the nexus of activity west of the Tiber River, centered around the Vatican City, Castel Sant'Angelo, the Tiber bridges from Rome's *centro storico*, and dense residential *rione* such as Prati and Trifonale, including the ancient and modern iterations of Via Aurelia and its feeder of Via Ubaldi, Via Trifonale, Via Gregorio VII and most important to our study -- Via di Boccea. As one travels westward from the dense neighborhoods found between the Tiber and the Vatican along these arterials, compact grids give way to the abundant parking, streetfront and setback strips of retail, and the palazzine complexes that are characteristic of arteries leaving the city center.

This development progression coincides with retail and housing density, prompted by the construction of Metro Line A, whose original phase was built to the Ottaviano station in 1980 (just north the Holy See), and later extended westward to Valle Aurelia in 1998 and to Battistini station in Primavalle (2 km by road from the center of our study area) in 2000.

In 1931, Rome's citywide *Piano Regolatore Generale* (PRG) called for these arterials to be constructed outward from the *centro storico* into the city's periphery. These directly linked the city center with *Borgate*, new peripheral housing districts that were neither urban nor rural, reinvigorating the spirit of ancient Roman roads to the gates of a city that was still largely contained within the Aurelian walls in 1900. Along with these arterials, the PRG specified that 12 official "villages" of public housing were to be constructed in these newly identified peripheral neighborhoods. One of these 12 villages was Primavalle, an area directly below and east of our study area. As the PRG-mandated public

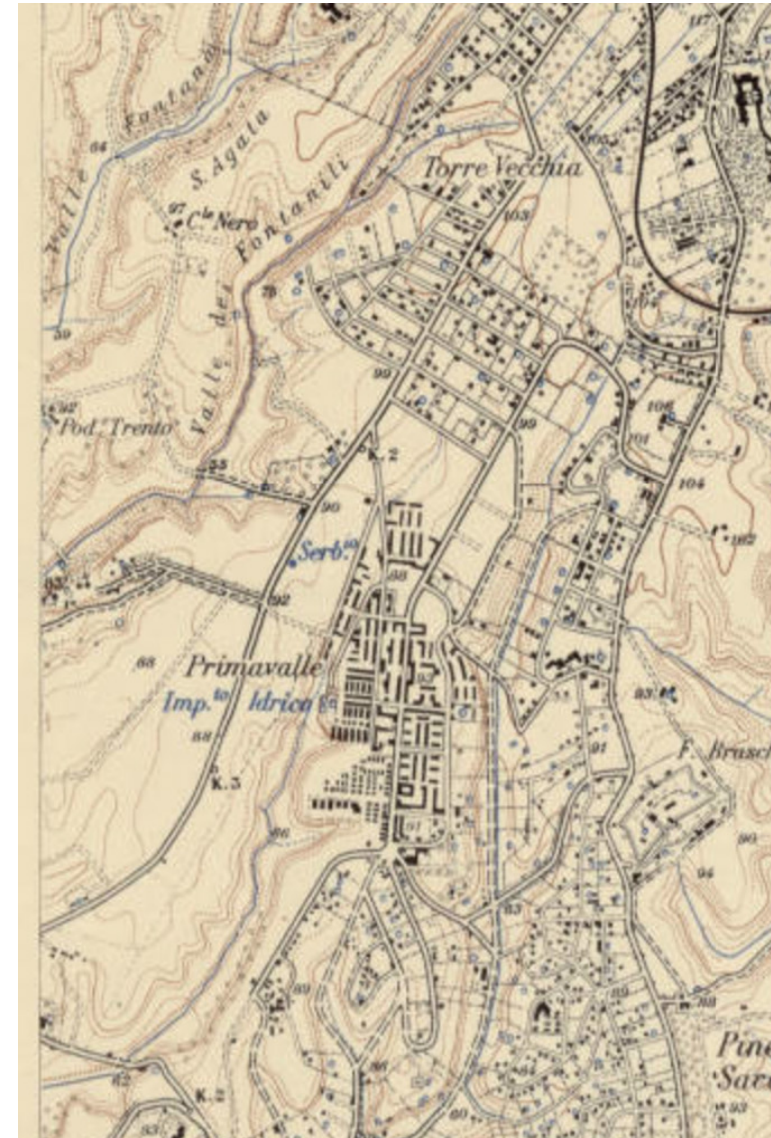


Figure 2.4: Map of Torrevecchia and vicinity, 1950's



housing stock in Primavalle were built out over the following three decades, the city's footprint continued to trickle further outward.

The principal onus for the construction of these villages was the demolition of housing stock that occurred or was due to occur because of interventions that the fascist government imposed elsewhere in the city. Primavalle and the other Western "villages" consequently housed many displaced residents from the "Spina del Borgo" area between the Vatican City and the Tiber. The 1929 Lateran Pacts, which then-Prime Minister Benito Mussolini signed on behalf of King Victor Emmanuel III with the Holy See, gave the Italian state permission to raze all buildings between St. Peter's Basilica and the river – creating a stark axis between the Vatican and the Altare della Patria, which Mussolini usurped as his headquarters in an attempt to symbolically equate his rule with the power of the Roman Empire and the papacy.

Their homes thus destroyed from the Duce, the displaced *Borghiciani* were relocated to neighborhoods farther north and west of the newly inaugurated *Via della Conciliazione*. The PRG-identified village of Primavalle began in 1936, under the direction by Giorgio Guidi of the Fascist Autonomous Institute for Popular Houses. It was completed in the 1950s, but the area continued to expand in the following decades, with more than 53% of Primavalle's present-day housing stock built between 1961 and 1971. The accelerated wartime development of public housing in the area was fraught with issues, including connectivity to the distant city center and the poor quality of the buildings themselves – which initially lacked basic utilities such as running water and toilets.



Figure 2.5: Destruction of Spina del Borgo.

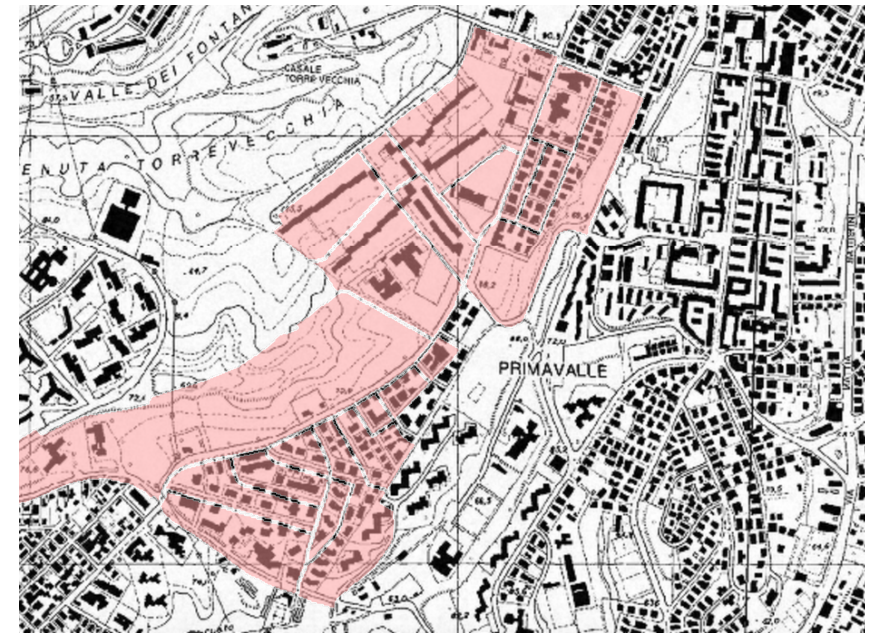


Figure 2.6: Map of Torrevecchia and vicinity, 1990's. Study area is marked in pink.

Torrevecchia's public housing development postdates all this, having largely been constructed between 1978 and 1984. The neighborhood's principal artery, Via di Torrevecchia, extends 5 km north of our study area's southern limit of Via di Boccea, terminating at its junction with Via Trifonale near the Monte Mario regional rail station. South of this junction, the road continues as Via Cornelia for 2.5 km to meet the *Grande Raccordo Anulare* (GRA), Rome's urban beltway.

The architects of the housing complex, Pietro Barucci, Lucio Passarelli, and Marcello Vittorini, were tasked with the trying ordeal of reconciling the agricultural origins of the hilltop area with its emerging reality as the newest "release valve" for the increasing flow of Romans outward from the city center. Indeed, while Via di Torrevecchia's density entrenches its role as a well-trafficked retail and residential corridor, the neighborhood's agricultural heritage persists – gaps in the main corridor's procession of businesses and between housing lots provide a framed vista of the flat, grassy fields that were once entirely synonymous with the area.

The old tower recalled in Torrevecchia's name is believed to have been erected in the nineteenth century, and our interview with a farmer whose land sits west of the incumbent public housing development mentions that it was situated near the present-day Telecom building on Via Giuseppe Piloti de'Bianchi, closer to the area now understood as Quartaccio. Neither the purpose of the tower's erection nor the circumstances of its destruction seem to be known by Torrevecchia residents or historians.



Figure 2.7: Iperfamily



Figure 2.8: LIDL



While the neighborhood's historical predisposition to farming is preserved in its quantity of natural elements, such as open space, the attractiveness of these areas is highly variant. The presence of a grocer-farmer who has held land in Torrevecchia since 1963 coexists with the recent additions of big-box supermarket developments with ample parking. The most recent entrant to this segment is the German megastore Lidl (2013), to whom the Municipio sold land from the northern half of the adjacent Parco Nicholas Green.

The truncated park consists of a neighborhood dog park, a swath of overgrown open space, and assorted child's play equipment.

# 2.3 TIMELINE

The PRG designates Primavalle to house residents displaced by fascist interventions.



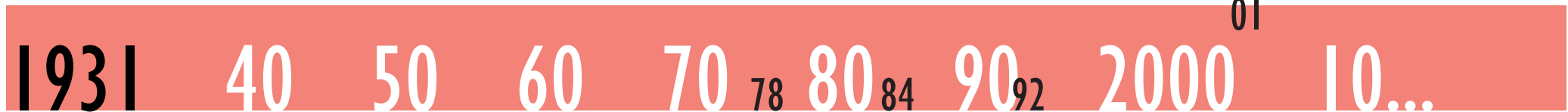
Figure 2.9: Torvecchia, in the 1950s

53% of buildings in Primavalle were built.

70-80: Peak of public housing development in Rome

EU Sustainable city movement, focus on participatory planning

Change of municipio boundaries.



Palazzine construction begins.



Figure 2.10: Torvecchia, in the 1960s

Public housing project in Torvecchia was built.

Public housing projects in Rome lost funding.



Figure 2.11: Torvecchia, in the 1970s



## 2.4 CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

In the larger Torrevecchia, Primavalle, and Quartaccio area, an Urban Recovery Program is being implemented to combat the neglect of housing maintenance and green space in the last 20 years. The plan for development and investment through this renewal program is to be implemented in Torrevecchia and many other surrounding neighborhoods in Municipio XIV. The last public amenity created through this program was a sports facility in 2015 for the Primavalle - Torrevecchia area, further emphasizing this relationship as a satellite neighborhood that shares resources with surrounding communities.

The disinvestment of public housing projects has changed the development of Torrevecchia from public to solely private investors. The municipio has not funded any housing developments since the public housing project in 1984, and only until recently has started to invest in the renewal of the dilapidated and underused public spaces in hopes of reviving this area. When walking throughout Torrevecchia, it is apparent there are many anticipated residential construction projects underway. Brand new high end apartments have been developed along via di Torrevecchia by private investors and real estate agencies Gabetti Agenzie and Casa Invest.



Figure 2.12: New housing development by private investors

## 2.5 FIRST IMPRESSIONS

We conducted our initial site visit to Torrevecchia on the morning of Thursday, January 25th. We canvassed our study area for several hours, observing the street characteristics and maintenance, housing stock quality and density and traffic flows, while attempting to develop a spatial understanding of the neighborhood and the subtleties between its sub districts in the framework presented in Kevin Lynch's Image of the City. Among the most prominent features of the study area evident from our initial canvassing was the predominance of largely uniform palazzine buildings, three- to five-story residential towers with a central stairwell, found both in the public housing development in the western half of our study area, as well as the residential sector to the east. The area's green spaces, while numerous, are highly inconsistent in quality and potential uses. We encountered a small but noticeable presence of immigrant communities, indicated by non-Italian license plates on vehicles parked in residential lots and streets within the neighborhood (primarily from Romania, but also including Poles and Bulgarians), as well as through retail sector diversity, including Chinese-owned dry goods stores and an Egyptian-owned fruit and vegetable store.

Additionally, we observed a prominent division of retail between locally owned and corporate uses, most prominently depicted by the small businesses on the eastern sidewalk of Via di Torrevecchia and the imposing big-box retail to its west. This dichotomy was integral in framing our interview questions on future site visits. Our survey design and intercept interviews focused primarily upon exploring the relationship between this duality and the food systems and markets that serve Torrevecchia.

Torrevecchia's topography, perched on a hilltop with prominent edges directly to the east and west of our study area, facilitated our determination of the neighborhood's edges in those cardinal directions.

To the south, the bustling artery of Via di Boccea presented a clear southern edge – its narrow sidewalks and speeding, autostrada-bound traffic, coupled with the absence of crosswalks and a hostile Jersey barrier in its median, made it clear that the ordeal of crossing the artery signified entrance into a new, albeit interconnected space.

The different districts or "islands" in Torrevecchia present themselves readily to a newcomer, split clearly by Via di Torrevecchia and its major cross street, Via Benedetto Aloisi Masella (which becomes Via Francesco Giovanni Commedone to the west). Differences in housing stock also make the divisions between Torrevecchia's residential districts abundantly clear. The primary districts include the western public housing development, which is colloquially known as the "Bronx di Torrevecchia", staid residential districts east of Via di Torrevecchia to the north and south of Via Masella respectively, retail and commercial districts on Via di Torrevecchia, and a separate district in the southwest quadrant of the study area by Largo Beata Teresa, which has an unusual confluence of strip retail and residential palazzine, in addition to a substantial amount of lost space.



## 3.0 METHODOLOGY



## 3.1 DATA COLLECTION

Site visits to Torrevecchia were our primary method for collecting data. Our first site visits did not involve any planned data collection, but we took notes of our first impressions, became comfortable in the neighborhood, and if presented with a good opportunity, conducted intercept interviews with Torrevecchia residents.

For the collection of street and building typology data, we used Microsoft Excel to create template tables for data to be filled in on-site. To ensure cohesion within our data, we created a basemap that numbered each parcel and street and together determined standards for data, such as maintenance, that could be subjective. We then filled in our template tables by canvassing on foot and recording information for every street and building in Torrevecchia. Our collected data was transcribed into Microsoft Excel spreadsheets, and then further processed and displayed visually with either charts and graphs, or spatially through the use of ESRI ArcMap.

Interviews with residents were our other primary source of data. Many of these were spontaneous intercept interviews with citizens on the street, in restaurants, in stores, or at markets. These intercept interviews were especially common early on in our process. In our later site visits, we focused on targeting certain groups of people for interviews. Our goal was to hear from the different types of food systems workers in Torrevecchia: supermarket employees, market workers, independent grocers, farmers, and to some extent, workers in the Chinese dry-goods stores. We conducted interviews, intercept and otherwise, in nearly every site visit. To help with the language barrier, most interviews were conducted with the assistance of our Italian-speaking professors.



