



# **Acque Bullicante / Tor Pignattara**

***Street Survey, Cognitive Maps & Analytical Account***

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# Introduction to the Project

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To study a neighborhood, it is helpful to think of an hourglass: wide and broad at the top, narrow toward the middle, and expanding out and broad again at the bottom, as the hour concludes. Similarly a study of a region or neighborhood must start out with a broad overview, as we attempt to understand its physical and spatial layout, as well as its social and demographic makeup. As time and the research progresses, we must narrow the research and focus in on a specific topic. Finally, as we approach the end, our research must expand and the study must be applied more generally and broadly.

It is important to look at a neighborhood both broadly and in specific details to fully comprehend all of its intricacies. Without understanding a neighborhood broadly, we may not fully understand why a culture develops as it does or why people act as they do. The layout, both physical and social, are imperative to understanding how a neighborhood functions. Yet at the same time, A broad look will only allow us to understand the layout, and we will not be able to see what the culture is or how the community uses the space to interact; therefore, we must look at very specific details of a neighborhood, as well. We must study social interactions, uses of public space, and social and public policy, each in specific, to fully comprehend the intricacies of the neighborhood and how the people and space interact with each other.

It is in this vein that one can understand our study of the neighborhood of Bullicante (heretofore known as Bullicante for short). We started by surveying the neighborhood and studying its history to gain a broad understanding (Part I). We then transitioned by interviewing residents and having them draw cognitive maps (Part II) in the mold of Kevin Lynch to gain a greater understanding



**Photo 0.1**  
*The Bullicante Neighborhood*  
(Karl Chan)

of a hot-button issue in the neighborhood to be studied: in this case the issue to be studied further was immigration, integration, and assimilation in the neighborhood (Part III). Finally, we concluded the study by studying these issues in Italy and San Francisco as comparison points to the neighborhood to help us understand this issue in a broader sense. The following paper is organized in this manner.





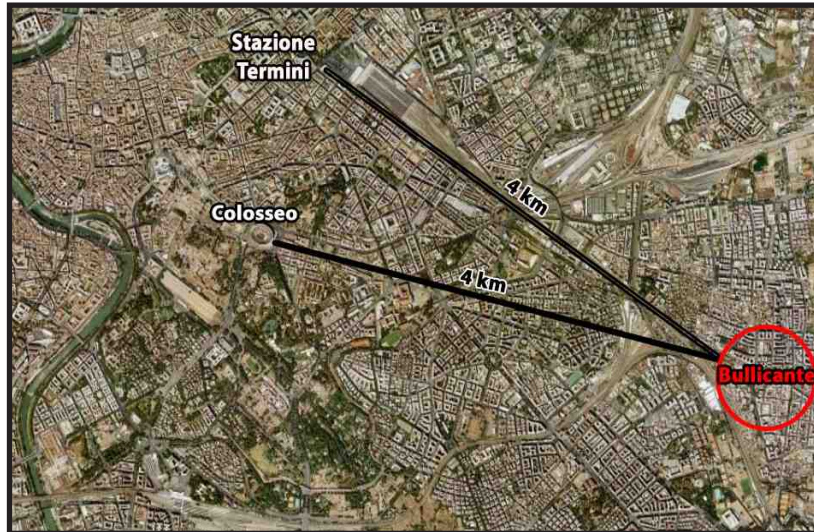
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*Part I:*  
*Street Study & Neighborhood Survey*

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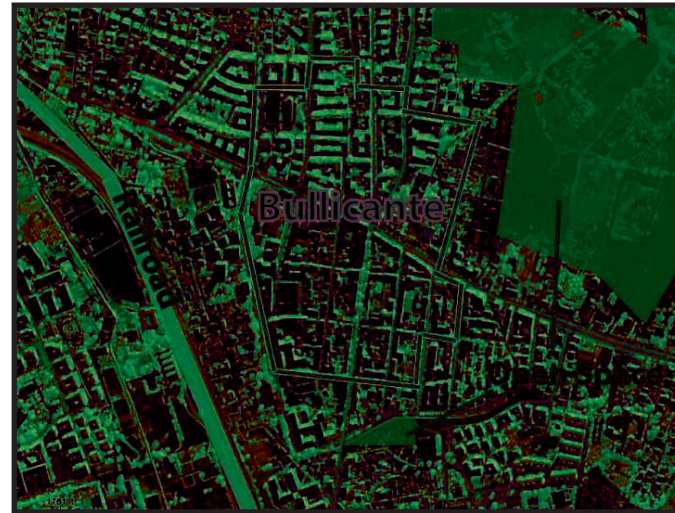


# Introduction of the Neighborhood



**Diagram 1.1**  
*Bullicante's Geographical Context*  
(Karl Chan)

Located on the eastern periphery of Rome's city center, Bullicante is a neighborhood that is around four kilometers away from central Rome (See Diagram 1.1). The neighborhood is particularly identifiable for its ethnic diversity. Formerly an Italian neighborhood, changes in the economy made it attractive to the working class, and specifically to immigrants. Today, Bullicante is the home to a cohort of elderly Italians who have managed to maintain their properties, and for young to middle aged immigrants from around the world, especially India, Bangladesh and China. Despite the mix of age and ethnicity, there does not seem to be any tones of tension among the different groups. Moreover, residential and commercial spaces are integrated, giving rise to the presence of many mixed-used buildings throughout the neighborhood.



**Diagram 1.2**  
*Surroundings of Bullicante*  
(Karl Chan)

Despite the lack of open spaces and public spaces within the neighborhood, there are several large open spaces right next to the neighborhood (See Diagram 1.2)

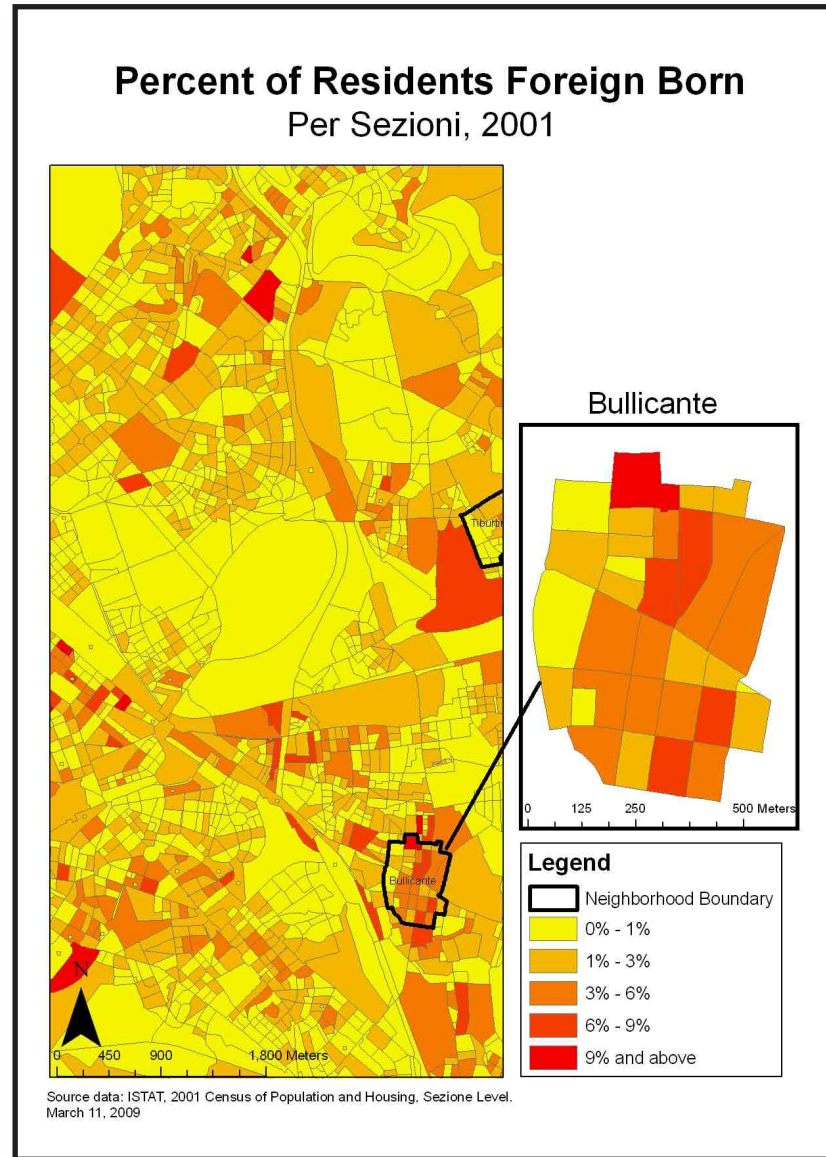
Despite the fact that Bullicante does not have any private or gated streets, social and public spaces are rare in Bullicante. Although it is accessible via tram and bus, minutes from Termini Station, this neighborhood does have many spaces that one would refer to as "destinations," per say. Within our boundaries, there is one piazza, no parks, and no green space. As a result, a vibrant street culture has emerged: Walking down Via Della Maranella, one may spot several clusters of elderly Italian men engaging in

conversation, while a group of Bangladeshi men are greeting friends on the opposite sidewalks. Every street in the neighborhood has sidewalks distinctly separated from the streets, providing space for an adaptive means of maintaining a community-oriented atmosphere. Given this, the social spaces (where residents congregate or gather) are usually at street corners or right in front of a restaurant, a bar or a supermarket.

This streetsurveyexamines the details of the neighborhood’s physical environment, establishments and building typologies, as well as its demographics and human activity.

**Statistical Background**

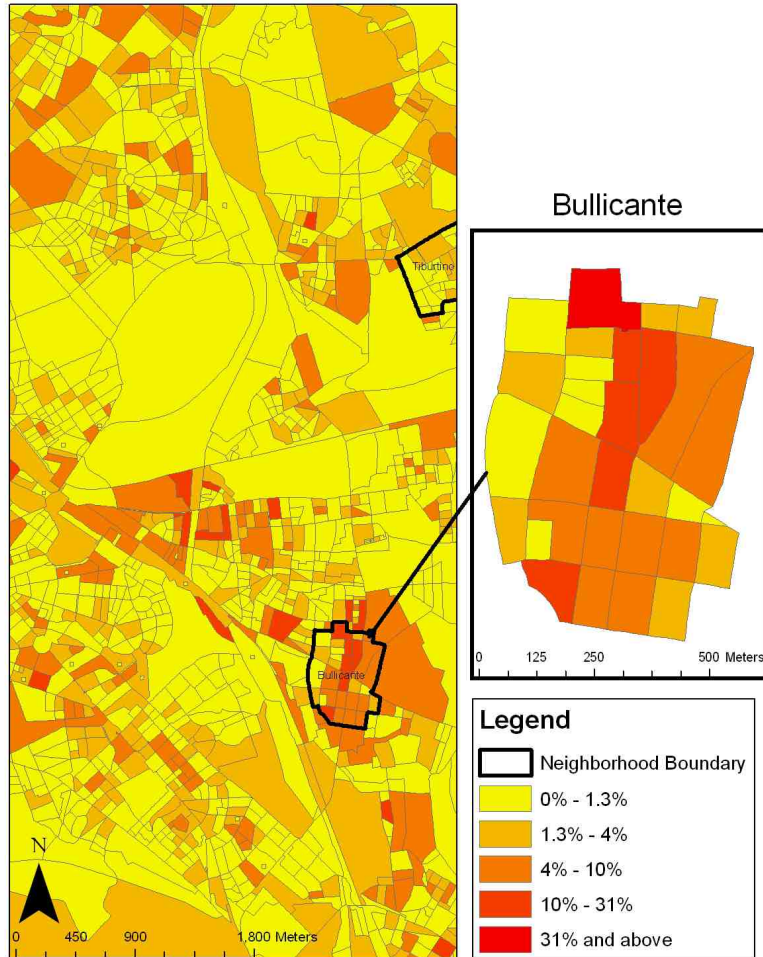
A review of the statistics available from 2001 gives us a strong understanding of the ethnographic makeup and integration of Bullicante. The GIS maps show that the Bullicante has historically had large numbers of foreign born residents (Diagram 1.3). In particular, the center of the region has high numbers of Asian born residents (Diagram 1.4), paired with the highest population density numbers (Diagram 1.5) and the highest numbers of houses built before 1961 (Diagram 1.6). Furthermore, this central region is also home to the most Africans in the region (Daigram 1.7); however, the Africans are not nearly as dense as Asians, who make up over 8.4% of the population in certain parts of the northwest quadrant. The edges by contrast show low population density ratings paired with fewer buildings built before 1961 and low foreign-born resident ratings. This would imply that immigrants have been condensed to the older and potentially less-developed center (the level of development is unclear as statistics do not allow us to actually see the region), although the reason for this is unclear, as such a phenomenon may have occurred by choice or by economic necessity.



