Section I: Acknowledgements

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Figure 1, Architecture Styles of Rome
Section II: Introduction

Tuscolano II is a mid-20th century public housing experiment located approximately 8 miles southeast of Rome. The residential structures that compose the development were constructed in their entirety between 1951 and 1959, creating a unique imprint both on the landscape and in the memories of the people who reside there. Figure 1 and 2 depict our neighborhood’s location relative to Rome.

We holistically researched this neighborhood, using experiential observations, statistical data, site surveys, interviews, and cognitive mapping. Our initial impression of the neighborhood have changed significantly after our survey of the area, learning from citizen’s daily routing, life history and multiple secondary sources. The goal of the report is to accurately portray Tuscolano II neighborhood using combined knowledge from planners’ study and life experience from citizens.

Figure 2 and 3 location of Tuscolano II, Source: Google Map
Section III: History

The history of Tuscolano II could be discussed in a variety of historiographical frameworks. One is urban morphology, or the way in which elites and their institutions have shaped the neighborhood. Another is the natural environment in the area and how it has changed over time. A view is the neighborhood’s link to the global political economy, along with many other possibilities. In order to present a history relevant to our study, the intersection of Tuscolano II’s social and spatial history must take precedence.

In the early twentieth century, the area of Tuscolano II was used for large-scale agriculture. We know that the agriculture was large-scale because terraced housing meant to house agricultural laborers was built in what is now Quadraro Vecchio, to the northwest of Tuscolano II (Anonymous D). To get a sense of the historical building typology, the housing remains and its uniform and barracks-like quality suggest that it was not inhabited by farmers who owned and worked their own land. The farmland is visible in an aerial photograph taken in 1943 (See Appendix 1.)

In the late 1940s, just after the war, the aqueducts became a locus of informal settlement. In
the postwar era, the agricultural sector declined sharply as manufacturing jobs in cities proliferated at an astronomical rate (Agnew 1995, 135). This economic restructuring reinforced the city’s position as locus of opportunity, drawing migrants from rural areas at a rate that outpaced housing construction. The aqueducts were an ideal location for informal settlements because they provided access to potable water and the nearby railroad that followed a similar path nearby could be easily followed into the city where employment could be sought (Matteo and Alessandro, ).

In the 1950s, the city stepped up measures to formalize housing and built numerous public housing developments, aided by the Marshal Plan (Mornati and Cerrini 2). Tuscolano II, built between 1951 and 1959, was one such development. Alongside Tuscolano II were constructed Tuscolano I and III, which followed different architectural schemes. The three developments taken together were somewhat of a socio-spatial laboratory. Each aimed to provide a spatial framework in which residents could improve their socioeconomic situation as well as become gently assimilated to life in the city. The architects aimed to give these developments a rural atmosphere in anticipation of the residents and experimented with different conceptions of rural vernacular architecture, especially in the uses of green space. And indeed, many of the residents settled there had been recently evicted from informal settlements nearby or were new incoming rural migrants from areas such as Abruzzo (Matteo and Alessandro).

Pasolini’s film, “Mamma Roma”, provides more insight on the demographics of the neighborhood. The protagonists, an ex-prostitute and her son, move to the neighborhood from the borghate. However, they find themselves a minority in an environment dominated by petit bourgeois residents (Pasolini 1962). Unfortunately, the demographics of the neighborhood, whether poor migrants from the borghate and countryside or the petit bourgeois remains an unresolved investigation whose scope transcends the depth of our neighborhood survey.

The neighborhood has undergone little physical change since the construction of Tuscolano I, II and III, as shown in figure 5, depicting the map that depicts housing age. The only subsequent major construction projects in the vicinity were some housing blocks built along Via Cornelio Labeone to the north between 1962 and 1971. The market, one of the most important community structures, was also built later, around 1990; before then, the market existed but outdoors (President of the market).

Largo Spartaco, one of the neighborhood’s central public spaces, underwent multiple modifications in both appearance and use since its construction. The largo was originally built of marble but eventually fell into disrepair, after which it was paved over and used as a parking lot (Nicola). However, activism led by the youth of Centro Sociale Occupato Autogestito (CSOA) Spartaco later reclaimed Largo Spartaco as a pedestrian space (Anonymous C). Changes in use of the largo bring to light an undercurrent of generational conflict in Tuscolano II. Generational conflict is particularly
visible in Largo Spartaco, where CSOA Spartaco and many of the neighborhoods youth have fought to have the largo as a pedestrian space while many of the elderly residents, especially shopowners along Largo Spartaco, would like to see the Largo as a parking area (Anonymous C).

The dynamics of this conflict may soon be undergoing a change as the generations are beginning to pass. As the elderly first generation has been fading, a variety of newcomers have begun to take their place. One group are the descendants and families of the original residents who inherit the property (Anonymous A). Other new residents have been wealthy people, buying properties perhaps to own a home designed by a famous architect or with a view of the ancient aqueducts (Anonymous C). A third group, the most recent newcomers to the neighborhood, are immigrants, mainly from China and Bangladesh (Vendor; Anonymous C).

A socio-spatial history of Tuscolano II unveils a dynamic social environment that is in constant dialogue with the physical environment. Residents of different social groups interact through public spaces and these areas express cohesion or conflict. The market, where immigrant vendors sell goods alongside Italian vendors to residents of different demographics, has been an important space of social cohesion while Largo Spartaco is an arena of generational conflict. The spatial and social histories of Tuscolano II have not determined each other but rather have been in constant dialogue.
Section IV: Methodology

Goals
Our goal was to gather qualitative and quantitative data using a multifaceted, holistic approach, to identify and analyze significant growth patterns for Tuscolano II.

Transcending Difficulties
The language barrier was the most difficult aspect of investigating Tuscolano II. While group members possessed the ability to make polite salutations, it was difficult to provide concerned inhabitants detailed information about the purpose of our work in Italian. We found this difficulty exacerbated by the apparent distrust held by the natives for outsiders (more on this in Inferences). This challenge was met in the short term with Italian-English dictionaries and cards with the Cornell University logos.

In a quantitative sense, we found it difficult to calibrate neighborhood activity like street noise and traffic levels. These topics posed particular problems, because they were in our initial survey measured by selecting a description such as “loud,” “quiet,” “heavy,” or “light” that innately require comparison. Was street noise to be judged in the context of the neighborhood, or Rome as a whole? Recognizing the dangers of biased observations, we altered our method of data collection to eliminate comparison and instead evaluate on an individual basis. Instead of observing that a street was “loud”, we recorded the sounds heard on every street. Likewise, instead of noting heavy traffic, we calculated moving cars per minute.
Procedures
Our “first impression” study of the neighborhood was conducted using a grid of the area. We put a grid consisting of 30 points (5x6) over the GoogleEarth image of Tuscolano II. We visited as many of these points as possible and conducted a site survey at each location, noting pedestrians, vehicle traffic, building type, commercial space, greenery, and sidewalk condition. We also made an attempt to speak with pedestrians and shop owners during this first visit. We used the rigid grid with a sense of intuition and qualitative evaluation. Because not every point on our grid was reachable (some were behind fences or on private property) we chose to survey the street corner closest to the initial point. This resulted in an amorphous grid with clustering (see Figure 7).

Evaluating the topography, historical research, traffic patterns, and citizen input, we selected the points on the grid that, based on our data, appeared to constitute the neighborhood of Tuscolano II. Of the 30 points attempted, we selected numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15, and 16 (see Figure 7.) to focus on in each following visit.

Figure 7: created by Min Bu. Source: Google Map
Determining Boundaries
After gathering our data in the grid map exercise, we then defined our boundaries for the study area. By utilizing our point observations from our first visit, and looking at Google maps as well as neighborhood plans, it was not difficult to establish the definition for the area called Tuscolano II. We also confirmed this with local residents of the Tuscolano II public housing development. Knowing that the points we had identified as Tuscolano II was almost entirely residential, we inferred that residents did a great deal of their living and interaction (shopping, leisure, worship, errands) outside the defined housing development. We then had to determine what areas, other than the housing development, to include within the boundaries of our study area.

Consequently, in later site visits, we took extra care to note the direction of pedestrians and apparent nodes of activity in the areas adjacent to the Tuscolano II housing development. Some of the unique landmarks that influenced our choice of study area were the park in the Southeast, Mercato Tuscolano III, and the Centro Sociale Spartaco. Other qualitative characteristics that helped define the study area were pedestrian activity, commercial activity, as well as areas with unique architectural typologies. We decided to keep our original neighborhood definition (the Tuscolano II housing development) and added an additional two census tracts along the southern boundary of the development, in order to include a well-used public park and commercial area, and extended the boundary northward to include Via Tuscolana.

Upon our initial site visit to Tuscolano II, we believed that Via Tuscolana and the Numidio Quadrato stop on Metro B line (constructed in 1971) would prove to be essential to residents and factor a large portion of use in daily travel and routines in everyday life. Deciding that it was important to include these two sites within our neighborhood boundaries, we initially drew the boundaries of our investigation with Via Tuscolana serving as the Northernmost boundary. However, many resident interviews revealed that the Metro on Via Tuscolana was not put to daily use, and described taking the train as a special, unusual, or irregular occasion. Upon spending more time in the neighborhood observing traffic patterns and interviewing residents, we found that residents in Tuscolano II did not view Via Tuscolana as being a part of their neighborhood. In fact, some residents specifically noted the pride they had for living in a location removed from the commuter traffic of Via Tuscolana.

Keeping these attitudes of perceived isolation in mind, we decided to change our study area, by moving our Northern boundary (Via Tuscolana) one block southward, to Via Cornelio Labone. Eliminating the connection between the Tuscolano II neighborhood and its major Northwest-Southeast artery to the North, this smaller vision of a Tuscolano II shying from its traffic-laden urban barrier more accurately represents the mental map of its residents.
Figure 8: Study area boundary map. Created by: Min Bu. Source: Google Map
Neighborhood Documentation
Following the designation of study area boundaries, the group proceeded toward the third stage—neighborhood documentation. During these site visits, we found that each member had gradually and naturally used their own personal strengths to identify possible analytical issues: transportation, education, public space and architecture.