Figure 3.1: Interviewing vendors in Mercato Via Torrevecchia



Figure 3.2: Having bread and pizza, gift from the owner of an independent grocer



## 3.2 ANALYSIS

The National Institute for Statistics (ISTAT)—Italy’s foremost public research and data organization—provided us with key quantitative data for use in our analysis. We organized ISTAT data to ensure it matched our definition of Torrev ecchia’s neighborhood boundaries. We used Microsoft Excel to create charts comparing conditions in Torrev ecchia with those of greater Rome and other cities.

As much as possible, we processed ISTAT data through ESRI ArcMap 10.5 to present it spatially and to compare conditions between different census tracts in Torrev ecchia. For our maps that do not contain explicitly spatial data, we began by creating a basemap in Adobe Photoshop. From this basemap, each of us was then able to create maps for the data we individually worked with by using Adobe Photoshop to color in building parcels and streets. After all the maps were completed, we went over them to ensure consistency in terms of graphics and colors. Due to program incompatibility with team members’ personal computers, some of us had to remotely connect to machines across the world in the Barclay Gibbs Jones Computer Lab at Cornell University in Ithaca, NY, using Microsoft Remote Desktop.

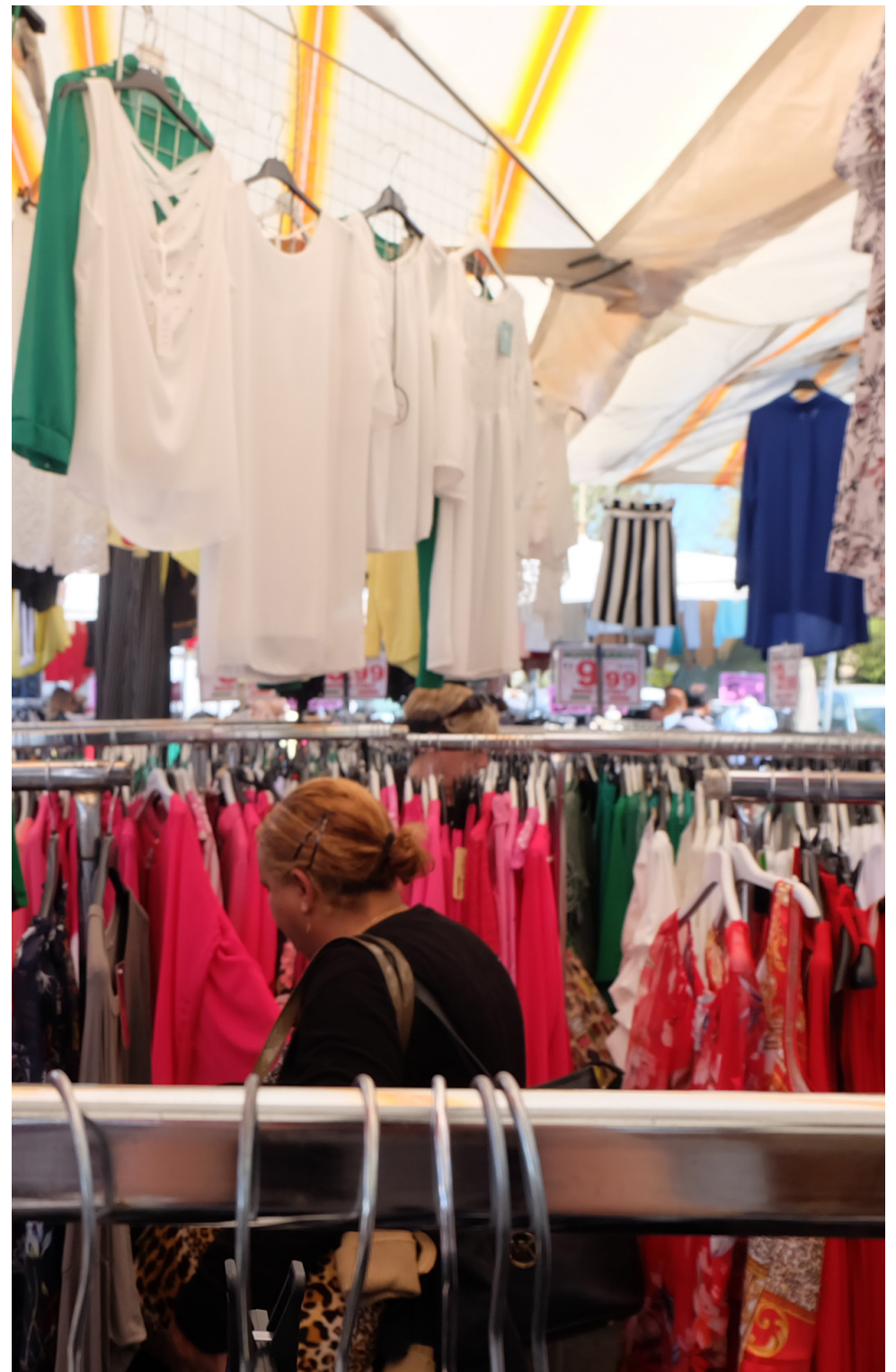
Inspired by the five elements outlined in Kevin Lynch’s *The Image of the City*—paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks—each of us hand-drew a “Lynch map” of Torrev ecchia to compare our understanding of the urban spatial composition of the neighborhood. We then used Adobe Illustrator to create a single comprehensive “Lynch map” of Torrev ecchia based on our five original maps.



Figure 3.3: Taking notes during field study



## 4.0 NEIGHBORHOOD STATISTICS



# 4.1 OVERVIEW

Of Torrevecchia's 6,998 residents, 52 percent female and 47 percent male. This gender composition has remained consistent from 2001 to 2011, even while the population has changed dramatically. Figure 4.1 is a map by census tract, indicating which tracts increased (green) in population and which has decreased (red). Along the eastern border is the most population increase, where most of the palazzine structures are. The only tract with a significant decrease in population are the linear public housing. Additionally, many of the new developments are along the eastern border, which coincides with the population change data. Along with this population change by census tract, the population composition has also changed significantly.

The population pyramid in Figure 4.2 illustrates the changing population dynamics between age and gender in Torrevecchia. The aging population in Torrevecchia has increased significantly, from only 15 percent in 2001 to 22 percent in 2011. Children ages 0-15 have remained at 13 percent, implying a possibly stagnant or slowly growing future population that may not be able to replace the aging population. Residents over 65 years of age have very different resources, accessibility, and service needs than youth and middle-aged populations. Though there is an existing Center for the Aging along with a Bocce Ball court in Torrevecchia, there is a lack of specific housing or other designated amenities for this fast-growing population.

Population density is an important measurement that indicates the relative "crowdedness" of an area. Torrevecchia has a population density 3.6 times that of the average for Rome, yet is much less dense than the historical center. The 21 census tracts in Torrevecchia occupy 0.82 squared kilometers. The total population divided by the land area equates to 8,214 people per square kilometer.

Because Torrevecchia contains high-rise palazzine, towers, and large

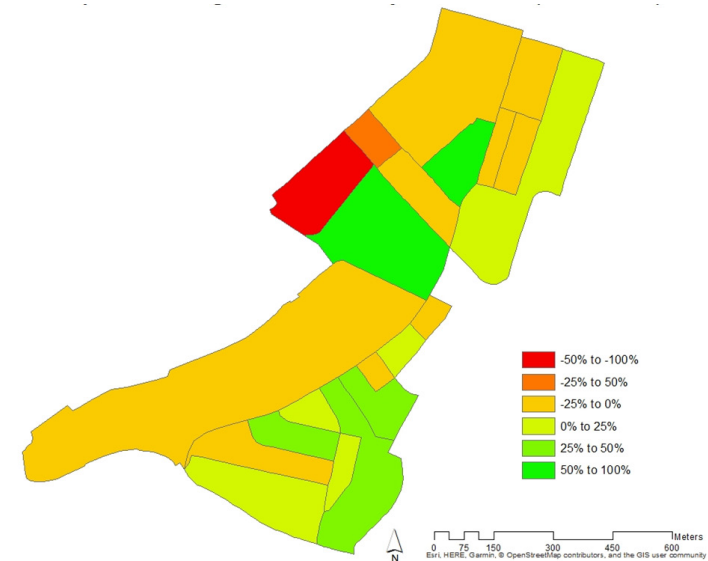


Figure 4.1: Population change by census tract (2001-2011)

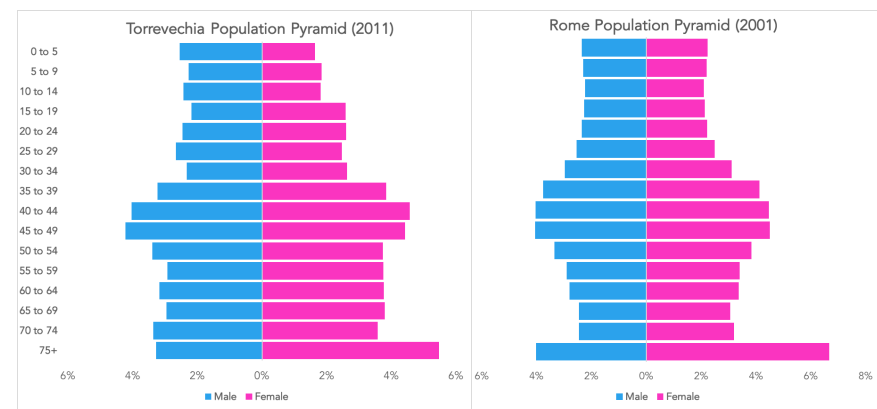


Figure 4.2: Population pyramid of Torrevecchia and Rome (2001-2011)



linear apartment blocks, and no longer includes any rural or agricultural land, the density is much higher than the municipio and the Rome average. Figure 4.4 shows the comparison of density between the historical center, Torrev ecchia, Rome, and Municipio XIV. The density in the city center of Rome is still much higher than in Torrev ecchia because there are no agricultural or open lots, whereas in Torrev ecchia there are still a few census tracts with more spread out commercial developments along the southwest boundary.

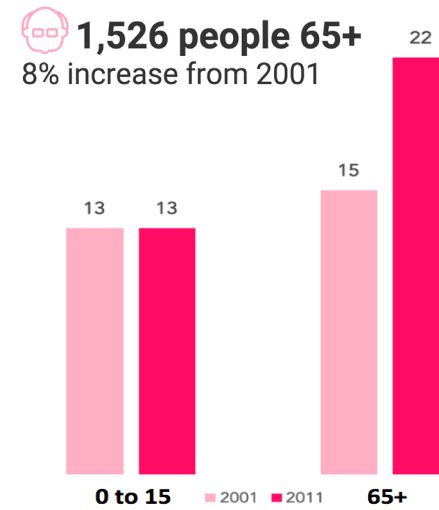


Figure 4.3: Comparison of youth and aging populations in Torrev ecchia

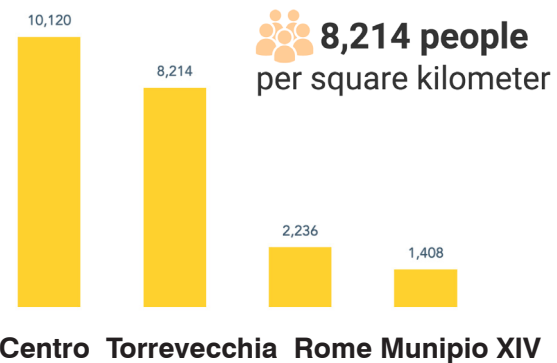


Figure 4.4: Comparison of density throughout Rome

## 4.2 EDUCATION

Residents in Torrevecchia have lower levels of education compared to the rest of Rome. Most residents in the neighborhood have only a high school education with a significantly smaller number of people going to university than that of Rome. The education gap between female and male is relatively narrow, a characteristic consistent with the city.

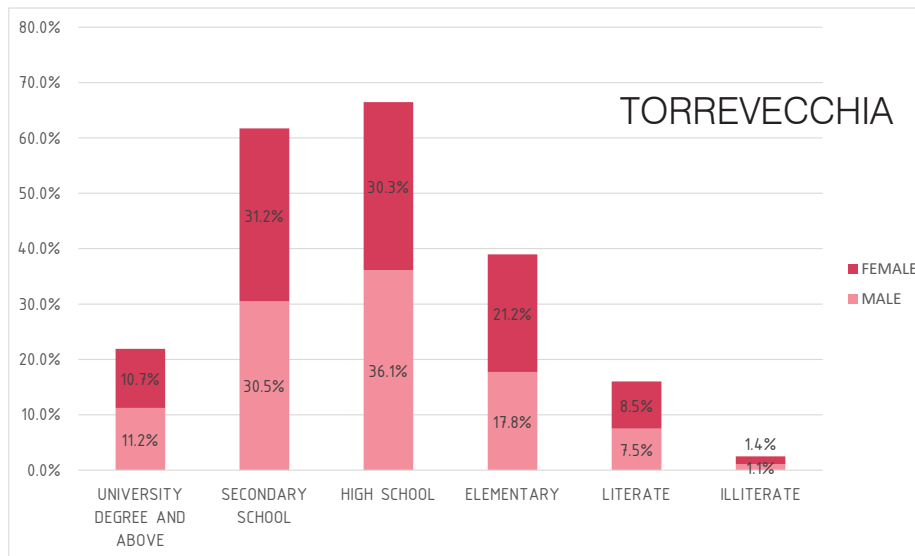


Figure 4.5: Distribution of education levels in Torrevecchia

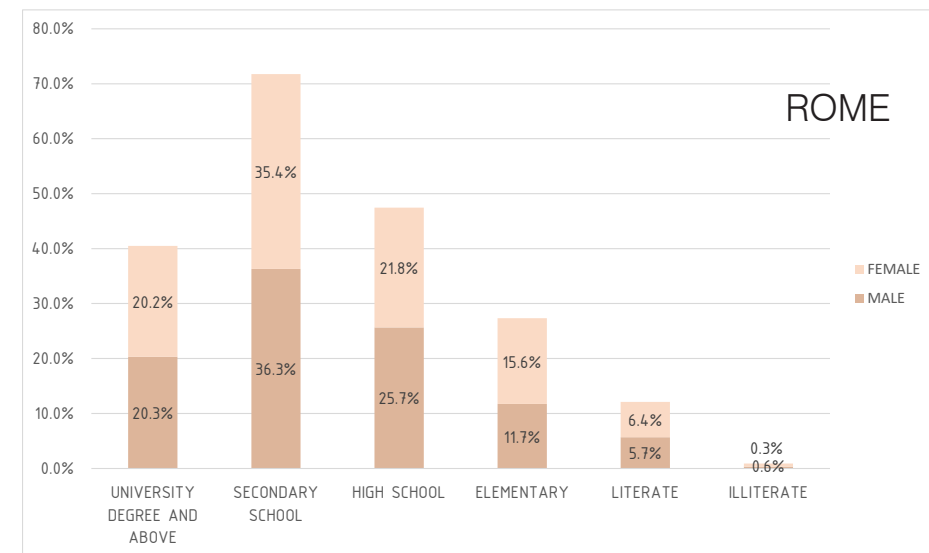


Figure 4.6: Distribution of level of education levels in Rome



# 4.3 EMPLOYMENT

Torrevecchia has a total workforce of just over 3,000 people. The workforce participation rate is 44 percent, about 2 percent lower than in Rome overall. A little over 47 percent of the workforce are women in Torrevecchia and Rome. The number of people unemployed and actively seeking work has increased in the last 15 years (8.7 to 9.4 percent). This is generally higher than Rome, whose unemployment rate has decreased from 11 to 6.5 percent. While the increase in women’s participation in labor force is a good sign for gender equality in the neighborhood, the increasing unemployment rate does not bode well for its residents. With a large ageing population, rather than a place for job opportunities, Torrevecchia seems to be more attractive as a place for settling down rather than moving up. Our resident interviews confirmed this: one of the residents mentioned that Torrevecchia is where all the pensioners come to live.

