TORRE MAURA
COMMUNITY-BASED FOOD SYSTEMS AND PUBLIC SPACE

NICHOLAS COWAN
COLIN HANCOCK
ISABEL LING
AVERY RIESTER
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to, first and foremost, thank the people of Torre Maura for taking the time to contribute to our neighborhood study research project. We would not have been able to gain any kind of true understanding of the neighborhood without their contributions in the form of interviews, conversation and kindness.

We would also like to thank - The children and staff of Punto Luce who invited us into their space and gave us invaluable information on the community, Viviana Andriola and Serena Muccitelli who served as guides and translators, and Thomas Campanella and Gregory Smith for their leadership and guidance.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION
- Abstract ........................................................................... 1
- Literature Review .......................................................... 2
- Methodology .................................................................... 3
- History ............................................................................. 5

## DEMOGRAPHICS .................................................................. 7

## BUILT ENVIRONMENT ..................................................... 9
- Building Typology ......................................................... 13
- Street Typology .............................................................. 16
- Transportation ............................................................... 19
- Public Space .................................................................... 22

## COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT .............................................. 24

## MARKET AND FOOD SYSTEMS ......................................... 25
- Piazza degli Alcioni ......................................................... 27
- Customer Behavior and Shopping Habits ....................... 30
- Market Systems and Trends ............................................ 31
- Public Space in the Food System ..................................... 31

## APPENDIX ......................................................................... 32
- ......................................................................................... 36
INTRODUCTION
ABSTRACT

Torre Maura: Community Enabling Within A Global Village

Torre Maura is the quintessential Roman peripheral neighborhood, characterized by its distance from the historic city center, market oriented food system, and urban village atmosphere. Located approximately 10 kilometers from the historic center, the neighborhood is situated just west of the ring road on the border of municipios VI and VII. Moreover, Torre Maura is a stop on the newly constructed metro line C, which provides residents with easy access to nearby neighborhoods. However, because the metro line does not yet reach the city center, residents do not identify themselves as citizens of Rome. Rather, they see themselves as Torre Maurans, effectively disassociating the neighborhood and taking pride in their own distinctive community. Indeed, Torre Maura has many of the qualities of the neighborhoods within the municipality of Rome, but its history as a self-built settlement adjacent to agricultural land, and its connectivity with other peripheral neighborhoods give it a village-like atmosphere.

Since the neighborhood developed rapidly in the absence of a master plan, its fabric is especially dense and lacks adequate provision of public space. When walking the streets, it is immediately obvious that the neighborhood lacks consistent road and sidewalk maintenance, parking in areas of high density, and adequate accommodations for the aging population. One might expect that these barriers would prevent the elderly from frequenting the market and other informal public spaces. However, because the core of the neighborhood lies along a main arterial street, people overlook obstacles to accessibility, and are instead drawn toward the center where the local market serves as both an informal gathering space as well as an essential part of Torre Maura’s food system.

The focus of our studio this semester was to study the relationships between migrants, markets, and public spaces in our neighborhoods. Like Rome and the rest of Italy, Torre Maura is undergoing a demographic and structural shift as the population ages and as new immigrants arrive. Through a combination of community interviews, surveys, and mapping activities we look to study and understand the importance of transportation networks and food systems that allow peripheral neighborhoods to exist and interact with one another.

Fig 1: Context Map
Rome is a city that prides itself on both its market orient-ed food systems, and its diverse array of immigrants (Catini, 2014). When considering what makes for a good market, most of the literature puts food above all other criteria. The World Health Organization defines healthy food systems as those which, “protect against malnutrition in all its forms, as well as non-communicable diseases,” and the direct correlation between food systems and neighborhoods, therefore, is a crucial one (WHO.org). If neighborhoods have good markets that make fresh produce easily accessible and affordable, they are generally accepted as healthy, well off places (Mary Gallagher Research and Consulting Group). Conversely, many sources state that a lack of access to healthy fresh food due to distance, price or simply what is on the shelves, makes for a less healthy community (CityLab). As a general rule, one of the few places within cities where populations come into contact with the people who actually make their food are markets (Project for Public Spaces). Whether large or small, Rome’s citizens have a wide array of market spaces to choose from, and the city is recognized for its fresh local produce, much of which comes from less than an hour or two from the city centre.
There is a large impact on small farms and produce in Italy due to European Union regulations on ‘traditional’ forms of food production and over the various attempts to protect regional, local and traditional foods, which often do quite the opposite. The European Union states on its webpage that it takes great care to ensure that its food standards, “do not force traditional foods off the market, stifle innovation, or impair quality”, yet the European Union regulations on food, many of which came about in 2000, do not give a good indication of just how Italian markets function. Rome’s markets are not, however, only food based. In fact, a most of Rome’s markets devote space designated for ‘dry goods,’ such as clothes, accessories, electronics, toys, and other various gifts and used items. Unfortunately, although Rome is an incredibly diverse city, the relationship between Italians and immigrants is nuanced and marred by xenophobia, politics, and racism. A large part of what makes this relationship so negative is the Fascist and nationalist culture and history associated with Italian politics. Naturally, with Rome being the capital city, the area is the center of much of the country’s political issues including the immigrant question. As a result there is a mix of media responses on immigration, some being pro immigrant in an ever aging Italy, and some being fans of the ideals of honing back to an Italy of yesteryear. The viewpoints of the immigrants themselves are largely silenced in this dialogue, especially in the local media. When looking at the cold hard facts, however, census data shows us that Rome and Italy proper does, in fact, have a large percentage immigrants, though by no means the largest in Europe. Torre Maura, our neighborhood, has about 14.4% of a foreign born population as of 2011, whereas the city as a whole has 8.6%, still a relatively high number especially for a nation-
Statistical Analysis

We utilized two major datasets to conduct our demographic analyses: ISTAT’s 2001 and 2001 Rome census reports. Isolating the 34 census tracts within our neighborhood study area, we compared data between this ten year period and between Torre Maura and Rome as a whole to identify key shifts and distinctions in demographics, population density, educational attainment, labor force participation, and foreign-born populations. We then manipulated this extracted data in Excel and cleaned up our graphics in Adobe Illustrator in order to visualize our findings.