We then focused on conducting formal interviews with residents of Tuscolano II, using prepared questions as well as Lynch Map exercises to evaluate the citizens’ perception of the neighborhood. After all interview transcriptions and Lynch maps, we looked for patterns or significant observations. We would then revisit the neighborhood to collect more specific, detailed surveys related to the topic of interest.

We continued to complete this report in this manner, by drawing conclusions from interviews and exploring them quantitatively in the built environment.
Section V: Statistics

Overview
Statistical data is important to supplement the qualitative observations made about the Tuscolano II neighborhood. We would like to show the historical demographic trend as well as the comparison between our neighborhood study areas relative to Rome. Looking at the historical general statistics of the study area from the National Institute of Statistics, the population has rapidly increased from 397 residents in 1951 to 7476 in 1971. The two observations above coincide with the period of massive housing infrastructure development during the 50s and 60s. According to the most recent statistics of 2001, it appears that the population of Tuscolano II, now with 3,749 residents, has experienced a substantial decrease to about half of its population in 1971. In comparison to the Rome statistics as a whole, the neighborhood of Tuscolano II is largely proportional in terms of gender and age:

- Tuscolano II has 53.9% women in comparison to the same figure of Rome, 52.9%;
- The neighborhood has 46.1% of men compared to Rome’s 47.1%.

Figure 9: Total population distribution on each census tract. Created by: Min Bu. Source: ISTAT
that is comparable to Rome’s 12.46%.

With a larger margin is Tuscolano’s abundance of the elderly: Tuscolano II has 23.6% of residents over 65 in contrast to Rome’s 18.9%.

To build a larger quantitative context for the Tuscolano II neighborhood, it is important to note that our neighborhood is largely representative of the city of Rome as a whole. The demographic deviations from the body of Rome reflect observations made early on in our perception of the neighborhood, namely the reduced amount of youth and increased population of elderly. While this is extremely evident in the activity of life as visible on the streets, it is important to have these discoveries statistically justified, allowing for a contextual explanation.

Housing
We commence the study of housing by locating the residential architecture within the study area by its time of construction. 49% of all residential buildings were built between 1950 and 60 as public housing units. Another 42% of the residential buildings were built during the Fascist era. About 9% of the buildings were constructed before 1919 mainly to house agricultural workers. Finally, none were built after 1971.

Through the observation of tenure and housing size, we suspect public housing of the 1950s was probably built for large families. The housing in the study area is particularly spacious, averaging about 29 sqm per capita and with a little over 50% of the housing containing six or more rooms. This is significantly higher than average of Rome, where the average dwelling has 3.88 rooms. However we do not have statistics on average sqm Per Capita of Rome for comparison. Despite limited number of data on census tracts to indicate a correlation between time of the building construction and housing size, housing built between 1962-71 and 72-81 periods typically have larger living area per capita. However, ownership is slightly less, with an index number of 2.04 vs.
2.77 for all Rome. Even so, private ownership is surprisingly high in the study area considering that most of the dwellings in the study area were initially public. We suspect the initial reason of privatization of public housing is inheritance through lineage then the housing enters real estate market.

Two possible stories exist regarding the condition of the study area, one of success and another of failure. The success story is of a public housing project that elevated the socioeconomic conditions of the residents, allowing them to purchase their own home. The darker tale is of gentrification in which privatization and/or bureaucratic loopholes place dwelling units in the hands of the economically privileged. Further qualitative data is required to determine which is the story of Tuscolano II.

**Education**

Educational data for Tuscolano II and Rome are insufficient because the Italian census only measures male educational attainment. We cannot determine to what extent females have access to education or how this may affect their role in the workforce. Given the male population statistics, we have made the following observation about educational attainment.

Male secondary educational attainment is slightly higher. In Rome, 32% of residents have a high school diploma compared to 33.2% in Tuscolano II. The percentage of males with a high school diploma varies by census tract, ranging from 20% to 46%. This indicates a level of heterogeneity within the neighborhood in terms of class but possibly also segregation.

The number of males with a college degree in Tuscolano II seems to be quite low. About 7.7% of Tuscolano II male residents have a college degree. This figure is significant lower than the overall rate of Rome - around 14%. Whether the presence of a large working class population in the neighborhood is a cause or result of low university education attainment requires further investigation. Resident age dynamics is an alternative explanation. Low university education can be explained by the large retired population. Evident in figure 11, using method of linearization, the statistics shows a weak negative correlation between elderly presence and education attainment. We cannot solely rely on one explanation over another due to the sample size in each parcel, and some parcels of uninhabited park area are clearly statistical outliers.
Occupation and Profession

Analysis of occupation and profession unveils Tuscolano II’s social geography in relation to social class and status. Census data categorizes profession and occupation into four groups: business and professional, self-employed, and assistants and dependent workers. This categorization reflects Agnew’s (Agnew, 1995) classifications of professions into white-collar managers and employees, self-employed workers and artisans, personal service workers, and manual labors. Such classification shows social, professional, and economic status as well as command over capital.

In our neighborhood, the active population accounts for 41.3% of the total. This is coherent with the corresponding result of Rome, 42.6%. A large number of elderly and retired residents in the neighborhood can explain the lower active population.

The percentage of the total employment in business and professional, self-employed, assistants, and dependent to total employed population in Tuscolano II are 4.5%, 9.6%, 0.7% and 83.4%. In comparison, the statistics for City of Rome are 9.1%, 11.1% 1.4% and 76.8%, respectively (see figure 12 and 13).
It is evident that Tuscolano II has a lower percentage of white-collar and significantly higher percentage of manual laborers. One explanation echoes with Agnew’s assertion that the socioeconomic elite are concentrated in central Rome. The unemployment rate of the neighborhood, 12.6%, is slightly above Rome’s, 11.1%. Since the neighborhood was initially public housing, spatial linkages between professional workers and housing pattern may be worth further investigation.

Employment and occupation also intersect with factors of age and gender. There are many more variables that would contribute toward the occupation result that surpass the scope of this discussion. For comparison with the Lazio region, 2010 male unemployment is 8.17% and 10.23% for females; thus the overall recent unemployment in Lazio is 9.2%. 2001 data show an overall unemployment rate of 11.1% in Rome and 12.6% in Tuscolano, which illustrates a general decreasing trend of unemployment from 2001 to 2010.
Section VI: Building Typology

In Tuscolano II, the question of building typology is complex. Though the architects assign a typology to the buildings they create, classifying each structure in Tuscolano II as *case in linea* or *torre*, the pedestrian, walking through the neighborhood, sees many more than two building types (Mornati and Cernini, 1). A more accurate building typology must be constructed to account for the divide in architects’ classifications and the pedestrian’s experience.

A building typology must take into account full account the vision of the architect and the experience of the inhabitant or pedestrian and how the two match and contrast. The categories used to separate different building types in this typology are height (in floors), roofing, façade, exterior, external environment, mode of access, function, and ownership (fig. 14).

Though there are two sets of towers on the east and west edges of the development designed by two different architects, they are considered the same type as the only major difference is the floor plan. Interestingly, while the architects call these buildings *torre* (fig. 19), residents in interviews always refer to them as *grattacieli*, or “skyscrapers” (Nicola). This shows a major incongruity between architectural vision and residential experience.

The *case in linea* (fig. 17), on the other hand, are the most numerous of any structure in Tuscolano II and a wide range of variation is present. *Case in Linea* are a very general term describing any elongated apartment building with stairwells containing access to one apartment on either side (Morneti and Cernini, 5). Four categories of *case in linea* have been identified in Tuscolano II: A, B, C, and D.

D (fig. 17) is a unique structure that stands out in the neighborhood. With six floors, it is the tallest of the *case in linea*, the uppermost floors hosting views of the aqueducts. Apartments with such views can be €100,000 more than others in the same building (and an 80 m² apartment already goes for around €400,000) (Anonymous C). D is also the only structure of mixed use in the Tuscolano II development, containing shops along the ground floor on Largo Spartaco. The construction of the building differs from the others, displaying a façade with a concrete grid pattern, walls filled in with tufa blocks. Tufa is a light-weight deep red/brown volcanic material that was much used in archaic and republican era (10th c. BCE-42 BCE) Roman construction. Its use is not only peculiar to Tuscolano II, but a general rarity in architectural form from the Imperial era onwards (Gadénye 2011). The building’s unique appearance and location along Largo Spartaco make it iconic of the community. However, the structure’s iconic status does not necessarily mean that the residents of the neighborhood consider the building a masterpiece; while architectural literature affectionately refers to building D as “the
Figure 14. Building Typology from site visits. Created by Royce Novak.
boomerang” because of its shape, most residents interviewed found it “ugly” (Anonymous C).

Type C (fig. 17) also is comprised of a single building. Though not sharing in the iconic status of “the boomerang”, this structure extends the entire length of Via Sagunto and turns the corner, following a small section of Via Selinunte. It cleaves the neighborhood in two, separating two segments of case in linea type A and creates the impression of a corridor extending from the passageway through “the boomerang” to the arched entrance way of Tuscolano III. The sense of a pathway is augmented by the building’s flat façade.

Type B (fig. 17) is similar to Type C in that it consists of buildings with flat facades that act to delineate a path (this time down Via Selinunte). The attached public space is also similar in form, consisting of narrow enclosed yards which, though publicly owned, are used only for residents of the apartment building and thus semi-public. The main differentiating factor between Types C and B is that B does not share the abnormally long length of type C.

Type A (fig. 17) case in linea line the quiet interstitial spaces of Tuscolano II (such as Via Paestum and Via Ermino) and create almost an impression of single family homes. This impression is created by the peaked roofs, staggered facades, location along quiet side streets, and semi-public yards abundant in greenery. These semi-public yards are much larger than those attached to types B and C, reinforcing a sense of separation from the city.