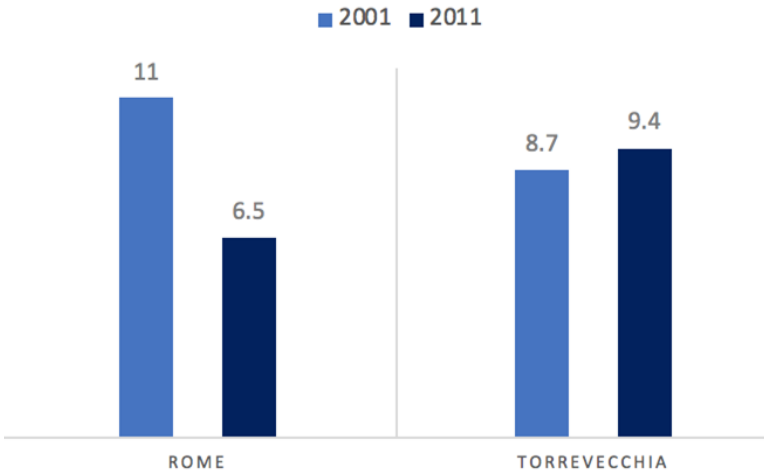


Figure 4.7: Unemployment rate of 2001 and 2011 in Rome and Torrevecchia

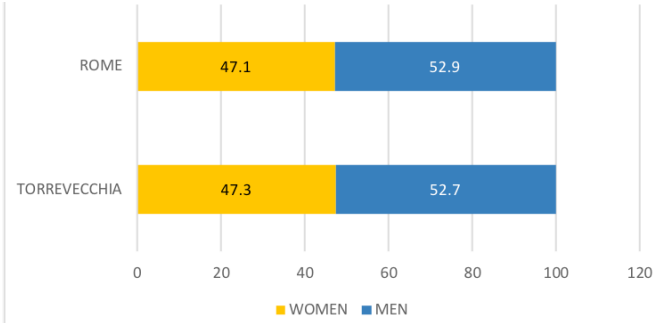


Figure 4.8: Gender distribution in the workforce in Rome and Torrevecchia

## 4.4 FAMILY SIZE

The total number of families in Torrevecchia is 2,866, with an average family size of 2.34 members. There is an even distribution between single-member, two-member and three-member families, with fewer households having more than three members. Compared to Rome where the average family size is 2.18 people, Torrevecchia has a much larger average family size and less families without children.

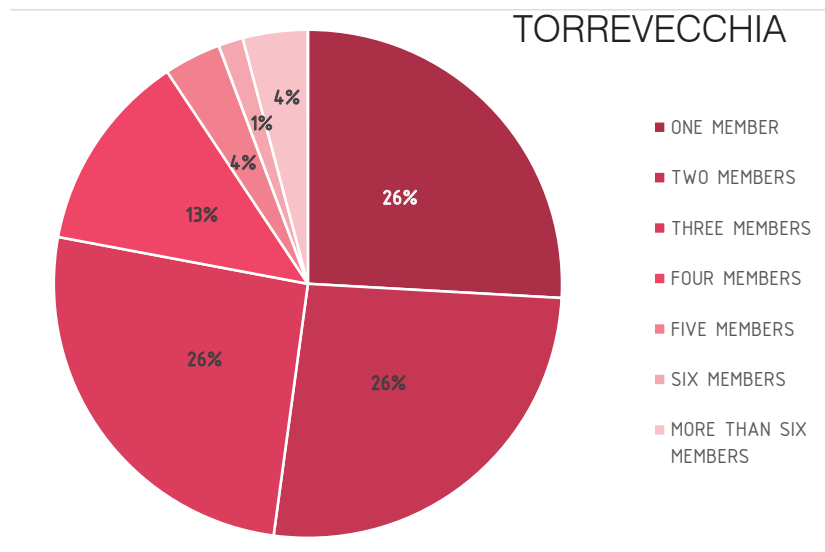


Figure 4.9: Distribution of family size in Torrevecchia

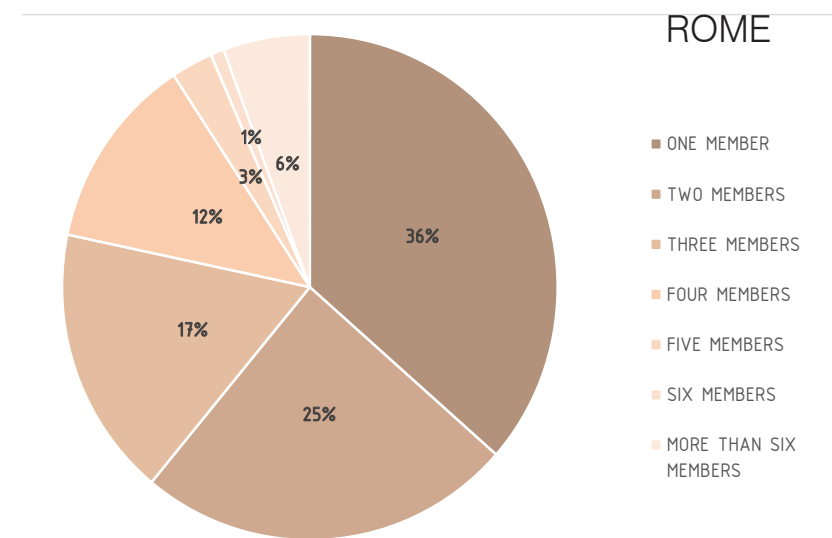


Figure 4.10: Distribution of family size in Rome



# 4.5 MIGRATION

Torrevecchia has a relatively small immigrant population. Just 5.6 percent of Torrevecchia’s residents are immigrants, which is significantly less than Rome’s average of 8.6 percent. Hence, 0.2 percent of Rome’s immigrants live in Torrevecchia. That said, the neighborhood’s immigrant population is increasing – by 80 percent over the past 15 years, as compared to 120 percent in Rome generally (Figure 4.11). Over half of Torrevecchia’s immigrants come from elsewhere in Europe (Figure 4.12). From our observations, Romanians seem to be the majority group, as we saw a lot of Romanian license plates and Romanian names on the buzzers of apartments – which was confirmed by asking local residents the immigrant composition of the neighborhood. A quarter of the immigrants come from Asia – namely China and the Philippines. They work primarily in restaurants or dry good stores. There is also a small percentage of people from the Americas and Africa. The immigrants are highly concentrated in the periphery, specifically in the northwestern and southern edges of the neighborhood (Figure 4.13).

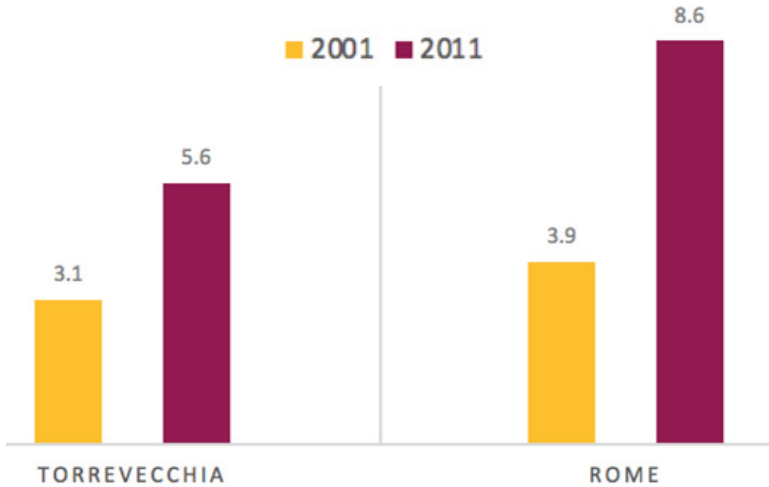


Figure 4.11: Immigrant population of 2001 and 2011 in Torrevecchia and Rome (%)

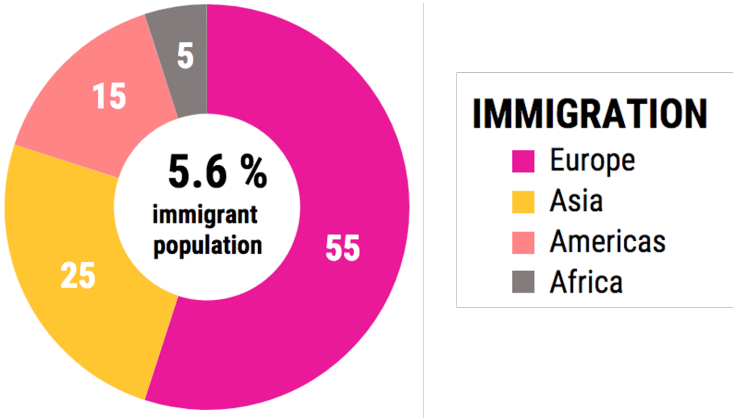


Figure 4.12: National origin of immigrant population in Torrevecchia



Figure 4.13: Largest concentration of immigrant population by census tract



Figure 4.14: Immigrant working in the Mercato Via Torvecchia



Figure 4.15: Interviewing immigrant working in the Mercato Via Torvecchia



# 5.0 PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS



## 5.1 OVERVIEW

The neighborhood of Torvecchia is on the western edge of Rome's periphery, just within the A90 ring road that encircles Rome's metropolitan area. It sits on a ridge with valleys on three sides, most notably to the northwest and southeast, the northwest valley containing farmland reminiscent of a half-century ago when the neighborhood was less developed. The built environment of Torvecchia is co-dominated by an imposing public housing complex and an abundance of palazzine—apartment buildings, often gated, with approximately 12 or more units that have balconies overlooking the street.

Because of the major roads running through and around the neighborhood—most notably Via di Torvecchia, which serves at once as a path, edge, district, and node—Torvecchia caters to automobiles more than any other transit option. Public transportation access is available in the form of buses which travel within Torvecchia, between surrounding neighborhoods, and to central Rome. Rome's metro line A travels towards Torvecchia, but ends in Battistini, about one kilometer short of Torvecchia.

Torvecchia has public space in Nicolas Green Park and a parking lot which is converted into a market on Mondays and Fridays. Despite the central geographic location of these two places within the neighborhood, the dominance of streets and lots creates a considerable amount of lost space—vast, inadequately used grass or concrete areas which prevent the urban fabric from feeling seamlessly integrated within itself.





# 5.2 LAND USE

As can be seen from Figure 5.1, Torrevecchia is primarily a residential district, with nearly 90 percent of its buildings categorized as residential or mixed-use housing. The mixed-use housing is mainly a mix of residential and commercial uses (e.g. Figure 5.2). There are a few exceptions where instead it is a combination of residential and institutional (e.g. Figure 5.3). The commercial uses and institutional uses are generally located along the main artery of the neighborhood – Via di Torrevecchia (marked in pink). Food systems are a major component of the neighborhood. Most of the commercial activity consist of supermarkets and independent grocers. Small businesses are very common, though the newest developments in the area have all been chain stores. This could be an indicator that the neighborhood is undergoing changes, especially in the retail sector. Temporary commercial activity is also characteristic of the neighborhood. On Mondays and Fridays from 7am to 2pm, the parking lot is turned into an open air market. Churches and schools comprise the main institutions in the area. For children growing up in Torrevecchia, the neighborhood is accessible, as there are schools of all levels within its bounds – from daycare to secondary school. There are two vacant buildings, represented in dark gray, that appear to be derelict and are possibly being squatted. Generally, the land use development is denser on the eastern side of the neighborhood, which is also the older part of the area.

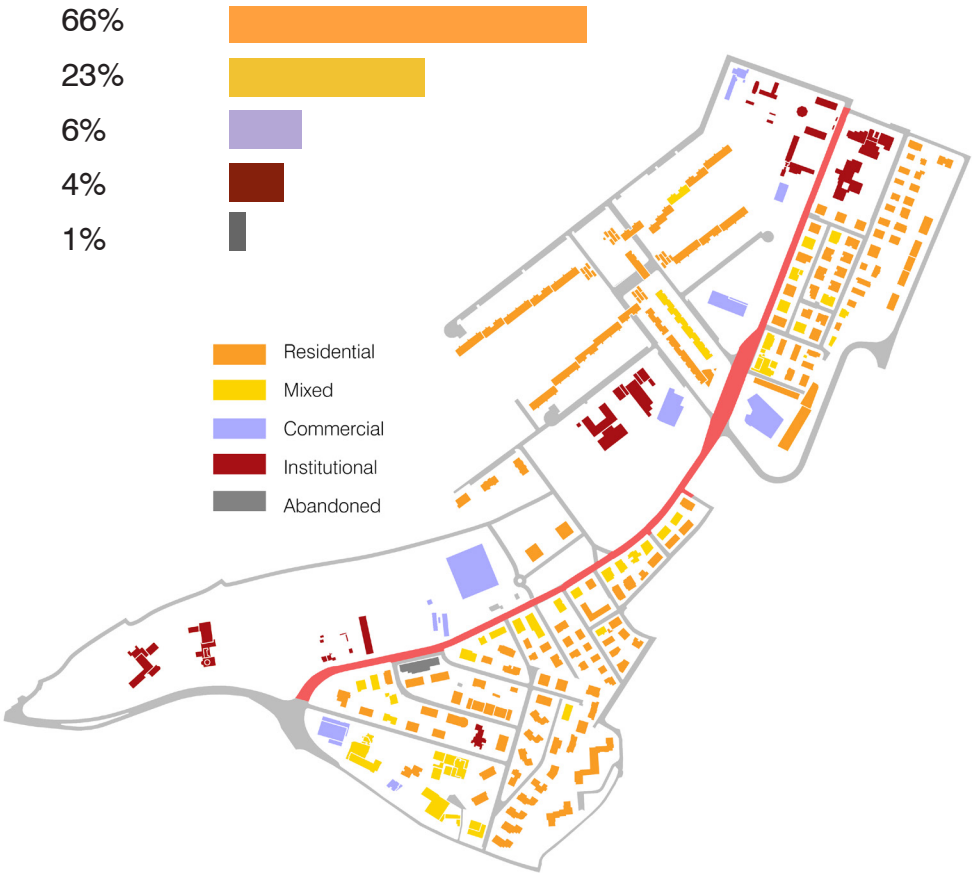


Figure 5.1: Map of land use



Figure 5.2: Building with commercial and residential use



Figure 5.3: Building with institutional (elderly center) and residential use

# 5.3 BUILDING TYPOLOGY

The distribution and typology of building stock in Torreviecchia further confirms its identity as a neighborhood in the process of transformation. With a mix of residential palazzine, a public housing complex, and more recent commercial developments, Torreviecchia is becoming a more independent and sustainable neighborhood. Through private commercial and residential investments, Torreviecchia has, in the last 20 years, obtained new high end housing, large corporate retail and grocers, as well as institutional churches and schools.

Small apartment complexes known as palazzine are the main building typology in Torreviecchia. These are large gated apartment buildings with approximately 12 or more units, and have balconies overlooking the street. These buildings comprise 56 percent of the total housing stock. The palazzine typology has been broken down into low-rise, (three stories or less) and high-rise (four stories and higher). The low-rise and high-rise palazzine dominate the two main residential districts to the east of via di Torreviecchia, balancing out Torreviecchia from the public housing complex across this main artery.