Building Typology Survey

The first step in our in-depth analysis of Torre Maura’s physical environment was to decide on a study area boundary representative of the typological and topographical structure of the neighborhood. Based on resident interviews and surveys of the neighborhood’s composition, we decided that our study area should be bounded by Via dei Ruderi di Casa Calda on the north, Via Walter Tobagi on the east, Via Pietro Belon on the west, and Via delle Rondini and Via dell’Aquila Reale on the south.

In order to most efficiently survey all aspects of building typology, the study area was then divided into four quadrants, which were then further divided into blocks. By hand drawing each of these blocks we were able to number each building which we analyzed one-by-one in terms of building type (palazzo, palazzine, miscellaneous, detached), land use (residential, commercial, mixed use, institutional), number of stories, number of units (if applicable), number of vacancies, number of shops, types of shops, and maintenance level. All this data was then compiled into Excel spreadsheets (see appendix) and analyzed spatially using ArcGIS and AutoCAD.

This primary study area is the focal point of the community: centered around the market and the key north-south commercial artery of Via dei Colombi, it represents the economic heart of the neighborhood. Within its bounds, the area contains numerous institutions and community resources and encompasses the principal community gathering spaces. Moreover, when community members were asked to draw Torre Maura in a mapping exercise, this is the area they focused on. Finally, we believe that this primary study area is a representative sample of Torre Maura as a whole both physically—with a good mixture of different street and building typologies—and demographically. Thus, from this point on, we narrowed our analysis to this new scope.
Street Typology
In order to survey and categorize street typologies in the neighborhood, we walked street by street and took notes on street hierarchy (arterial, primary, secondary, tertiary), presence of sidewalks, maintenance levels (good, fair, poor), and usage levels (cars and people). We also conducted three node analyses in which we sat at the intersections of major streets and recorded the number of vehicles and pedestrians going in various directions at ten minute intervals.

Community Engagement
Throughout our time surveying the neighborhood, we conducted numerous interviews with residents, community actors, shop owners, and market vendors in order to gather information on the strength of the market and food system in Torre Maura and overall opinions on the state of the neighborhood and how it can improve.

Moreover, in order to determine whether or not the landmarks and boundaries we deemed to be important aligned with those of community members, we completed a second cognitive mapping activity with the residents of Torre Maura. To overcome the language barrier we created a flyer explaining the purpose of our project and why it was important for us to get opinions from the public. We also translated the directions for creating a Lynch map into Italian so that it would seem simple and fast, but despite these efforts many of the people that we approached were unwilling to participate. However, despite the widespread hesitation, we were able to get a handful of residents to participate in our activity and provide us with useful information about the neighborhood.
HISTORY

Torre Maura is a dense working class neighborhood located at the intersection of Via Casilina, Via dell’Aquila Reale, and Via Walter Tobagi off of metro line C. The name Torre Maura originated from a medieval tower (Torre Casa Calda) located on Via Casa Calda where remains were found after an excavation in the late 1980’s. The latter part of the name Torre Maura was attached to the neighborhood landmark to pay tribute to a saint remembered for her service to humanity across Italy and France (Santa Maura), but the name of the tower remained Torre Casa Calda. Prior to development, the peripheral neighborhood was filled with squats which were transformed into self built apartment buildings and homes as the neighborhood was established with the help of the catholic church. In 1936, a fascist era convent was opened at the intersection of Via dell’Aquila reale and via dell’Airone. The chapel served as an early resource and gathering space for low income families until the opening Parrocchia San Giovanni Leonardi which became the primary community center ultimately leading to the abandonment of the fascist era building in the early 1970’s. After years of abandonment, the community voted in 2003 to demolish the dilapidated building which has since been forgotten by the community. In 1951, Tullio Rossi designed a stalwart church in the community named Parrocchia San Giovanni Leonardi. The parish was part of a new wave of churches set to be constructed by Cardinal Francesco Marchetti within the greater Rome area to spread Catholicism in newly developing neighborhoods. Torre Maura was one of the peripheral neighborhoods experiencing an early wave of development and population growth, so it only seemed natural that a new church be erected to tie the community together.

The church has remained an important neighborhood landmark and is host to a small school, sport courts, and gathering spaces which have served the community for decades. Located next to the Parrocchia San Giovanni Leonardi is the Circolo Bocciofilo Roma Est, a community recreation center with strong ties to its neighbor. The lack of public spaces in the neighborhood has allowed these small recreational and community gathering spaces to become an important component of the urban fabric. However, while these formal community gathering spaces exist, many people elect to spend their time in bars and restaurants near the neighborhood market.

Fig 7: Photo from 1950s of Via Dei Colombi
History Of Torre Maura

1936-Present

1936: A Fascist era convent chapel is opened on Via dell' Aquila Reale

1951: Parrocchia San Giovanni Leonardi is opened and serves as a school and community center

1955: Tiburtina Appia is opened

1960: Market opens in Torre Maura

2013: Rome Planning Dept. holds a participatory meeting to announce the start of the Torre Maura urban transformation program

2015: Punto Luce Roma is opened in Torre Maura

Fig 8: Timeline of Torre Maura’s History
DEMOGRAPHICS
OVERVIEW

A statistical analysis of Torre Maura reveals numerous insights into the socioeconomic circumstances of the neighborhood and its residents. Overall, we have found that most current demographic data—from the distribution of age brackets and family sizes to the itemization of the labor force—is very comparable to that of Rome as a whole. Considering that Rome’s peripheral areas command a much larger spatial and demographic presence than the historical center, such comparable findings support our conjecture that Torre Maura represents the archetypal peripheral neighborhood.

However, as is evident in the subsequent analysis, there are some key distinctions that differentiate our neighborhood and provide the foundation for our research. Namely, Torre Maura is a dense and graying neighborhood that suffers from considerably high dropout rates, but which has also experienced a massive influx of migrants. This data, although only part of the story, has been backed up by resident interviews and meetings with key community institutions.