**Diagram 1.3**  
**GIS Map: Percent of Residents Foreign Born**  
 (Melissa Kim)



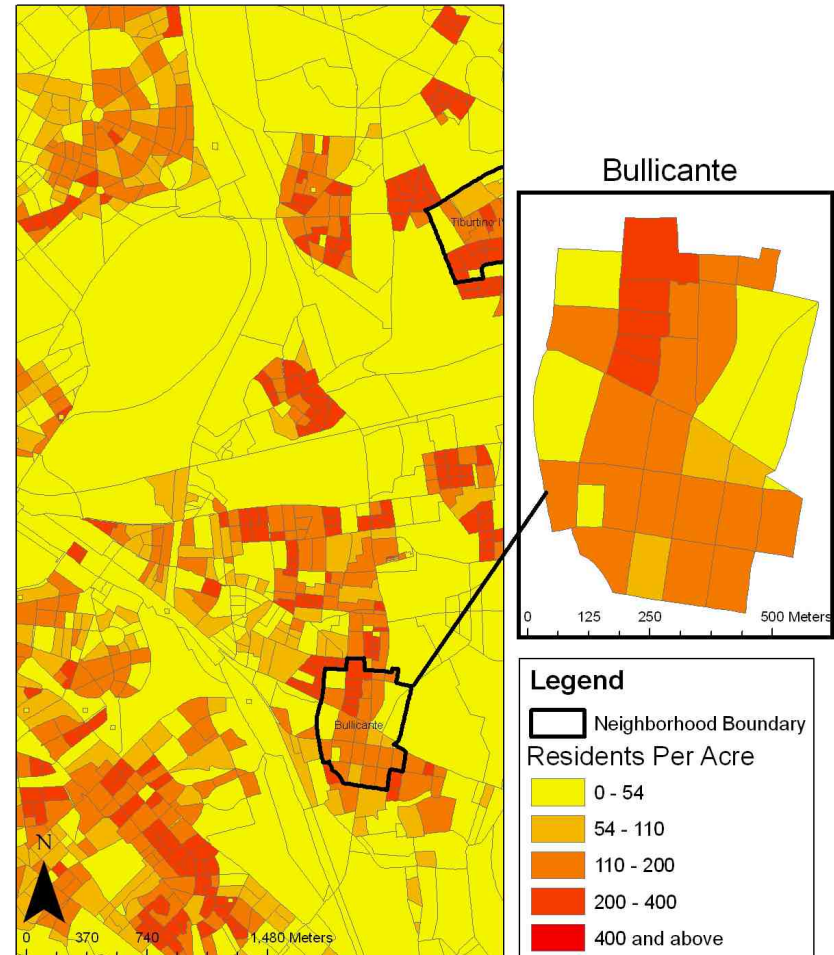
**Percent of Residents Born in Asia**  
Per Sezioni, 2001



Source data: ISTAT, 2001 Census of Population and Housing, Sezione Level.  
March 11, 2009

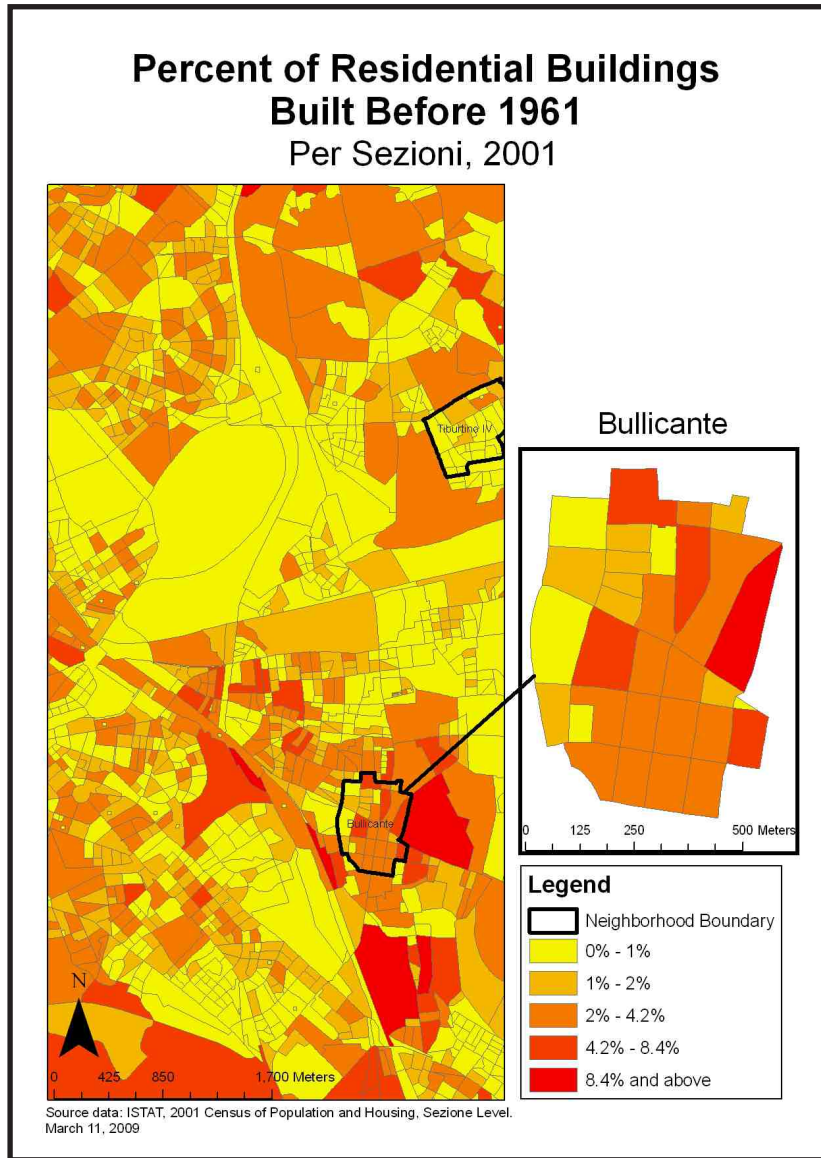
**Diagram 1.4**  
**GIS Map: Percent of Residents Born in Asia**  
(Melissa Kim)

**Population Density**  
Per Sezione, 2001

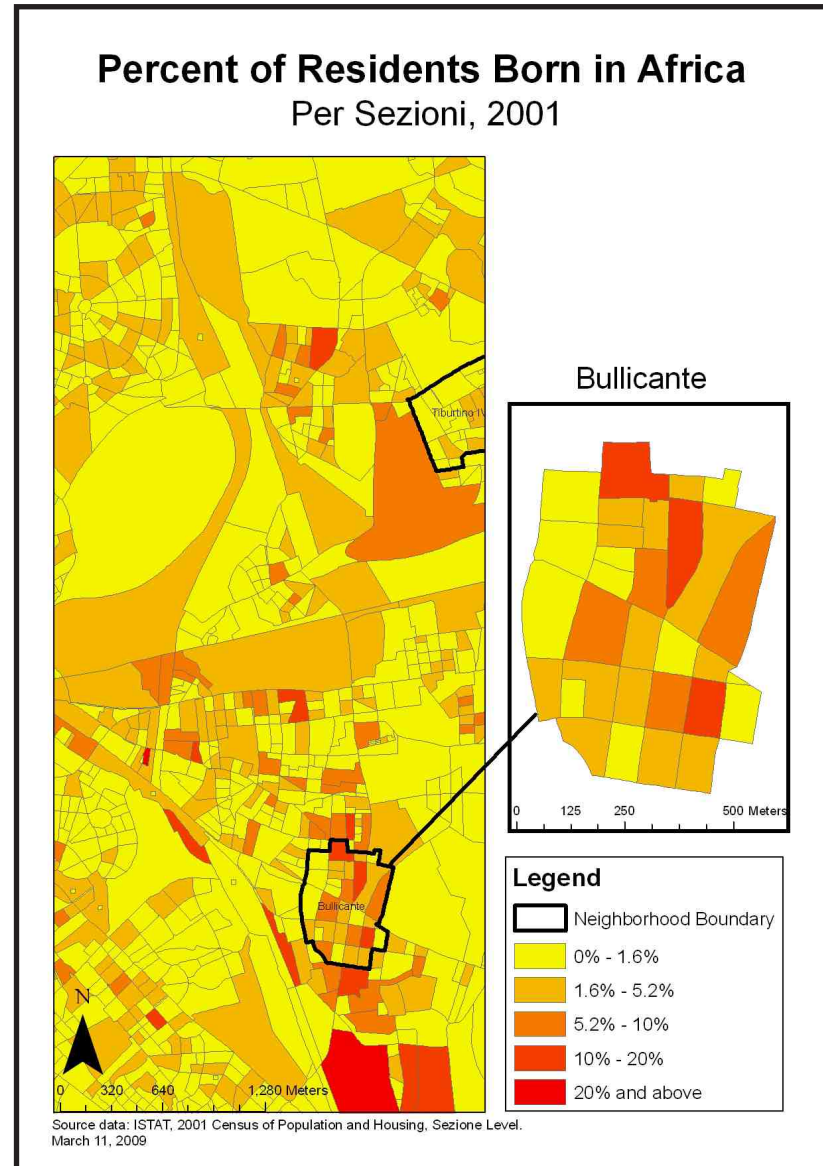


Source data: ISTAT, 2001 Census of Population and Housing, Sezione Level.  
March 11, 2009

**Diagram 1.5**  
**GIS Map: Population Density**  
(Melissa Kim)



**Diagram 1.6**  
**GIS Map: Percent of Residential Buildings Built Before 1961**  
 (Melissa Kim)



**Diagram 1.7**  
**GIS Map: Percent of Residents Born in Africa**  
 (Melissa Kim)

# Methodology

Before beginning our ethnographic journey through Bullicante, we took several preliminary steps to ensure that we would collect data of uniform categories that are particularly relevant and fair (ie non-suggestive) to the neighborhood. In his book, *Looking at Cities*, Allen Jacobs alludes to a comparison between a doctor observing a patient and a planner observing a neighborhood. He suggests that “visual diagnosis is an important tool in many professional disciplines”, not discounting urban planning. Thus, the four of us ventured into Bullicante to make some initial impressions—and ultimately to design our survey format. After this visit, we designed a survey form that addressed the general environment, paying detailed attention to certain aspects significance.

In an attempt to efficiently and sufficiently examine every street in the neighborhood, we divided Bullicante into several pieces. Via Casilina is the largest arterial road, separating Bullicante into northern and southern halves. Beyond this division, we further segmented each hemisphere in half, creating comparable quadrants of Bullicante, while treating Via Casilina as its own section to be studied. Exact dimensions of each quadrant, by street, can be found in Diagram 1.8. In a nutshell, our findings are separated into four quadrants and Via Casilina, all of which have distinct features.

Each group member was responsible for surveying the streets in his or her quadrant. The survey was divided into four parts: physical environment (a survey of street types, conditions, and environmental surroundings), establishments (a survey of parking, special features such as fountains and schools, and commercial establishments), building typology (a description of the buildings), and human Activities and demographics (a study of

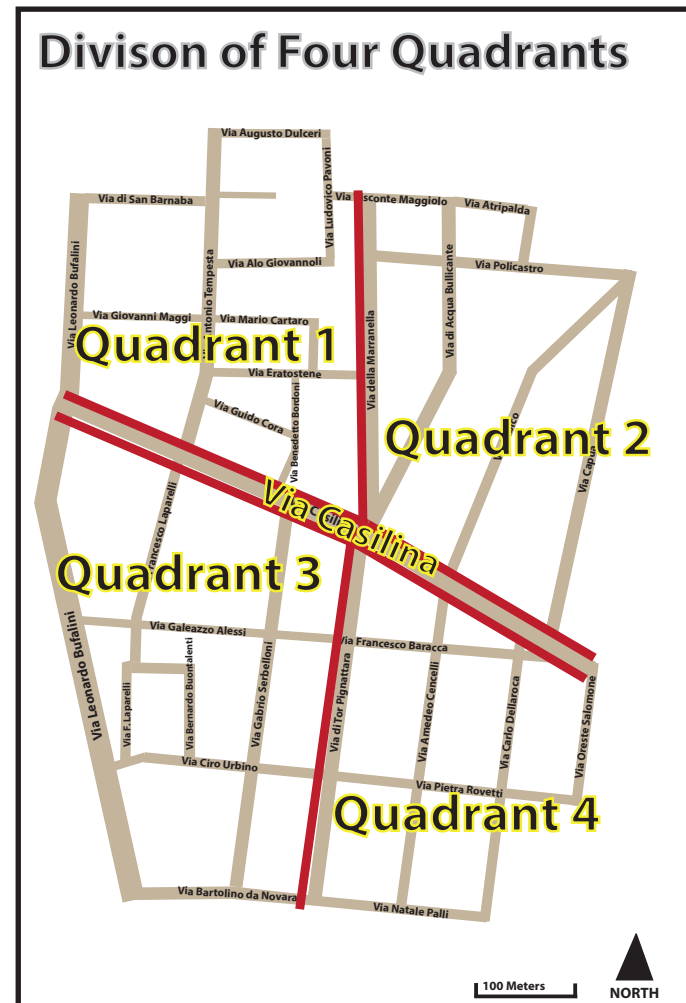


Diagram 1.8  
Division of Quadrants  
(Karl Chan)



the demographics of the neighborhood and human interaction). While most survey questions were answered with descriptions, certain questions (street and sidewalk states of repair, noise level, graffiti level, and cleanliness) were rated on scales of 1-5. A potential pitfall is that the answers to such questions may be subjective; however, there is almost no way to avoid such a pitfall and we were careful to simply describe the colors and structures we saw and not to draw inferences or make assumptions. For example, upon noticing the ethnic diversity of the neighborhood, we decided to count the number of people belonging to specific ethnic groups (i.e., “East Asians” and “South Asians”). Noticing a correlation between ethnicity and age, we decided to take note of age distribution as well.

Within our own quadrants, we had a fairly systematic approach for filling out each survey form: We would select a street, take an observational walk down the entire length of the street, and then revisit parts, breaking our observations, by category. Sometimes we would ask questions to those passing by, but this was a rare occasion due to language barriers. Furthermore, we developed a building typology sheet to standardize our assessments of buildings. We organized the buildings into seven types, the descriptions of which can be found in Table 1.1.

When we had completed a survey for each street in the neighborhood, we reviewed our observations and made generalizations about each quadrant and Via Casilina—while paying attention to anomalous details as well. The following pages reveal our findings: we have organized this paper by categorical theme. Under each theme, findings from each quadrant, pertaining to that category, are discussed. We have tried to administer a horizontal approach to the neighborhood, rather than dividing

the paper into quadrants and discussing each theme within each quadrant. We chose this organization because unlike the quadrant divisions which are completely geographical, designated before entering the neighborhood, the thematic categories that we strategically chose are a much better basis for comparison.

# Physical Environment

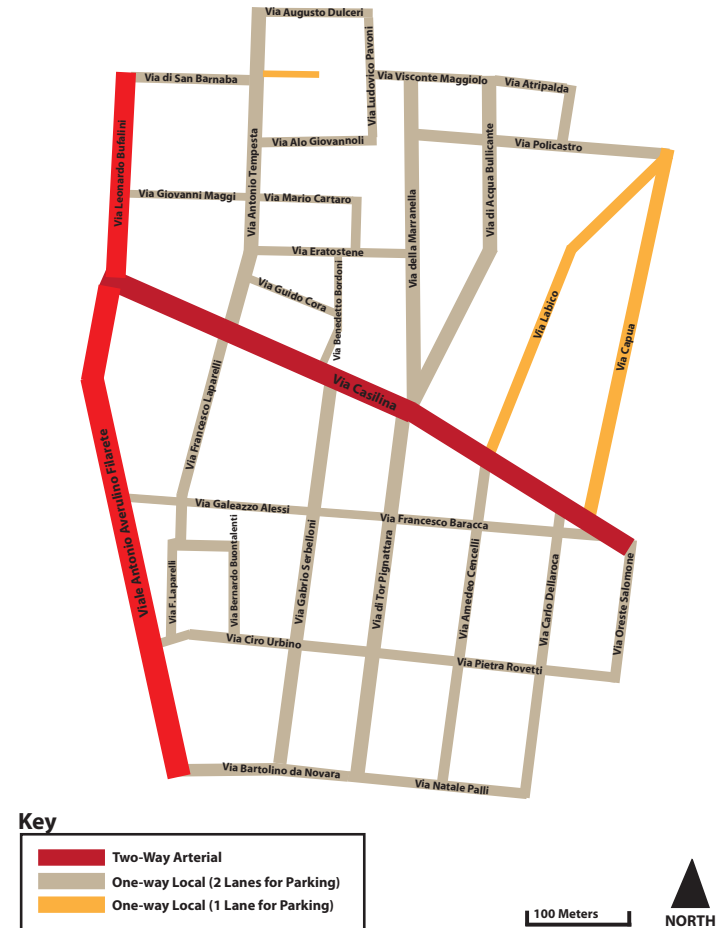
## Quadrant 1

The quiet northwest quadrant of the Bullicante neighborhood consists of 14 main roads. It is composed of a series of small blocks, much as an American city might be, and it provides a stark contrast in makeup to the other neighborhood quadrants, which are made up of long streets.