The public housing complex makes up almost 11 percent of the total housing stock—a significant number for just one complex of apartments. The linear typology makes up nine percent of the building stock and tower make up two percent. Linear buildings in Torreviecchia are mostly over five to six stories high, and contain at least five staircases in a seamlessly connected structure. Constructed in 1984 through Law 167, this project “Torreviecchia” consists of 1,074 total dwelling units between its linear and tower building portions. While the intention of this space was designed to



Figure 5.4. Building typology map.



interact with the existing surrounding community, it is seen as underused and lacking activity. Large green spaces with playgrounds and parking lots surround the project, ultimately becoming lost space and creating an appearance of dilapidation.

Two additional housing typologies are schiere and ville. Schiere are linear housing only a few stories high or less, and resemble American row houses. These make up nine percent of the total housing, most of which are located in the public housing complex next to the other linear building typology. Ville are relatively small two-story single or multi family buildings that make up seven percent of the housing stock. These are generally mixed in with palazzine in clusters and offer a smaller scale residential option.

Even though the “other” and informal squat building typologies are small in percentages, they still play a significant role in the building composition of Torreviecchia. The “other” building typology, often newly constructed commercial buildings, make up five percent. With the emergence of the large-scale, nationally recognized grocers and retailers, the building stock of Torreviecchia has changed dramatically. These can be single or multi story, large-scale buildings with the single purpose of selling goods, offering parking spaces and lost space surrounding them. The “other” building typology, made of a mix of different commercial buildings, are spread throughout Torreviecchia along the main artery, as well as the self-built housing.

Self-built informal squats are not confined to one area of Torreviecchia and are often constructed in empty lots, far away from the street to deter attention. These are usually one story, one unit, made of rugged materials, and have extremely poor maintenance. Only two percent of



Figure 5.5. Palazzine, the predominant housing typology in Torreviecchia

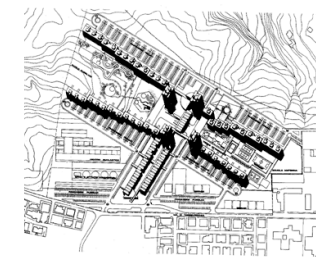


Figure 5.6-8. Public housing complex in Torreviecchia

the building stock in Torrevecchia are composed of informal squats. Because the neighborhood is desirable to live in and the public housing only have limited space with low turnover rates, low income families often resort to building their own housing or illegally residing in abandoned residences. This makes data collection difficult to acquire and analyze about this typology because often they are residing illegally and are not represented fully in the ISTAT data.

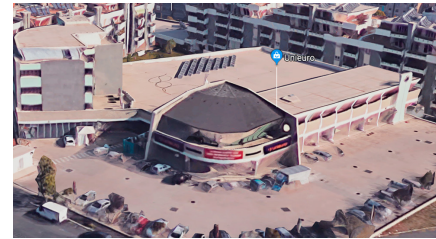


Figure 5.9-10. Schiere



Figure 5.11. Villa



Figure 5.12. Self-built housing

# 5.4 BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

The building construction in the early 1900s began when the area was still largely agricultural land and continues today. The map in Figure 5.13 indicates the average year of construction of buildings in each census tract. The southern boundary along Via di Boccea contains the oldest building stock, with construction dating to 1919. The two main palazzine districts begin construction in 1960 and continued in to the 1980s. Figure 5.14 illustrates the spike in construction in Torrevecchia during the 1960s which was nearly double that of Rome. This era was one of extensive suburban development and movement from the city center and into the periphery.

Building construction subsequently decreased steadily until the 1990s, which is also when the public housing was constructed along the northern boundary (Figure 5.13). Building construction bottomed out from the 1990s to the 2000s. It has since begun to increase. This can be seen in the recent institutional and commercial building constructions along the western boundary which complement the already existing housing stock across the main North South artery, Via di Torrevecchia.

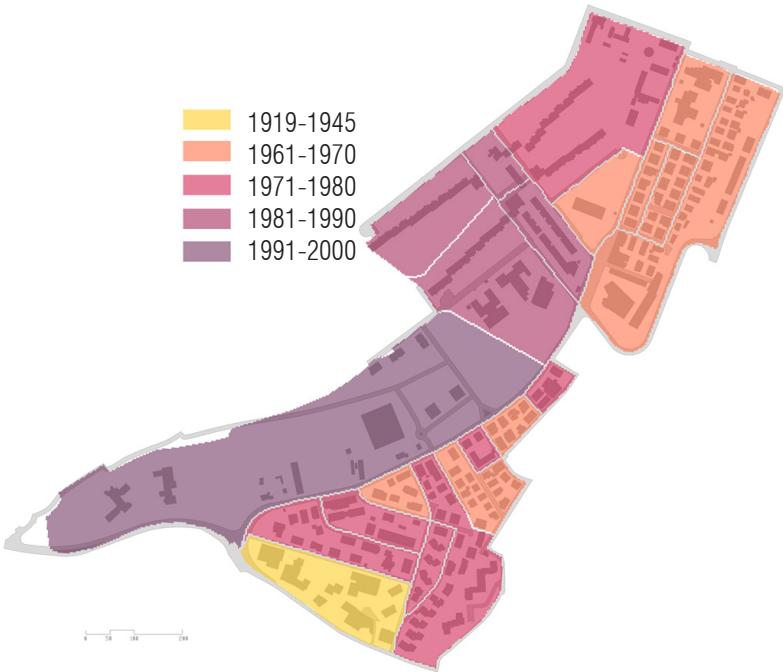


Figure 5.13. Average year of construction in each census tract

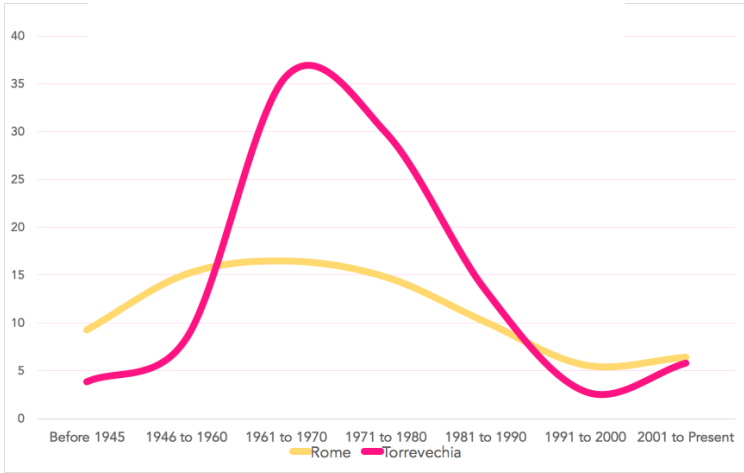


Figure 5.14: Percentage of construction in Rome and Torrevecchia



# 5.5 STREETS

The typology of Torrevecchia’s streets is shown in Figure 5.15. We categorized every street in Torrevecchia either as primary, secondary, or tertiary, based on their density, width, and the amount of automobile traffic they receive. Primary streets are especially wide with constant automobile traffic and bus transit. Secondary streets can be narrow or wide, are often directly connected to primary streets, and are the more heavily used of the side streets. Tertiary streets are smaller, often found on quiet and narrow side streets with infrequent automobile traffic, and directly connected to secondary rather than primary streets.

Figure 5.15 shows that Torrevecchia is surrounded by and bisected by primary roads: Via di Torrevecchia, Via di Boccea, Via Pietro Bembo, Via Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, Via Giuseppe Piolti de’ Bianchi, and Via Fratel Giuseppe Lazzaro. This abundance of primary roads combined with buses as the only public transportation option makes Torrevecchia revolve around automobile traffic. Torrevecchia does not have central Rome’s walkable urban fabric due to these large streets. The combination of primary streets and lost space in Torrevecchia fragment the neighborhood into smaller sections—we intuitively did this when dividing ground to cover during our data collection site visits by assigning each of us to different clusters of streets and blocks, clusters which already existed on our map due to the neighborhood’s typology.



Figure 5.15. Street hierarchy map

# 5.6 MAINTENANCE

## BUILDING MAINTENANCE

We used a three-point scale for categorizing building maintenance in Torrevecchia. A score of three was assigned for buildings in the best state of repair, and one for those in the worst state of repair. Top scores were typically given to newer buildings and select palazzine that have been well maintained with few structural or aesthetic flaws. Low scores were rare, only given to abandoned buildings that are in complete disrepair. Even buildings that were clearly being squatted received mid-level scores for maintenance. The large public housing development also received mid-level scores, as it is generally in good condition. Overall, Torrevecchia's building stock was generally in good repair given its far proximity to central Rome and how little funding and services the government provides for neighborhood upkeep.

## STREET MAINTENANCE

The three-point scale is also used for categorizing and ranking street maintenance in Torrevecchia. A street would score poorly if it had enough cracks and potholes to affect the driving experience, did not have crosswalks at a significant intersection, or had inadequate or no sidewalks.

All of Torrevecchia's primary streets scored well except for Via Pietro Bembo, which received a two due to its potholes and inadequate sidewalk. Crosswalks were rare even on primary streets except for Via di Torrevecchia, the main commercial street that runs through the center of the neighborhood. The streets around the public housing complex were in especially good condition. One surprising result was the mixed levels of street maintenance in the southeast part of our neighborhood, which seemed to be the most affluent part of Torrevecchia with its well-maintained residential palazzine. Most streets had adequate maintenance. Exceptional or poor maintenance was rare.



Figure 5.16. Street and building maintenance map



Figure 5.17. Well-kept street with score of 3



Figure 5.18. Fair street with score of 2



Figure 5.19. Streets with potholes and inadequate sidewalks scored 1



Figure 5.20. Palazzine in excellent condition scored 3



Figure 5.21. Housing in fair condition with score of 2



Figure 5.22. Garden squat with score of 1



# 5.7 REAL ESTATE

Torrevecchia represents a real estate market significantly more affordable than the center of Rome, consistent with other typical suburban areas around the periphery. Overall, the average price to live in Rome (including the historical center and periphery) is much higher than Torrevecchia. This neighborhood has remained a fairly family oriented and owner friendly as opposed to the city center. This can be seen through the housing rates as well as the tenure statistics.

The average sale price for residential real estate in Torrevecchia is 2,533.5 euro per square meter, while the average home in Rome is about 84.33 square meters. The graph in Figure 5.24 depicts the selling price in all of Rome as 388 euro per square meter more than Torrevecchia -- and when multiplied by the average housing size, it equates to a 32,688 euro difference. The total average selling price multiplied by average square footage in Rome is 238,822 euro while Torrevecchia is 206,134 euro. Compared to the United States, this would equate to 252,398 dollars selling price while the U.S. average is 210,200 dollars.

Renting in Torrevecchia is 11.5 euro per square meter per month, which multiplied by the average house, equates to 969.8 euro per month. This would equate to 1,187 dollars in the United States while the average rent in the U.S. is 969 dollars. Renting in Torrevecchia is a more expensive option opposed to buying a home, which could be why renting has decreased by 6 percent.

The Rome average homeownership rates are 77.4 percent, which is significantly higher than Torrevecchia. About half of the families own their properties in Torrevecchia, while 42 percent rent. Housing ownership went from 50.5 to 50 percent from 2001 to 2011, and renting also decreased from 44 to 42 percent. Overall, the housing tenure breakdown in Torrevecchia has stayed consistent from 2001 to 2011 and conveys the stability of the housing market.

**Average house  
€2,444.37/sqm**

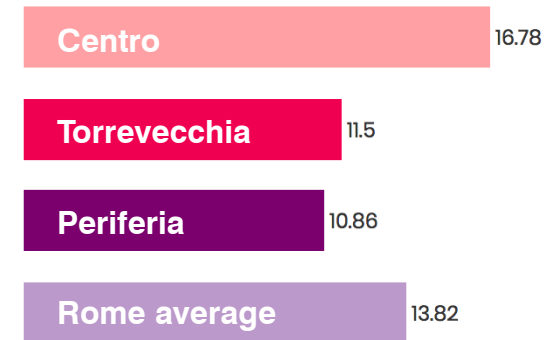


Figure 5.23: Rent per month in Euros

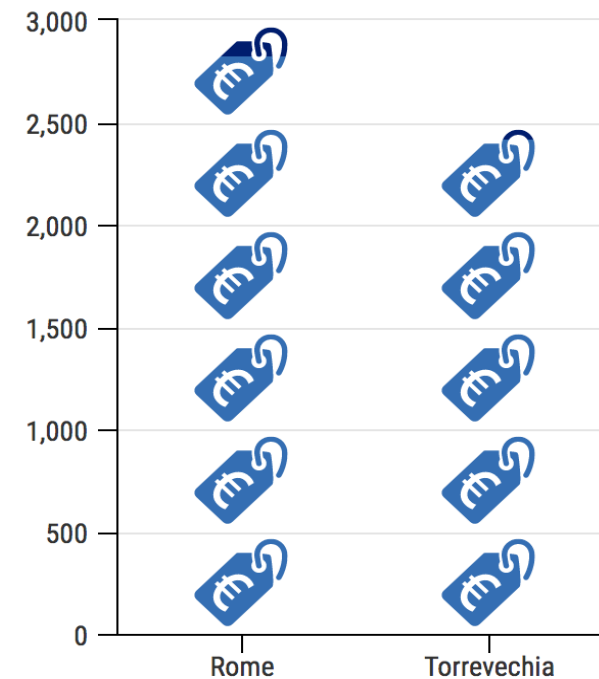


Figure 5.24: Selling Price Comparison

Renting and owning in Torrevecchia is much more affordable than the center, yet slightly more expensive than other periphery neighborhoods. On average, Torrevecchia is 2.3 euro per square meter per month cheaper to rent than Rome, and about 400 euro per square meter cheaper to buy. Along with the schools, grocers, parks, and churches, Torrevecchia is establishing itself as a sustainable and independent neighborhood with a stable housing market and affordable property ownership for any family looking to live in the periphery.

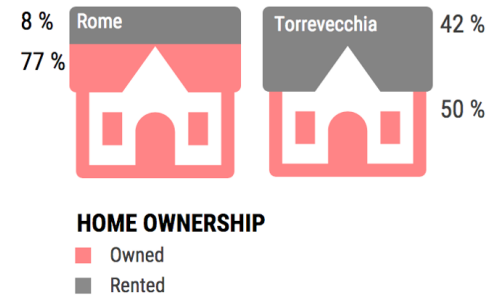


Figure 5.25: Percentage of home ownership

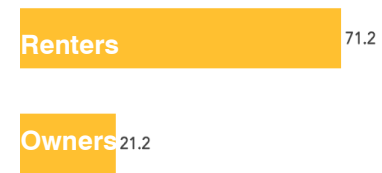


Figure 5.26: Percentage of families that rent or own in Rome

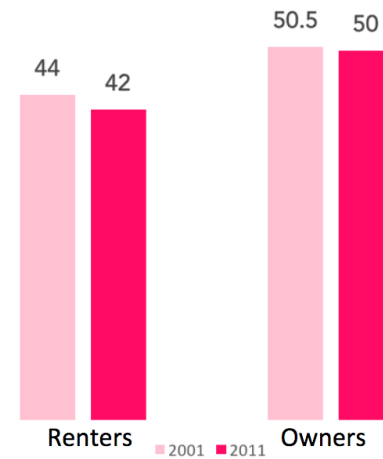


Figure 5.27: Percentage of families that rent or own

## 5.8 COGNITIVE MAPS

Neighborhoods are much more than any two-dimensional map can ever convey, for they embody the lived daily experiences of many individuals. The Lynch map (cognitive map) generated in this section is an attempt to visualize the most common experiences in the neighborhood, and to see the image residents have in their mind of what Torrevecchia is. Started by drawing our own Lynch maps and asking residents in the neighborhood, we have produced this map that illustrates our common sense of Torrevecchia. More individual maps are included in the Appendix.