POPULATION

Our selected study area of Torre Maura is made up of 34 census tracts within Municipio VI. As of 2011, 9,013 people lived within this 0.58 square kilometer area reflecting an exceedingly dense urban fabric with 15,540 people per square kilometer (as compared with 2,232 people / km² in Rome overall, 10,120 people / km² in Rome’s historic center, 2,272 people / km² in Municipio VI, and 6,590 people / km² in Municipio VII). Moreover, within Torre Maura itself, densities vary widely with some census tracts reaching densities as high as 40,000 people / km².

Sources for both graphs: ISTAT Census Data 2011
An analysis of the population over time shows that Torre Maura’s population has dropped by 1.6% since 2001 (from 9,160 people). Moreover, Torre Maura is aging rapidly with a large increase in people over the age of 74 and a decrease—or very minimal increase—in younger age groups. This demographic shift—in conjunction with the fact that Rome’s population as a whole has increased slightly—highlights both the importance of catering to this prominent age bracket as well as the urgency of addressing how the neighborhood can become more attractive to youth.

**EDUCATION & EMPLOYMENT**

Considering that ISTAT reports do not include any data about income levels, this information must be inferred from data on educational achievement and employment status. As compared to Rome as a whole, very few people in Torre Maura hold a university degree (only 798 people or 8.9% of the total population). Instead, the majority of residents either only hold a high school diploma or have never obtained a diploma or degree.

These low rates of educational attainment do not necessarily imply that the neighborhood has substandard educational institutions—in fact, Rome is known for having an exceptional public school system—but rather this most likely points to a lack of supplementary resources and student motivation (a topic we discussed in depth with the director of Punto Luce, an organization that provides after school programs to students). Nevertheless, although the percentage of university graduates is low, this statistic is consistent with national figures and has increased slightly from 5% of total population in 2001 which suggests that the neighborhood has been making steps towards improvement.

In contrast to lackluster educational attainment statistics, Torre Maura has relatively favorable employment figures. Within the neighborhood, 3,949 individuals (52.1%) are actively part of the labor force—3,686 (93.3%) of which are employed and 263 (6.7%) are unemployed but seeking work—all of which perfectly mirror Rome’s statistics. As follows, Torre Maura’s labor force participation rate is 43.81% and most of this active population is composed of men (56.9%), a detail which contradicts the fact that most university graduates are women (58%).

**Fig 11 : Educational Attainment**

*Sources for graphs: ISTAT Census Data 2011*
Finally, in accordance to the theme of this report, it’s important to glean a thorough understanding of migrants’ presence in the neighborhood. As of 2011, there were 1301 foreign-born people living in Torre Maura (14% of the total population), of which most came from other countries in Europe or from Asia, which is very representative of Rome as a whole. Of this migrant population, most are women (53.7%) and the vast majority are young to middle aged; very few migrants are over the age of 54. This last figure is especially important for the future of the neighborhood’s demographics: in light of Torre Maura’s low fertility rate and graying populace, this influx of younger foreign-born residents can be seen as a much needed balancing factor for the neighborhood’s increasingly unsustainable population pyramid.

Especially remarkable is the trend of this foreign-born influx: between 2001 and 2011, the total population of migrants residing within Torre Maura increased 264%. We can also presume that this exponential growth has continued—if not been even more drastic—in recent years with the permanence of the refugee crisis. This transformation intensifies the obligation of the neighborhood to adapt to this new demographic and to expand resources assist migrants so that they may more easily find economic opportunities and ways to integrate into the community.

Finally, the accompanying infographic maps show the most prominent migrant group and the total migrant population in each census tract, respectively. Interestingly, the Asian population is highly concentrated in a North-South axis central to the study area and, being that Asian migrants make up a large part of the total migrant population, this area also contains the most amount of migrants in general.

*Sources for graphs: ISTAT Census Data 2011*
BUILT ENVIRONMENT
**OVERVIEW**

Our secondary study area in Torre Maura is composed of 687 buildings which encompass a total of 4252 households. The average building contains 6.7 residential units which, on average, accommodate 2.3 people. In great contrast to Rome's very diverse building stock, most of the buildings in Torre Maura were erected between 1945 and 1970, a period of intense development on the Roman periphery, especially in areas east of the historic center where the government focused planning initiatives in the 1960s (Agnew, 1995).

The majority of these buildings are two to five story self-built palazzine, although along arterial roads many buildings can be characterized as professionally built palazzi. Moreover, of these households, 71.2 percent are owned, 20.3 percent are rented, and 8.5 percent are otherwise occupied. According to Borsino Immobiliare, a leading real estate website, the average selling price of a typical household in Torre Maura is €2,195 / sqm and the average rent is €8.22 / sqm / month (“Zone Casilino Maura Tower”).

![A Palazzo in Torre Maura](image)

**Cognitive Mapping**

In order to obtain a better spatial orientation of our neighborhood, we followed Lynchian mapping techniques and diagramed the locations in Torre Maura that were consistent with Lynch’s definitions for paths, nodes, landmarks, edges, and districts. In order to determine whether or not the landmarks and boundaries we deemed to be important aligned with those of community members we completed a second cognitive mapping activity with the residents. To overcome the language barrier we created a flyer explaining the purpose of our project and why it was important for us to get opinions from the public. We also translated the directions for creating a Lynch map into Italian so that it would seem as simple and fast, but despite these efforts many of the people that we approached were unwilling to participate.
The most common feedback that we were given during this round of community engagement was that Torre Maura is too large to draw using the lynch map technique. The people who were willing to attempt to draw the neighborhood focused on the main arteries of the neighborhood which lead to the market and other important landmarks. This helped us to see that although the neighborhood is large many of the landmarks, nodes, and paths that community members are able to identify all lie close to one another which led us to our secondary focus area.