There are some structures that, though not officially part of the Tuscolano II development, are relevant to the neighborhood as they frame important elements of the resident’s experience. In the northwest corner, some buildings of Quadraro Vecchio are directly visible from Largo Spartaco. The structures have prewar architectural styles that are classified into two types A and B. Type A is comprised of three-floor apartment buildings with minor ornamentation on the façade and type B refers to single-family housing of two floors with large private yards. These structures communicate Quadraro Vecchio’s “otherness” to the residents of Tuscolano II and thus act as a barrier, allowing Tuscolano II’s residents to associate themselves with the modern and Quadraro Vecchio with the old and obsolete.

The apartment blocks along Via Cornelio Labeone, though outside the development, are directly relevant to Tuscolano II as they frame the northern view from Largo Spartaco. These buildings are of mixed use and have shops on the ground floor that residents of Tuscolano II likely use. These buildings are differentiated from those of the Tuscolano II development because they lack any attached yard or public space and lack the characteristic peaked roof.

Along the southern boundary of the neighborhood are the case base, part of the development Tuscolano III, a project contemporary to Tuscolano II. Though the case base are not directly relevant to Tuscolano II, shops attached to the complex along Via Selinunte are since they are frequently used by residents of Tuscolano II. Among these shops is CSOA Spartaco, an important center of activism and of the youth community for Tuscolano II and beyond.
Tuscolano II Building Typology

Development
- Case in Linea
  - A
  - B
  - C
  - D

- Torre
  - A
  - B

Neighborhood
- Prewar
- Apt. Block
- Case Base

Community Spaces
- Ecclesiastical
- Medical
- Market
- Abandoned
  - School
  - Nurs.
  - Prim.

Figure 15. Building Typology Created by Royce Novak. Source: Google Earth.
Throughout Tuscolano II’s community are numerous community buildings that cannot fit into any of the typologies defined for the residential buildings (fig. 18). Community structures are mainly divided between those owned by the church and those owned publicly. St. Maria of the Assumption, is situated across Via Spartaco from Largo Spartaco and possesses a hexagonal central floor plan. It is not too visible because it was built in a natural depression. An other church, Our Lady of Prague, stands in the southeast corner near the entrance to the Parco degli Acquedotti and is of more traditional church architecture. The church has athletic fields attached, an important community space. St. Maria of the Assumption has athletic fields planned, to be built atop a subterranean parking lot under construction next to the church.

Scholastic buildings can be divided between nursery and primary schools. The primary school is integrated into the urban fabric of Tuscolano II and shares similar features with some apartment buildings such as the peaked roofs and mirrors the flat facades of the type B case in linea. Both nursery schools are located on church grounds, suggesting that they are owned and operated by the churches.

Other important structures are the medical clinic, located in the development just off Largo Spartaco, and Mercato Tuscolano III, at the intersection of Via Quadraro and Via Spartaco. The market is a commercial center for Tuscolano II and other surrounding neighborhoods. Permanent vendors have stands inside the market while mobile vendors sell their goods along the sidewalk outside.

There is an abandoned public building in Tuscolano II, located behind “the boomerang”. This structure is in a state of disrepair, bent and rusting. There is constant talk of turning the building into a community center but lack of funding is a recurring challenge (de Pamphilis).

The way in which an architect intends a space to be used and the way in which it is actually experienced differs greatly, hence the insufficiency of the preexisting architectural typology. The buildings were designed with a certain function in mind, to act as social housing. Thus, the architects were tasked not only to design housing, but housing that could potentially improve the socioeconomic conditions of its inhabitants. However, the multitude of experiences of individual residents is unforeseeable and therefore the architects must generalize the audience of their space. They must construct a vision of the “ideal resident”, an average of all potential inhabitants. This is a particularly difficult problem when designing social housing because the architect never meets any of the future residents and does not even have an exact idea who they will be. This creates a dialectic of the architect’s vision of the generalized “ideal inhabitant” and the actual experience of the resident.

This dialectic can be explained in the framework of Certeau in the terms of strategy and tactic. According to the author, strategies are means of negotiating life experiences that calls upon deeply ingrained social norms and protocols while tactics are used in unfamiliar situations and are adaptations to unfamiliar situations based on quick rational calculations, or thinking on one’s feet (Certeau 1988, 30). The
architect attempts to create a space familiar to the resident, where they can live according to a prescribed strategy. In the case of Tuscolano II, the architects saw the “ideal resident” as a migrant from rural areas and so included elements such as peaked roofs as well as semi-public yards and gardens. However, the “ideal resident” is only a rough approximation that can only account for a few key characteristics, *ceteris paribus*. The recombination of all possible variables in an individual’s life experience means that no individual matches perfectly the “ideal resident” and thus is forced to rely on tactics. When tactics are used in an environment designed for strategy, the synthesis of the conflicting visions results in a completely unforeseen experience. Examples of such synthetic experiences include residents perceiving the *torre* as *grattacielo* or unused space being squatted and used as a CSOA (Centrale Sociale Occupato Autogestito). The challenge of creating an accurate typology lies in representing the synthesis of the dialectic of architectural vision and residential experience.
Figure 16. Community Spaces. Created by Royce Novak. Source: Google Earth.
Tuscolano II

The Development

Torre

Known to residents as “grattacieli”, or skyscrapers.
They are Tuscolano II’s tallest Structures.

Figure 17. Development Map. Created by Royce Novak. Source: Google Earth.
Figure 18. Neighborhood Map. Created by Royce Novak. Source: Google Earth.
Type C is a unique structure that follows the entire length of Via Sagunto and then part of Via Selinunte. The structure both delineates a path through the neighborhood and cleaves it in two.

Type B case in linea are found along Via Selinunte and have a flat façade that acts to emphasize the street as a pathway and also as the edge of the residential section of Tuscolano II.

Type A case in linea are found along Via Selinunte and have a flat façade that acts to emphasize the street as a pathway and also as the edge of the residential section of Tuscolano II.

A is the dominant subtype of case in linea in Tuscolano II and are located on the quiet side streets such as Via Paestum and Via Ermino. Type A has larger green spaces attached and, along with the quiet side streets and the low height, feels like single-family housing.

Case in Linea subtype D is a unique and iconic structure, “the boomerang”, located on Largo Spartaco. It is the only of the case in linea to have shops on the ground floor and to have a façade of tufa blocks.

Figure 19. Building Typology Map Created by Royce Novak. Source: Google Earth.
Section VII:
Land Use in Tuscolano II

Tuscolano II has it all. One citizen, during an interview, described the neighborhood as a “small country”. The neighborhood is primarily residential but far from lacking. It has its fair share of recreational spaces, commercial establishments, and community resources.

The following map, figure 20 illustrates the general land use of Tuscolano II. The group created this map after conducting a comprehensive building by building survey.

Land use categories are represented by the following colors: violet denotes mixed use (buildings that are residential but include a commercial space on the ground floor-level), pink denotes residential use (buildings that only contain residential units and no commercial space), orange denotes a community resource (a place of learning and/or a community center), brown denotes religious use, red denotes medical use, purple denotes market (commercial) use, light green denotes

Figure 20. Land Use Map. Created by Min Bu. Source: Google Earth.
a vacant lot/ unused land *dark green* denotes recreational open space use, and *light blue* denotes a construction site.

By differentiating land uses by their function/color, the land use map shows the kinds of activities which occur in Tuscolano II. Just by looking at the map, one can infer that the neighborhood is primarily residential and that most of the economic/community activities occur away from residential areas. For this reason, residential areas feel very isolated, which may help explain why so many residents are skeptical of people they do not know and why residents use fences to mark and or protect their territory. Such would most likely not occur in a neighborhood which has primarily mixed land uses.

The community, because certain parts of the neighborhood feel isolated, depend heavily on community activities. There are two community centers in the neighborhood, people use the market as a social center, parks and open spaces are heavily frequented, especially on weekends, the local public school feels the need sponsor community events. One resident, in an interview, stated that she does fancy her son walking the neighborhood alone at night. Although the primarily residential function of the neighborhood creates a sense of skepticism towards outsiders, it also creates an especially strong feeling of familiarity among the members of the community.
Mixed Land Use (Residential with Ground Floor Commercial Establishments)

Most commercial establishments in Tuscolano II are located in mixed-use buildings. There is quite an array of ground floor businesses. In the neighborhood you will find restaurants, supermarkets, bars, a hardware store, auto mechanics, pharmacies, a skate shop, car washes, dry cleaners, beauty shops, legal services, and a political party office (Alleanza per L’Italia).

Figure 21. Building on Via Cornelio Labeo Photo by Dennis Tejada

Residential (Houses/Apartment Buildings)

Most residential buildings are located in the center of the neighborhood. Each residential building aims to be different in its own way; most residential buildings are painted in a different color from each other.

Figure 22. Residential Building Complex, Entrance on Via Sagunto. Photo by Dennis Tejada.
Community Resources

23. School for Infants, Via Quadraro

24. Centro Sociale Anziani, Largo Spartaco

25. Centro Sociale Spartaco, Via Selinunte

26. Primary School Salvo D’Acquisto, Via Selinunte

27. Religious School for Infants, Via Alessandro Viviani

Figure 23-27 Photographed by Dennis Tejada.
The Centro Sociale Spartaco
The centro sociale, a social center, offers a wide array of courses and workshops to the people of Tuscolano II and the neighborhoods surrounding it. They offer music courses, natural soap workshops, and autism education courses, among many others. The social center is also used for concerts and community gatherings such as the Kaos concert, which took place on March 2011. There are mixed reviews about the center amongst the residents of the neighborhood. One resident, during an interview, stated that she disliked the organization because it brought in people to Tuscolano II from different neighborhoods and areas of Rome. She also stated that the center creates a lot of confusion amongst the residents. Another gentleman who lives in the neighborhood has a completely different opinion, he believes that it was a great resource for the community.

The Primary School Salvo D’Acquist
This particular primary school is more than just a school – it hosts numerous community activities for the residents of Tuscolano II. Advertisements, which promote the school’s music lessons, soccer camps, and fitness tutorials, cover the entrance of the school.