Defined by Kevin Lynch in *The Image of The City*, five main elements shaping our perception of the neighborhood are discussed here:

1. Paths: Based on our personal experience and responses from the residents, paths are the dominant elements in the cognitive maps as they connect people's spatial experiences in the city. In our neighborhood, Via di Torrevecchia is the dominant path and the most significant element of our perception of the neighborhood. It cuts through the neighborhood from the north to the south, with a concentration of various uses or activities along the street.

2. Edges: These are also a major element defining one's sense of the neighborhood. They include the boundary of the neighborhood, but also any breaks in the continuity of the urban fabric. One significant edge is the boundary of the neighborhood. For example, Via Paolo Emilio Sfondrati on the northwest of the public housing complex separate the residential area from the vast farmlands. At the southeast of the neighborhood, the dramatic elevation change breaks the urban fabric. We also define the vast lost space at western part as an edge because of the inconsistent image between the space and other districts.

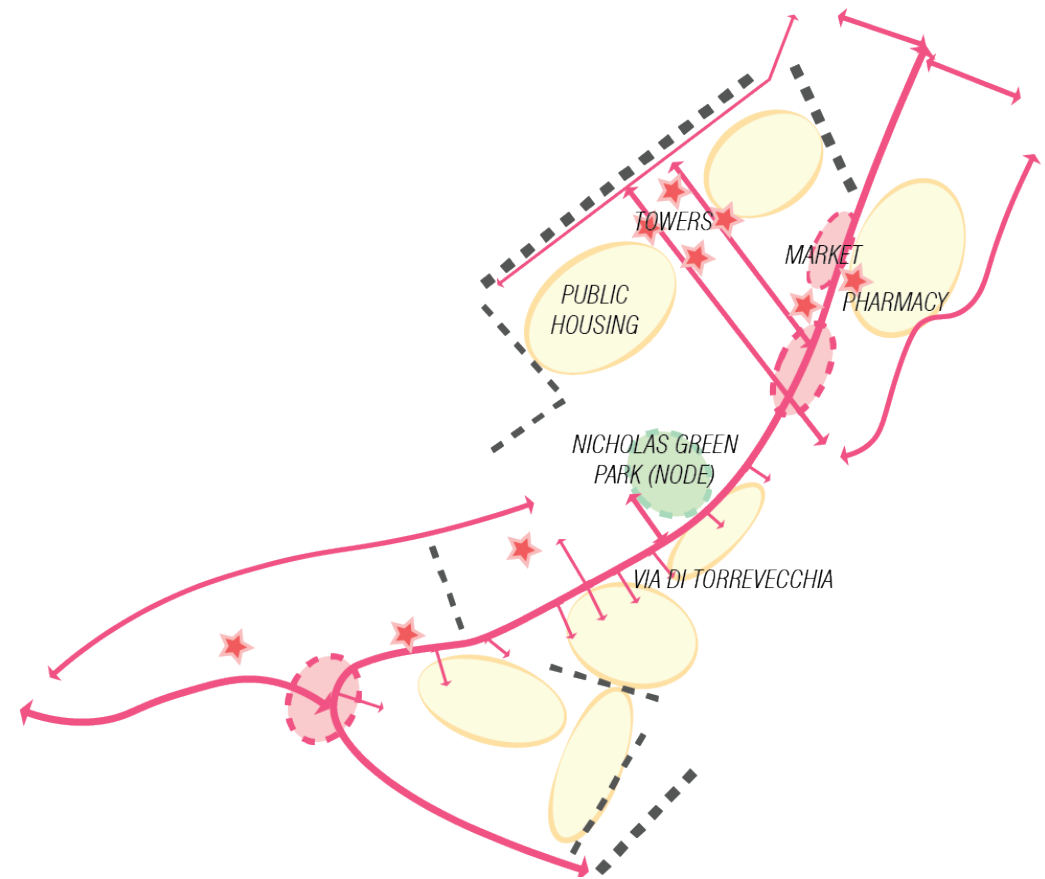


Figure 5.28: Lynch map



3. Districts: These are sections that have homogeneous characteristics, namely similar building typologies or spatial patterns. The most distinctive district of Torrevecchia is the public housing district, where the identical buildings form a strong identity. In other parts of our neighborhood, the repeated building typologies of palazzini forms several districts.

4 Nodes: Nodes can be understood as convergence of paths, but also of people. Nodes are where people encounter each other and form the identity of community. Public spaces are important nodes as they usually serve as gathering places. The market is the most important node of our neighborhood. Our interview conducted in the interview illustrated in the later part of the report revealed that it is not only a node for the residents in the community, but also an “international” node because it has a concentration of various culture which can’t be found anywhere else in the neighborhood. Owners of stalls in the market are dominantly immigrants from greatly diverse cultures.

5. Landmarks: Landmarks are iconic visual markers that remind people where they are. They have unique physical characteristics or significant meaning. The most prominent landmarks in our neighborhood are the four towers in the public housing complex. Visible from afar, they always provide us with sense of location. Churches on the western part of our neighborhood are also landmarks because of their unique building styles. Another landmark perceived by the residents is the pharmacy near the bus stop and the market. Residents of the neighborhood have identified it as the center of Torrevecchia.



Figure 5.29: Main path, Via di Torrevecchia



Figure 5.30: Edge, elevation change at the southeast of neighborhood



Figure 5.31: Public housing complex forms a district



Figure 5.32: Market serves as a node.



Figure 5.33: Towers in public housing are visible from afar, which makes them landmarks

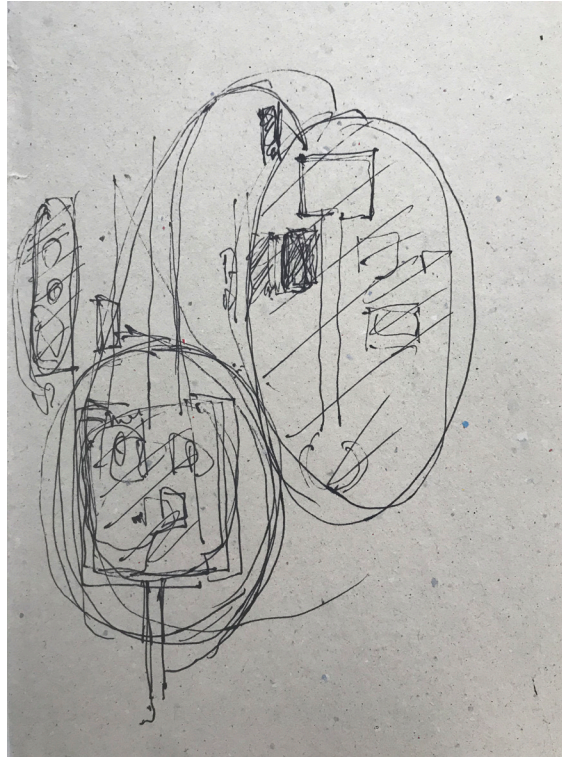


Figure 5.34: Lynch map by Mario Spada, former urban planner in Rome

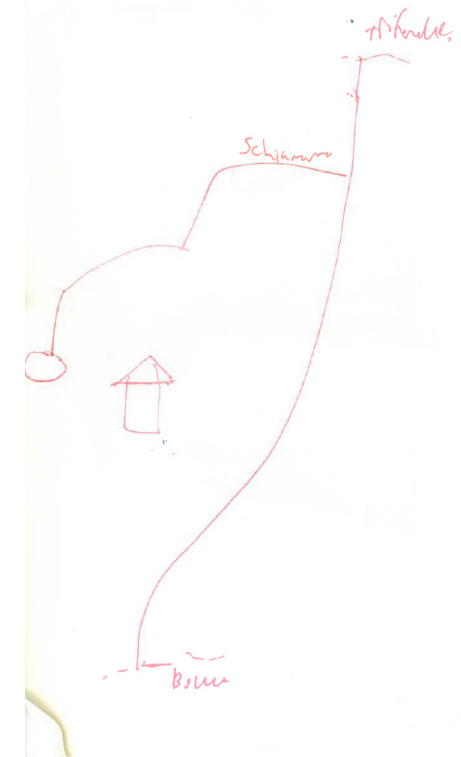


Figure 5.35: Lynch map by the owner of an independent grocer

# 5.9 ACCESS TO RESOURCES

## TRANSIT ACCESS

Via di Torvecchia exists as a dense corridor on which residents can go about many of their daily errands, concentrating a multitude of the neighborhood's uses in a dense fashion. Despite the multitude of street-front and streetside parking, as well as inconsistencies in sidewalk width and quality, many neighborhood residents treat Via di Torvecchia as a walkable thoroughfare, conducting their daily errands on various parts of the artery by foot. The owner of a family-owned grocery in the southern half of the neighborhood states that "customers will walk over one kilometer to shop at my store," showing how the values of trust and community influence daily movement patterns within the local domain.

Via di Torvecchia's available services are diverse but not all encompassing, creating dominant strains of travel patterns to other retail destinations in the city. Common destinations include the successful daily market on Via Pasquale III in Primavalle, cultural resources that cannot be found in Torvecchia, and more central areas where commercial and retail activities are clustered, such as the Ponte Milvio, where younger residents travel to by motorbike to congregate at night. The trend of growing populations over 65 years old in the neighborhood concurs with the many elderly denizens we have observed taking bus routes for only a few of their 250 m per-stop increments, between residential areas in Torvecchia proper and retail and institutional destinations in Primavalle.

Torvecchia proper's transit connections consist entirely of ATAC (Azienda per i Trasporti Autoferrotranviari del Comune di Roma) bus routes. The principal routes serving Via di Torvecchia include the 546, 907, 916 and 983. The 46B, in addition to the 546, directly serves

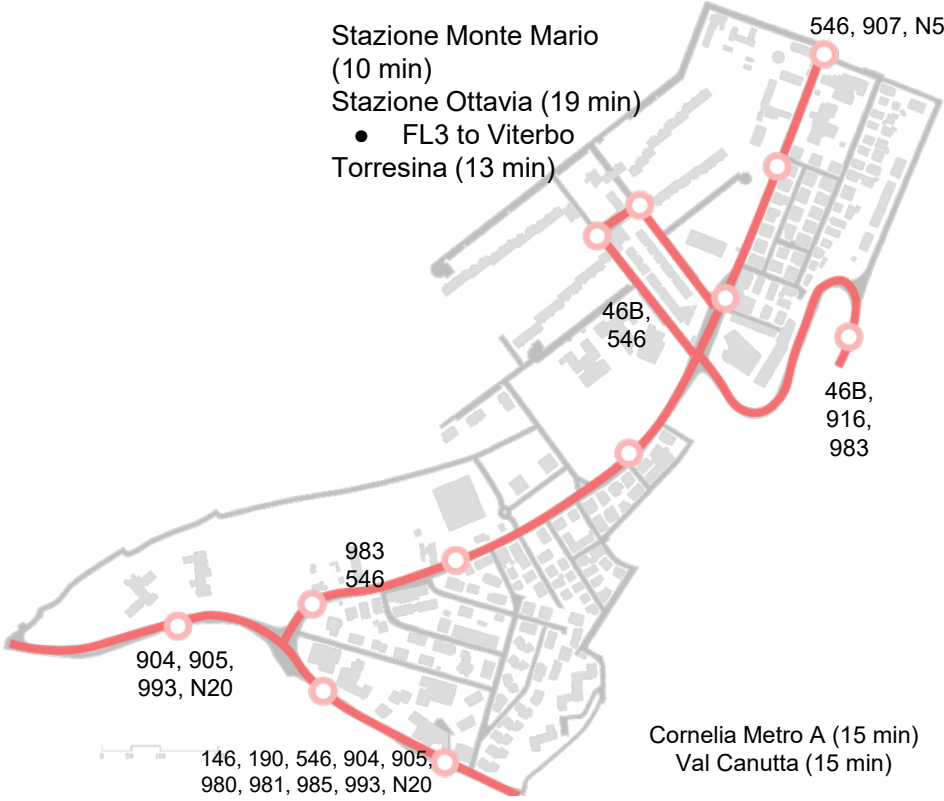


Figure 5.36: Map of transit resources



Torrevecchia's public housing development, connecting residents from their doorstep in 10 minutes to the Battistini terminus of Metro Line A, and to the vicinity of Stazione Monte Mario, home to a hub of university facilities and commercial activity along Via Trifonale, as well as commuter rail services such as the FL3 that extend to the northwestern extremities of the city and onward towards Viterbo in northern Lazio. Several routes skirt our study area's southern flank on Via di Boccea, connecting Torrevecchia to other residential areas to its west and southeast, as well as to the Metro Line A at Cornelia and onward to the centro storico. While the 46 bus that hits the northern edge of our study area on its journey through Primavalle from the historic center, operates with 10 minute intervals, the daytime lines serving Torrevecchia operate at 15-20 minute intervals. However, line overlaps exist such that residents will have more frequent connections to Line A stops, Monte Mario and central Rome, should the buses run on time.

Two night bus services operate in our study area: the N5, which travels down the entirety of Via di Torrevecchia on its sojourn from Stazione Monte Mario to Stazione Termini, and the N20, which stops at the intersection of Torrevecchia and Boccea as it travels from the Bedeschi neighborhood west of the GRA to Piazza Venezia in the historical center. These buses operate every 30 and 40 minutes respectively. While Torrevecchia's proximity to outer bus termini and the existence of local loops routes such as the 46B allow many residents to rely on prompt arrivals of inbound bus services, traffic on the dense westward arterials such as Via Aurelia is highly variant and dependent upon on the presence or absence of traffic and accidents, given its connections to the historical center, the neighborhoods surrounding the Vatican, and the ability to connect to the GRA and access important westward destinations, such as Civitavecchia, Leonardo da Vinci Airport in Fiumicino (KFCO), and other autostrade that exit the city.

While one might suppose that the prevalence of bus service connecting Torrevecchia to denser and more resource-rich areas of the city, including the nearby Primavalle, would encourage its denizens to treat it as a bedroom community, our intercept interviews indicated the contrary: given the fairly compact nature of services along the sprawl of Via di Torrevecchia, coupled with the neighborhood's older population, the abundance of parking and the combined comfort of local retailers and expansive big-box stores in our study area, most residents hold a defined identity of being from Torrevecchia (as opposed to Primavalle), and prefer to conduct errands within the neighborhood as opposed to commuting out. The belated construction of Line A's western terminus in an already dense, and primarily residential section of Primavalle further explains this dialogue – as a grocer on Via di Torrevecchia notes, “the lack of parking for local residents at Battistini does not make it a busy hub like Cipro... residents prefer to shop in the neighborhood,” a sentiment echoed by a 30-year veteran textiles vendor at the Mercato di Via Torrevecchia: “my customers know me, and know the quality of my products.”