**BUILDING USE**

From our collected data we were able to catalogue building uses to visualize them in the accompanying land use map. From this map we can see that the vast majority of the neighborhood is comprised of residential buildings (73.2% of total building stock). Mixed-use buildings are also very prevalent (21.7%) and are largely concentrated along major commercial arteries like Via dei Colombi, Via Casilina, Via delle Rondini, and Via dell’Aquila Reale. These buildings typically consist of both residential and commercial spaces with retail shops on the first floor and living units on all other floors. Commercial buildings make up a far smaller portion of the total building stock (2.9%) and can be found sporadically along Via Casilina, Via dei Colombi, and Via Walter Tobagi. Finally, the scattered institutional facilities (2.2%) include schools, churches, government buildings, and
BUILDING TYPOLOGY

Torre Maura as a neighborhood grew out of previously agricultural land, remnants of which can still be seen on the periphery of our study area. As previously mentioned, in the mid-twentieth century, there was a surge in population in Torre Maura, which triggered a massive increase in building development. In order to save money, residents built their own homes typically with the mindset that each floor would be designated for each generation so as to keep the entire family within the same building. We factored this history into our building typology differentiating between the self-built and the formally built. Thus, within Torre Maura we identified four distinctive building typologies: palazzina, palazzo, detached, and miscellaneous. These typologies are detailed below and the accompanying map depicts the mixture of building types in our primary study area, extruded to portray their relative heights.

Fig 17: Building Height

Fig 18: Public Housing in Torre Maura

Fig 19: Mixed Use Residential Palazzine
The last identified typology encompasses primarily one to two story commercial and institutional structures and makes up the remaining 12.2% of the building stock. These buildings consist of retail complexes, schools, churches, government buildings, and cultural centers.

Palazzine are typically two to five story freestanding self-built houses. Early in Torre Maura’s development, these palazzine were specifically constructed by the family around agricultural land. As seen in the map, palazzine make up the majority of building types in the neighborhood (62.2%), especially concentrated in the largely residential northeast and southeast.

The second most common building type in Torre Maura (18.3%) is the archetypal Roman apartment building. In contrast with palazzine, these buildings are formally built and are typically larger in size with more living units and floors. Moreover, this building type is typically zoned for residential or mixed uses. As seen in the map, palazzi are more concentrated in areas of high commercial and mixed uses, especially in the northwest of the primary study area.

Detached, single-unit buildings are more uncommon in Torre Maura’s physical typology (7.3%). Detached housing can take many forms although those which we observed in our neighborhood tended to be small one story houses or shacks meant to house one person/family.

The last identified typology encompasses primarily one to two story commercial and institutional structures and makes up the remaining 12.2% of the building stock. These buildings consist of retail complexes, schools, churches, government buildings, and cultural centers.
BUILDING MAINTENANCE

According to ISTAT data, Torre Maura has fewer ‘excellent’ rated buildings than Rome as a whole, although the vast majority are in good condition (as seen in the accompanying graph). To compare this data, we conducted our own subjective analysis of building conditions on the same scale—excellent, good, fair, and poor. The results featured in the accompanying building conditions map find that, within our primary study area, 40% of total building stock is in excellent condition, 50.6% is in good condition, 7.8% is in fair condition, and 1.6% is in poor condition.

Based on our results, it is possible that a progressive renewal has occurred although, given that these are subjective evaluations, it is illogical to make conclusions on how our statistics compare to ISTAT other than to say that we have a more positive view of Torre Maura’s building stock. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the neighborhood’s self-built character has a big im-

STREET HIERARCHY

Torre Maura exists at the intersection of two major roadways: Via Casilina—which runs east from Termini Station in the historic center out past the city boundaries and southeast to the town of Frosinone—and E80—the ring road that encircles all Rome. These transit arteries have disproportionately large traffic flows and noise levels and yet they are not representative of the archetypal Torre Maura street and, as we will discuss more in depth later, they do not affect accessibility between different parts of the neighborhood. The typical street in Torre Maura is narrow and lined with parked cars; which promote slower traffic flows. The accompanying map illustrates the mixture of street types within the neighborhood.
ARterial/Primary Streets

Within our street survey, we came across three main streets: Via Casilina, Via Walter Tobagi, and Via dei Colombi. However, based on usage levels by cars and/or pedestrians, we decided to further differentiate these streets between arterial roadways and primary streets.

An arterial road is a wide, heavily trafficked road which connects urban centers. Via Casalina and Via Walter Tobagi can be characterized as arteries as they are major thoroughfares for cars making their way from the historic center and other peripheral neighborhoods to the ring road and vice versa. The accompanying street cross-section of Via Casilina emphasizes the car-centric nature of these streets with numerous lanes accommodating through traffic, parked cars, sidewalks, and an abandoned tram line, totaling approximately 30 meters from end to end.

A primary road, on the other hand, is a long neighborhood channel which supports a bustling pedestrian-oriented environment. Via dei Colombi can be characterized as a primary street as it is the commercial hub and principal pedestrian thoroughfare in Torre Maura which runs north-south through the center of the neighborhood. This wide one-laned and one way street experiences moderate traffic flows and boasts the widest and best kept sidewalks in Torre Maura which run the full length of the street on both sides.
SECONDARY STREETS

Torre Maura is predominantly made up of secondary streets which act as corridors between arterials and the interior blocks of the neighborhood. The accompanying street cross-section of Via dell’Aquila Reale highlights an exemplary structure and key features of a secondary street. Namely, they are medium-volume roads which consist of either one or two-lanes of traffic (one way or one in either direction, respectively) and are flanked by parked cars. As with most streets in Torre Maura, very rarely do you find street trees.