Religious

Figure 28 and 29. Church of the Assunzione di Maria SS. Photo by Dennis Tejada.
Medical

Sanitaria Locale

The sanitaria is a public health clinic which provides the residents of the neighborhood with perambulatory health care services.

Figure 30. Clinic – “Sanitaria Locale”, Entrance on Via Cartagine. Photo by Dennis Tejada.

Market

Mercato Tuscolano III is a 20 year old self-managed market. Many of residents shop in this particular market, instead of the local supermarket, because they value the contact they have with the numerous vendors and the higher quality of the products. The market is more than just a commercial center, it is also a social center.

Figures 31. Market – “Mercato Tuscolano III”, Entrance on Via Quadraro Photo by Dennis Tejada.
This site contains an uncompleted structure which was originally intended to be a school. The project was never completed because the commune of Rome did not have the necessary funds to complete the project. The Centro Social Spartaco hopes to acquire the site and use it for the center’s functions and activities. Also, a local politician came up with a plan for the site but could not acquire the necessary funding for it.

**Vacant Lots**

32. Site of Unfinished Structure, Entrance on Via Sagunto. Photo by Dennis Tejada

**Recreational Use / Open Space**

Figure 33 and 34
Soccer Fields / Tennis Courts, Entrance on Via Quadraro.
Photo by Dennis Tejada
Parco degli Acquedotti is a regional park located between Via Appia and Via Tuscolana. The perimeter of the park is approximately 3,400 hectares. The park is characterized by the presence of seven historical water systems and other ancient structures.

Figure 35. Park – “Parco degli Acquedotti”. Photo by Dennis Tejada

Figure 36. Open Space, In front of Largo Spartaco. Photo by Dennis Tejada
Section VIII: Community Interviews

Over the course of a few weeks, our group interviewed residents of Tuscolano II in order to gain a greater understanding of the neighborhood.

The citizen interviews which we conducted allowed us to come to the conclusion that people in Tuscolano II feel that there is a strong sense of community and that people in the neighborhood have a good understanding about the history/fame of their neighborhood. That said, citizen interviews were difficult to conduct and/or obtain because of the language barrier. Members of the community were very skeptical of the people who did not speak Italian.

Sense of Community
Residents repeatedly talked about how they like the fact that everyone in the neighborhood seems to know each other. Such is the case because residents regularly congregate in open spaces to greet each other and chat. Also, Members of the community frequented the local market in order to greet members of the community and buy from their preferred local vendor.

Quotes from residents which support Sense of Community:
“ I don’t love the supermarket: there isn’t any contact with people and I don’t like packed food. In the market you can choose the product that you purchase and the sellers, since they directly know the customer.” – Market Customer
“We all know each other and the area’s rhythms which are marked by citizen life.”
“In the afternoon, it is possible to see a group of old people, including my husband, that meet up to play cards and to gossip and to spend their time together. In the evening, the boys of the district get together before going out.”
- Tuscolano II Resident, woman, 43 years

Neighbourhood History/Fame
Tuscolano II, as already mentioned, was designed by famous architects with an ambitious plan to create a model social housing complex. It is also a place where movies such as Mamma Roma were filmed and where parks contain remains from ancient history. Residents are aware of this fact and are not shy to talk about their neighbourhoods’ history and fame.

Resident Quotes which support Knowledge of History:
“I like living in Largo Spartaco because it was designed by a famous architect.”
- Massimo de Pamphilis, Neighborhood Politician
“Famous movies are always filmed in our neighbourhood”
- Office Assistant at legal services operation
Section IX: Citizen Itineraries
by Federica Ciarcia and Lucia Fonti, Roma Tre Students

The interested area of interviewee

Marinella, 74

“Sometimes it seems to me that the time has never passed. Certainly have changed many things and many people, but our habits, to meet the market, or at the church, to make a chat, this isn’t change!”

Luigi, 65

“We are here every day. We come to buy a newspaper, but we are here talking for hours, to comment on news, even heatedly discussing politics.”
Giancarlo, 46

“I could see different parts of Roma, thanks to my work, but I always think that the comfort and services that you find in Tuscolano are not so easy to find in a neighbourhood. I have so much beautiful childhood memories in this neighbourhood, so much friends and time spent playing in these streets ... and I hope that this memory of freedom could be the same that my sons will have about their childhood living here.”

Liliana, 36

“The thing that makes particular this neighbourhood is this strange sensation to live not in Roma, but in a village, a village inside the town. You have everything close and you could live also without car, and without any kind of parking problem.”
Section X: Lynch Maps

Our group, with the help of professor Smith and the teaching assistant, acquired four Lynch maps.

**Map 1: Nicola, owner of Ferramente on Largo Spartaco**

His map started with the aqueducts as the southern boundary of the neighborhood. Though in the south, he positioned the aqueduct at the top, followed by the railroads that run parallel. This map connects the neighborhood to monumentality and the ancient world the modern development. The railroad, also at the top and a barrier, represents modernity and the two together reflect the neighborhood in that it is a dialectic of ancient and modern. The neighborhood, defined by high-rise residential towers and long apartment blocks, when viewed as a whole, appear similar to a city wall surrounded by towers.

Next, he draws the East and West bounds of the neighborhood, Via Cartagine and Via Quadraro and then Largo Spartaco is placed on the North. Interestingly, though Largo Spartaco is mentioned, the “Boomerang” is not (in either map). He then draws Via Selimunte connecting Cartagine and Quadraro. The Case in Linea are drawn as well as the towers while Tuscolano III is drawn between Via Selimunte and the Ferrovia.

**Map 2: Nicola, owner of Ferramente on Largo Spartaco**

In the second map, Nicola starts at the aqueduct, this time labeling it Via Appia (once again this is at the top). He then proceeds to draw a soccer field, a church, and then another soccer field in the Southeast corner. He then draws Via Sagunto, connecting to Largo Spartaco which he places (mistakenly) on Via Selimunte. He also places Via Quadraro but instead of the eastern bound, it is this time the neighborhood’s western bound. He draws the torre along Quadraro.

**Notes on Nicolas’ Maps:** In both of Nicola’s maps, the aqueducts and Largo Spartaco act as important boundaries as well as landmarks. Everything else is less clearly-defined. Different streets and features within the neighborhood are emphasized each time and streets are placed in different locations, showing that some of these are weak pathways.

**Map 3: Massimo de Pamphilis, a local politician**

It is important to note that he has only lived in the neighborhood a short time. His map is much more precisely drawn, perhaps a reflection of his education. He orients the map with north at the top and starts with the Boomerang. He does not draw Largo Spartaco but only the structure attached to it. He next draws the streets Viale Spartaco and Via Quadraro, followed by the market at the intersection of these two streets. He seems to emphasize buildings with important community functions, such as the church, parking, the nursery school, the healthcare center, and an abandoned building that was going to become a community center before the city withdrew funding. He draws some of the case in linea as well as some dwellings he labels as cassette. He
also chooses to label the priest’s house. In his drawing, the neighborhood has no strongly defined boundaries.

**Map 4: Pedestrian on Largo Spartaco**

Has lived in the area for many years. He would not draw the map so we drew one according to his description. Like Nicola, he places the aqueducts to the south on the top. He notes that the aqueducts mark the boundary between Municipio X and IX. He points out three major landmarks, the boomerang (which he places in the center), the market, and the ASL health clinic. The two streets which he defines as the bounds of the neighborhood are Via Tuscolana and Via Quadraro. He has misoriented the aqueduct, placing it in the direction of Via Tuscolano rather than Via Quadraro. He does mention, though that Via Appia can be reached by traveling farther down Via Quadraro. Within the bounds, he mentions Via Cartagine, Via Sagunto, Via Erminio, and Via Peastum. These are not connected on the map to any of the boundary streets. This shows that the neighborhood is a sort of closed community. He mentions that outside of the community Via Dell’Aeroporto is an important connection to Centocelle. When asked about Quadraro, he said that the neighborhood had no connection to Tuscolano II. He points out two distinct parts, Quadraro Vecchio to the south of Via Tuscolana and Quadraro to the north.

**General Conclusions**

The only two features that all Lynch maps share are Largo Spartaco/the Boomerang as a landmark and Via Quadraro as a boundary. In speaking with our spontaneous cartographers, we also find that there is debate and ambiguity over the identity of Tuscolano III. Architectural typologies always point to the case base as Tuscolano III but none of the residents we spoke with knew and generally identified it with the housing near the market as the market is called Tuscolano III. The two residents who had lived there longest both started with the aqueducts, orienting them at the top of the map. This is surprising that the aqueducts should be so powerful a landmark to cause residents to reorient the map with south at the top, especially since it challenges a strong hegemonic cultural concept that north should always be at the top of a map.

Aqueducts are placed up top even though in the south of the neighborhood. Second map starts with monumental square. In this case, the cartographer put architectural priorities over urban ones.

This feature defines the priorities of the mapmaker. In addition to this spatial priority, connecting a modern neighborhood to the ancient aqueducts suggests great pride in the neighborhoods connection to history. While the longer time residents connected the image of Tuscolano II with the aqueducts, Massimo de Pamphilis and the receptionist in his office connected the neighborhood more with the image represented in films and connected it to nearby Cinecitta.
That two of our cartographers misoriented the roads suggests that they do not have formal knowledge of how to read maps or perhaps that most of the streets are not known by name but more so by image. The elements which are always oriented properly to each other are Largo Spartaco and the aqueducts.
Lynch Map 1
Section XI:
Street Survey Analysis

There are 9 streets within our self-drawn boundaries of Tuscolano II: Via Cornelio Labeone, Via del Sulpici, Via Del Quadraro, Viale Spartaco, Via Erminio, Via Sagunto, Via Paestum, Via Selinunte, and Via Cartagine. Also included within the boundary is Via Treviri (access closed to the public).