## ACCESS TO INSTITUTIONAL RESOURCES

While Torrevecchia lacks the all-encompassing buffet of resources and services that Rome's densest neighborhoods possess, local residents believe that the neighborhood's offerings are sufficient, and in fact more than acceptable given its size and location. Torrevecchia's aforementioned reliance and focus on the eponymous artery, coupled with a diverse retail makeup replete with locally-owned small businesses with specialty services as well as newer corporate retail, creates a walkable district in which local residents can conduct many, if not a majority, of their daily errands. From intercept interviews, we learned that most residents' conception of the neighborhood revolves entirely around the crucial axis of Via di Torrevecchia, which they perceive to be the sole and all-important lifeblood of the neighborhood. These intercepts also revealed that despite the generally passable to good walkability of Via di Torrevecchia and numerous bus services, driving remains an essential day-to-day mode of travel in the neighborhood. During our field studies, we observed that both on-street and private parking were well used, and residents and business owners both cited the availability of parking at retail and resource cites as beneficial towards the accessibility for Torrevecchia residents of all ages, as well as to promote residents from other adjacent neighborhoods (primarily, Montespaccato, Quartaccio, Primavalle, and Torresina) to utilize resources in Torrevecchia that do not exist in their neighborhoods. The most predominant examples of this occur with big-box retail, such as the Unieuro complex at the Torrevecchia/Boccea intersection, LIDL, and Iperfamily mega-markets, which are larger than the corresponding sectors in their areas.

Torrevecchia is home to several institutional resources that provide important services to area residents as well as those from surrounding neighborhoods. Interestingly, most of these resources,

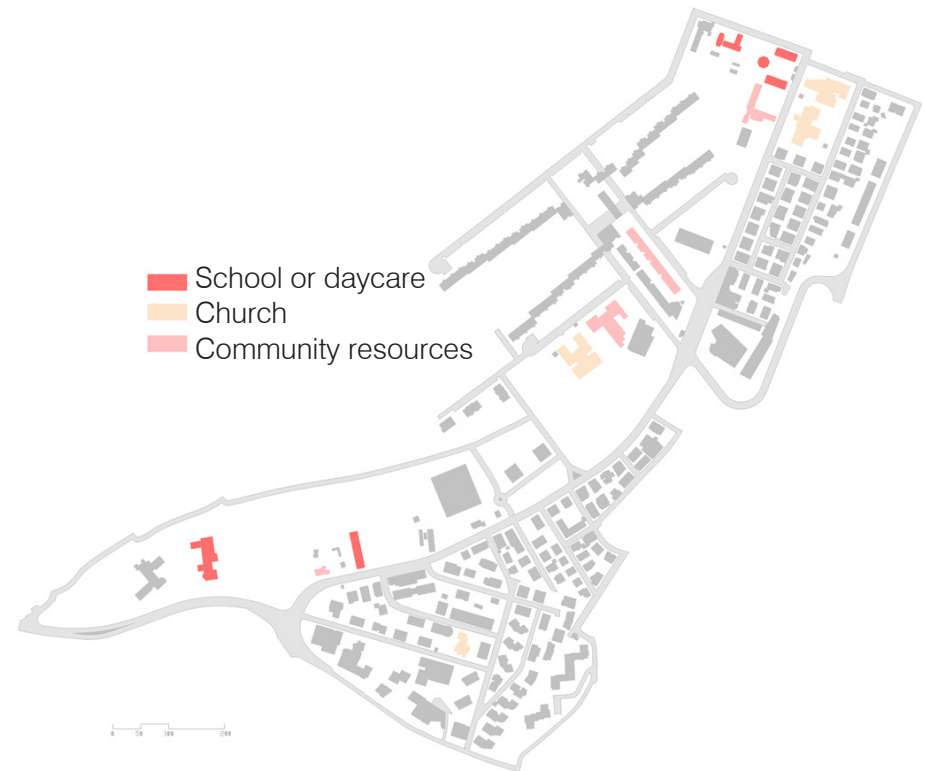


Figure 5.37: Map of institutional resources

save the neighborhood's two schools, are situated west of Via di Torvecchia, corresponding with the denser nature of the housing stock there. The two schools, Istituto Comprensivo Pio La Torre (a primary school) and Liceo Statale Vittorio Gassmann (a scientific high school) sit on the same property in the northern quadrant of our focus area, on a dense section of Via di Torvecchia where it intersects Via de Casali di Torvecchia, which connects to Via Sfondrati's public housing development – this site is also two blocks south of Via della Valle dei Fontanilli, the main connection between Torvecchia and the adjacent neighborhoods of Quartaccio and Torresina.

While we did not have the opportunity to conduct formal interviews with school personnel, informal discussions between the team and school children revealed that despite the low population of non-citizens in Torvecchia, the school has a very diverse enrollment, with children of non-Italian descent comprising well over six percent of school enrollment. Given the lack of street-front parking by the schools (which share street frontage with the Chiesa Suore della Redenzione), as well as the schools' immediate pedestrian proximity to the northeastern residential section of our study area and the ability to reach the Sfondrati housing complex after crossing the main artery to Via dei Casali di Torvecchia, our observations around school dismissal time indicated that most children walk to and from school, under the supervision of their guardians. The Edmondo de Amicis high school exists immediately to the east of our study area, and while residents of the palazzine on the quiet and well-maintained Via Apricale have a direct view of its athletic facilities, the ridge between Torvecchia and Primavalle and an iron fence separate the two.

Three churches exist within our study area: Basilica di Santa Sofia, the national Ukrainian church in Rome that sits in the southwest quadrant of our study area along a fast-moving section of Via di Boccea, Santa Maria

della Presentazione, whose staunch rectangular edifices stand just to Santa Sofia's northeast on Via di Torvecchia, and the aforementioned Suore della Redenzione in the northern extremities of our study area. The principal parish of the neighborhood is Santa Maria della Presentazione, sitting one kilometer from the center of the public housing development directly across Via di Torvecchia from the second-most populated residential quadrant (following that which contains the public housing development). The parish has served the neighborhood since 1973, predating most of the neighborhood's housing stock, and offers a variety of educational services, social programming and gathering spaces to congregants of all ages on its half-hectare (5,000 square meter) campus.

Intercept revealed that Torvecchia residents also worship and consider two churches as social centers that fall outside of this report's study area: the closest, Sacre Cuore, sits immediately to the north of our study area (and Suore della Redenzione on Via dei Casali di Torvecchia, and the second, Santa Maria della Salute, is located in the northwestern reaches of Primavalle, a ten minute walk from the two schools and Suore della Redenzione that traverses a steep elevation decline in the valley between Torvecchia and Primavalle by the overgrown Parco Anna Bracchi.

Additional institutional resources available within our study area include a Center for the Aging (Centro Anziani di Torvecchia) on Via Cristoforo Numai, an employment center attributed to Primavalle (Centro Per L'Impiego Primavalle) on Via Decio Azzolino, and a day care (Ludus Societa Cooperativa) immediately to its south. All of these resources



sit within the heart of Torrevecchia's public housing complex, and have crosswalks and generous sidewalks that connect them to the various segments of the public housing palazzine, on streets and pedestrian passageways through the buildings themselves, as well as to the residential sectors to the east of Via di Torrevecchia. While our visits to Torrevecchia revealed that the Centro Anziani was often closed, the Centro Impiego and daycare served as social centers within that part of the neighborhood, as residents congregated to socialize while waiting for either to open or close.

Going forward, as the residential areas east of Via di Torrevecchia have become saturated and expansion projects, such as the extension of Via Paolo Emilia Sfondrati (Source: Mario Spada) to connect Torrevecchia's public housing development with the existing mixed use neighborhoods in the southwest extremities of our Via Don Gnocchi and Largo Beata Teresa, continue, it will be interesting to see if institutional uses continue to expand in diversity and quantity concurrently with residential density.



Figure 5.38: Daycare center in Torrevecchia



Figure 5.39: Primavalle employment center in Torrevecchia

# 5.10 PUBLIC SPACE

We classify spaces into four categories in terms of their ownership and user group. Some significant examples are illustrated below.

## PUBLIC SPACE

The primary public space of Torrevecchia is Nicholas Green (Benedetta Ciacca) Park. However, much of its terrain varies between overgrown and dusty patches, rendering it not conducive to many of the uses that a more robust park offers to its users. The most successful and well-patronized element of the park is an enclosed section where dog owners can let their pets run about off-leash. Additionally, in the center of the park's southern flank, a recent implementation of child's play equipment has created an additional node of activity, combined with an adjacent news stand and bike lane that is on the side of Via Oduardo Giove. The park is currently 5.2 hectares – it initially occupied 6 hectares, but in 2013, the Municipio sold land within the park to LIDL so they could build their supermarket and parking lots. On the news site Roma Today, a resident posted his complaints about the park that “every evening it is taken by assault by homeless individuals who use the area to bivvy, leaving empty bottles of any alcoholic liquid.”

## SEMI-PUBLIC SPACE

Semi-public spaces are defined as spaces physically accessible to everyone, but mainly for certain groups. People may not conceive these spaces as public because of their certain characteristics or their visual enclosure. Some examples of this kind of spaces are:

1. Spaces enclosed by public housings. These spaces are physically accessible by everyone, but because they are enclosed by two rows of linear housings, they are perceived more as an inner courtyard of the public housing project.



Figure 5.40: Public space map

The space has various events, including a bocce field and a playground for kids. However, the inappropriate proportion between the vertical dimension of building and the horizontal dimension of space increases the feeling of emptiness. We didn't witness any use of the space by residents during our visit.

2. Spaces at the intersection of Via di Torrevecchia and Via Cardinale Celso Costantini. This space is planned for the new housing development on Via Cardinale Celso Costantini and Via Benedetto Aloisi Masella. It is nicely landscaped with brick pavement and coconut plants. The benches placed on the square makes it seem welcoming to public, which contrasts the existence of low fence and the sign "Vietato L'ingresso" (entry is prohibited) (see Figure 5.43). It seems that the space is owned by the housing developers. But because the space is at the major node of the neighborhood, from time to time people pass by the space and use the benches.

## PRIVATE SPACE

Some gated communities exist in Torrevecchia, which enclose green spaces only for residents in the certain buildings. These spaces are often well maintained and sophisticatedly designed. One example is on Via Beverino, where approximately 4,000 sqm green space is gated for residents in three palazzines.

## LOST SPACE

One major characteristic of Torrevecchia is the vast green or gray space without any usage or purpose. Behind the Catholic Church (Parrocchia Santa Maria della Presentazione) and Basilica di Santa Sofina, the huge space are empty and used by people



Figure 5.41: Nicholas Green Park



Figure 5.42: Semi-public space enclosed by public housing complex



Figure 5.43: Semi-public space in front of the new housing project



only as passage ways. The old rural imprint of the district is still visible because it is characterized by numerous green areas not affected by urbanization. This consistent presence of green contrasts the absence of real public parks.

Residents do not frequently use Torrevecchia's public spaces. Older residents do not use the public space beyond the scope of shopping at markets and occasional games of bocce ball. Young people would rather travel to public spaces in Ponte Milvio and central Rome. Early on we heard rumors that some immigrant communities, such as Philippine immigrants, use Nicholas Green Park on Sundays as a gathering place, but a Philippine immigrant we interviewed said they usually travel to other parts of Rome.



Figure 5.44: Private space inside the gated community



Figure 5.45: Vast green lost space

## 6.0 KEY FOCUS AREAS





# 6.1 NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITY

Historically, Torvecchia has gone through many transformations. In 2001, it changed from being part of two different municipalities to being part of only one - Municipio 14. Moreover, part of Torvecchia is included in the boundaries of the Quartiere di Primavalle - an adjacent neighborhood. In fact, all the current developments in the neighborhood that the municipality is undertaking combine the two neighborhoods i.e. Programma di Recupero Urbana Primavalle-Torvecchia. Thus, it is clear that the government of Rome considers Torvecchia and Primavalle as a single joint entity. Our findings, however, show that most residents of Torvecchia do not consider themselves a part of Primavalle. Through conducting several interviews with residents, we concluded that while they frequently use community resources in Primavalle that do not exist in Torvecchia, the residents perceive our boundaries of Torvecchia as correct. In other words, they do not consider Torvecchia as part of Quartiere di Primavalle, unlike the government's opinion.

Our research shows that Torvecchia lacks several community resources that could increase accessibility and integration in the neighborhood. Primavalle fills that gap for many of the residents of Torvecchia, especially immigrants. In terms of public services, Primavalle has a library, Franco Basaglia, that besides from providing library resources, provides services for the visually disabled, Italian language courses for immigrants, and cultural activities for the surrounding community. It is also the site of the Human Rights Documentation Center. The State Police (Commissariato Primavalle - Polizia di Stato) are also located in Primavalle. It is one of the few police stations in the periphery of Rome. In addition to increasing security in the area, they cater to foreign nationals, providing visa services and information. The Quartiere also has a Metro station - Battistini Station, making the area more accessible than Torvecchia. One of Primavalle's parks, Parco Anna Bracci, is more accessible to residents living on the northeastern part of Torvecchia than the park (Parco Nicholas Green) that is actually in our study area.

There is also a social cooperative (Type B) that aims to reintegrate marginalized individuals back to the labor market. Other arguably important resources, include a cinema, two closed-markets open everyday, and more piazzas for gathering. Taking these resources into consideration as vital public services for residents, we concluded that residents of Torvecchia, like the municipal government, might consider Torvecchia a satellite neighborhood to the Quartiere di Primavalle.



Figure 6.1: Tagging of "Primavalle" on Torvecchia's edges



Nevertheless, when residents were asked about their opinion on Torrevecchia's resource availability, most explained that Torrevecchia is more than satisfactory. It has an abundance of retail activity that provides its residents with food, clothing, and other household items. It has a number of schools, churches, and plenty of green and public space. It is also well-connected by bus. Many residents especially praised the abundance of food networks in the area. The neighborhood has a number of supermarkets and independent grocers. It also has an outdoor market. It can be argued that the high availability and variety of the food sector has strengthened the neighborhood's identity and acted as an active agent in the process of placemaking in Torrevecchia.

Younger people living in the neighborhood tended to be more dissatisfied with the neighborhood overall than older people. Our interviews showed a positive correlation between neighborhood likeability and resource availability perception. In other words, residents tended to like the neighborhood more when they also believed the area had sufficient resources. Most residents agree that Torrevecchia is a great place for retirement. This is in line with the increasing number of ageing population living in the neighborhood over the years.

After doing research and conducting interviews on the relationship between Torrevecchia and Primavalle, it can be concluded that whereas the boundaries of Torrevecchia are clear and the government clearly considers the two areas together, residents' perception on the matter is on the contrary. Even though most agree that they frequently use the community resources in Primavalle, the vast majority do not consider themselves a part of Primavalle. Our interviews demonstrate that the comprehensive food system in the area has contributed to placemaking in Torrevecchia, especially for the ageing population.



Figure 6.2: Graffiti in Torrevecchia

## 6.2 MARKET

Temporary open-air markets are an integral part of Torrevecchia. Every Monday and Friday, from 7:00am to 2:00pm, an open air market (Mercato Via Torrevecchia) on the main artery of the neighborhood - Via di Torrevecchia, takes over a parking lot. The market, of nearly 30 stalls, sells a variety of products including clothing, food, and miscellaneous items - these can range from household supplies to souvenirs. The vendors also come from a variety of backgrounds; only few are Italian. Most are immigrants from countries like Bangladesh, China, Morocco, Pakistan, Senegal, Tunisia, Ghana, and Nigeria. There are more vendors on Fridays than Mondays, and on rainy days hardly any stalls. We once visited on a Monday, when it was also raining, and there were a total of five stalls. Additionally, 90 percent of the them do not live in Torrevecchia, so they do not have a strong impression of the neighborhood. In fact, some of them do not live in Rome, but instead travel all around Italy to different markets selling their products. There is a lot variation in the number of years each vendor has worked at Mercato Via Torrevecchia, ranging from one year to twenty years. The ones who have worked longer tend to be Italian. Many get their products from Piazza Vittorio, or other cities in Italy such as Turin or Naples, or other countries including China.