TERTIARY STREETS

Tertiary streets encompass all local and private roads in the neighborhood. The accompanying street cross-section of Via delle Anitre illustrates the conventional structure and key features of a typical tertiary street. Namely, they are narrow, low volume, one-laned, and one way roads. Many are too narrow to accommodate parked cars although those that are slightly wider are flanked by cars just like every other street. Moreover, some of these streets are private roads that are used to access schools or private development complexes.
NODE ANALYSIS

We selected three nodes after performing a Lynchian analysis on Torre Maura in order to represent the different types of transportation and pedestrian flows that could be found in the neighborhood: the intersection of Via dei Colombi and Via Casalina, a connecting point between commercial and residential activity, the intersection of Via Casilina and Via Walter Tobagi, a major transportation hub situated by the Metro station and the ring road, and the intersection of Via dei Gabbane and Via dei Colombi in order to show the flow between residential secondary roads and a main commercial artery. At each intersection we counted the number of vehicles and pedestrians for 10 minute intervals and averaged the trials.

Conclusion

After performing this node analysis we found that at the intersection of Via dei Colombi and Via Casilina on average had 34.5 cars/min passing through and 70 pedestrians walk across during the 10 minute interval while the intersection of Via Casilina & Walter Tobagi on average had 70.3 cars/min traveling and 14 pedestrians. This shows that while the metro stop adds another layer of transportation, the transportation hub still largely revolves around the automobile.
Torre Maura is served by 25 Metro bus stops along Via Walter Tobagi, Via Casilina, Via Torre Maura, Via Casa Calda, Via Tucani and Via Colombi. The C9, N18, 556 and 313 buses all frequent the area. The Torre Maura stop on underground Metro Line C was opened in 2014 (thus replacing the now abandoned tram line that ran along Via Casilina), and is part of an expansion with the purpose of promoting the connectivity of peripheral suburbs. Currently, the Torre Maura and Torre Spaccata stops serve the area around the Torre Maura neighborhood proper. It also serves as the neighborhood’s newest transportation hub, and comes as a welcome addition to the bus lines. The stop has evolved into the main means of connectivity between the outlying communities along its line, and yet it is interesting that it is not connected to the center city directly, but rather stops at Lodi, just before the Aurelian walls. Still, the line serves the communities outside the walls via contributions to their economies, and by providing essential connectivity to utility and shopping services. Currently the Metro Authority is constructing a connector between the Lodi station and the San Giovanni, wherein the C line would join the A line, which connects to Termini and from there all points forth.
SIDEWALK ASSESSMENT

The accompanying map displays the locations in which sidewalks are present and where they are absent. This clearly reveals that along most secondary and tertiary roads, there is a marked paucity of sidewalks. This lack of sidewalks greatly affects the walkability of the neighborhood as it is far more dangerous to walk on a narrow street flanked by parked cars which restricts the pedestrian to the center of the street and forces them to avoid constricted traffic flows.

Fig. 30: Sidewalks in Primary Study Area

SIDEWALK MAINTENANCE

In accordance with the sidewalk assessment, we also documented the upkeep (or lack thereof) of streets and sidewalks. The accompanying map displays how well streets have been maintained on a ranking system from good to fair to poor. As shown in the accompanying photos, a good street was characterized by a clean and level sidewalk and well-paved roadway, a fair street was characterized by a messy but acceptable sidewalk and cracked roadway, and a poor street was characterized by a dilapidated and crumbling sidewalk and a roadway filled with potholes. This survey reveals that most streets in our study area are fairly maintained. Interestingly, the most poorly maintained roads included those with the highest volume traffic (Via Casilina and Via Walter Tobagi) and the best maintained road was Via dei Colombi which has the highest foot traffic.

Fig. 31: Sidewalk Maintenance in Primary Study Area
PUBLIC SPACES

The built environment in Torre Maura is extremely dense and supports a large population, but despite public demand there are very few public open spaces throughout the neighborhood that satisfy the wide range of needs in the community. During community interviews, several adults reported that they are unsatisfied with existing public spaces and with the lack of leisure activities available in the neighborhood. Younger respondents expressed interest in movie theatres, sport courts, public parks, and spaces where adults and children alike can gather freely.

Indeed, the neighborhood lacks formal municipal public spaces, but it is home to an abundance of privately-owned assembly spaces such as recreational areas, cafes, churches, and the market, all of which have served the basic needs of the community for generations. For example, since the early 1930’s churches have offered reliable educational spaces, parental support via daycare centers, and general spaces for community gathering and social interaction. Children reported that they enjoy using the church recreational facilities, but because they are fenced off and locked at night they aren’t able to use them with great regularity. When asked where friends meet after school, the children we interviewed at Punto Luce reported that starting from middle school, kids begin to take the metro to nearby neighborhoods to hang out at McDonalds or the Centro Commerciale Casilino. However, if they had spaces to play and gather in the neighborhood they would opt to stay local.

Older residents make use of bars and restaurants located along the major arteries of the neighborhood because they are easily accessible to all residents and are close to both the market and the supermarket. One group of women told us that they gather every morning at a local cafe and a group of men told us that they do the same at a different cafe. Overall, Torre Maura is severely lacking in the realm of public spaces and could benefit from projects such as the mixed use park being proposed by the children involved in Sotto Sopra. If the density and age distribution in the neighborhood continue to shift, it will become increasingly essential to accommodate the aging population as well as the influx of younger immigrant families.

Fig. 32: Nodes and Public Space Map
COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT
PUNTO LUCE

On one afternoon, we attended a meeting with a team of mentors and students from Punto Luce, a Save the Children facility located on the North end of Via Walter Tobagi on the East side of the neighborhood. The facilities were built in 2011 by the Municipality of Rome and were intended to be a library and cinema for the residents of Torre Maura, but when the funds did not come through, the facilities were repurposed and reclaimed by the ‘Save the Children’ organization.

Punto Luce provides recreational activities and academic support for children between the ages of 6 and 16, as well as family support services to anyone who expresses interest, completely free of charge (they are funded by private donations from partnering companies). The majority of students who come to Punto Luce are residents of Torre Maura, but an increasing number of travel from nearby neighborhoods via the newly constructed metro to use the facilities and educational resources. The educational assistance places special emphasis on study skills and motivation in order to address the high dropout rates in the neighborhood.

Moreover, Punto Luce has become a stalwart institution for migrant integration. Approximately 50% of the students who attend the after school programs are first generation migrants, largely from North African nations. In order to address the inadequate resources available for migrant integration Punto Luce provides child care for very young children and language programs for parents.