Collecting Data
Our understanding of the street network and traffic patterns of Tuscolano II is drawn from observational visits on Monday mornings from 9am to 1pm and on Thursday afternoons from 11am to 1pm. We began by observing all streets as holistically as possible; and then narrowed down our research area to its present state and began street-by-street analyses. With our initial recordings, we hoped to draw attention to possible streets or patterns of interest. This information, which investigated street type, cars per minute, condition of sidewalk, number and purpose (if applicable) of pedestrians, street foliage, and on street businesses was consolidated into a single spreadsheet. We were then able to select and research other topics of interest- particularly the use of trees and foliage in the streetscape and the centers that pedestrian traffic.

Determining Classifications
After reviewing all data, we found that most streets were polarized in the factors of street traffic or pedestrian traffic, with most streets possessing either almost no traffic whatsoever or very high levels of use, with very few in between. We then were able to classify the streets in Tuscolano II into four categories. The use of the word “Low” indicates 0-1 car observed per minute or 0-1 pedestrian observed per minute. The use of the word “high” indicates 30 or more cars observed per minute or 10 or more people observed in one minute.

1) Low Street Traffic, Low Pedestrian Traffic
2) Low Street Traffic, High Pedestrian Traffic
3) High Street Traffic, Low Pedestrian Traffic
4) High Street Traffic, High Pedestrian Traffic

After assigning each street to its appropriate category based on the data, we then subdivided the categories into one lane or two lanes of traffic when necessary. We then went on to make not of the general land use of the area- commercial, residential, or mixed use.
Street Classifications

1. Low Vehicle Traffic, Low Pedestrian Traffic: Via Paestum & Via Erminio

*One lane, Residential*

Via Paestum and Via Erminio are single traffic lanes with a narrow, one meter sidewalk lining one side of the street. There is also room for 2 lanes of on-street parking, of which there is nearly always ample space.

These streets are generally extremely quiet and private in nature. Neither street has commercial activity or institutional structures, they are purely residential. Although the *case in linea* are close enough to the narrow street to have high interaction, this connection is interrupted by low, thick walls, heightened by chain link fence and barbed wire. To enter the *case in linea*, one must wait at a large gate, of which there are usually 1 or 2 per block. Behind the fence is off-street motorbike and auto parking.

On one visit to Tuscolano II, we lingered along Via Paestum in hopes of catching a glimpse of what was behind the fence. We found people extremely unwilling to let us through the gate. During this time we took advantage of our long wait and observed pedestrian activity. We found that the only motion on the street, both pedestrian and vehicular, was for occupational reasons- one delivery man on foot, a postal carrier on foot, and one plumbing repair vehicle. There is no through-traffic for vehicles. There is also no leisurely foot
traffic, as the narrow sidewalks tightly sandwiched against the fenced wall is rather uncomfortable compared to other walks one could take in the neighborhood. Residents of these buildings can enjoy the unexpected greenery from their balconies. Therefore, the only movement on these streets is people coming or going. This brought us to the conclusion that although Via Erminio and Via Paestum are public places, they function as though they were residents’ private drives and traveling beyond the fence was an offense similar to invading their private property.

While the greenery on Via Erminio and Via Paestum was extremely lush if a bit overgrown, it is important to note that all flora is located behind the fence. For the pedestrian walking on the narrow, crumbling sidewalk – it cannot fit two people across, they must walk single file- the street is rather bleak, surrounded by cars, barbed wire, and the occasional gate. But looking up, the pedestrian is surrounded overhead by low-lying orange trees, soaring roman pines, and a great deal of shrubbery. While the homes lining Ermino and Paestum are generally public housing, the harsh streetscape and the exclusive access to the lush gardens make these streets feel restricted and defensive to the visitor. The residents, however interpret this feeling as privacy and safety from outsiders.

2. High Vehicle Traffic, Low Pedestrian Traffic: Via Cartagine
Two lane, Residential
Forming the Western boundary of our Tuscolano II study area, the defining feature of Via Cartagine is the large, tree lined median separating the southbound lane from the northbound lane. It effectively disconnects its streetfronts from the other. There is no interaction between the western side and Eastern side (Tuscolano II side) of the street; it is difficult to cross as a pedestrian or in a vehicle. The lanes themselves are extremely spacious and each single lane of moving traffic allows for two lanes of parked vehicles- one row against the median and one against the sidewalk. Parking along this axis is extremely competitive, and oftentimes there are double-parked vehicles once the street fills its maximum amount.
Because there was no interaction between the two sides of Via Cartagine due to the median, for the purpose of this study we chose to investigate only the Northbound lane of traffic and its sidewalk. The sidewalk is wide, and 3-4 meters across. It is well maintained and there are matured trees planted along the sidewalk, about 1 meter away from the street. This block of Via Cartagine is entirely residential in nature; however, not even the residential buildings have interaction with the street. Like the streets in the 1st classification, the sidewalk is met by a low lying plaster wall with a tall chain link fence atop it. The structures behind the fence are Type A Case Linea as described in our Section # Building Typologies. They do not face the street, and are oriented so that the narrow windowless ends of the Case Linea face the street. There are two entrances to enter the fenced housing area, one in each segment of Via Cartagine as Via Erminio bisects it. With the exception of these non-descript gates, there is no pedestrian-scale articulation on this street. In this atmosphere, the only pedestrians are residents who park their cars on Via Cartagine and enter their residences by the side entrance. It should be noted that there is a gathering place where Via Cartagine meets Viale Spartaco; this is the entrance of a health clinic where people oftentimes gather outside to escort family members to and from appointments.

Via Cartagine is a highly utilized vehicular traffic corridor. It is one of three two-way streets in Tuscolano II, and is the only one to run on a roughly North-South axis; the others, Viale Spartaco and Via Seilinunte, run east-west. As Via Cartagine
also serves as the sole northbound connector between Viale Spartaco and Selinunte, it receives a great deal of vehicular traffic. While this can be the topic of further investigation, it appeared that most traffic on Via Cartagine was through-traffic to surpass the Tuscolano II neighborhood: most cars were traveling at high speeds and continued straight through to Via Tuscolana. Both the median and the sidewalks are planted with matured trees, providing a great deal of shade and greenery. Beyond the gates to the Tuscolano II housing development, there are large, lush gardens, as described in the first building classification.

3. Low Street Traffic, High Pedestrian Traffic: Via Cornelio Labeone, Via Laterensi, and Via Sagunto

A. One lane, Mixed use

Via Cornelio Labeone is the northernmost boundary of Tuscolano II. It occupies a single lane of moving traffic, flanked by 2 lanes of parked vehicles. Upon our multiple visits, the southern side is often lined with a second layer of double parked vehicles. There are two spacious, sidewalks lining either side of this one-way street. Although the sidewalk is uneven, it is otherwise in good condition and free of trash and debris. It is also located at an unusual intersection where two opposing one-way streets meet, and are both forced to turn onto the one-way Via Cornelio Labione. This unusual feature, along with the street’s unruly parking, limits vehicular traffic to zero to one vehicle per minute. The street is lined with 5-7
level apartment blocks, with the ground level constituting commercial purposes, including a dance school, coffee bar, fabric store, hardware store, tanning salon, and fishing supply store. While some of these shops have more occasional uses, a majority fulfill the purpose that would be used once or twice a week, if not every day (the snack bar). The diversity of storefronts attract a variety of customers, at various times of the day. Many of the windows and signage associated with the stores appear to be brand new. According to our interviewees, this, in addition to the tree-lined sidewalks, make a pleasant place for walks, visiting friends, and running errands. Activity increases as one move eastward, towards Via del Quadraro.
B. Two Lane, Residential
Via Sagunto longitudinally bisects the Tuscolano II development. Stretching from Via Selinunte northward, it meets the “point” of the Largo Spartaco boomerang-shape building. A two way, two laner residential street, the directionality of the street becomes extremely informal once Sagunto bears eastward to curve around the “boomerang”, and the street narrows significantly and connects to Via Paestum. While signage indicates a one-way street at this intersection, the direction of parked cars shows that the signage is not enforced. the street is strictly residential and parking for residents is located behind fenced enclosures, the Via Sagunto has very low parking congestion. Vehicle traffic is extremely minimal, as the residential community and ambiguous outlet to Via Paestum create very little to entice the visitor.
At first glance, one would suspect this street to be ill-used by pedestrians. At the same ambiguous intersection is an abandoned, half-built kindergarten from 1951. Rusted, overgrown and fenced in, this abandoned structure is occasionally and alternatively occupied by squatters or well-intentioned community groups. While certainly detracting from the otherwise pleasant, well maintained streetscape, residents asked about the structure knew its history as an intended kindergarten and did not seem to mind its presence in the community, other than the occasional anti-social activity that occurs there. We inferred that the abandoned school, in conjunction with traffic patterns and the residential land use, would create a decidedly anti-pedestrian
atmosphere on Via Sagunto. Instead, we were surprised to find a diversity of people and purposes moving through this short block. There were construction workers doing restoration on a Case Linea apartment, elderly ladies walking to and from the market, young women jogging, and men ambling towards the “meeting place” on the corner of Via del Quadraro and Viale Spartaco.

A note about Classification 3: Although Via Sagunto, and Via Cornelio Labeone are very different infrastructurally, they display the same traffic use patterns. We have determined that despite their differences in land use and street direction, both streets have adopted the same function as pedestrian channels in Tuscolano II. Via Sagunto serves as a connection between the people and shops along Via Selinunte and facilitates northward movement to the hub of social and commercial activity, located at Via del Quadraro and Viale Spartaco. Via Cornelio Labeone and Via Sagunto fulfill this exact function in the East-West direction, facilitating and encouraging eastward movement as it enters Via del Quadraro.

4. High Street Traffic, High Pedestrian Traffic: Via del Quadraro, Viale Spartaco, Via Selinunte Commercial/Mixed use

These streets form three of four boundaries of the Tuscolano II housing development (the last is Via Cartagine, discussed earlier in this section). The intersection of Viale Spartaco and Via Del Quadraro form a significant node of institutional, residential, social and commercial uses, while Via Selinunte plays an important role in the perception of the neighborhood in the spatial construction of Rome.