The neighborhood is very walkable as all of the streets have a clear separation between the roadways and the sidewalks. 12 of the 14 streets are three-lane, one-way streets with two lanes devoted to parking (See Diagram 1.9). Furthermore, these roads are not arterial roads connecting the neighborhood to the rest of the city, but rather seem to be local ones that connect various parts of the neighborhood to itself. One of the exception streets is Via Alo Giovannoli, which is a very small, quiet local street that has four-lanes and goes two-ways, with two lanes devoted to parking. The other exception is Via Leonardo Bufalini, which is highly different from all the other streets. This street is a main arterial road, connecting the Bullicante to other Roman neighborhoods therefore making it a natural candidate to be a two-way street. It consists of two sidewalks with an “island” (a small non-sidewalk and non-motorist elevated land-strip) in between them. On either side of the island is a road for motorists, with the traffic going north on one side and south on the other. In these ways Via Leonardo Bufalini separates itself from a rather homogenous street typology.

With regard to street and sidewalk repair, we found that the roads are much better paved than the sidewalks. Only one street (Via Giovanni Maggi) received a rating of 2 (bad) on the scale of 1-5, while all others received ratings of 3-4. Most streets have

## Street Types



**Diagram 1.9**  
**Street Types**  
*(Karl Chan)*

clearly been repaved recently, as much of the asphalt has a fresh black color. None of the streets are perfect, however, showing signs of uneven paving, cracks, and potholes. Of the sidewalks, most received a rating of 2 or 3. Many are cracked and unevenly paved. Furthermore, many cracks had weeds and grass growing out of them, implying that maintenance had not occurred in a while, though that would be heavy speculation. The most stark example may have been along Via Antonio Tempesta, which is a main local road. The sidewalk is severely cracked and potholed, with weeds and grass growing out of the potholes. For such a main road it was surprising. By contrast, Leonardo Bufalini is well paved, despite some signs of cracking. The pavement is even, with no potholes or growth erupting from the cracks. On the whole, none of sidewalks seem to present any danger and are quite walkable, but they still seem in need of maintenance.

Much as in the southeast quadrant, some streets have trees while others do not (See Diagram 1.10). Leonardo Bufalini has 18 large trees spread six to seven meters apart on the island blocks and 26 small trees spread six-seven meters apart on the sidewalks. Via di San Barnaba (24 trees) and Via Giovanni Maggi (34 trees) also have high concentrations of trees of varying sizes (though Giovanni Maggi had only large trees despite the fact that it was more of a local side-street) again spaced 6-7 meters apart on both streets. The other main street, Via Antonio Tempesta, has 36 small trees about 6-7 meters apart. Furthermore, on Via Ludovico Pavoni, a street with numerous self-built houses, we found a great deal of privately planted trees, shrubs, and gardens. We found just 21 shrubs total: 14 on Giovanni Maggi, three on Via Benedetto Bordonni, two on Via Mario Carlaro, and two on Via Antonio Spinetti.

The final part of the physical environment survey focused on the presence of trash and graffiti. The results here showed the quadrant to be much cleaner and better kept than central Rome. We often found ourselves debating whether a street was fairly clean or covered in trash and graffiti. Such a debate was

## Distribution of Trees



### Key

<span style="color: green;">■</span>	Public Trees
<span style="color: lightgreen;">■</span>	Private Trees

Note 1: Trees inside inner courtyards are excluded as they cannot be observed from outside.

Note 2: The building footprints are not drawn in proportion to real dimensions.

100 Meters



**Diagram 1.10**  
**Distribution of Trees**  
(Karl Chan)

commonplace because some streets seemed to be covered in trash and graffiti compared to the rest of the neighborhood but also seemed very tame and neat compared to other parts of Rome. Bulletin material, particularly on main roads such as Tempesta and Bufalini is scarce and posted mostly on lamposts instead of peeling off walls and falling to the ground. Most of the trash found on the ground appeared to be confetti around Tempesta and Bufalini in connection with Carnival festivities we saw advertised in the neighborhood, especially since much of it was picked up a week after the event. Graffiti is also scarce as not one street registered a rating above a 3 (fair). Graffiti that is present is most often on the sheds of vacant stores and warehouses, and even that is hardly noticeable, especially when compared to central Rome.

## Quadrant 2

Six of the nine streets in the northeast quadrant of Bullicante are one-way streets. Each of these streets has three lanes: one lane for traffic flanked by two lanes for parking, one on each side next to the sidewalk. One of the streets that doesn't have this same street type is Via Capua, which is a two lane street consisting of one lane for traffic and one lane for parking. Another street that stood out was Via Atripalda, which is simply a paved parking lot full of cars parked diagonally and front-side in. The last street, Via di Acqua Bullicante, differs greatly from the others. It is a two-way street with four lanes: two for traffic flanked by two for parking. Via di Acqua Bullicante is the main arterial road for the northeast quadrant, and it is logical, therefore, that it is the largest street and the only one in which traffic travels both directions.

As discussed earlier in the methodology section, we classified the streets within the neighborhood as unacceptable, bad, fair, good or excellent. In the northeast quadrant, we found one street that could be classified as excellent, Via di Acqua Bullicante. Despite being the largest street in the quadrant and the one with the most traffic, the street is well-paved and has only a few minor cracks and potholes. On the other hand, Via Atripalda, the parking

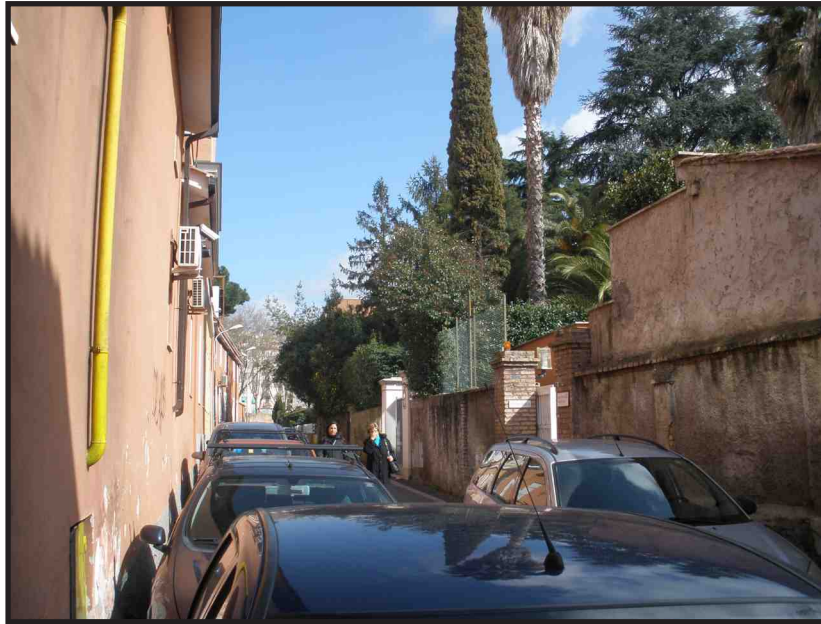


**Photo 1.1**  
**Visibly worn areas of a parking lot**  
(Melissa Kim)

lot, is in “bad” condition. The street is unevenly cobblestoned as one can see the effects of the tread of tires, and certain areas of the parking lot are visibly worn (see Photo 1.1). The rest of the streets were rated “good” because they had few cracks and potholes but still more than Via di Acqua Bullicante.

We found similar results when rating the sidewalks, the sizes of which ranged from a meter to five meters. The size seems to be very important because we found that there seems to be a positive correlation between the size of the sidewalk and the rating it received: as the size grew, the rating improved. Via Labico doesn't have sidewalks clearly separated from the street, instead the street is enclosed by two walls with a meter on each side that can be used by pedestrians (see Photo 1.2). Via Visconte Maggiolo and Via Capua have the narrowest sidewalks, 2 meters and 1 meter respectively, and these were the two sidewalks that received the





**Photo 1.2**

***Narrow streets surrounded by walls***

*(Melissa Kim)*

lowest ratings. The sidewalks on Via Visconte Maggiolo contain a “fair” amount of trash, have uneven pavement, and seem to be worn down from time, foot traffic, and car parking. The sidewalks on Via Capua are one meter wide and extremely uneven. The sidewalks on the other five streets range in width from three to five meters and were all rated as being in good condition, as we saw few cracks or bumps and little trash.

In the northeast quadrant of Bullicante the presence of trees and shrubbery varies (See Diagram 1.10). There are two private streets in the area: Via Capua and Via Labico. There is no public shrubbery on these two streets; the only greenery on these streets is private trees, grass, and shrubs, which can all be seen from the street through gates or over walls. The two largest streets of the quadrant, Via di Acqua Bullicante and Via della Marranella, as well as Via Policastro, has trees planted along the sidewalks,

approximately ten meters apart. On the remaining four streets, the only greenery present seems to have been planted by residents themselves. Along Via Ludovico Pavoni there are potted plants on the sidewalk with no uniform distance between them and the rest of the greenery on these streets is only on the balconies.

Most of the noise in the northeast quadrant seems to come from automobiles along busy roads and the conversations of residents who congregate along the streets. The noise level was the highest on Via di Acqua Bullicante because of the high motortraffic and pedestrian flows. The noise from this street also carried to neighboring streets because of the proximity of the blocks. Via Altripalda, though only a parking lot, also registered a rating of high noise levels, largely, it seems, because the area is enclosed by tall buildings thereby causing the sounds from cars passing on Via di Acqua Bullicante to reverberate and amplify. The remaining streets registered low noise level ratings, with noise originating mainly from the occasionally passing cars. The quietest street was Via Labico, one of the private streets in the quadrant. Although cars drove by very occasionally, there was little pedestrian traffic because the street had no sidewalk and therefore the noise level was almost nonexistent.

Overall, the streets in the northeast quadrant of Bullicante appeared to have less trash and graffiti than those in central Rome. We found that the streets contained little trash, mostly cigarette butts, newspaper pages or other common items could be seen often against the curb. Only one street, Via Altripalda received a rating higher than a 3. The graffiti in the quadrant is mostly on the facades of mixed-use buildings or on the sheds of vacant stores. Seven of the nine streets have a graffiti scattered sparsely on the streets, compared to central Rome. Via di Acqua Bullicante was the only street that had a high level of graffiti. On the other streets, the graffiti is visible but is not overwhelming, as it is not a prominent part of the street and blends in with its surrounding area.

## Quadrant 3

Similar to other quadrants, most of the streets in this quadrant are three-lane one-way locals, with the exception of Viale Antonio Averulino Filarete, which is a continuation of Via Leonardo Bufalini in the northwest quadrant and also, therefore, a six-lane two-way arterial located in the west boundary of the neighborhood, with a fully parked island in the middle. Unlike the northwestern half of the neighborhood, the streets in this quadrant are longer and straighter due to its larger and more rectangular blocks, although there are still some small streets. In addition, all the streets, as is the case in the other quadrants have clearly separated sidewalks. The width of sidewalks ranges from 1 meter to 3 meters (usually the horizontal sidewalks have a width of 1 to 2 meters, while the vertical sidewalks are usually longer, with the width of 2 to 3 meters).



**Photo 1.3**  
**Piazza Michele Sanmicheli**  
(Karl Chan)

In terms of state of repair, most of the streets and sidewalks are rated as “fair”. Out of the eight streets surveyed, 5 streets are “fair”, 2 are “good” and 1 is “unacceptable”. As for sidewalks, 5 sidewalks are “fair”, 2 are “good” and 1 is “bad”. For the street that is rated “unacceptable”, which is Via Bartolino da Novara, there are many cracks and potholes on the road. We believed this street is just an exception. Overall, although all streets and sidewalks still are in need of maintenance, the state of repair in general is satisfactory.

Interestingly, we also found a small piazza, Piazza Michele Sanmicheli (Photo 1.3), on the upper end of Via Francesco Laparelli; this was something we did not see in the other quadrants. Unlike the typical piazzas in central Rome, this piazza is merely used as a parking space instead of open space. Since this piazza is located right next to two pre-19th century buildings, we infer that this piazza was created a long time ago with the traditional buildings; as the place began to develop, its use also switched from probably open space into parking.

Unlike the other quadrants, in this quadrant there is very little greenery (See Diagram 1.10). Out of the eight streets, six do not have any public trees (only one of which has even private trees). On Viale Antonio Averulino Filarete, which has wide sidewalks, there are as many as 90 large trees evenly lined (around 8 meters around) along the sidewalks and the middle island, making the road much more pleasant than others. The other road where trees are present is Via Francesco Laparelli (32 trees), whose width is larger than other roads. The lack of greenery on the rest is probably due to the small width of the sidewalks. All other roads are probably too narrow to be planted with trees. As such, we can infer that the number of trees is proportional to the width of road-- the wider the street, the more the number of trees. The fact that Viale Antonio Averulion Filarete and Via Francesco Laparelli, being the two widest roads in the quadrant, contain trees while others do not is the best evidence. As for shrubbery, we found a few



shrubs on a few corners. In general, the privately owned spaces contain more plantings. For example, we could see many trees and shrubs inside the school areas, in the balconies, and outside the indoor market, but definitely not on the public streets.

With regard to cleanliness, similar to other quadrants, the southwest quadrant is cleaner than central Rome. Seven out of eight streets received a cleanliness rating of “fair” (one of which had a rating of “good”), showing that overall cleanliness is acceptable. Nevertheless, compared to the other quadrants, this quadrant has a relatively higher presence of graffiti: out of the eight blocks, three received a graffiti rating of 4 (Via F. Laparelli, Via Galeazzo Alessi and Via Bernardo Buontalenti), two received ratings of 3, and three were rated as 2. Graffiti is especially noticeable on the sheds of vacant stores/warehouses, as well as on the walls of older and run-down buildings; little graffiti could be found on the new buildings. Finally, in terms of noise level, this quadrant can safely be regarded as a “quiet” area. All blocks are rated “medium” or below-- four were rated “medium”, three were “light,” and one was “very light”. Without surprise, Viale Antonio Averulino Filarete is the noisiest street among all. Yet, its rating was just “medium” given its higher traffic flow, indicating the fact that this quadrant is rather quiet.