Finally, we met with a group of children who attended the after school program and expressed interest in transforming an old basketball court on the Punto Luce property into a functional mixed use space. Punto Luce connected the children with Sotto Sopra, a national organization which encourages youths to participate in community planning across Italy. The Torre Maura chapter of Sotto Sopra—led by a group of three middle school children—has since joined forces with local legislators, and has come up with a comprehensive plan to transform wasted public spaces into safe functional spaces by adding street lights, railings, and ramps. The group is hoping to eventually find financial support so that they can turn their vision into a reality so that the community can have access to the facilities it deserves. Their focus on promoting more public spaces in Torre Maura which are inclusive to all has certainly guided the analysis of our research and aligns well with our belief that the neighborhood needs to address the needs of youth if it is to continue to foster a vibrant and inclusive community.
OVERVIEW

Food and agriculture are an essential part of Italian society and through this lens we hoped to better understand the social networks and hierarchies that exist in Torre Maura. Within Torre Maura we studied both the Mercato di Piazza degli Alcioni and the larger food systems and networks of the neighborhood. In order to spatialize the food network we categorized and mapped all of the different food distributors along the Via Dei Colombi, a main commercial artery. In addition, we mapped the different market stalls in order to better understand the products the market provided and the need it filled in the neighborhood. The market was heavily incorporated in our community engagement efforts, and we interviewed market vendors and local patrons in order to understand how they use the market. In addition, our studio met with Armando Zelli, the General Secretary of Federazione Italiana Venditori Ambulanti, to learn more about the vendor populations and about how Mercato di Piazza degli Alcioni fits into the larger market system. We also met with Francesco Panié of the activist organization Terra! in order to learn about the supply chains that feed into the market.
Fig 36: Market Stalls at Piazza degli Alcioni
PIAZZA DEGLI ALCIONI

The local market in Torre Maura at Piazza degli Alcioni is not only a cornerstone of the food system in Torre Maura but also an important social gathering space for the community. It is a daily market with stalls dedicated to dry goods, clothing, meat and cheese, and fresh produce, and is bordered by cafes, a supermarket, and other commercial spaces. This layering of uses creates the social importance that has helped this local market thrive. As a whole, local markets in Italy are struggling, facing tensions with the rising popularity of shopping malls that not only have large supermarkets with facilities and products markets lack but which also mimic the socio-spatial structure of markets.

Within Torre Maura there exists this same tension, with many residents choosing to go to the Centro Commerciale Casilino to do grocery shopping and the youth gathering at the McDonalds in the shopping mall to socialize. However, according to Armando Zelli, the General Secretary of Federazione Italiana Venditori Ambulanti (FIVA), 89% of Italians go to a market at least once a week with 60% spending 20 euro a week or more. As a social space, the market serves as a commons, where people of all ethnic background and demographic interact, build relationships, and shop. The marketplace also serves as an economic point of entry for many of the migrant population, with a diverse demographic of Bangladeshi, African, and Chinese vendors.

Fig 37: Mercato di Piazza degli Alcioni
CUSTOMER BEHAVIOR AND SHOPPING HABITS

The market oriented food system in Torre Maura is anchored by the variety of products and goods found in the stalls of ambulant vendors in Piazza degli Alcioni. Due to the size and success of the market despite the presence of competitive supermarkets, we were curious to discover what consumers prioritized when deciding where to shop (price, quality, location). Community interviews revealed that consumer preferences were first and foremost based on price, but were also affected by quality and accessibility.

The geography of the neighborhood would suggest that shoppers in the northern half of the neighborhood might prefer to shop at supermarkets close to their homes, but many people reported that they are willing to travel one kilometer or more in order to have access to quality goods despite the steeper price. The exception to this trend is a group of elderly shoppers who live far from the market and only make the trip for specialty items (wine, meat, fish). Thus, while many people are satisfied with the quality of goods in the neighborhood, the distance and lack of parking near the market make supermarkets more attractive to shoppers who need easy access. Middle aged consumers often reported that they shop at both the market and at the supermarket depending on the prices at each location, “I prefer to shop at the supermarket because I can buy everything I need at once, but because the quality in the market is higher I don’t mind buying produce there and everything else in the supermarket if I have time to go to both” (Simona).

MARKET SYSTEM AND TRENDS

Shoppers who were more concerned about price than quality were satisfied with the selection in the market, but were willing to sacrifice what is perceived to be superior quality food for more reasonable prices. Younger shoppers living near the market were overall the most satisfied with the consumer vendor relationship, selection, and price of food offered in the stalls. These respondents often had children in school nearby and were happy with the convenience of the market despite its lack of parking. While price and quality remained important, these respondents reported that their relationships with the vendors made the market and community feel more like a small village than a neighborhood in a large city. They also added that they wish the market had more non-food vendors because many of the shops in the neighborhood are low quality and sell out of date clothing.

Overall, the majority of respondents were satisfied with the quality of goods in the market, but make their consumer decisions based on convenience and/or price before considering quality. In order to satisfy the changing tastes of residents, Torre Maura introduced ambulant vendors on a rotation basis meaning that no singular vendor can occupy the same market more than two times per year. This creates a sense of curiosity in the market and motivation for younger shoppers to take their business to local vendors who benefit from the increased foot traffic in the piazza.
PUBLIC SPACE IN THE FOOD SYSTEM

As we analyzed previously, Torre Maura has a notable paucity of formalized public spaces. With green spaces restricted to the far reaches of the neighborhood—visibly underutilized, poorly maintained, and widely regarded as inadequate—and an evident lack of publicly-owned spaces like libraries, community centers, and piazzas, residents have been forced to adapt and make better use of semi-public spaces, like cafes, street corners, recreational centers, churches, and of course the market.