Through interviewing the market stall vendors, we found out that business has been declining in the past few years. All vendors agreed that sales were better in the past. When asked for the reason behind the decrease in sales, they blamed the Italian economy. Some also believed competition had increased, because of all the new supermarkets (e.g. Lidl & Ipermarket), independent grocers (e.g. fruit and vegetable stall), and Chinese dry good stores. One of the Chinese dry-good stores is situated right next to the market. It opened a year ago in a space that was previously a Conad supermarket. Vendors claimed that since the store sells all the same items as in the market and are open all day everyday, customers tend to buy from there instead out of convenience. They

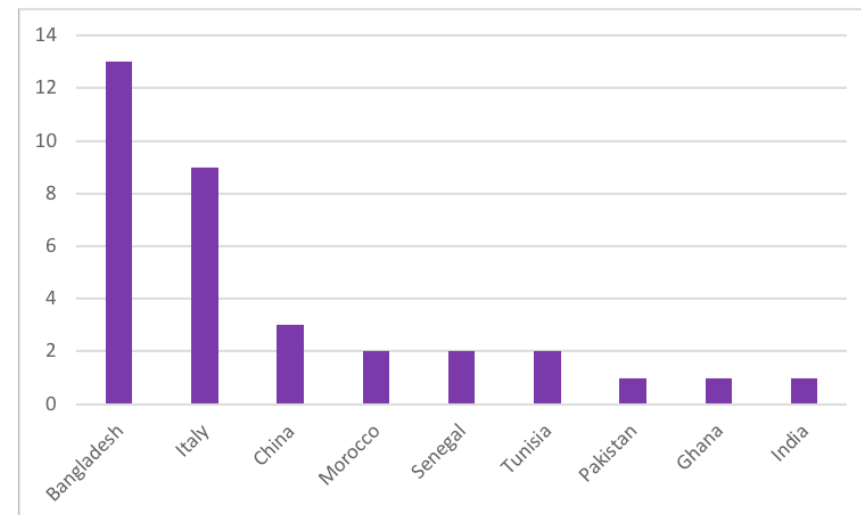
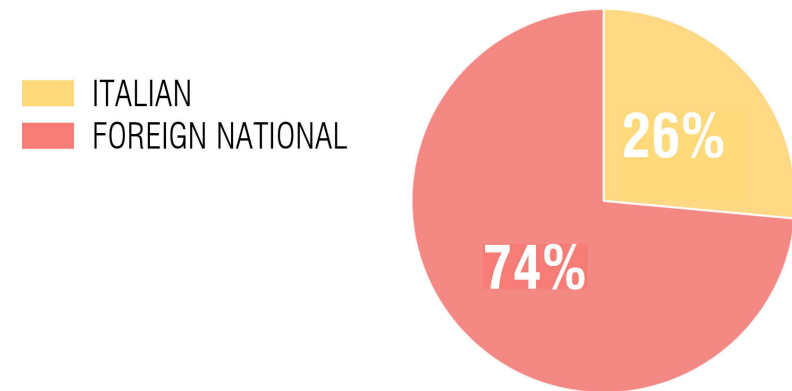


Figure 6.3-4 Nationalities of market vendors

claimed the same reason for the supermarkets and independent grocers. However, some stalls have built a strong client base over the years, so they do still believe it is worthwhile to sell at the market.

From the perspective of the customer, it is still quite a vibrant market. At 11:30am, 126 people were shopping at the market. By 12:40pm, the number had decreased to 55 and vendors had begun packing up even though they could stay open until 2:00pm. So people tend to shop earlier in the day. Some customers did not actually live in Torrevecchia, but had commuted here from by bus, presumably from nearby neighborhoods. Most of the customers come for the non-food items, but some do come to buy food. The market has three food stalls - two selling fruits and vegetables, with one selling cheese and meat products. When asked, if they prefer to buy their groceries from the open-air market or the supermarkets, nearly all of the customers said they preferred the supermarkets because of the convenience of long opening hours, cheaper prices, larger variety of products and the ability to use a credit or debit card. They further explained that they only bought food from market when looking for fresh food products.

From our findings, there seems to be increasing tension between the different types of retail stores. The stagnant Italian economy, and increasing competition are to blame for the decrease in sales for market vendors. Customers have less to spend, and when willing to spend they choose to go elsewhere. Nevertheless, there are still quite a number of regulars that have stayed loyal to the markets.

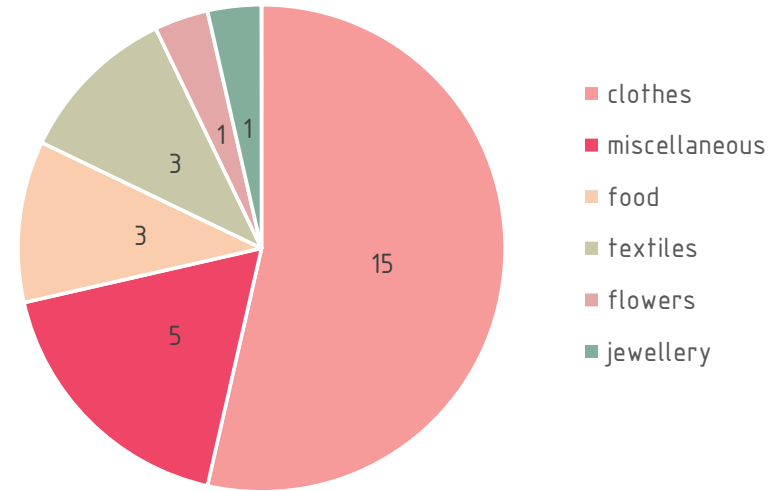


Figure 6.5: Categories of goods sold in the market



Figure 6.6: Market on April. 6th, 2018



## 6.3 FOOD SYSTEM

Torrevecchia's network of food systems, like that of greater Rome and many other Italian cities, was historically composed of small, independent, often family-owned markets and stores. Today, the presence of multiple supermarkets shows commercial globalization has reached all the way to peripheral areas like Torrevecchia. One of our key focus areas for this study was exploring any tension that might occur between these contrasting food systems.

As mentioned, determining the extent of competitive tension between corporate and locally owned retail, especially within the food procurement network, was a major facet of our survey designs and field visits. Ultimately, while we learned that these one-stop shopping destinations placed pressure on the twice-weekly market, causing it to shrink greatly from its magnitude at the turn of the 21st century, intercepts with customers and staff at various retail sites within the neighborhood revealed that instead of the competitive tension we anticipated, the corporate and locally-owned sectors were complementary to each other, and competition existed largely within each sector.

Business has been continuously declining for the three food stalls at the Friday market, but vendors attributed this decline to the poor Italian economy rather than the new presence of supermarkets in the neighborhood. One independent grocer, whose business revolves around serving high quality products to loyal customers, posited that his tension is not with the supermarkets, but with other, immigrant-run independent grocers that compete on price – an uncommon business practice in Italy.

Although this traditional grocer's business has been successful for decades, there are now multiple large supermarkets in Torrevecchia, both Italian (such as the Ipermarket and PIM of the Roman GROS cooperative) and foreign (such as the German LIDL). Through interviews

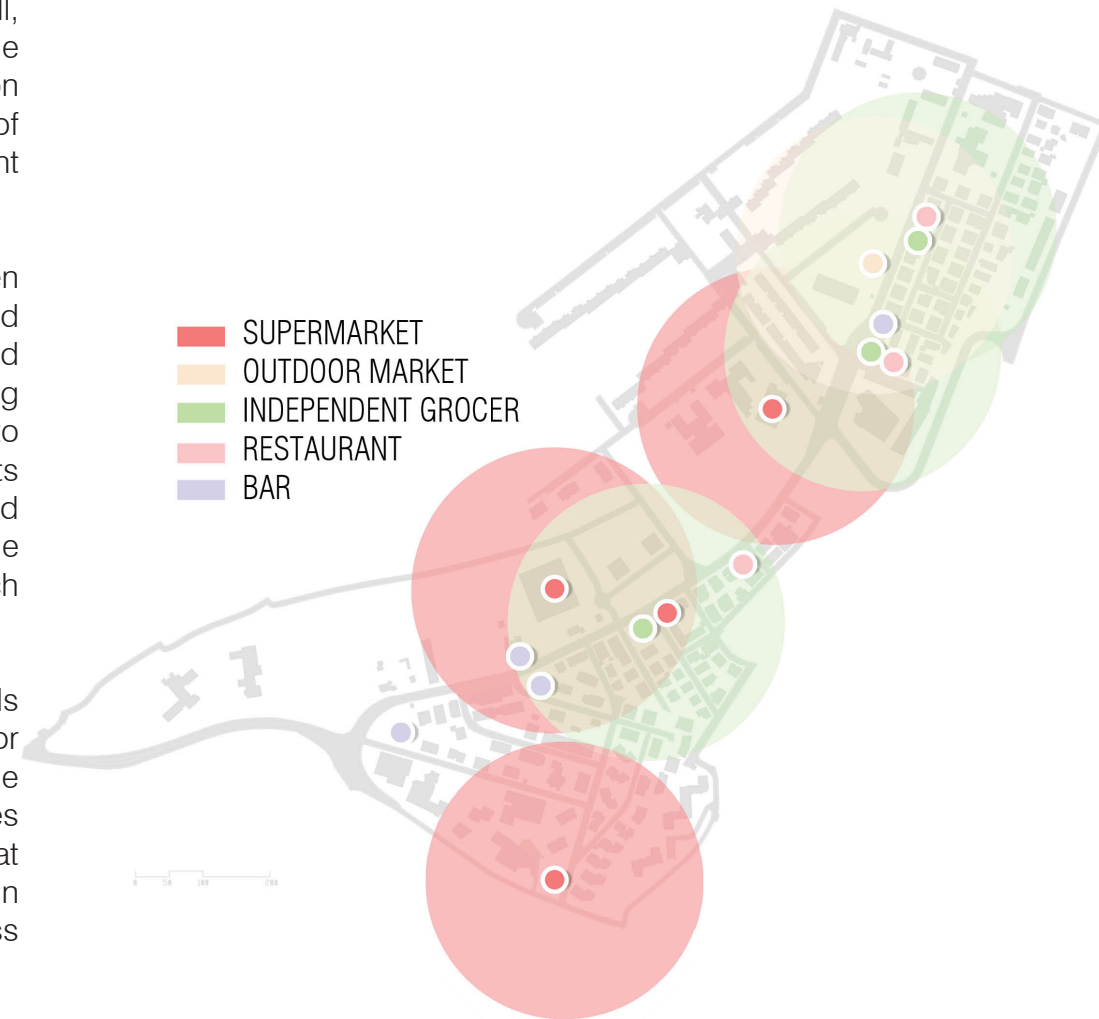


Figure 6.7: Map of food vendors. 200 meter walksheds for supermarkets, outdoor markets and independent grocers

with customers and residents, we achieved a general overview of the consumer behaviour in Torrevecchia. Customers choose the supermarkets because of their convenient hours of operation, acceptance of credit cards, and large selection. Thus we found less tension than expected during our interviews with residents and workers in Torrevecchia, but unless the Italian economy starts improving, the future still looks brighter for supermarkets than the traditional small stores and markets.

Figure 6.7 depicts food vendors in the neighborhood. Retail activities that are a part of the food system network are located with 200 meter walksheds i.e. supermarkets, independent grocers, outdoor market. The walksheds illustrate that the neighborhood in general is very accessible - a consumer could get to a food network in approximately 5 minutes or less. The walksheds also give insight on the relationship between and within each food system type. The overlap of most walksheds of supermarkets and independent grocers show that they are competitors of consumer proximity to food network. Within each food network type, the relationship is rather complementary, there exists a good amount of distance from one independent grocer to the other. The same is the case for supermarkets. Furthermore, we examined consumer behaviour through conducting interviews. Figure 6.6 is a general comparison, across the supermarkets, independent grocers and the outdoor market, of what consumers take into consideration before buying products.

	accommodating hours	variety of goods	community relationships	high quality	low prices
independent grocers			✓	✓	
outdoor market	✓	✓	✓		
supermarkets	✓	✓			✓

Figure 6.8: Comparison of supermarkets, independent grocers and outdoor market



Figure 6.9: Independent grocer





Figure 6.10: Food retail in Iperfamily



Figure 6.11: Outdoor market



# 7.0 CONCLUSION



Torrevecchia was once a small community of homes adjacent to the more dominating neighborhood Primavalle. However, with more recent developments and the emergence of large scale retailers and supermarkets, as well as schools, churches, and community centers, Torrevecchia is becoming a more self sustaining neighborhood, with an identity all its own. While this could be seen as a positive change for some residents of Torrevecchia, many of local markets and shopkeepers have taken a hit to their bottom line due to this added competition.

While we were able to ascertain a critical impression of the built and lived environment of Torrevecchia during our study, we experienced limitations in our research and analyses that that would be ideal opportunities for future studies to improve upon.

“Taking possession” of a neighborhood as foreign outsiders was the largest limitation our team experienced when visiting Torrevecchia. While we obtained valuable responses from the public, many residents were reluctant and wary to speak with us, unclear with who we were and what we would do with the information. Future studies could combat this limitation by spending more time in the neighborhood and building trust with local denizens, in addition to having a stronger base of Italian to speak with them. Our language barrier inhibited potential information, as we primarily had to communicate with the residents through our Italian speaking professor and teaching assistants. Additionally, we realized the data available through the ISTAT is not comprehensive, and therefore we had to collect much of the data through fieldwork and subsequent human error.

Torrevecchia’s urban fabric, like that of many neighborhoods in the large, chaotic, and ever-surprising city of Rome, has undergone drastic changes in its history. Beginning with its origins as farmland, to the development of public housing in the 1980s in concert with the outward expansion of Rome, to the current synthesis of residential and commercial activity with remnant elements of the neighborhood’s natural



heritage, the neighborhood today presents a delightful cacophony of new and old, urban and rural, and Italian and global orientation. Its streetscapes offer a bevy of services that allow residence to complete many of their day-to-day tasks within its bounds, and often on foot, but they also offer quiet views of grassy fields and ridges that juxtapose the neighborhood's agricultural DNA with its present density. Torrevicchia's healthy sense of community and relative safety make it an attractive neighborhood to continue settling in as Rome's periphery continues to expand.