## Quadrant 4

Five of the seven blocks in the southeast quadrant are one-way streets. As with the other three quadrants each of these streets consist of three lanes: one lane for driving and two lanes for parking, along both curbs. One of the two blocks that does not follow this pattern is Via Carlo Della Rocca, a quiet street with only two lanes: one for one-way driving and one for parking. The other block that does not follow this pattern is Via di Tor Pignattara, the busiest street of the quadrant. This block has four lanes: two for parking and two for driving—one in each direction. It is logical for Via di Tor Pignattara to be different because it acts as one of the main arteries of the entire neighborhood for automobile and

pedestrian traffic, as it connects the four quadrants to each other.

In terms of state of repair, we compared all of the streets within the neighborhood on a scale of “unacceptable” to “excellent,” as discussed earlier in the methodology section. Within the southeast quadrant, there is only one street in excellent repair: Via di Tor Pignattara. Despite the significantly larger amount of traffic on this street, its roads are still smoother than others, have fewer cracks and potholes, and look relatively new. No streets in the quadrant were rated as being less than a 3 (or “fair”). Three of the streets were rated “fair,” usually indicating many cracks in the roads or very visible trash. The other three streets were rated as “good” because they had fewer cracks and trash as the former streets, but were not as pristine or well-kept as Via di Tor Pignattara.

In terms of street and sidewalk state of repair, Via di Tor Pignattara sets the highest standard. When examining sidewalks, we paid attention to details like cracks, evenness, trash, and width. Almost all of the streets received the same rating for sidewalk state of repair as they did for street state of repair. What makes Via di Tor Pignattara especially different, however, is the early detection equipment for the blind at each intersection. With no other streets in the quadrant equipped in this way, Pignattara offers accessibility to a population that no other streets provide. The sidewalks ranged from two to seven meters in length, with no obvious correlations between width and any other factors.

The streets are also generally clean: most streets were rated a four out of five, five being excellently clean. Like most streets in the quadrant, both of the two streets that rated three out of five had zero trash receptacles on the sidewalk.

Some of the sidewalks were lined with trees, while others were not. On one block of Via Carlo Della Rocca, the larger of the two sidewalks had four trees with each placed about thirty meters apart. These trees were planted into holes cut out of

the sidewalks, with no surrounding planter boxes. The opposite side of the street had no trees at all. On one block of Via Francesco Baracca, there were trees on both sidewalks, about ten meters apart. On another block of that street, only one side had trees. On both blocks, there were also no planter boxes around the trees' roots. Via di Tor Pignattara was symmetrically lined with trees on both sidewalks, every ten meters (with about seven trees per side per block). On this street, however, each of the trees were surrounded by shrubs in planter boxes. None of the other streets had municipally-planted trees. All seven of the streets revealed sporadic splotches of greens and shrubbery, peering out over the sides of various balconies. In terms of greenery, Via Pierto Rovetti has two particularly special features: a small gated complex with a building and two large trees growing in the front courtyard, and also an upscale car dealership with a flawless stone and tree garden between the entrydoor to enter and the sidewalk (this is a space that could otherwise be an extension to its parking lot).

Most of the noise generated in the southeast quadrant hails from automobiles and conversations on Via di Tor Pignattara, where the noise level is very high compared to the rest of the streets. Since all of the streets are fairly close together, this noise level is reverberated throughout the quadrant. The quietest streets are those that are parallel to Pignattara, including Via Amadeo Cencelli, Via Carlo Della Rocca, and Via Oreste Salmone. These three streets are somewhat noisy only as they approach the noisy quadrant border: Via Casalina. The noise level of the three streets that run perpendicular to Pignattara is lower than at Pignattara; additionally, the further away from Pignattara one moves, the quieter the streets become. Aside from Pignattara, however, the most noise was from automobiles rather than from people.

## Via Casalina

Via Casalina is a 6-lane, 2-way arterial split by a tram track. The road itself splits Bullicante into two parts, the first containing our northwest and northeast quadrants and the second

containing our southwest and southeast quadrants. On either side of the street there are cars parked parallel to the sidewalk. The sidewalk is very wide, approximately ten meters wide on each side and is handicap accessible as it contains both curb ramps and early detection warning at every intersection. The street and the sidewalk are both in good condition with few cracks and little trash. The street is lined by large trees on both sides, however these streets are not separated by a uniform distance; they are between five meters and fifty meters apart. As Via Casalina is a major arterial road the traffic is very heavy and consequently the noise level is high.

Along the road there were twelve recycling bins, seventeen trash bins, and even a bin in which one can place clothing, shoes and bags to donate to the less fortunate. The presence of all of these receptacles can explain the cleanliness of such a large street. There was also public transportation that travels along Via Casalina, including two tram stops and multiple bus stops within our neighborhood boundaries.

# Establishments



## Quadrant 1

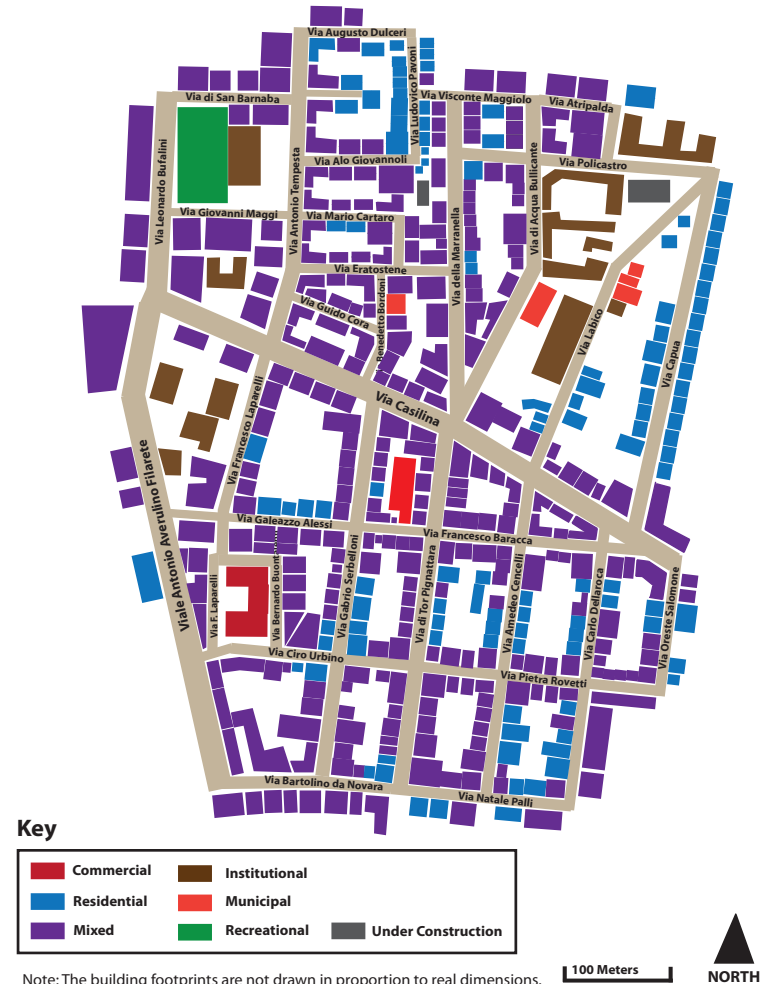
The northwestern quadrant is largely an area of mixed-use (See Diagram 1.11. Most buildings accommodate both residences and businesses. While there are no fully commercial buildings, business is still bustling in this part of the neighborhood.

The three main streets for business are Via Leonardo Bufalini (19 shops in two blocks), Via Antonio Tempesta, and Via Erastotone (19 shops in two blocks, as well as a Jehovah's Witnesses church and 15 warehouses/vacant stores). These streets have an amalgam of shops ranging from food stores, to larger grocery stores, to phone centers, hair style shops, clothing shops, electronics and computer shops, car repair centers, and restaurants and bars. There is even a store that sells only wooden chairs along Via Antonio Tempesta, along with 3 other furniture shops on that street.

On the bottom floors of most buildings reside cafes, electronics shops, clothing shops, hair stylists, grocery stores, and small food shops. Many of these are small businesses which are owned by immigrants, in particular Indian or Middle Eastern immigrants. Especially common were Indian operated phone centers along Via Antonio Tempesta and Via Erastotene, Italian operated cafes, Indian operated barber shops, and small, Indian operated food shops on Antonio Tempesta and Via Benedetto Bordini.

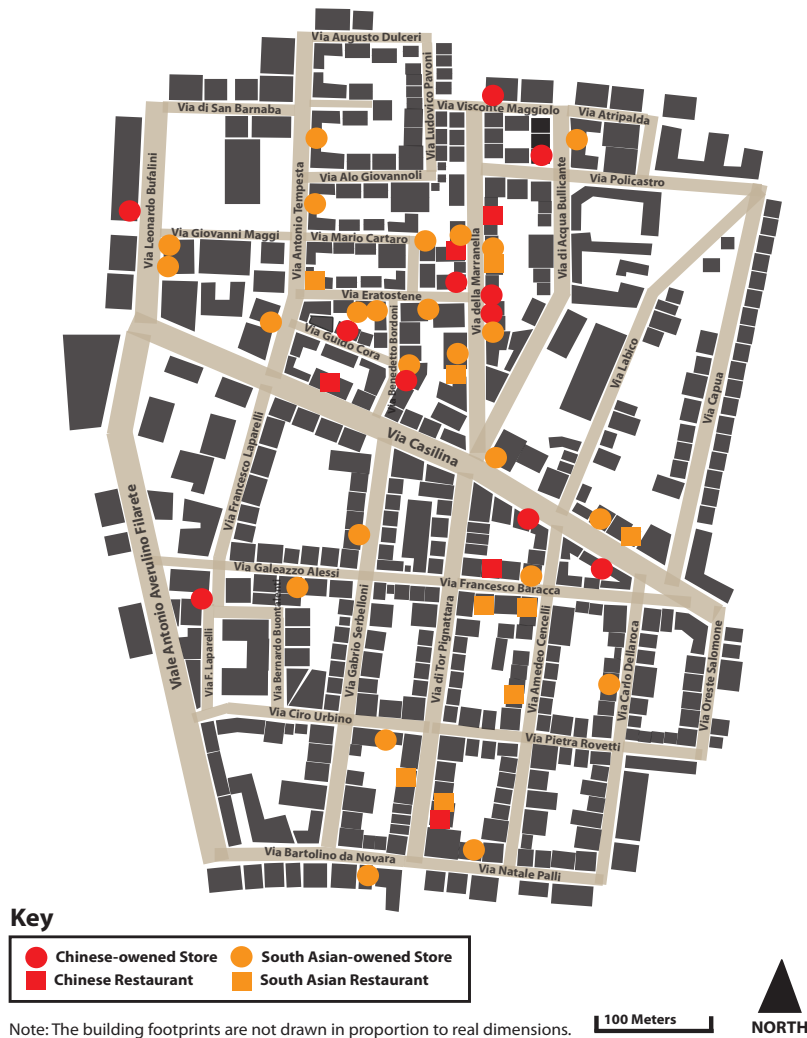
With regard to restaurants, there is great variety, in terms of ethnic cuisine (See Diagram 1.12). Along Tempesta, one can find Indian food, while around the corner Chinese, Italian, and Chinese-Italian food all are available. To further add to the eclecticism one

## Land Uses



**Diagram 1.11**  
*Land Use Map (Karl Chan)*

## Stores & Restaurants Operated By South Asians and Chinese



**Diagram 1.12**  
**Stores & Restaurants Operated by South Asians / Chinese**  
*(Karl Chan)*

can find Turkish and Indian kebab in southern quadrants, thereby showing the internationality of the neighborhood.

The major establishment of the quadrant is the church spanning three blocks, running along Via Leonardo Bufalini, Via Antonio Tempesta, Via Giovanni Maggi, and Via di San Barnaba. The church proves to be a community center as it has a playground, offices, and cultural centers. Furthermore, it seems to be a major meeting spot, as youths and middle age residents alike seem to meet there and converse casually. Also it advertises community events and carnivals to be held in its courtyard. Therefore, it appears to be the main cultural attraction in this portion of the neighborhood.

Parking is also very present in the neighborhood. As mentioned before, most streets have two lanes for parking, but there are also 3 or 4 parking garages in the quadrant. The only spot with disorganized parking seemed to be along Via Leonardo Bufalini, where many cars going towards to the south are parked on the island. This abundance of parking seems to come despite generally low traffic flows.

Finally, recycling and waste disposal seems to be emphasized in the quadrant, as we counted 49 recycle bins. Furthermore, the recycling bins seemed to be separated by content, and cardboard was often placed not in receptacles, but in neat piles by receptacles. While trash receptacles were scarce, this seemed to be made up for by the presence of recycling bins, all of which would explain the aforementioned cleanliness of the neighborhood.

## Quadrant 2

The northeast quadrant, as the northwest one is, is composed mostly of private residential buildings, mixed use commercial and residential establishments, and municipal buildings and offices (See Diagram 1.11).





**Photo 1.4**  
***Ospedale Generale Madre Giuseppina Vannini***  
*(Karl Chan)*

There are four streets that are predominantly residential: Via Ludovico Pavoni, Via Gerrardo Mercatore, Via Capua and Via Labico. The first two, Via Ludovico Pavoni, Via Gerrardo Mercatore contain mostly multi-level apartment buildings. Via Capua and Via Labico consist of mostly private, one-story residential buildings. Via Labico, in addition to many private homes, has a number of hospital buildings associated with the hospital located on Via di Acqua Bullicante. These include the hospital's auditorium, the physical therapy center, and the "ambulatori."

Via della Marranelle, Via Visconte Maggiolo, Via Policastro and Via Atripalda have mostly mixed-use buildings which consist of storefronts on the ground floor and apartment buildings above them. Bars, restaurants, hair salons, supermarkets and clothing shops are found in these storefronts. On Via della Marranelle, in particular, immigrants, particularly those from China or

Bangladesh, own a majority of the stores (See Diagram 1.12). There is a Chinese restaurant located adjacent to a Bangladeshi-owned "Alimentari" store. and across from the two there was located a market named "Banglatown Supermarket," showing the area's ethnic diversity integration.

Via di Acqua Bullicante consists of mixed-use buildings on one side of the street and municipal buildings on the other. The storefronts on one side include numerous bars and restaurants, some of which were owned by Chinese or Bangladeshi immigrants. On the other side of the street there are a number of municipal buildings, including the Sport and Culture Municipal Office, the Social Services office, the "Centro Orientamento Lavoro," and the "Sala Consiglio." These buildings house services that are available to the entirety of the municipality, not just Bullicante. The presence of all these municipal buildings, therefore, most likely leads to the increase of visitors to not only the street itself, but to Bullicante as a whole. Along Via di Acque Bullicante there was also a block-long hospital (see Photo 1.4) and next to it a block-long elementary school (see Photo 1.5). Via di Acqua Bullicante had the highest pedestrian flow, most likely because of all of the services available in such a compact area.

The restaurants in the Northeast quadrant are predominantly located on Via della Marranelle, Via Visconte Maggiolo, and Via di Acque Bullicante. There are multiple bars and bakeries located along these streets that are Italian-owned, but the majority of the restaurants along these streets offer ethnic cuisines and are owned by immigrants.