According to Mike Francis and Lucas Griffith in their journal article on The Meaning and Design of Farmers’ Markets as Public Space, “markets today...reflect a demand and appetite for new types of civic space. They offer opportunities for social interactions that are less prevalent in contemporary public space and bring a diversity of people together in public space” (2011). As we have mentioned, Piazza degli Alcioni Market is a space largely utilized by migrants who are selling goods, shopping, and/or simply trying to better integrate into the community and customers of the market explained that although it may be higher priced and more of an inconvenience than simply going to a supermarket or shopping mall, they enjoyed the social interactions that the market fostered and especially the trust they built over time with vendors. Something similar can be said for cafes—especially those near the market like Il Forno and Stardust—where we frequently see older residents enjoying a morning espresso or simple lunch while sitting outside people watching and talking with their friends. One resident named Antonio even bought us coffee and sat us down at a cafe to discuss the history of Torre Maura and his opinions on the neighborhood.

Nevertheless, although cafes and markets may have become popular stand-ins for more formalized public spaces, they have their own obstacles which may inhibit social gathering and create more problems than solutions. For example, in order to utilize the seating of a cafe to socialize, it is usually expected that you would purchase something. Moreover, we learned from market vendors that Piazza degli Alcioni has been a difficult place to do business. Namely, the piazza is actually just a parking lot and intersection where vendors set up temporary stalls each morning. This inhibits traffic flow and some vendors believe that the market should be located somewhere else where it may draw in more people—a crucial factor for the success of the market in a time when business is dying and vendors are simply competing on price to survive—such as the plaza outside the Metro Station which is visibly underutilized.
LOOKING AHEAD

Similar to the municipality of Rome, Torre Maura can expect to see changes in the way that residents interact with the urban environment as public transportation connects peripheral neighborhoods. The recent construction of Metro Line C connects peripheral neighborhoods allowing residents to take advantage of resources and facilities nearby. Upon completion, Line C will extend Northwest past the Colosseum, Piazza Venezia, Largo Argentina and the Vatican. Although the introduction of the line has encouraged economic activity between the peripheral neighborhoods, Torre Maura is still isolated from the historic center of Rome. With the connection, it is expected that there will be an increase in economic opportunities and a reshaping of local identity for people who currently reside in Torre Maura.

Like other peripheral neighborhoods, much of the younger generations are looking beyond Torre Maura for educational, employment, and social opportunities. This has resulted in an aging population that is inhibited by the physical accessibility of the built environment, but due to the lack of public spaces the elderly choose to gather in the market. Shopping preferences are often influenced by walkability, parking, and product availability which affect customers’ decision to prioritize convenience and affordability over quality.

The ever rising popularity and convenience of large ‘big-box’ super markets and shopping malls like the Centro Commerciale Casilino is also jeopardizing the future of markets across the city. Though market vendors were trusted in the past, and many still are by some of the neighborhood’s older citizens, the fact that many of the stalls in the market rotate every few weeks, compared to the large corporate grocery stores’ consistency in products, location and staff gives them appeal.

Still, the future is not completely certain for Torre Maura and certainly not the market at Piazza degli Alcioni, due to several administrative issues and social trends. On a grassroots level, there has been an effort on behalf of the permanent vendors to move the market to a more formalized space, possibly near the new metro stop. Currently an underutilized public space, many vendors see the transportation hub as a way to anchor the market and bring in untapped customer demographics. However, due to issues with both municipal and local governance, no action has been taken. Although the market is a local landmark and node, it is also located in a functioning parking lot and thoroughfare, creating automobile traffic. While the market’s current location in Piazza degli Alcioni has helped shape both the identity and built environment of Torre Maura, in order for the market to have a sustainable future it is important to either envision the market in a different space or to make the current space more pedestrian-friendly.