Vehicle Traffic: Viale Spartaco, a two-way, two lane street, contains the most diverse land uses of any street in Tuscolano II, including: a public health clinic, a planned recreational/parking facility, Largo Spartaco’s “Boomerang”, The Church of S. Maria Annunziata, the church’s daycare/nursery school facility, two gas stations, a Torre housing structure, and a newspaper kiosk. There are two parking lots, one at Largo Spartaco, and one being constructed across the street. The street is lined by two lanes of on-street parking. As one approaches Via Cartagine, the parking becomes more informal A stopsign is located at the three way intersection with Via Cartagine and Via Laterensi in the western edge, on the east side, a stoplight guides the intersection with Via del Quadraro.

Via del Quadraro runs on a North-South access as a two lane, one way street, heading in the southbound direction. From
Via Tuscolana in the north, to the intersection with Viale Spartaco, Via del Quadraro is mixed use, with 1960-70s era 5-7 story apartment buildings possessing a ground floor commercial level. From Largo Spartaco to Via Selinunte, the mixed use ends and the street becomes residential in land use. Also at this point, the sidewalk changes from typical aged concrete into decorative brick pavers; a designated on-street parking area separated by an decorative wrought iron fence is introduced at this point as well. An uninterrupted connection to Via Tuscolana, Via del Quadraro serves as a through-way to the Italian countryside. Where it intersects with Via Selinunte, Via del Quadraro becomes a two-way street, marking that the visitor is leaving Tuscolano II.

Via Selinunte creates the southern boundary of the Tuscolano II development as well as our study area. A wide, two way street with additional lanes of on-street parking, Via Selinunte is faced on one side with the gated Case Linea style A and a single level commercial structure on the other. In the center of the commercial structure, next to a regional social center for youth, there is a dramatic entrance way to another housing development. At the intersection with Via del Quadraro is an entrance to the public park and a public primary school. Via Selinunte receives a great deal of vehicular traffic as the last corridor between the also highly trafficked streets, Via del Quadraro and Via Cartagine, before departing Tuscolano II.
Of these three streets, the Boomerang is perhaps the most distinctive and monumental structure in the vicinity, and the street furniture in the form of benches facilitate a large gathering place outside of the Torre building, where there are regularly ten to twenty elderly men meeting on any given morning. In the evening, children and teens gather at the same location with their companions. From elderly men at the newspaper kiosk, to new mothers at the health clinic, children playing in front of Largo Spartaco, or elderly women going to church, this diversity of land uses as well as the demographic of residents utilizing the area guarantees that there is always a great deal of pedestrian traffic on Viale Spartaco.

The market on Via del Quadraro, containing about 40 private vendors, attracts many of these pedestrians as they go about their daily business (Interview with Mercato President, see Appendix). Outside the market many vendors have permits to sell home goods, clothing, flowers, or shoes and accessories, drawing much of the movement from the market right onto the street. It is important to note that while Via del Quadraro has very high levels of pedestrian activity, it is densest closer to the market and dissipates as one moves southward (see Appendix I). The activity then intensifies again upon reaching the intersection with Via Selinunte. The primary school, the social center, the cafes and the grocery located on Via Selinunte attract many pedestrians, moving purposefully as well as loitering outside with friends.

At our first site visit to Tuscolano II, we inferred that if our neighborhood was anything like the rest of Rome, there would be major parking problems to be dealt with. Surprisingly, the ease and availability of parking spaces proved to be one of the major attractions of Tuscolano II. Within the internal quiet streets of Via Paestrum, Via Erminio and Via Sagunto, there appears to be a surplus of on street and gated parking spaces.
Section XII:
Memories and Mamma Roma: The Monumentalization of Tuscolano II

A compelling phenomenon in Tuscolano II appears to be the monumentalization of the neighborhood in the memories of its inhabitants. Interestingly, this trend has not evolved over time; rather, it appears to always have been a constant characteristic of the neighborhood rhetoric since its foundation in 1951 (Interview, Nicola). Even today, when the neighborhood’s function as a public housing development is changing drastically from its original function, the celebration of memory is still very present in the minds of Tuscolano II’s inhabitants. Our analysis will investigate psychological, typological, morphological circumstances in Tuscolano II that create a setting with a high potential for monumentalization (Rossi, 99).

**Psychological**
It is perhaps the psychology of the residents that allows for the greatest understanding of the potential for monumentalization in Tuscolano II. This insight was achieved through citizen interviews as well as cognitive map drawing, also known as Lynch maps. Our first detection of monumentalization occurred with our Lynch map experience with a Largo Spartaco hardware store (Ferramenta) owner named Nicola. When we had drawn our own Lynch maps of our study area as comparison, we always started with a straight line at the north (the top of the page. We found that during this exercise, he started his first boundary to the south -at the bottom of the page- drawing a straight line to represent the medieval Aqua Felice. We found other Lynch map participants beginning their maps in the same way. We noticed, rather unexpectedly, that most residents began with the aqueducts, then drew a line from Via Sagunto to the northern tip of Largo Spartaco.

*Aerial View of Tuscolano II*  
*Photo Credit: RomaArchitettura, 2001 Remiddi*

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During formal interviews or more casual interactions, we found that most citizens are extremely educated on the story of Tuscolano II and its architectural, social, and historical significance. Interestingly, this significance is not attached to Rome as a whole, but instead isolated to only the achievements or notable facts of the neighborhood. Immediately upon spotting a group of four students with notebooks, many residents would make jokes to us or to a companion about more students visiting their neighborhood. Every interviewee, without needing to be informed of our goals, inferred (correctly) that we were compiling research on their neighborhood, without needing further explanation, and were happy to educate us. In addition, during these interviews, many people validated their maps with asides: “I like my apartment because it was built by a famous architect” and “the market is one of the only ones like it left in Rome” (Interview, Massimo).

It is clear that residents of Tuscolano II possess and perpetuate a self-awareness of the significance of their neighborhood. In doing so they elevate the structures involved in their daily life- trips to the market, walks in the park, even their own apartment units- to a monumental status. These primary elements of living, in their minds, have become fixed elements in the urban landscape that possess innate value. What is unique in Tuscolano II is the depth of belief in that value. The following analyses of typological and morphological situations in Tuscolano II explore how the built environment facilitates the strengthening of monumental attitudes.

**Typological**

At its construction, Tuscolano II development was composed of 3 basic housing types; each style possesses its own identity and environment very easily distinguishable from the others. As described in “Stupendous, Miserable City”, these distinguishing features recall the architecture of the Italian countryside, historically catered to the newest residents:

*Panels within the concrete façade framework also feature tufo infill in a manner similar to local villages, together with shuttered windows and traditional balconies... a double reading of modern and vernacular is apparent. Rhodes, 105.*

This mixture of the modern and the vernacular rhetoric creates a great deal of visual diversity between the structures in Tuscolano II; the use of stone in largo spartaco creates a dramatically different atmosphere than the use of the

*Vernacular touches to the roof of the Torre in Tuscolano II*

*Photo Credit: RomaArchitettura, 2001 Remidi*
terracotta pitched rooves of the Torre along Via del Quadraro.

Interestingly, it is these distinguishing characteristics that create a unifying factor in Tuscolano II, and allow both residents and outsiders to view the neighborhood as a united, monumental whole that is notably separate from its landscape. At the time of its construction, the Tuscolano II project was located in the countryside, and was surrounded on nearly all sides by a barrier of open space. Therefore, the concavity of the V-shaped Largo Spartaco opened itself to rural lands (facing Northeast, away from central Rome), as a sign that one was entering a place with an extremely defined monument amidst nothingness. In this light, Largo Spartaco’s ground-floor central archway is at once both welcoming and resistant: it visually draws the pedestrian in, and at the same time it seems to pull away. This monumental identity does not come from community activity, rather, it is innately incorporated in the posturing of the building typology: “Although built for “the people,” when looked at through Pasolini’s camera, the Tuscolano project seems only to belong it itself.” (Rhodes, 117).

**Morphological**

Pier Paolo Pasolini, a mid 20th century film maker, utilized the Tuscolano II housing development as the setting for his 1961 film, Mamma Roma to critique and challenge Roman urban development at the periphery. Interestingly, Pasolini features the structural details unique to each typology in Tuscolano II as symbolism: the arch, the stone decorative work, chimneys and pitched rooves, even the market. Similar to the ancient practice of triumphal processions in Rome, Pasolini turns Largo

A scene from Pasolini’s Mamma Roma; public housing in the distance. 
*Photo Credit: Stupendous, Miserable City, Rhodes*
Spartaco’s archway into a transformative moment. His characters, upon walking toward their new home – the arch of Largo Spartago- believe they are walking towards a “neighborhood belonging to another class” (113). This “other class” is referring to a state of higher quality, of elevation in lifestyle. This quality that Tuscolano II is so well-known for, even today among its residents, creates a meaningful context behind the monumental architecture, effectively giving the neighborhood a higher “meaning of the city” (Rossi 101). To identify morphological changes within Tuscolano II, we analyzed the meaningful associations of the neighborhood, such as the pervasive idea of quality.

We found in the case of Tuscolano II that the question was not how the systematic relationships changed over time, but rather their unlikely steadfastness in the face of internal change. In the case of quality, the recent privatization of units within the housing development has created an informal environment where many stakeholders claim they are not responsible for the maintenance of the building. Consequently, conditions of sidewalks, gates, and particularly the exterior of the Torre lining Via del Quadraro appear to be of low quality. Yet when questioned about the maintenance of the buildings, residents are quick to cite the historical quality of their building and mention the architect of their property. Maintenance usually improves when ownership passes into private hands. Management and maintenance issues arise when some units are public some private, and no agreement can be reached. Similarly, Tuscolano II has experienced internal changes in terms of population; from 1971 until today, the population of Tuscolano II has halved. Undoubtedly such a drastic change in such a short period of time would cause lasting effects on the built environment, as well as the social fabric. Resident interviews, however, indicate that the neighborhood hasn’t changed at all since its construction.