The number of trash and recycle bins on a street varies greatly between streets and seems to correlate with the street size. We found that the streets with the lightest traffic flow have neither trash bins nor recycle bins, while the streets with the heaviest traffic flow each have multiple recycle bins and over ten trash bins each.



**Photo 1.5**  
**Elementary School**  
(Melissa Kim)

## Quadrant 3

Similar to other quadrants, this one has very mixed-uses; Almost all buildings accommodate both residences and retails. Nevertheless, there is one fully commercial building (Euro Spin), as well as some other institutional uses (school) (See Diagram 1.11).

While the longest streets of the quadrant are Viale Antonio Averulion Filarete (14 stores and 25 vacant stores/warehouses in three blocks) and Via Gabrio Serbelloni (9 stores in three blocks), length is not proportional to the number of stores. Via Ciro da Urbino (13 stores and 25 vacant spaces/warehouses in three blocks), Via Francesco Laparelli (19 stores and 5 vacant stores/warehouses) and Via Galeazzo Alessi (20 stores and 14 vacant

stores/warehouses), although shorter in length, in fact have a greater number of stores and therefore a higher density of stores as well. All these long roads show a great variety of stores, ranging from healthcare products, to food, to real estate agencies.

Among all types of stores, food-related products and services (which include restaurants, bars and supermarkets) have the highest presence: we counted 28 of them (around half of them were pizzerias and bars), with an average of 3.5 food-related products/services per street. Apart from food, other high-presence stores include home supplies (11, including stationery), electronics and engineering (8), offices and agencies (8, such as real estate agencies and publication agencies) and hair style/beauty (7). Other types of stores include photography/computer (6), fashion (4), furniture (4), laundry (3) and even a gymnasium. Since this is highly residential neighborhood, it is not surprising to find so many food-related stores and home supplies. In particular, the presence of a gymnasium indicates the consuming power of the residents, implying that there is a significant amount of middle-class residents.

Very different from the northern half of the neighborhood, ethnic stores are rarely found in this quadrant (See Diagram 1.12). Not only is there no Indian/Chinese restaurant, there is also no ethnic clothing/gift store. In spite of this, there are still a few stores that are operated by non-Indians, including a bar (operated by South Asians), a laundry shop (South Asian), a food store (South Asian) and a real estate agency (Chinese) that has Chinese words on its storefront.

Of all establishments the most remarkable one is probably the indoor market (Euro Spin), which is a red-brick/glass two-story building occupying a whole small block (Photo 1.6). At the time of observation, Euro Spin was closed. Yet, we could find a number of food stores and gift shops inside the building. Although it is undoubtedly much smaller than any shopping mall in America, its outside appearance does resemble a typical American mall, which





**Photo 1.6**  
**Euro Spin Indoor Market**  
 (Karl Chan)

is very rare in Rome. In particular, there is an escalator, elevator and a small landscaped public space with a few seats. However, since the mall was closed, very few people passed, and there was no one using this public space.

Publicity materials (mostly flyers) are commonly found on the sheds of vacant stores/warehouses and walls of buildings. Unlike the northern part of the neighborhood, there is not really any publicity material that is written in foreign languages; most materials are in Italian. This accordingly may imply the lower presence of non-Italians in the southern part. While there is a small number of billboards, many big posters can be found along the Viale Antonio Averulion Filarete, which is the boundary of the neighborhood. Most of these posters, do not advertise commercial products, but rather pertaining to political campaigns (Photo 1.7).



**Photo 1.7**  
**Posters on street**  
 (Karl Chan)

The very few posters and small flyers that are present promote commercial products or services and the Latin American Circus.

Similar to other quadrants as well, parking in this quadrant is a highly present. All streets have two lanes for parking (some with designated parking spaces), and there are a few garages in the new residential buildings. Despite the high number of cars observed, the traffic intensity is in general not very heavy (with the exception of Viale Antonio Averulion Filarete, whose traffic flow is classified as “heavy”): three streets have “very light” traffic flows while four have “medium” traffic flows. In addition, bicycles and motorbikes are often parked next to trees or short fences.

Also as in the other quadrants, the ratio of recycle bin to trash bin is surprisingly large when compared to central Rome. We counted a total of 51 recycle bins and only 8 trash bins. In

other words, in average, there are 6.4 recycle bins and only 1 trash bin on each street; Via Gabrio Serbelloni, despite its long length, does not even have any trash bin or recycle bin. Interestingly, Via Galeazzo Alessi, whose length is similar to that of Via Gabrio Serbelloni, has as many as 15 recycle bins and 1 trash bin. Thus, while the neighborhood is strong on recycling, it appears to need more pure trash receptacles.

## Quadrant 4

On three of the streets in the quadrant, almost all of the buildings were mixed use: Via Carlo Della Rocca, Via Francesco Baracca, and Via di Tor Pignattara. The ground floor of the buildings are commercial and the upper floor(s) are residential. During the Monday periods of observation, even into the afternoon, many of the ground level stores were closed to public for restocking merchandise. The other streets in the quadrant are made up of some mixed-use buildings but mostly contain solely residential buildings. The residential-only buildings are easily distinguishable, as they usually have a gate or a door to a small collective space or stairwell, a garage, or a garden on the ground level.

Every street has some sort of surface for advertisements, whether it be a store window, a wall, a mini-billboard, or the pole of a street-sign. Each street in the quadrant had at least one “PUBBLICIA” bin--a gray metal topless box fixed into a wall along the sidewalk, for free flyers, coupons and public papers. Many of these boxes are decorated with stickers. Some tabacchi stores allow their windows to be covered in posters and flyers, facing the street. On Via Natale Palli, one paper posted on a wall along the sidewalk is actually an advertisement for baby-care-takers with many tear-off slips at the bottom. On Via Pietro Rovetti, one tabacchi window looks like an equivalent of a community bulletin board. Especially on Via Francesco Baracca and Via di Tor Pignattara, the poles of street signs were covered with sticker and taped up flyers. The latter of the two also has several miniature billboards—poles with framed posters, a little bit shorter than street signs—for shops like

Kodak Express and Eurospar Grocery Store.

As mentioned above, almost all streets in the southeast quadrant have parking on both sides. Cars park parallel to the curbs, with the hood of one car close to the trunk of another. The only exception is the southern-most block of Via di Tor Pignattara, which has head-in parking. Generally, there are very few parked motor-bikes parked in the quadrant; however, at the intersection of Via Francesco Baracca and Via Amedeo Cencelli, there is a small sidewalk piazza with approximately twenty-one parked motorbikes. Half of the observed motorbikes were parked on sidewalks rather than in the street. Two to three parked bicycles were spotted parked on each of the following streets, all of which were observed to have light to medium traffic: Via Carlo Della Rocca, Via Pietro Rovetti, and Via Natale Palli.

Via di Tor Pignattara is the most traffic-intensive street in the quadrant. Most other streets have medium to light traffic, and Via Amadeao Cencelli and Via Oreste Salmone both have very light traffic. Compared to Via di Tor Pignattara, all other streets had significantly less traffic. It is interesting to note that the most traffic-intensive street in the quadrant is also the most pedestrian-heavy.

Despite the fact that there are very few sidewalk trash cans in this quadrant, there is sufficient distribution of trash and recycling dumpsters along the streets and sidewalks of Southeast Bullicante. Via di Tor Pignattara is the only street to have trash and recycling dumpsters (four recycling and twelve trash dumpsters, to be exact) as well as sidewalk trash cans; however, less busy streets even have proportionally more dumpsters. For example, Via Francesco Baracca and Via Pietro Rovetti, both of which have less traffic intensity, smaller blocks, less noise, and less pedestrians than Pignattara, also have four recycling dumpsters (as well as four trash dumpsters). All other streets had no sidewalk trash cans, two to four trash dumpsters, and one to three recycling dumpsters (except Via Carlo Della Rocca, which had no recycling).

Some of the streets are home to special features or characteristics not frequently found in the neighborhood. With regard to establishments, one such feature is the small theater, "Teatro Studio Uno," on Via Carlo Della Rocca which shows plays. Another is the dance studio the on Via Natale Palli. Along Via di Tor Pignattara there are also street lamps (all of which stand taller than the buildings), placed twenty meters apart along one side of the street. Another feature is the small water fountain ingrained in the southeast corner of the Via Pietro Rovetti and Via Amadeo Cencelli intersection.

Storefront shops included a variety of food stores and services, owned by people of various ethnicities (See Diagram 1.12). In the quadrant, there are three Bangladeshi food shops, a Bangladeshi dry cleaner, and a Bangladeshi crystal and gift show. Such stores are integrated among Indian and Chinese restaurants, a middle-eastern fruit shop, and a selection of Italian-run storefronts as well. Via di Tor Pignattara, the main and largest street of the quadrant, only had three ethnic restaurants: one Italian and Italian restaurant (See Photo 1.8) and two middle-eastern kebab shops. Italian services in the quadrant include several auto shop garages, hair salons, gardening services, phone centers, bars and pizzerias, hardware and electronic stores, a wood shop, a children's clothing store, an Internet café, and many tabaccherias.

There are several Italian-run services; however, such establishments are less obvious and common-place than international ones. On Via Amadeo Cencelli, there is a game and pool hall, as well as a "central service center" providing phone, fax, and law assistance. On Via Pietro Rovetti, there is a upscale car dealership selling BMWs, Ferraris, Smart Cars, Mercedes Benz's, an others, complete with a garden in front of the shop. Also on that street is a "financial family" office. We noted three doctors offices on Via Francesco Baracca, specifically, we know that one is a foot doctor and another a general practitioner. Via Oreste Salmone had an eco-friendly dry cleaning services, a police and legal assistance



**Photo 1.8**  
**Indian-Italian Restaurant**  
(Karl Chan)

center, and the only large super market of the quadrant. Many storefronts on this street seemed to be closed, possibly used as warehouses.

## Via Casilina

Via Casalina is made up mostly of mixed-use buildings, most with retail and restaurants on the ground floor. Along the street there are a variety of stores ranging from a lamp shop to a hardware store to a used-car sales place. We found a number of restaurants, both Italian and ethnic in nature. There are also two institutions located on Via Casalina, an elementary school gated off from the street and a rehabilitation center for the elderly and disabled.





**Photo 1.9**  
**Monument**  
*(Melissa Kim)*

At the end of the street there is a monument which states: “Balza dal Nostro Generer Come da Rovine Antiche la Gloria Immortale della Patria.” It is presumably a war memorial consisting of the front of a tank on top of a rock and holding up a column. A golden wreath is placed in front and the monument is located on a polygonal area of grass (Photo 1.9).

# Building Typology

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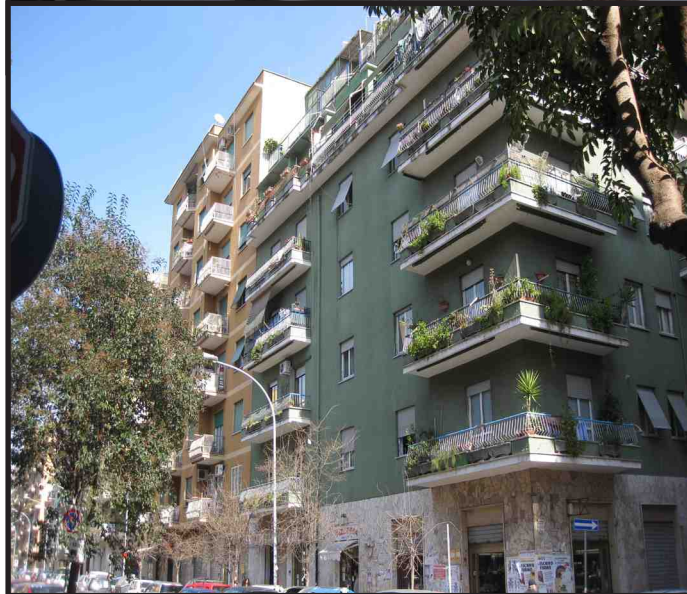


We have classified the buildings in Bullicante into the following seven categories:



## **Type 1**

Around two stories, commercial bottom, and run-down residential top  
*(Melissa Kim)*



## **Type 2A**

Commercial bottom, concrete, most often painted, some façade decoration/detail, approximately 4-7 stories, well-restored, often have balconies  
*(Melissa Kim)*



### **Type 2B**

Type 2A without commercial bottom  
(Melissa Kim)



### **Type 3**

2-3 stories, concrete or stucco, few or no balconies,  
generally no façade decoration  
[Note: on residential streets these tend to be in good  
condition whereas in mixed-use streets these tend to be  
run down]  
(Melissa Kim)





#### **Type 4**

More recently built, marble and/or brick façade, usually have more than 5 stories, usually have balconies and sometimes have a garage  
*(Melissa Kim)*



#### **Type 5**

1-2 story, self-built houses, purely residential, usually single family, often country style  
*(Melissa Kim)*



**Type 6**

Non-residential, big-block building (usually municipal, administrative or commercial buildings)

*(Melissa Kim)*



**Type 7**

Old building, well-restored, mostly residential (similar to buildings in the center of Rome)

*(Karl Chan)*



# Building Typology



**Key**

Type 1	Type 2A	Type 2B	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	Type 7

Note: The building footprints are not drawn in proportion to real dimensions.

**Diagram 1.13**  
**Building Typology Map**  
*(Karl Chan)*

## Quadrant 1

The buildings in quadrant are mostly multi-use structures of the Type 2A variety (See Diagram 1.13). Most buildings permit for commercial use on the ground floor, followed by 5 to 7 floors of residences, most of which contain balconies. Such cases are particularly noticeable on Via Leonardo Bufalini, Via Antonio Tempesta, Via Eratostene, and Via Benedetto Bordon. These streets in particular contain a large number of mixed-use establishments. Bufalini, for example, has six such structures and 132 balconies in the two block span. Via Antonio Tempesta yields even more such structures with 18 such establishments and nearly 300 balconies.

Also present were a large number of Type 4 buildings (though Via Ludovico Pavoni presented many Type 6 self-built homes). These buildings have few to no warehouses or commercial spaces on the ground floor. Instead they are large apartment complexes, often containing many balconies. Via Antonio Spinetti and Via Alò Giovannoli are two examples of streets composed mostly of such structures. Spinetti has two major apartment buildings (eight and nine stories respectively) with no businesses and a grand total of 78 balconies. Furthermore each structure is large enough that it must be split into two apartment complexes. Via Alò Giovannoli presents a similar situation in that it is almost entirely composed of large residential buildings, though it has more buildings and only one apartment complex to each building. The most striking examples of Type 4 buildings, however, can be found Along Via Guido Cora and Via Eratostene. Guido Cora has a grand structure that is nine stories and is split into two separate apartment complexes with 28 apartments each. It spans nearly the entirely block. It has a beige concrete façade, though some of the balconies have designs, and parts of the wall jut out and have designs. Painted on of squiggly blue lines. While the uses of the nearly 90 balconies are quite standard (planted shrubs, laundry, storage of bikes and athletic equipment), the structure itself quickly catches the eye of the passerby due to its grandiosity and its

sheer size. Similarly on Via Erastotene there is one structure that is approximately 8 stories. It stretches nearly an entire block and is elaborately designed with a red brick façade and mosaic designs on the balconies within the private areas. The designs are modern and extremely elaborate making them too difficult to describe. Such designs stopped all the researchers and had a jaw-dropping effect. Yet, while it stood out to us, it did not seem out of place or unusual, as the colors blended in well and the height of the complex is on par with the others in the neighborhood. Nonetheless, the general dimensions and designs show an elaborateness that could say something about the people who live there.