Fig 40: Photo memories of a 70-year resident of Torre Maura
BIBLIOGRAPHY


FIGURES

Figure 1: Cowan, Nicholas. “Context Map.” Map. May 3, 2018.
Figure 2: Cowan, Nicholas. “Woman decorating for Carnival.” Photo. February 7, 2018.
Figure 3: Cowan, Nicholas. “Backyard of a Self-Built House.” Photo. February 7, 2018.
Figure 5: Cowan, Nicholas. “Primary and Secondary Study Area.” Digital Image. March 22, 2018.
Figure 6: Ling, Isabel. “Community Engagement Poster.” Digital Image. April 12, 2018.
Figure 7: Unknown. “Photo from 1950s of Via dei Colombi.” Photo.
Figure 8: Riester, Avery. “Timeline of Torre Maura’s History.” Digital Image. April 26, 2018.
Figure 12: Cowan, Nicholas. “Migrant Infographic.” Digital Image. March 1, 2018.
Figure 13: Ling, Isabel. “A Palazzo in Torre Maura.” Photo. February 7, 2018.
Figure 14: Cowan, Nicholas. “Building Age.” Digital Image. March 1, 2018.
Figure 16: Cowan, Nicholas. “Land Use Map.” Map. March 22, 2018.
Figure 17: Cowan, Nicholas. “Building Height.” Digital Image. March 29, 2018.
Figure 18: Cowan, Nicholas. “Public Housing in Torre Maura.” Photo. February 7, 2018.
Figure 19: Cowan, Nicholas. “Mixed Use Residential Palazzine.” Photo. February 7, 2018.
Figure 21: Cowan, Nicholas. “Street Types.” Map. April 5, 2018.
Figure 27: Cowan, Nicholas. “Metro Line C.” Photo. February 7, 2018.
Figure 29: Mapa-Metro.com “Metro Map.” Digital Image.
Figure 30: Cowan, Nicholas. “Sidewalks in Primary Study Area.” Digital Image. March 22, 2018.
Figure 31: Cowan, Nicholas. “Sidewalk Maintenance in Primary Study Area.” Digital Image. March 22, 2018.
Figure 32: Cowan, Nicholas. “Nodes and Public Space Map.” Map. April 26, 2018.
Figure 33: Ling, Isabel. “Sotto Sopra members presenting their model.” Photo. March 22, 2018.
Figure 34: Cowan, Nicholas. “Mercato di Piazza degli Alcioni.” Photo. February 7, 2018.
Figure 35: Ling, Isabel, and Nicholas Cowan. “Food Network.” Map. April 12, 2018.
Figure 36: Ling, Isabel. “Market Stalls at Piazza degli Alcioni.” Map. April 12, 2018.
Figure 37: Ling, Isabel. “Mercato di Piazza degli Alcioni.” Photo. February 7, 2018.
Figure 39: Cowan, Nicholas. “Public Space Outside Metro.” Photo. February 7, 2018.
Figure 40: Ling, Isabel. “Photo memories of a 70-year resident of Torre Maura.” Photo. April 23, 2018.
### Sample Building Typology Survey Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Building Num.</th>
<th>Building Type</th>
<th>Use Type</th>
<th>Num. Stories</th>
<th>Num. Units</th>
<th>Unit Vacancies</th>
<th>Num. Shops</th>
<th>Shop Types (if applicable)</th>
<th>Shop Vacancies</th>
<th>Maintenance Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tattoo Parlor, Unipol Bank, Driving School</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hair Salon, Pet Shop</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Palazzo</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pizzeria</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bar, Barber</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Palazzo</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tabacchi, Pizzeria, Persian Grill, Nail Salon</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Detached</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vendor</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Market Vendor</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vendor</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Market Vendor</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Detached</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>School</td>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Palazzina</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Detached</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Shack</td>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent</td>
<td>Distance from Market</td>
<td>Num. visits per week</td>
<td>Goods Purchased</td>
<td>Quality or Price</td>
<td>Satisfied/ Dissatisfied</td>
<td>Male/ Female</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simona</td>
<td>.5 KM</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>&quot;I live right next to Via Dei Colombi. So, when I see the fish truck pass by my house on Tuesdays and Thursdays I know I can get fresh fish. The supermarket in Torre Maura is definitely the most convenient, but vegetables and produce are lower quality. The goods in the markets come from local producers on the East side of Rome, so you can't get things in the market that are out of season.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giacomo</td>
<td>100 Meters</td>
<td>7+</td>
<td>Fruits, vegetables, and meat</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Content</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>&quot;I spend a lot of time at the market because it is so close to my house and all of my friends are around. When I need groceries I get them before I go home so that I can have fresh food every day. If I need to save money I go to EuroSpin because the quality and price are both good. The market needs a bigger location, but I don't know where it would go. &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother &amp; baby</td>
<td>8 KM</td>
<td>4-5 Visits/Year</td>
<td>Clothes</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>&quot;I don't live in Torre Maura but I come here a few times a year to buy clothes and other things that I can't get in my market&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luigina</td>
<td>1 KM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wine &amp; eggs</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>&quot;I want to move to Thailand because people are very educated and they smile a lot there. In Torre Maura we only have old people. The only reason I come to the market is to buy wine from my friend and to buy eggs&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernesto</td>
<td>1 KM</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fruit &amp; Vegetables</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>&quot;I like to buy fruits and vegetables in the market and then go to the supermarket to buy everything else. The quality is really good, but the prices are high in the stalls. I normally come to the market and then stop by the bar because there is nothing else to do. If I could change the market I would want it to have better prices and more choices. Some stalls with sweets and pasta would be nice. &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmen</td>
<td>1 KM</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fruit &amp; Vegetables</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>&quot;I don't have any hope for the future of the market. It will always be the same. I am happy with the quality and availability in the market, and I like the walk because I get to exercise a bit and buy things for my dog at Conad&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentina</td>
<td>1.5 KM</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fruit &amp;</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>Dissatisfied</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>&quot;I have a husband with alzheimer's so I can't go to the market unless I know I will get fresh food at the fish market&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**STATISTICAL TABLE S2 (CONT.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Num. visits</th>
<th>Goods purchased</th>
<th>Quality or Price</th>
<th>Satisfied/dissatisfied</th>
<th>Male/Female</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Gabriella & Marco | 1 KM     | 3           | Fruit & Vegetables | Quality          | Satisfied            | Male and Female | 40  
| 3 old ladies    | 1.5 KM   | 2-3         | Fruit & Vegetables | Price             | Dissatisfied        | Female        | 89   
| Roberta         | 100m     | 7           | Fruit & Vegetables | Both             | Satisfied           | Female        | 73   
| Loradana        | 1 KM     | 1           | Fruit            | Price             | Dissatisfied        | Female        | 41   
| Partick         | .75 KM   | 2           | Clothes          | Price             | Satisfied           | Male          | 17   
| Yolanda         | .5 KM    | 3           | Fruit & Vegetables | Quality           | Dissatisfied        | Female        | 63   

- "Stalls in the center of the market are not always the same, so it is nice to have some variety. Without Conad next to the market you would have to go very far to find a supermarket. My kids go to school at Via Torre Maura nearby so it's nice to have a place to stop on our way home. I think they need to remove or replace some of the stalls because they are falling apart.

- "We shop in the market whenever we need something but it's not everyday. We meet at Forno for a cappuccino every morning because we like having a place to sit and talk.

- "I have lived here since I was 13 years old and now I'm 73. When my family moved here Via Casalina was not yet developed. I shop at the market and at Conad, but before I started having knee problems I would come down to the market every day. Now I shop for convenience so that I don't have to come as often. The only thing that I dislike about the market is that it's next to my house. Sometimes you don't want to run into so many people."

- "Sometimes I will buy fruit in the market, but I mostly walk in this direction so that I can walk my dog or get pizza. Going to the supermarket is much better because I can park my car and get everything I need at once. I don't like the Chinese shops because you don't get a receipt and it doesn't seem right."

- "My parents mainly come to the market, but sometimes I will get socks and shirts at the market. The only time I go into the Chinese stores is when I need to buy poop bags for my dog."

- "The quality of products in the neighborhood has improved. Conad is getting cheaper, but I trust them more than the market for fish. The market is too small now because some of the vendors have retired, so I go to the supermarket because it has choice."
LYNCH MAPS
BUILDING TYPOLOGY METHODOLOGY