Why, despite internal causes for morphologic shift within Tuscolano II, do residents insist on historic continuity? Rossi describes this adherence to memory as the psychology of the monument “constituting a value stronger than the environment” (Rossi, 99). As a fixed point in the urban landscape, monuments have the ability to surpass economic principles by dominating the area of personal memory. Rossi’s theory supports the idea of monumentalization in Tuscolano II: the memory of the neighborhood in its historic context can overshadow real physical condition.

Implications
What are the implications of this monumentalization of Tuscolana II? As we have seen in the spatial and psychological “separation” between Rome and Tuscolano II this gap between the neighborhood’s identity as Roman and as its own, equally monumental entity will continue to widen. This appears to be exacerbated by the flow of major pedestrian and vehicle traffic channels to the south and to the east, mimicking the mental associations of the area with the ancient and medieval aqueducts. Like the enigmatic shape of

Tuscolano II Neighborhood Report 59
Largo Spartaco, embodying so many experiences, Tuscolano II appears to retreating, pulling back at its core towards its remote rural roots.
Section XIII: My Tuscolano II

Min Bu

My experience in strolling around in Tuscolano II neighborhood can be summarized as:

While visiting the neighborhood, I observed a visible racial minority presence. I stopped by cafés and small retail shops owned by Chinese and Bengali immigrants. Certain minority shop owners are proficient in Italian and have no barrier communicating with the locals. I interpret the minority’s interaction with the Italians as a sign of community inclusion. On the other hand, as a foreign student attempting to conduct a study of the neighborhood, I have received countless strange stares, multiple rejections as I approached residents for Lynch maps. Learning the physical form and community dynamics of Tuscolano II neighborhood has been achieved through observation of the physical space and interaction with citizen with the help of a translator. But as an outsider, I was not able observe much activity in private spaces. Some citizens were aware we were students; many more gave defensive responses when we try to enter neighborhood garden. In a relatively inclusive community of ethnic diversity, the foreigners are excluded. Tuscolano II neighborhood carries a lot of memories of the elderly residents. Many interviewees of the younger cohort also look forward to move in Largo Spartaco. This hope and expectation for better living in the “cool and modern” building clashed with the message in the final scene in Mamma Roma, which the main character attempts to jump out of the window, unable to cope with her grief of a failed life. The impression and memory of neighborhood evolves overtime. None of the interviewee mentioned the drastic drop of population between the period of 1970s to 2000s. In the eyes of the younger generation, the neighborhood still represents
a sense of history monumentality, pride of isolation and hope for a better living.

**Lindsay Hoolehan**

Tuscolano II is the meeting place of contrasting urban vocabulary. Yes, it is both modernist and vernacular as described by Rhodes, but what surprised me about the neatly packaged development of Tuscolano II was the amount of complexity still undiscovered. It is at the same time rural and urban, open and defensive, public and private. While it is easy to read about these polarities in planning texts, Tuscolano II offered me my first glimpse of these issues not only from the regional relationship between Tuscolano II and Rome, but also at the very level of the sidewalk.

Making the short trek from the Metro stop on Via Tuscolana to Largo Spartaco every week, I came to understand the culture of monumentalization. The nondescript, pastel colored buildings and indistinctive cafes along Via Tuscolana, and even along Cornelio Labeone would suddenly give way to a new vision, that, in its newness, made it suddenly of more value and more importance than its surroundings.
Royce Novak

Eternal city
The static walls of downtown
The weight of marble

Tuscolano II
Walls behind the curtains green
Strolling between woods

The river Tiber
Reflections of baroque domes
Swallows the water

The aqueducts flow
Behind Tuscolano II
Swallows the water

The metro line A
Slides beneath the city walls
Arrives at the gate

The periphery
Because it's face tends to change
The eternal city
Dennis Tejada

I really enjoyed my time at Tuscolano II; its a wonderful place with a lot to do and a strong sense of community. I feel very at ease when I am at Tuscolano II; the neighborhood fells very residential and has a lot of greenery, trees, and shrubbery. I actually would not mind living there and/or even raising a family there.

Tuscolano II has so much history. The neighborhood was designed by famous architects, is the home of a park with historical ruins, and is the site of many films.

It is great that residents do not need to leave their neighborhood; the neighborhood has schools, community centers for the old and the young, medical facilities, lots of restaurants and shops, and great recreational facilities (tennis courts and soccer fields). That said, it’s great that people in the community have the option of taking the metro to the center of Rome.

My favorite place in the neighborhood is the market. The market is place where residents can buy fresh produce and meat and chat it up with residents of the community.

Simply put, Tuscolano II is Rome’s mini oasis!
Conclusion

Climbing the stairs from the metro at Numidio Quadraro, we were unsure what to expect and were greeted with a complex landscape. Our initial survey was broadly-focused and we were only able to identify a central issue, monumentality and memory. Once we got a feeling for the neighborhood. Our initially broad survey metamorphosed into a study of how the space of Tuscolano II produced and continues to reproduce a sense of connection to a monumental past. This is peculiar for a neighborhood in the periphery as the center is normally associated with Rome’s robust past. This connection to the monumental past has empowered the citizens, giving them a strong sense of identity and meaning that is passed down year to year, generation to generation.
Section XV: Bibliography

Anonymous C. Personal Interview. 03/07/2011
Anonymous C is the owner of a fabric shop on the corner of “the boomerang” along Largo Spartaco.

Anonymous D. Personal Interview. 02/2011
Anonymous D is a resident of Quadraro Vecchio and the local expert on the neighborhood’s history.

DePamphilis, Massimo. Personal Interview. 03/03/2011
Massimo DePamphilis is a local politician who has a business providing legal and other related services. His practice is located along Largo Spartaco and he is affiliated with the party Alleanza per Italia.

Gadeyne, Jan. “Republican and Imperial Rome”. Lecture. Forum Romanum, Rome, Italy. 02/01/2011

Matteo and Alessandro. Interview. 02/2011
Italian students who initially worked with us on studying Tuscolano II and were knowledgable of its history; Alessandro had a large amount of local knowledge as his parents lived in the neighborhood.

Nicola. Personal Interview. 03/03/2011
Nicola, along with his wife Rosa, owns a ferramenta in “the boomerang along Largo Spartaco.


President. Personal Interview. 02/2011
The president of Mercato Tuscolano III. He does not live in the neighborhood and has one of the more recent market stands, becoming a vendor twenty years ago.


Rinne, Katherine Wentworth. "Waters of the City of Rome." Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities.
Vendor. Personal Interview. 02/2011
The vendor we interviewed is an immigrant from Bangladesh who decided to move to Tuscolano II and sell produce at the market because there were few employment prospects for bricklayers in Rome.
Section XVI: Appendices

Appendix 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tuscolano-Housing</th>
<th>Housing Units by Time of Construction</th>
<th>Percentage of Housing Units by Time of Construction</th>
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### Tuscolano II Neighborhood Report

#### Education

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#### Location

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<th>People</th>
<th>Building Type</th>
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#### Tuscolano II Demographics

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<th>Residents 15-64</th>
<th>Residents 65 and older</th>
<th>% Residents 65 and older</th>
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Tuscolano II Neighborhood Report 69
Appendix 2: 
Tuscolano II Aerial Photos from 1943 and 2010
Appendix 3: Interviews and itineraries across a neighbourhood

Federica Ciarcìà and Lucia Fonti, Roma Tre Students
- History of Tuscolano II ‘s neighbourhood -

The Tuscolano district, one of the largest INACasa’s complex, was completed between the years 1950-60 and consists of three independent nucleons, for an amount of 112 buildings. It stands on an area of over 35 hectares, and it was already well served by public infrastructure at the time of construction; it was also placed into a detailed plan, drawn up in 1949 and based on the Plan of Rome of 1931. Starting from ‘sixties, almost all the houses have been redeemed by the assignees. The first group is mainly composed of buildings in line, from 4 to 6 floors, built with reinforced concrete frame and brick infill.

The planning is organized with lots of different textures, each one of them assigned to a leader. The team leaders are: G. Nicolosi, P. Marconi, M. Paniconi and G. Pediconi, R. Marino, L. Ciarlini, L. Orestano. The variety of building wants to reproduce the richness of the natural tissue and their distribution suggests the morphological perfection of a closed area, not intended to be extended: the tower types that, like the city walls, symbolically border the core, define an independent and highly recognizable position in the city; but this is a hallmark of the new planning: "If a district wants to be a district, it needs to be locked, to be completed, and, as in every work of art, nothing must be added or subtracted"

"(INA-Casa, 1952). The partial construction of the northern sector, in particular, that sacrificed the realization of services and public areas, has compromised the unity of Largo Spartaco, the heart of the neighborhood; today the square shows an opened and fragmented accent, exposing the difficulty in relation with the context.

A building of six floors (80 apartments) leans on Largo Spartaco, and it was designed by Muratori in collaboration with De Renzi.

The building consists of a “V” plant, with spread wings and different lengths (one of them consists of 14 spans, the other one by 18), growing to approximately 160 m, with an overpass on the head of Via Sagunto, central axis of the quarter.

The ground floor is intended to shops and the general services of the district, the upper floors repeat the form - corresponding to two fields -, that consists of two adjacent housing, interposed with the staircase and the elevator. In May 1960, the INA-Casa Management invites the INCIS to provide for the necessary works to accommodate a community center.
Other "remedial, improvement, consolidation" works have been requiring, since the same year, both by beneficiaries beginning to redeem housing and by Management.

Along Via Sagunto there is the continuing series of 5-floor houses, which stretches for 250 meters. The authors, Mason and De Renzi, aggregate the houses so that they appear staggered in plan, and half a floor elevated. The uneven layout of the complex divides the district in two areas, connected by a pedestrian underpass. On the west side there are the houses of L. Cambellotti and G. Perugini, also developed according to a double angle. The apartments, two per floor, have a regular plan that is articulated for the inclusion of the only diamond-shaped balcony, which becomes a lodge next to the body’s discrepancy and the head; here, to protect against solar radiation, is used a brise-soleil made of wooden swing open Roman shutters. On the opposite side, to the east one, there are the buildings of L. Vagnetti and those ones of G. Tassotti. The former, in particular, with two apartments per floor in three levels, were originally connected by footpaths leading to the main road.