As mentioned previously, this quadrant is highly commercial; however, it is so on a small scale as the commercial and residential blend. The architecture of the neighborhood seems to enable such a harmony, as it allows for the un-intrusive presence of businesses, while keeping residents separated from the businesses. Furthermore, there are a few side streets devoted strictly to residence, allowing for an abundance of residents and not simply letting the area commercialize.

## Quadrant 2

The building typology in Quadrant II varies greatly, depending on the main land-use of the street (See Diagram 1.13). Via Capua and Via Labico, two of the private streets with no retail, are made up of mostly building Types 3 and 5. The houses are all concrete or stucco with very few balconies found anywhere on the block. Some houses appear to be self-built and are usually single-family residences. The other residences are two to three story buildings that housed multiple families and appeared to be run-down. They had little surface decoration and the paint is worn. All of these residences were separated from the sidewalk by a gate or a wall and are therefore inaccessible to non-residents. In addition to the presence of these two building types, there are also a few seemingly new, privately- owned homes separated from the road by gates or walls and containing private gardens. These homes are

similar to those one might see in the suburbs in the United States, and they seem slightly out of place in a Roman neighborhood.

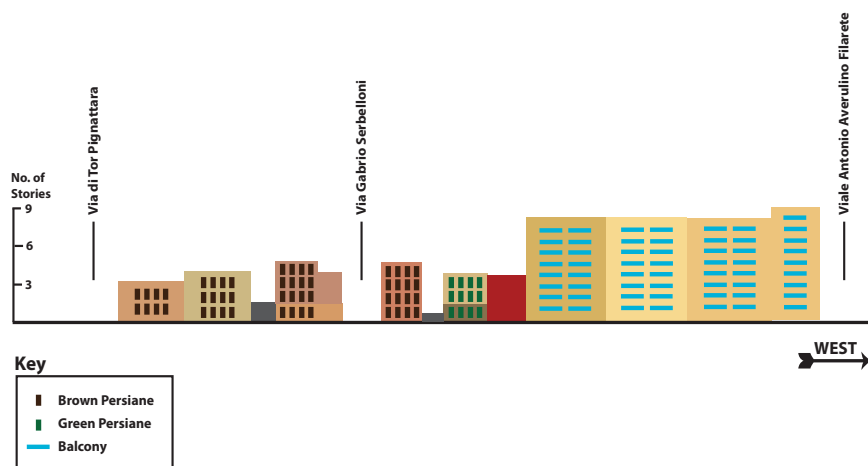
The two other residential streets in the northeast quadrant, Via Ludovico Pavoni and Via Gerrardo Mercatore, are made up of mostly types 2B and 4. The residences are larger apartment buildings made either of concrete or of brick. These apartment buildings have entrances or garages on the ground floor rather than the retail and storefronts seen in the mixed-use areas.

One of the mixed-use streets in Quadrant II, Via della Marranella, contains mostly Type 2A buildings and a few Type 4 buildings, while another, Via di Acque Bullicante, also contains a number of Type 6 buildings. All of these building types allow for restaurants and retail to exist on the bottom floor. The majority of these buildings are concrete buildings that have been painted and restored. Many of the buildings have balconies, but few have balconies spanning entire façades. The colors of the concrete buildings, which despite often seeming worn and faded can be quite well-restored, range from gray to white to light yellow to pink. The buildings all have decorations on the façade, mostly in the form of cornices, but sometimes more detailed concrete designs have been added to the façades.

## Quadrant 3

Like other quadrants, buildings here are mostly residential establishments with commercial ground floors (See Diagram 1.13). Moreover, there is a great mix of colors, building materials, heights and even balcony types. There are only a few purely residential buildings, and there is no self-built one-story houses (Type 5). In general, buildings in the western half of the quadrant (west of Via Gabrio Serbelloni) of the quadrant are more modern and newer than they are in the eastern half of the quadrant (east of Via Gabrio Serbelloni). This is very obvious along the two horizontal streets, Via Ciro da Urbino and Via Galeazzo Alessi. For the parts to the west of Via Gabrio Serbelloni, buildings are all either Type

## Elevation of Via Ciro da Urbino Variation of Building Types



**Diagram 1.14**  
**Elevation of Via Ciro da Urbino - Variation of Building Types**  
(Karl Chan)

2A or Type 4 that were probably built after the 19th century. By contrast, in the parts east of Via Gabrio Serbelloni, most buildings are of the Type 3 variety (or Type 1 in a few select cases) and have persiane. This clear split is graphically presented in Diagram 1.14.

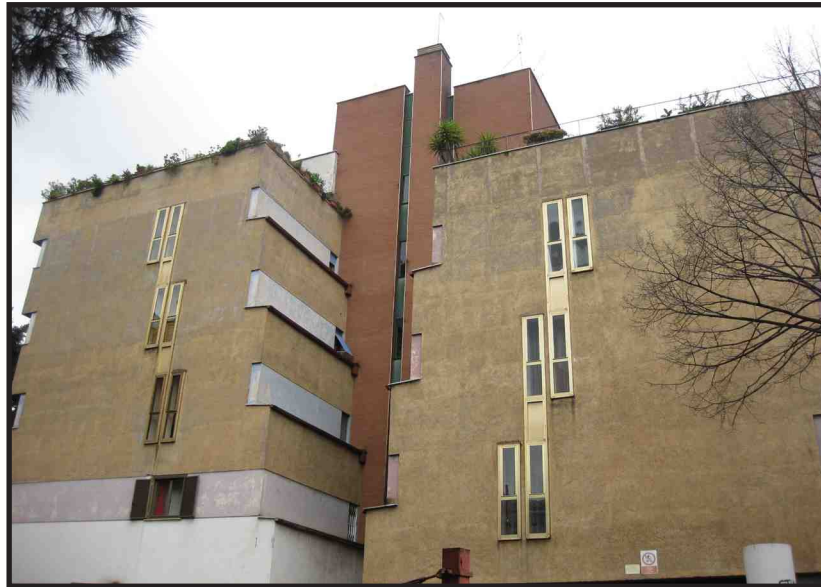
The most dominant building type is 2A/2B, though there are also numerous Type 3 and Type 4 buildings. In general, there are more modern residential buildings than old non-restored buildings. There are three Type 6 buildings in the quadrant—Euro Spin, and two schools. Each occupies a whole small block and stand out in the quadrant due to their grand size. Interestingly, also, different streets yield different building typologies: Viale Antonio Averulino Filarete is predominantly occupied by Type 4 and Type 2A buildings; Via Ciro da Urbino and Via Galeazzo Alessi, as discussed, show a great mix of Type 2A, 2B, 3 and 4; Via Gabrio Serbelloni (in the eastern half) mainly hosts Type 3 buildings.

Particularly, although Via Francesco Laparelli has a great mix of different building types, there are some Type 7 buildings on the northern part (near the piazza) of the road. These traditional buildings are well restored and largely resemble those in central Rome. Despite its popularity in central Rome, they appear to be unique within this neighborhood.

For the more modern buildings, most of them have large balconies and garage. All of them have at least seven stories and are located in the western half of the quadrant. As such, stores located in these buildings are larger, more modern and more inviting to pedestrians (many of them have illuminated banners, ceiling-to-floor windows and colorful decorations). Moreover, some are gated to enhance security. By comparison, the non-restored traditional buildings have either no balconies or a few small ones. All of them have two to four stories, and their stores on the ground level are less modern and smaller (there are a few exceptions, in which there is a modern and large supermarket).

In terms of architectural design, most buildings are standard residential block buildings. There are more varieties among the new modern buildings—some have special color combinations, and some are made of different materials (brick and concrete). In particular, on the northern end of Viale Antonio Averulino Filarete, there is a building which appears to be residential (and may even be public housing) whose architectural style is very different from the rest: red brick building with eight side (three of which come from a small green box-like addition to the basic rectangle) and long balconies along the side facing Viale Antonio Filarete (See (Photo 1.10)). The older buildings are mostly traditional designs with persiane. Although its use is unknown, this building adds some colors to the overall architectural landscape of the neighborhood.





**Photo 1.10**  
*A distinct building in Bullicante*  
(Karl Chan)

## Quadrant 4

The southeast quadrant consists of both mixed use and residential buildings, ranging from old self-built homes, to beautiful new buildings (See Diagram 1.13). Unlike other quadrants, almost every building in this quadrant has a residential component. The largest commercial space is the supermarket, and there are living spaces above it. Only three streets, Via Natale Palli, Via Pietro Rovetti, and Via Amedeo Cencelli are mainly residential (meaning they have fewer establishments with commercial bottoms than other streets do).

The most common typologies are Types 2, 3, and 4. Some streets, like Francesco Baracca, have a mix of these typologies, but each of the buildings—despite their different typologies—seem to be connected to one another. This may be a result of building

requirements in the neighborhood, attempting to maximize space by keeping neighboring buildings close, but this is mere speculation. Via di Tor Pignattara is also very mixed in terms of building typologies.

Each street has individual details to offer. Via Amadeo Cencelli's buildings are the most well-kept, with many beautiful Type 2 buildings. They are colorful, have balconies, and some have enclosed spaces on their rooftops, reminiscent of bell-towers. On Via Pietro Rovetti, the southern, more residential side of the street, most ground floor windows are blocked with safety bars. This is not as widespread on any other block in the quadrant. Also on this street, one building has a gated courtyard, visible from the sidewalk, with a large tree growing up to cover half of the building. Via Carlo Della Rocca, a street of diverse typologies, shows buildings of many colors—one with a portrait of Jesus on the façade with "MCMXXV" inscribed on it. Up the block there is a series of plain concrete box buildings in poor repair.

## Via Casilina

The majority of the buildings on Via Casalina are type 2A. Many of the buildings have eight or nine stories, taller than many of the buildings we found along the smaller roads. In addition, most of the buildings have balconies, which are used for drying laundry and planting greenery.

# Human Activities & Demographics



Bullicante is a highly diverse neighborhood. If we look at the GIS Maps (Figures 1.3, 1.4 & 1.7), we see that Bullicante had high numbers of foreign born immigrants compared to other Roman neighborhoods as of 2001. The survey research confirmed that such statistics are still representative of Bullicante’s demographics. In particular, several streets have a particularly strong presence of South Asians or Chinese, and the data is mapped in Diagram 1.15 and 1.16.

## Quadrant 1

While most of the residents appeared to white Italians, we found large numbers of southern Asian and Middle Eastern residents. While the Italians were often older, appearing to be 40 years and even more often older, the immigrant groups appeared to be of working age and few seemed to be older than 50. They ran shops and conducted business over the phone, while the older Italians stood on street corners outside shops conversing (or on Via Ludovico Pavoni, which has many Southern Italians, the residents sit on their doorsteps in the traditional Southern Italian style). Even when immigrants casually conversed on the sidewalk it was related to business. For example, when we stopped to speak with some individuals from Bangladesh who were already engaged in a friendly conversation outside a phone center, the individuals admitted they did not know each other well, but the female owner knew the man because he was in her phone center every day. Also, the Italians seemed to be strolling more often, lending to the theory that may have been retired, while immigrant individuals appeared to walk with more of a purpose, even if they walked in groups.

Streets With Strong Presence of South Asians



**Key**

- Streets that have over 33% of South Asians
- Streets that have over 20% of South Asians

Note: The building footprints are not drawn in proportion to real dimensions.



**Diagram 1.15**  
Streets with strong presence of South Asians (Karl Chan)

## Streets With Strong Presence of Chinese



**Diagram 1.16**  
**Streets with strong presence of Chinese**  
*(Karl Chan)*

Factored into demographics also was the gentility of interracial interactions, which were rather mixed. People were very kind to us. The Indians outside the phone call stopped Karl to start up the conversation. Another man who was white smiled and thanked Jeremy, who is clearly American, for picking up trash. Numerous other people smiled at us and said hello, and in some cases attempted to talk with us, though due to the language barrier this was difficult. Furthermore, we observed white people buying from Indian vendors and vice versa. There did not seem to be any overt hostility. However, one older man we spoke with on Via Erastatone expressed his distaste for immigrants, saying he felt less safe in his neighborhood now and worried for his safety. In another interaction observed on Via Antonio Spinetti, two white men jointly gave directions to a lost Asian man; however, they did not smile and seemed to laugh at him after he left. Those men, furthermore, seemed disconcerted by the presence of an obviously American researcher, as they constantly looked over and seemed to talk about him and laugh, though they may have just been confused by the research. However, as stated above, there was no overt hostility and, as will be seen in Quadrant 2, some individuals in the neighborhood enjoy having immigrants in the neighborhood. Overall the demographics of the neighborhood vary, and any hostility is very low-key.

## Quadrant 2

As is the case in the first quadrant, the second quadrant is highly diverse in terms of both age and national origin. As in quadrant one, also, the majority of observed older residents, aged fifty and up, appeared to be white Italians, while the residents between the ages of thirty and fifty seemed more diverse.

The activities of people on the street varied based on the street on which we observed them. We saw many older Italians congregating, particularly on Via Ludovico Pavoni, as noted earlier, and Via della Marranella (Photo 1.11). Where, as mentioned previously, the Southern Italians on Via Ludovico Pavoni sat on



**Photo 1.11**  
**Old Italians on Via Ludovico Pavoni**  
*(Carlotta Fioretti)*

their doorsteps or on chairs outside their house engaging in leisure activities, the people on Via della Marranella stood and talked casually. Also on Via della Marranella we saw groups of Bangladeshi immigrants talking on the sidewalk. The majority of the people that we observed were frequenting the bars and stores on the streets, entering or leaving residences or walking to or from parked cars.

People in this quadrant were also very friendly. We were greeted by numerous people and on a couple of occasions were even asked if we were lost and needed help, a courtesy rarely experienced in central Rome. Although most of the people we observed congregating on streets tended to be of the same ethnicity, we did observe a couple interactions, such as a seemingly friendly conversation between an older Italian man of around sixty and a younger African American woman of around thirty-five. When an

Italian man of about thirty approached us to see if we needed any help, we asked his opinion on the presence of such a high number of immigrants in the neighborhood. He told us that there is no problem with the immigrants in the area and that Chinese and Bangladeshi people are “easy to live with.”