# 8.0 APPENDIX



# 8.1 LYNCH MAPS



Figure 8.1. Lynch map by Zach Falk

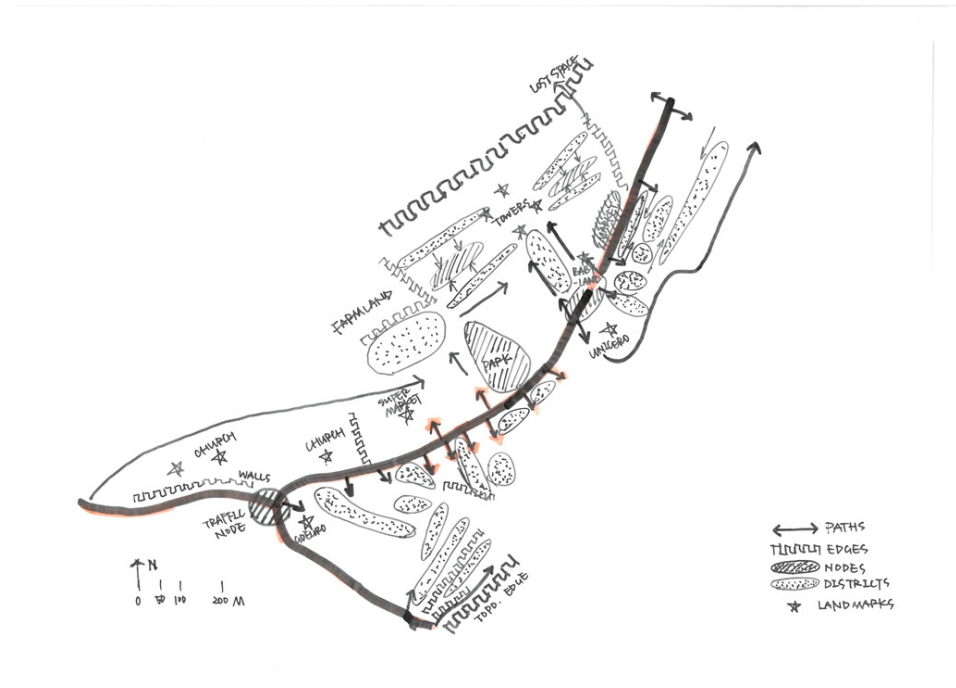


Figure 8.2. Lynch map by Esther Xie



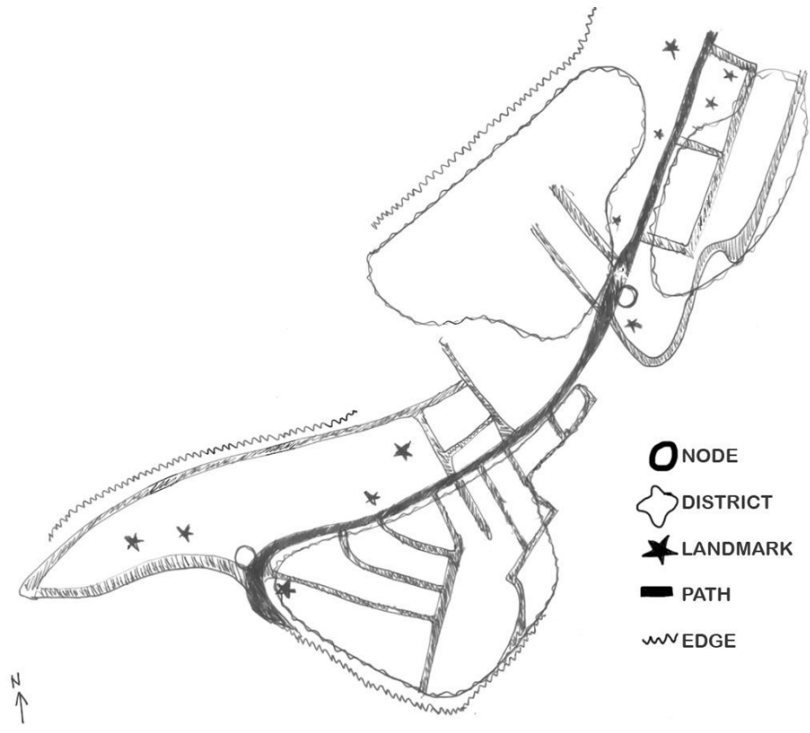


Figure 8.3. Lynch map by Aubree Jones

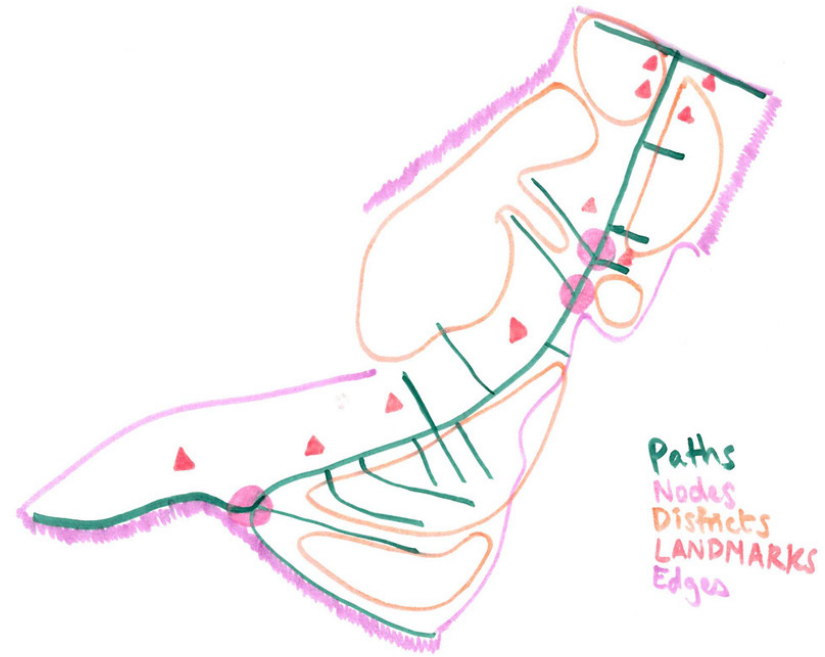


Figure 8.4. Lynch map by Venus Dulani



Figure 8.5. Lynch map by Lucas Bulger

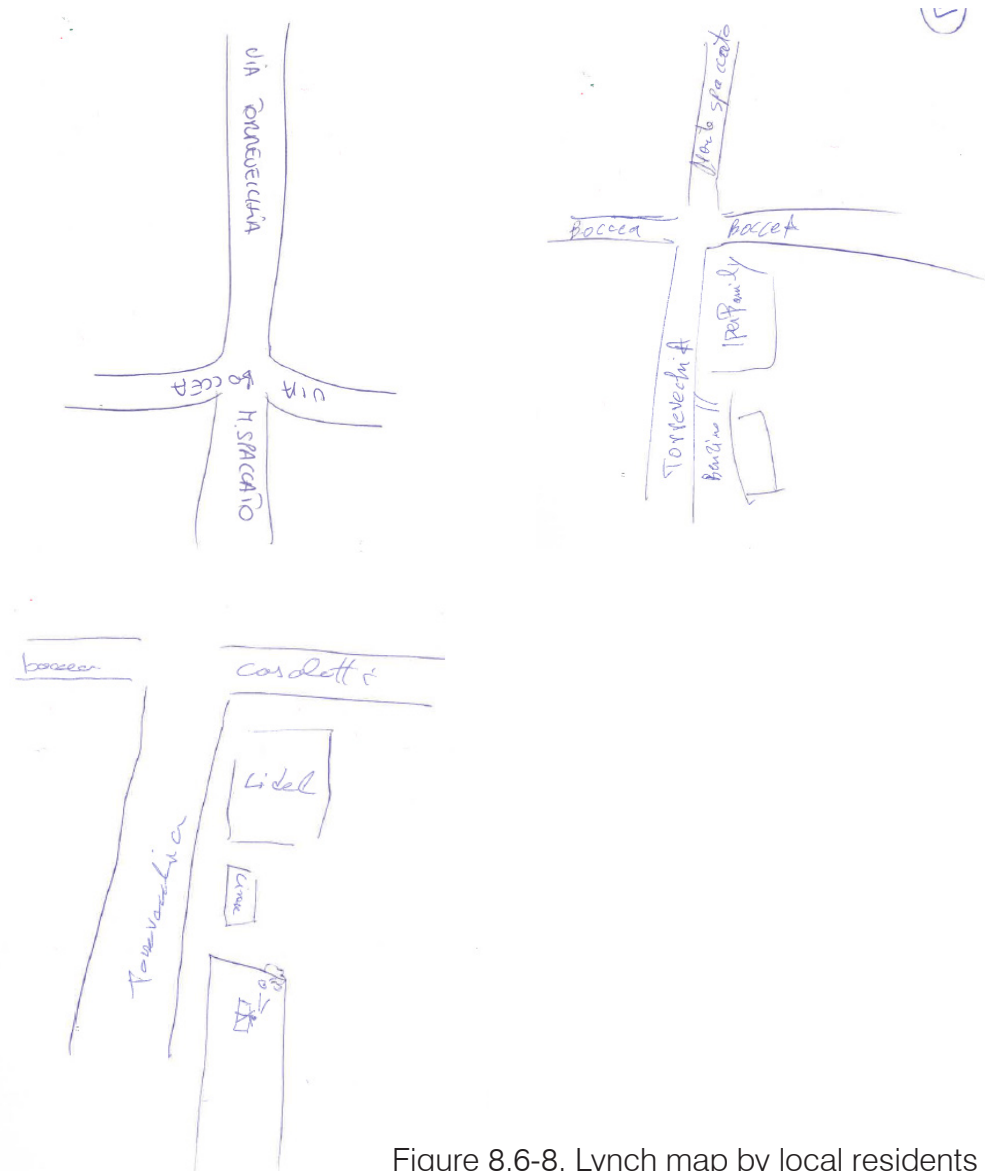


Figure 8.6-8. Lynch map by local residents

# 8.2 LIST OF INTERVIEWS

	Date	Location	Description	Product	General Topics	Details	Torrevecchia (T) = Primavalle? (P)
1	4/6	Chinese dry good store	Chinese worker	misc	retail tension public space	Business is fine here. Rent is high. The store is owned by a Chinese who owned many dry goods stores in Rome and other cities. Do not use public space in Torrevecchia. Gathering place of Chinese immigrants are mainly Piazza Vittorio.	No (doesn't know Primavalle)
2	4/6	market	Chinese stall owner	misc	retail tension	Came to this market 5-6 years ago, open stall on Monday and Friday. Business isn't good. but only slightly worse than 5-6 years ago.	
3	4/9	independent grocery store	worker, historic resident	cheese,meat, wine etc.	history, retail tension, markets	his competition not with supermarkets but with bangladeshi/egyptian stores that compete on price. very complete grocery store for its small size, has loyal customers who will walk up to a kilometer for the quality goods he sells	
4	4/6	market	Bangladeshi market vendor	clothing	immigrant history, retail tension	7 years in Rome, 5 in Torrevecchia, Chinese store competition	N/A
5	4/6	market	Italian market vendor (MV)	Fruit/Vegetables	business down, past better,	vegetables are hers, fruits are from Piazza Vitttorio, 20 years	likes T, T not P
6	4/6	market	Moroccan MV	clothes	bad business	gets stuff from piazza vittorio, here since 2012, 5 years	N/A
7	4/6	market	customer	N/A	T + P relationship	resident, family here, goes to ipermarket,	Yes T=P likes Primavalle better
8	4/6	market	customer	N/A	T + P relationship	drugs in Torrevecchia	like P better, says T=P
9	4/6	market	customer	N/A	T + P relationship	resident, family here, goes to ipermarket,	yes T=P likes T better
10	4/6	market	Pakistani MV	clothes	retain tension, chinese market	business better before, been here 10 years	N/A
11	4/6	market	customer	N/A	T + P relationship	T is very calm and nice, prefers to shop at supermarket, more options, been in Rome 10 years	doesn't think T and P same
12	4/6	market	Bangladeshi market vendor	misc	retail tension, immigration history	supermarkets, been in T for 12/13 years, 15 in Roma, chinese store comp gets from Torino, lives on via boccea, chinese store used to be conad a year ago, 30 years in the market business, business better be4	N/A
13	4/6	market	Italian market vendor (MV)	Textiles	he gets products, history of T, retail te	chinese store, supermarkets, 3-4 years in T, gets stuff from napoli, lives in via casalina, in a day can make from 100 euros to 400 euros on good days	N/A
14	4/6	market	Bangladeshi market vendor x 3	textiles	immigrant history, retail tension	italian economy to blame, 5 years working here, 50 years in market business,	N/A
15	4/6	market	Italian market vendor (MV)	Fruit/Vegetables	business down, past better,	3 years here, lives in returno, likes Rome, happy to be here, back home lots of criminal activity	N/A
16	4/6	market	Senegalese MV	Fruit/Vegetables	immigrant history, retail tension		N/A
17	4/6	market	Moroccan MV	clothes	T + P relationship, retail tension	lives in T, 5 years, riformitori, T and P same, drew lynch map	T=P
18	4/6	market	Tunisian Mv	Clothes	immigrant history, retail tension	brothers, 12 years in T, since 2001 in Roma, likes it here, th	T is better than P, T not P



19	4/6	market	Tunisian Mv	Clothes	germany transit migrant	prefers germany hates roma, doesnt speak much italian or english		
20	4/6	market	Italian market vendor (MV)	meat	retail tension	italian economy to blame, 13 years working here, only comes on Friday		
21	4/6	market	Bangladeshi MV	clothes	immigrant history, retail tension	past better, probs a refugee, came here by boat, thru libya,		
22	4/6	market	Bangladeshi MV	shoes	immigrant history, retail tension	past better, italian economy, not supermarkes,		
23	4/6	market	Nigeria ncustomer	N/A	purpose of being in T	takes 2 metros, 3 buses, to get here, trekking, no job, have children, here since 1993, now she's too old to go anyhwre else, probs stay here, or go back, but son can stay here, or go somewhere else		
24	4/6	market	Ghanaian MV	clothes	immigrant history, retail tension	from the reigon of Latina, from ghana and came from the route of burkina faso, takes bus to get here, been doing this 2 years		
25	4/6	market	Italian market vendor (MV)	Clothes	business down, past better,	T is okay, but not enough resources, but its okay, market business better in the past	T and P very differnt not same,	
26	4/6	market	Banghadeshi+Indian+Senegalese MV	jewellery + clothes	T	live in termini, T is for pension ppl, old retired ppl, name is Sam,		
27	4/6	market	customer	N/A	inflation, italian econ sucks	buys stuff in supermarket, T is just okay	T=P for risorse, otherwise its different	
28	4/6	Chinese Restaurant	Filipino waiter	N/A	life in T	doesnt really hang in T, but T is not P, T is not great, not much to do, been here a year	P is not T	
29	4/6	Chinese dry good store	Indian customer	N/A	life in T	lives in Via di cornelia, lots of indians there, comes to T very often for supermarkets, chinese stores, thinks the area is filled indians, filipinos, and chinese		
30	4/6	Chinese dry good store	Customer	N/A	life in T	gets stuff from supermarket, no idea that open air market existed, thinks T is very elegant, and calm, old lady	T is not P	
31	3/5	fruit and veg store	Egptian vendor	Fruit/Vegetables	life in T	T is calm place, not a lot of immigrants, more immigrants in Primavalle, like life here, lots of filipinos and chinese here, networks stick together	T is not P	

# 8.3 LIST OF FIGURES

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2.2 – 2.3 Created by Esther Xie, base map from Google Maps

2.4 Accessed April 2 2018, from: <http://www.oldmapsonline.org/map/icc/RM.84486>

2.5 Accessed March 8 2018, from <https://www.romasparita.eu/foto-roma-sparita/tag/via-dei-casali-di-torreveccchia>

2.6 Accessed April 2 2018, from: <http://cartografia.regione.lazio.it/cartanet/viewer>, edited by Esther Xie

2.7 Photo by Zach Falk

2.8 Photo from Google Maps

2.9 - 2.11 Accessed March 8 2018, from <https://www.romasparita.eu/foto-roma-sparita/tag/via-dei-casali-di-torreveccchia>

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5.4 Figure by Aubree Jones and Esther Xie

5.5 – 5.6 Photo by Esther Xie

5.7 Accessed April 2 2018, from: Sherwood, Roger. "Housing Prototypes: Torreveccchia." Housing Prototypes, University of Southern California, 27 Nov. 2002, [housingprototypes.org/project?File\\_No=ITA009](http://housingprototypes.org/project?File_No=ITA009).

5.8 Photo by Esther Xie

5.9 – 5.10 Accessed April 2 2018, from Google Maps

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