The tall houses of Muratori and De Renzi mark the district’s limit. The star-building, whose design is attributed to De Renzi, has four arms and it distributes four apartments per floor, for a total of 10 floors. The services of the district planted the presence of a cinema, never built, and a community center, whose actual building is only made of the structure and exterior trim. Nevertheless, the building was occupied by various groups that have managed to build temporary external locks to make it usable; today it’s completely abandoned. A large underground car park is located under Largo Spartaco, with two access ramps on Via Trieviri. Currently, only half of the parking is used; the ramp leading into the abandoned half is closed. A large area of public green surrounded the buildings and it was a connective tissue for the exchange of social relations and it filtered the inner residences from vehicular traffic of the main roads. Today these areas have been divided with fences that individuate community skills and prevent the free passage; other areas were converted into parking.
- Interviews to the area’s actors -

The Covered market’s President in Tuscolano III

1) How long has this market existed? How long have you been working here?
   It was built 20 years ago, it was formerly an open market and I’ve been working here since then. A lot of shopkeepers have been working here for more years than me, I’m one of the youngest. Before it, I had another business that took me much more time.

2) Are there new boxes within the market?
   The marketable products are the same, they haven’t changed.

3) Do the tradesmen that work here live in this district?
   The most part of them comes from the countries near Rome, from the roman castles.

4) What kind of customers attend the market?
   The average customer, in particular made of old people such as the district itself is.
   The 4 - 5 % is made of immigrants.

5) Are there lots of immigrants tradesmen?
   15 boxes are managed by immigrants.

6) Do you like your work?
   I would never have chosen this job, but I like to be in contact with the people.

7) How is the market management organized?

   This is a self-managed market, so are the traders that, trough a self-organization, deal with the maintenance, cleanliness, and safety of the whole complex.

8) Why should the customers chose the market instead of the supermarket?
   Because of the contact with people, the quality and the convenience. In the market you are led bye the seller in the choice of the product depending on the customer’s needs.

A market’s customer

1) What do you think about this market?
   I’ve been living in this district for 50 years, and I’ve always been attending this market. Today is Monday and, as you can seen, there are few people, the moment of highest affluence is Saturday.

2) Why do you do your shopping here?
   I live near the market, so it’s quite convenient. In addition, I don’t love the supermarket: there isn’t any contact with people and I don’t like packed food. In the market you can chose the product that you purchase and the sellers, since they directly know the customer, are more professionals and the products have a better quality.

A market’s seller_one of the 15 immigrant sellers

1) How long have you been working in this market?
I’ve been working in this market for 10 years, at the beginning I managed this box, now I’m the owner.

2) Why do you work in this market?
I leave nearby, as soon as I arrived I worked in a farm, than, because of economic problems, I had to change my work. With a worker’s salary I couldn’t get trough the month and now, even if there’s a big crisis and the work is poor, I've been able to build my life.

3) What do you think about the other market’s sellers?
Very well. They are all very kind and respectful. When I left my country I travelled a lot and Italy has been the only place in which people have accepted me and I’ve been able to build a life.

Tuscolano II’s citizen, woman, 43 years.

1) How long have you been living in this district?
30 years. I leave here with my husband and my 11-yeared son. We stay in my husband’s flat, where he leaved with his family, at first he rented it, than he could purchase it. I leave in a flat at the fourth floor, directly linked to the mansard and I would never sell it.

2) What kind of people live in this district?
Most of all old people, even if young families are starting to spread. When the parents are no longer here, they leave their house to the sons. It’s not easy to find apartments in sell and the available ones are really expensive.

3) How do you live in this district?
Very well. I think this is one of the only districts we could really consider so. We all know each other and the area’s rhythms are marked by citizens’ life. It’s perfectly linked to the rest of the city and with the centre, there are the subway and public transports, there is plenty of shops nearby and there’s the market. It’s behind via Tuscolana, but it’s a little bit protected by the traffic of the street, it’s a sort of small country within the city.

My family and I had two cars. We sold one, because the area is so well connected that we don’t need two cars.

4) Is it a safe district?
Not always. During the day, a lot: my 11-yeared son goes school alone. On his way he meets 4 schoolmates and they go school together; there’s always movement. At night, especially in winter, it’s less safe because there isn’t anybody in the streets and people don’t feel at ease if they have to park their car far from home. A lot of people have put gratings in the windows, and I did too, although I live at the fourth floor. Some months ago some thieves broke into a flat using eaves to climb up, and particularly in summer, when it’s quite hot and people have fear of keeping their window open for this reason. During the day, in the same time, it’s been created a way of auto-surveillance within the district, that, since it’s populated by old people that spend at home the most of their time, they control the streets out of habit, to make the time pass.

5) Which is the most important meeting point in the area?
Surely the area near the kiosk. During the day, particularly before lunch and in the afternoon, it’s possible to see a group of old people, among which there’s my husband when he comes back from work, that meet up to play cards and to gossip and to spend their time. In the evening, the boys of the district get together in the same point before going out.

- Life histories -

1) Mrs. Marinella has 74 years and she has been living in this house since 1976. She moved here with her husband and four children. Only a few years ago they managed to redeem their apartment that has now become property. Their families are from Puglia and fifty years ago they had the opportunity to come and to live here. They were very happy, because they had their house with toilet facilities and heating, a private garden in a residential area full of amenities and well connected with the center, as it is today. She was very quiet at the time because her children could play freely in the streets and in their small garden, because they played with the other children attending the nearby buildings and they were known and controlled by the other parents from the windows. She’s been a widow for five years and for two years has been living in her house with one of his sons, daughter and newborn grandson. Although she is really weak, she tries to go every day to the market to buy fruit and vegetables, or meat from his butcher. The daughter in law deals with the shopping because Mrs. Marinella does not like to go to the supermarket, it’s too chaotic and disorganized. When the weather is nice she likes to carry around her grandson together with the daughter in law. Sundays she always goes to mass at the Church of the Assumption, where she meet the people that she has known for forty years because they have moved to this neighborhood in its own time too and they have raised their children together.

2) Mr. Luigi is 65 years old and we meet him at the newsstand near Largo Spartacus where a group of people gather to play cards on a small table. He was born in this neighbourhood, he has seen other areas of Rome, but nothing is like Tuscolano. He has never married and he lives with his sister and his brother. He worked for the railroad until two years ago when he preferred to retire, having the opportunity. He goes out early in the morning and, after breakfast at the bar, he has a walk through the neighbourhood to greet his friends (the mechanic, the barber ...). At about 11 he passes near the newsstand where he reads the newspaper and where he meets other friends, everyone retired, someone younger, someone less. They discuss about politics, as there is no future for young people, and play cards, but without spending money: it is too risky and there are not enough money to burn! At about 12:30 he goes back home after buying some bread and,
possibly, after passing through pharmacies. After lunch, he sleeps a bit, perhaps in front of the television and in the afternoon, when he can, he trains with the bike in the park. He does not attend the social club Spartacus because there are only old people and apathetic. Sometimes he meets his former colleagues at the bar where they met while they worked at the station Tuscolana. That is one of the few occasions in which he takes the subway, because going in that area by car it’s impossible for the traffic and parking problems.

3) Liliana has 36 years old and two little girls that take back home after school. She was born in this neighbourhood but now she lives in San Giovanni with her partner and two daughters. She loves this district because the mother-in-law lives here and because here she has opened with a friend an estate agency in Via Levio Egeria. When she and her partner bought the house they were very uncertain: the area of Quadraro was the one they were better linked and it was also well equipped with car parks, schools, but in the and they opted for San Giovanni because the houses are larger and modern, and the area is the nearer the hospital San Giovanni, where her boyfriend works. She goes out at 7.40 in the morning, she brings the youngest child to his paternal grandmother’s house and the eldest one at school in Via Marco Decuma, and then she deals with some business (post office, supermarket ...) before opening the agency at 9.30. At 13.30 she closes the agency and she has lunch with her mother-in-law or, sometimes, with some friends or colleagues. After lunch she usually goes to the gym to relax a bit, just before opening again the agency at 16.30 until 19.30. Her boyfriend works at the hospital and is often available, so it’s not easy the organization to look after the girls. Fortunately, both the paternal grandmother and maternal one help them a lot. At about 20.00 she gets back home with the girls and, before dinner, she checks the eldest’s homework. In the weekend she often goes to the park of Caffarella to have walk or to run, because the girls love to see the dogs playing, but she can not afford one of them because of lack of time.

On Saturday afternoon she goes along the Via Appian or Via Tuscolana to do shopping with her friends or with her daughters and, at night, if the partner is not at work, they go out to have dinner with some friends.

4) Giancarlo is 46 years old and is a pharmaceutical company’s representative. He’s married and has two children. He lives in the house that was inherited from their parents. He moved to this apartment with his parents when he was a child. His father was a factory worker and his mother a housewife. Giancarlo has been marrying for fifteen years and he has a 13 and 9 year old sons. His wife is an employee for Post and she comes home every day at 14.30. His work forces him to have flexible hours, but he usually comes home in the evening at about 20.30.
The decision to continue living in the house where he was born is dictated by the memories, the comfort and services of this quarter, and in particular by the possibility of living in a district with livable spaces for his children and well connected with the rest of the city, even without the use of private vehicles. Every morning, before going to work, he goes to the grocery and to the supermarket to buy fruit and vegetables, than he returns home to make lunch for their children. The children go to the district’s school in the morning, their mother accompanies them at school and at lunchtime they go home together. Every morning Giancarlo goes, before the grocery, to have a coffee in his bar of trust in Via dei Laterensi, greeting friends that he has known for a lifetime. In the evening, when he gets back home, he does not attend the neighborhood. Only in the weekends he can meet his friends, especially on Saturday night when he often finds them in some pizzerias of the area. They are all as old as him and this allows him to spend a pleasant evening. On Sundays they all go to mess, then they have lunch by his mother-in-law’s who lives in the neighboring district.

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