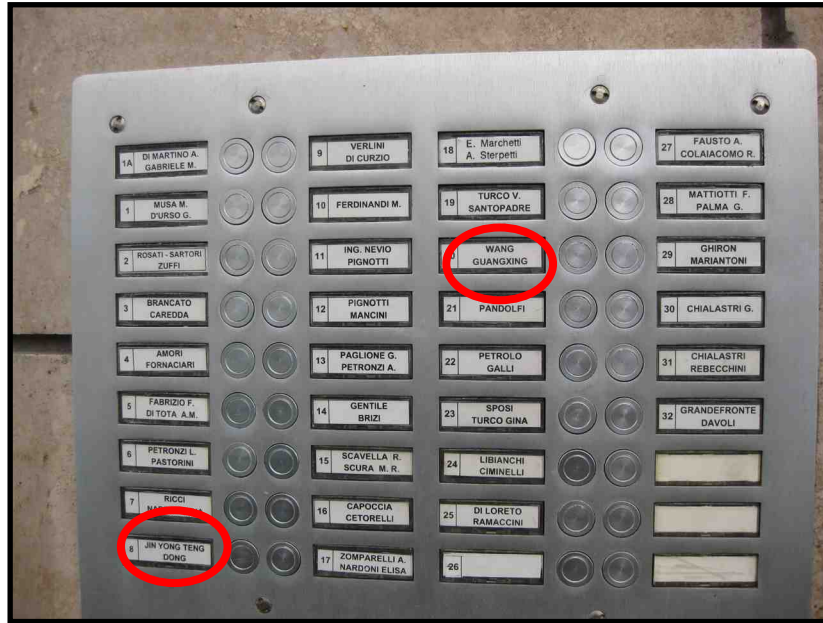
## Quadrant 3

Despite the lessened number of ethnic shops and restaurants, we still observed a significant number of non-Italians in this quadrant, as in the others, with most of them being Chinese and South Asian. On average, there are around half Italians and half non-Italians on the streets. The percentage of Italians on the streets ranges from 33% to 87.5%. For non-Italians, South Asians have a higher presence than Chinese people (See Diagrams 1.15 and 1.16) Of the eight streets, the percentage of South Asians ranges from 12.5% to 56%, while that of Chinese people ranges from 0% to 36%.

The quadrant is, nonetheless, composed mostly of white Italians of varying ages and genders. For example, we could see many students, housewives, and old men walking. By contrast, most of the non-Italians we saw were men who were younger, yet still over the age of 30, and who were not simply strolling alone but were rather walking in groups or moving goods and working. We found more South Asians on Via Galeazzo Alessi and Via Ciro da Urbino, while we found more Chinese on Via Francesco Laparelli.

Upon investigation on the building directories, we found that there are usually few non-Italian surnames on the intercom directory of new residential buildings (Photo 1.12), while there are usually more non-Italian surnames on those of the old run-down buildings. Although we are unable to draw very concrete conclusions without seeing the individuals, we can imagine that a large number of the non-Italians seen (especially Chinese) do own property and are not merely visiting or working.





**Photo 1.12**  
*Intercom showing Chinese surnames*  
 (Karl Chan)

Furthermore, during our observation, we came across a large number of elementary school students returning home from school. One interesting feature is that most Chinese and South Asian students left the school in groups of 2 to 3 while talking to each other in their own languages. Contrastingly, most Italian students left school alone.

Finally, there did not seem to be any significant social space in this quadrant, apart from the school entrance where parents talked to each other while waiting for their sons and daughters (See Diagram 1.17). Despite the presence of “potential social spaces” like the small public space outside Euro Spin and a few corners, we did not really see people socializing in those places; most of them were simply walking alone or grocery shopping.

## Quadrant 4

The demographics of the region seem to be consistent with those of the neighborhood as a whole, but certain ethnic groups—namely the Chinese—seem to be a bit less represented here than in the other quadrants. Also, there seemed to be more Italians of younger-generations in this quadrant than in the others. We saw very few people of any race who were below twenty-five, and very few non-Italians who looked over fifty. On the majority of the streets, the main human activity is strolling. Via di Tor Pignattara, on which we found mostly Italians, was the only prevalent destination street. On this street, people walked, shopped, chatted in small groups on the sidewalk, sat in sidewalk cafes, ate, and met up with people. On other streets, like Via Oreste Salmone, we spotted just five people in a five-minute period, less than a quarter of the twenty-plus people spotted only three blocks away on Pignattara.

The activities seen occurring on Via Amadeo Cencelli gave the street a particular neighborhood small-town feel. Two middle-aged woman spotted each other from across the street and had a conversation from one sidewalk to another. Another woman was taking her baby for a stroll. An older man was walking his dog. Within five minutes, five Italians were spotted on this street, one being a baby. Additionally, there was one Southeast Asian couple spotted walking together. On Via Natale Palli, a quiet street, people were seen walking into shops and offices, and two women in blue vests were busy cleaning the streets.

People on the streets usually took no note of our presence. This is an indication of the area’s tolerance and acceptance of diversity—which is considered ordinary in this area.

# Social Spaces



## Key

★ Social Space

Note: The building footprints are not drawn in proportion to real dimensions.

100 Meters



**Diagram 1.17**  
**Social Spaces Map**  
(Karl Chan)

## Via Casilina

The diversity of the neighborhood is apparent when walking along Via Casalina. Although most of the people we observed were white, presumably Italian, there were also a high percentage of Eastern Asians, Middle Easterners, and Southern Asians. The Italians tended to be those walking or frequenting the stores on the ground floors while the immigrants were those who seemed to congregate along the street. We saw numerous groups of Asian and Bangladeshi immigrants congregating street corners or next to an immigrant-owned shop. There were also many Bangladeshi and Middle Eastern immigrants selling clothing from white tents lined along the sidewalk. As seen in the rest of the neighborhood, the older residents were Italian while the middle-aged residents were often immigrants. Those frequenting Via Casalina all seemed to be older than twenty-five.

# Conclusion

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After completing this survey, we have decided to further develop our observations about ethnic diversity, with emphasis on the street culture. We see these characteristics as being responsible for shaping the composition of the community of Bullicante. Having noted that the southern half is less ethnically diverse than the northern half, and having heard from a colleague that people refer to these halves by different names, we will commence our research process by examining the issue of immigration and integration, which will be discussed in Part II and III.



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## *Part 2:* *Cognitive Map & Interviews*

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# Introduction & Methodology

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Similar to as was done in Part I, we split into two groups of two researchers. All interviews were conducted by at least two people, usually with one acting as the interview leader and the other taking notes. Because we had spoken with many people during the survey process, we already had a number of people with whom we knew we could speak; we supplemented these interviews with people whom we met on the street and interviews scheduled by Professor Gregory O. Smith and Ms. Carlotta Fioretti. It was challenging, however, to find Chinese immigrants who would speak with us. We infer that while some of them might be illegal immigrants who believed we were immigration officials, many others are simply reserved and are not accustomed to talking to strangers. As a result, we could only conduct one interview with a young Chinese woman. Contrastingly, it was easier to find Bengali people who were willing to speak to us. Many of them were very outgoing and enthusiastic about our project. As for local Italians, we interviewed with people ranging from 30 to 80 years old. We believe that this age and gender mix can provided us with a more comprehensive understanding of the neighborhood.

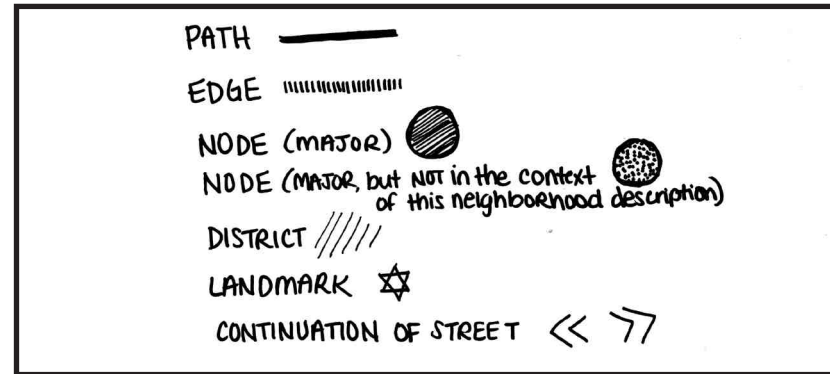
In order to avoid translation problems and to acquire the most accurate information, we made an effort to conduct the interviews in the interviewee's native language. With the help of Professor Smith and Ms. Fioretti, we were able to conduct many interviews that were solely in Italian- for the questioning process, the interview leader would ask a question, the translator would then relay the question to the interviewee in Italian; conversely, for the response, when the interviewee would answer a question, the translator would then repeat said answer in English. As for the other interviews without Ms. Fioretti and Professor Smith, we would first try to communicate in Italian, and if a mutual understanding could not be achieved, we would speak in English.

Fortunately, since most of our interviewees (mostly Bengali) spoke at least a modicum of English, we conducted many interviews in a hybrid of basic Italian and English. Undoubtedly much was lost in translation; however, from this method we were able to gelan a great deal of information. Finally, since the Chinese woman we interviewed with could not speak either English or Italian, that particular interview was conducted in Mandarin.

During the interviews, instead of rigidly asking the questions one by one, we took an open-question approach that allowed the interviewees to freely express their thoughts and opinions. As the interviewees had different emphases, the length of the interviews varied. Nevertheless, the interviews were generally structured to be the following parts: first, we would ask them to give us a background of themselves, such as hometown, occupation and reason for moving to Rome, or more specifically for moving to Bullicante. Second, we would present them with the overall map of Rome and ask them to locate the neighborhood that they belonged to. After identifying the neighborhood, we would start asking cognitive map-related questions with a neighborhood-scale map (i.e. area of Bullicante). We would ask them to locate major paths, nodes, and landmarks on the neighborhood maps. We hoped that by asking them to point out the objects they were referring to on the map, we could get a better sense of how they perceived the neighborhood geographically. After having them sketch their cognitive maps, we would ask them about their experiences in the neighborhood as well as their thoughts on development, both social and physical, in the neighborhood. More specifically we asked them what they liked about the neighborhood, what they didn't like, and what they would change. Again these questions we hope would give us a sense of how the residents judged their neighborhood.

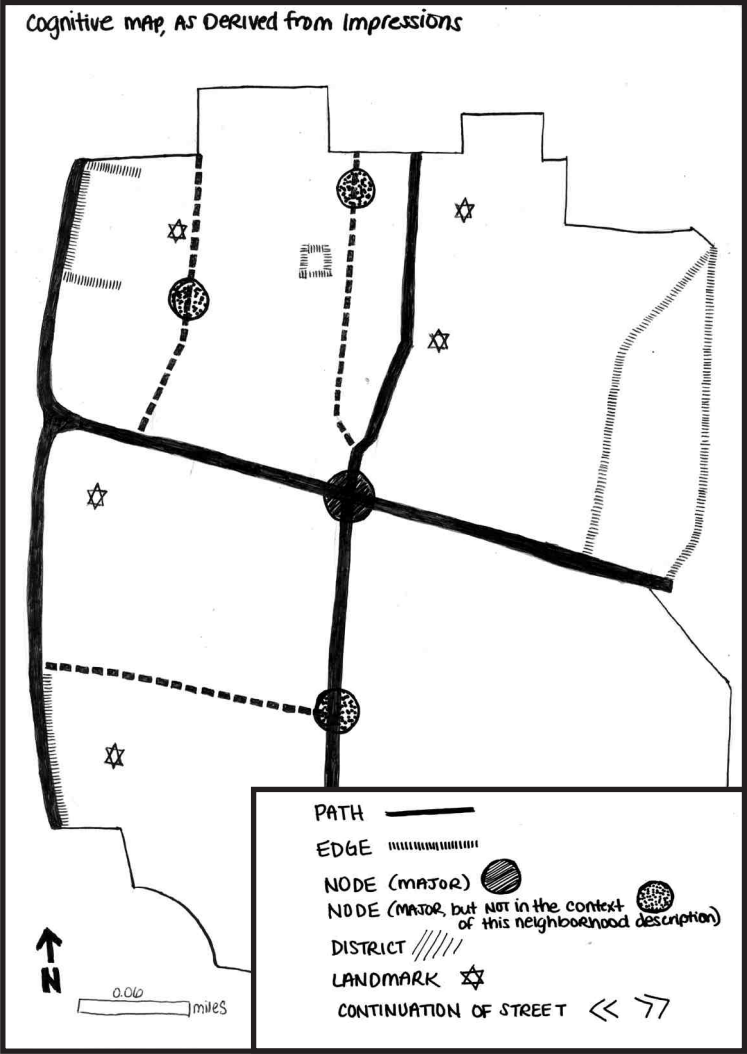
After the interviews, each group typed their notes and drafted mental maps from these notes. We then standardized the maps and put each to scale, as the scales of the mental maps varied to a high degree. As such, please pay attention to the scale bar of the maps. Furthermore, all the mental maps use the same legend (See Diagram 2.1).

This section begins with our own cognitive map, which portrays how we perceived the neighborhood to be. Next, cognitive maps that are derived from the interviews, as well as brief interview summaries, are presented one by one. The interviews are grouped into Italians, Chinese and Bengali.



**Figure 2.1**  
Legend for Mental Maps  
(Andi Israel)

# Cognitive Map (Derived from our Impressions)



**Figure 2.2**  
Cognitive Map As Derived from our Impressions  
(Andi Israel)

In this section of our project we developed cognitive maps (See Figure 2.2) based on our impressions of Bullicante. To draw these maps we used the ones drawn by Kevin Lynch in his book *Image of the City* (particularly figure 14 the visual form of Los Angeles as seen in the field, pg. 33) as a template. Just as in Lynch’s maps, our map features notable paths, edges, nodes, districts and landmarks found in the Bullicante.

Kevin Lynch defines paths as “the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves.” In our map we distinguish between major paths and minor paths. The difference between major and minor path is based on the size of the road as well as the amount of pedestrian and motor-vehicle traffic it receives. We identify Via di Acqua Bullicante, Via Casalina, Via di Tor Pignattara and Via Leonardo Bufalini as major paths because they are all large, two-way thoroughfares on which there are high levels of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. We consider Via della Marranella, Via Antonio Tempesta and Via Galeazzo Alessi minor paths because although they are also physically large and have high levels of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, they are not the main paths of our neighborhood.

Edges, “linear elements not considered paths,” are another feature of our map. Our group thought of edges as barriers rather than seams and therefore all of our barriers are areas that are fenced or gated off and consequently not accessible to the public. One of our edges is a wall that fences off a playground right off of Via Leonardo Bufalini. Also along Leonardo Bufalini, there is a wall which we have determined to be an edge (we are unsure of what is on the other side of the wall). The last two edges are along Via Capua and Via Labico because along both of these streets there are private houses which are gated off and inaccessible to the public.



**Photo 2.1**

Intersection of Via Casilina, Via di Acqua Bullicante and Via di Tor Pignattara, the major node that we identified.

*(Karl Chan)*

We found that it was difficult to break Bullicante into districts because it is such a small area. We therefore decided to consider two districts in our map, an immigrant district and a native Italian district. We feel that ethnicity is an appropriate identifying character for these districts because one of our initial impressions of Bullicante was that the neighborhood is highly diverse. The immigrant district consists of the Northwest quadrant of the neighborhood, bounded by Via Casilina in the South and Via di Acqua Bullicante in the East. The remainder of the neighborhood we consider to be the native Italian district.

We also marked four nodes within Bullicante. The major node is at the intersection of Via Casilina, Via di Acqua Bullicante and Via di Tor Pignattara (See Photo 2.1). We consider this intersection a major node because it is located at the intersection of three of Bullicante's major paths, has numerous bus stops and

a tram stop, and has high pedestrian and motor vehicle traffic flow, all of which make it the largest point of entrance into our neighborhood. We also believe there are nodes on Via Antonio Tempesta, Via della Marranella and at the intersection of Via di Tor Pignattara and Via Galeazzo Alessi. These are classified as minor nodes because at these locations there are high levels of pedestrian and commercial traffic.

We also believed there to be five landmarks in Bullicante, all of which are "rather simply defined physical objects." Two of the landmarks, a hospital and an elementary school, are along Via di Acqua Bullicante. Another is located on Via Antonio Tempesta. Finally, there are another two landmarks along Via Leonardo Bufalini, the Eurospin market and the elementary school. These buildings stood out as landmarks because, while most building in the neighborhood are residential or retail oriented, these buildings have a more pointed use and are large.



# Interviews

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## Interview 1: Riccardo

Riccardo is an Italian TV director, approximately 30 years of age, who moved to Rome from Milan several years ago. When we interviewed him he was sitting in the park of the Alessandrino Aqueduct, just a minute’s walk from his home, Riccardo said he calls his neighborhood Tor Pignataro. When Roman people ask him where he lives, however, he says he lives in Pignetto because Pignetto is an up-and-coming area neighboring “Tor Pignattara”. When people from outside of Rome ask him where he lives, he says he is from the San Giovanni area because it is well known and not too far.

When asked to define the boundaries of the neighborhood, Riccardo looked at a map and suggested that the neighborhood consists of a maximum of thirty to forty blocks and that Via Casilina is the southern boundary of the neighborhood (See Figure 2.3). In terms of recognizable features, Riccardo asserted that the aqueduct is the most important landmark. When planning work meetings at his home, Riccardo said he tells people to meet him at “the park of the aqueducto.” An alternate meeting location he often uses is Porta Maggiore. Since there are no churches, basilicas, or anything of that sort, Riccardo sometimes uses the underground metro stop on Via Tuscolana as a meeting spot with friends.

According to Riccardo, Via Casilina is the most important street in the neighborhood because there are many shops. Riccardo also noted that despite the high presence of shops and alimentary, the neighborhood lacks an open-air market, a development he would like to see. He would also like to see the neighborhood build a theater. The one theater that currently exists is small and hard for people outside of the neighborhood to reach. A live theater

would benefit the community more than a movie theater because movie theaters draw in local Italians who are loud and disruptive, he said.

When asked where a hypothetical new fountain should be strategically placed in the neighborhood, he started talking about how it should go somewhere in the park. He then struggled to think of where in the park a fountain could go because the park is known as one of the best skater spots in Italy—a status that he would not want to change. He ultimately decided that there is no room for a monument or fountain in the neighborhood.

Riccardo also feels that the neighborhood is “getting worse” because of the traffic. The worst traffic, he said, is from 6:30-9:30AM and around 6PM. While street bikes and scooters have been a traffic solution for people in many areas, the road in TorPignataro is too rough for these bikes because of rain damage and wearing down from cars. He went as far as to say that “the traffic is making Rome not livable.” Unlike many other interviewees, Riccardo emphasized that traffic is the main problem in the neighborhood, not immigration and ethnic diversity, though he does admit they too are issues.

When he bought his home three years ago, he said, property values were going up and young people were coming—particularly Russians and Romanians. He further explained that immigration trends had started going up and that that the park of the aqueduct has become a meeting point for the newly arrived Eastern European immigrants. He said that they would come to the park, drink, and degrade the area, acts of which he clearly disapproved. He also angrily explained that Italian boys are equally, if not more, disrespectful, as they ditch school and smoke

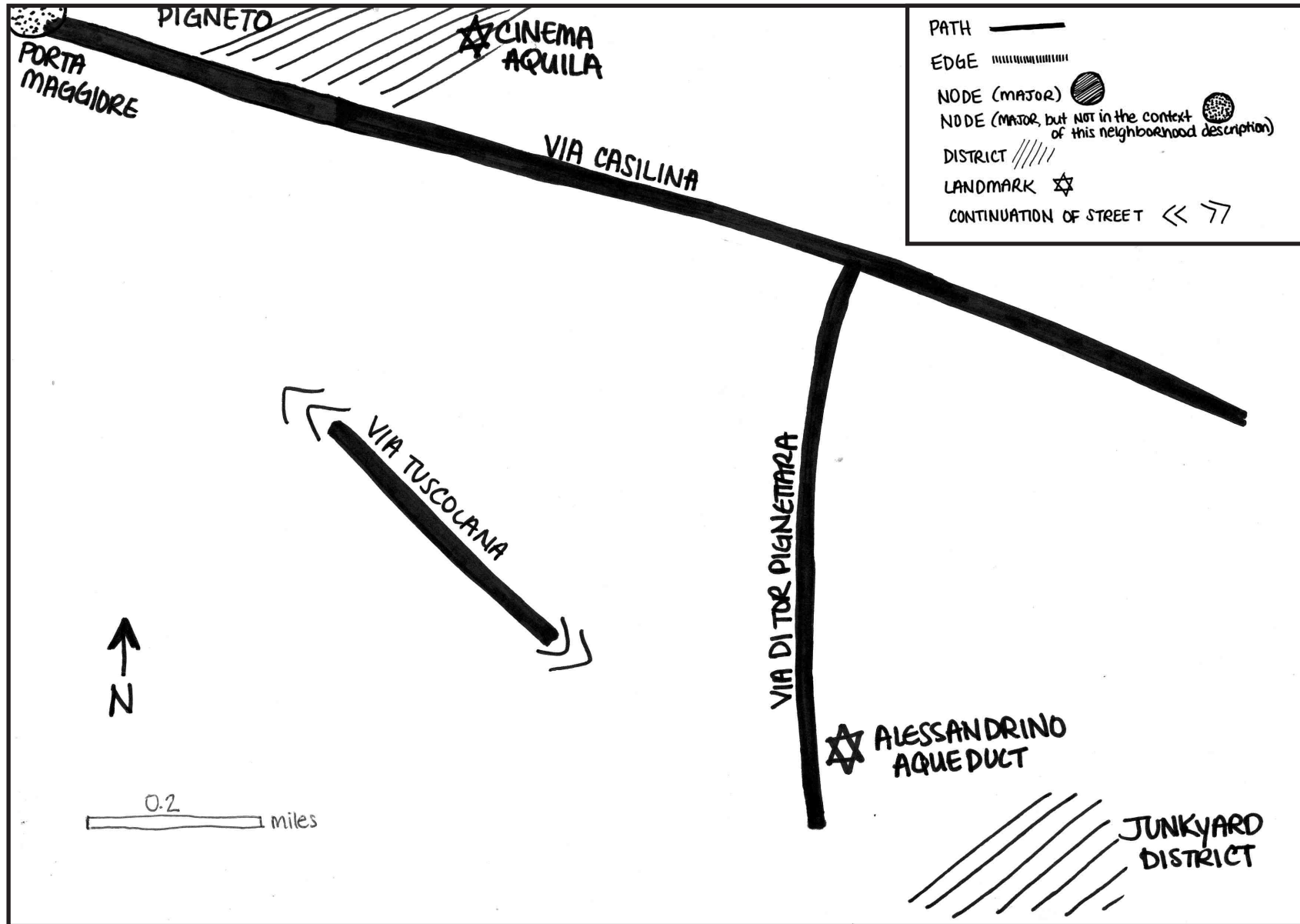


Figure 2.3  
 Cognitive Map of Mr. Riccardo Marino  
 (Produced by Andi Israel & Melissa Kim)

joints in the park. Such habits, he said, are learned by boys from their fathers and they exemplify a “low culture” of people that inhabit some ill-maintained streets surrounding the park (See Photo 2.2). He tells them to throw their trash into a garbage bin instead of on the ground and they respond, “Hey, what the fuck do you want?” He expressed disappointment at the fact that this is what is occurring in his neighborhood, and he thinks that the surrounding neighborhoods of Pigneto and Centocelle are both improving due to gentrification.

Riccardo stated that Tor Pignatarata “could be a nice area—there are many buildings from the 1920s.” When he first moved to Tor Pignattara about three years ago, he thought that it was “getting better and better” because of the new cinema and because there were many houses where people can have dinner outside—houses with gardens. As people have started to rebuild old houses, property values have gone up in the past five years. Riccardo approximated that such old houses run at about 200,000 Euros for 40 square meters, and that in the past, one could buy larger houses in the area for the same price. For an 80 square meter apartment with no garden, he said that one would pay 380,000 Euros. While it may seem pricey, he reiterated that this is still less than an equivalent space would be in the city center.



**Photo 2.2**  
Trash Problems mentioned by Riccardo  
(Karl Chan)

## **Interview 2: Luigi**

Luigi is an elderly man who was born in Bullicante and has lived in the area for his entire life. He is now retired and spends most of his time sitting in a plastic chair on the side of his street, Via Ludovico Pavoni. Although he changed what he thought was the neighborhood name multiple times, he settled on Tor Pignattara.

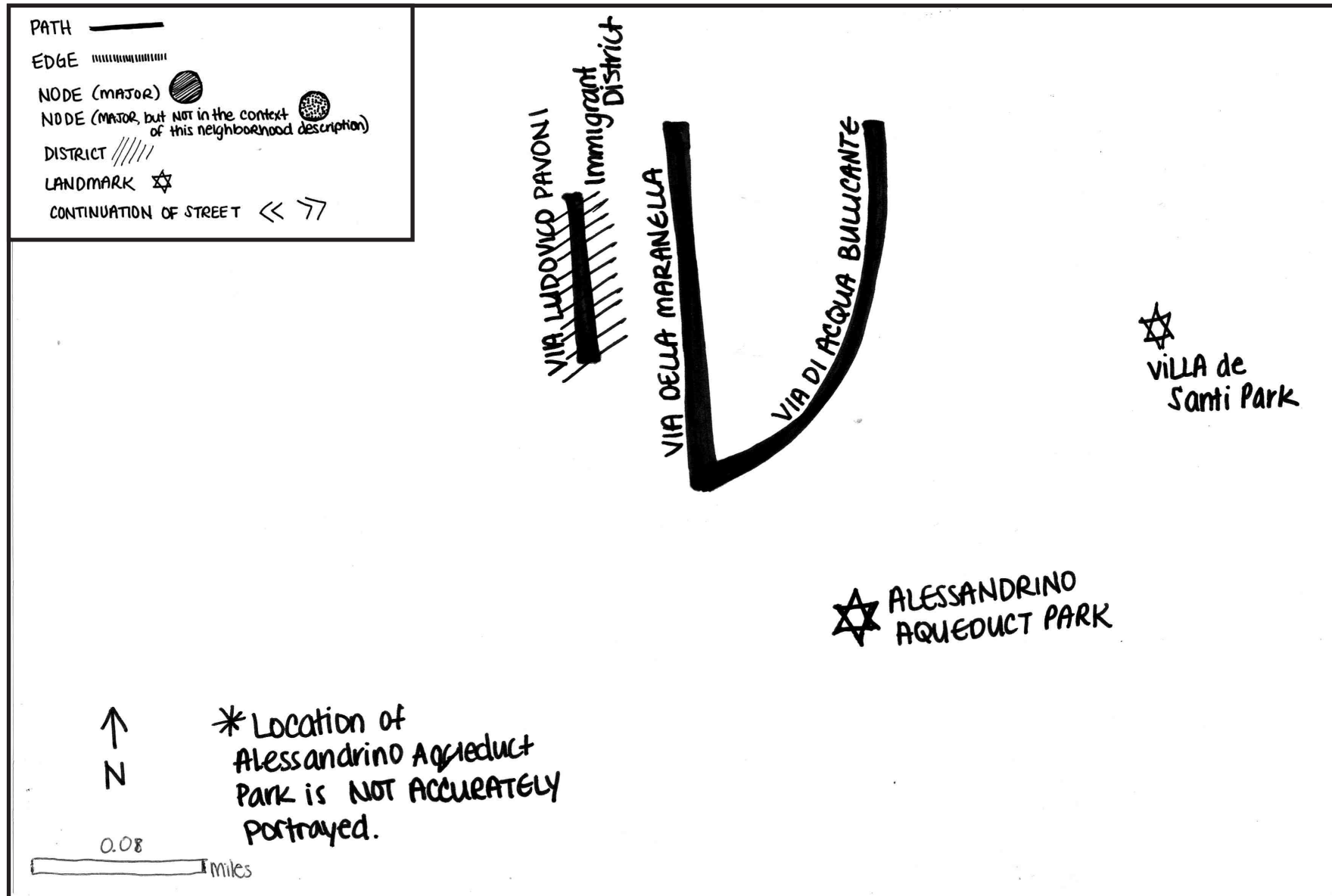
When initially asked what his neighborhood was called, he answered Via Pavoni, then corrected himself and called it Via Marranella. Calling the neighborhood the names of the road on which he lives and another nearby road indicates the importance that these roads hold in his mind as well as the small scale on which he sees the neighborhood. Only after asking him the name of the larger area and changing the scale to the one seen on above map, did he call the neighborhood Tor Pignattara.

When we asked Luigi about landmarks, paths or other distinguishing features of the neighborhood (See Figure 2.4), he said that he often walks to Villa de Santisa, a park five minutes away by foot. He also informed us that “the neighborhood sucks.”

Although we asked multiple times about the spatial design of the neighborhood he was more concerned with what he perceived as the deterioration of the area, brought about by the influx of immigrants. He said that the area has gotten worse over time because of the immigrants. When asked to define which areas had gotten “worse” he pointed out street, not areas, that seem to have high immigrant populations. When we asked why, he replied that once you could leave your door open without worrying, but not anymore. He added that there is no cheap housing anywhere because immigrants have taken it all; he blamed them for his daughter’s eviction. Finally, he said that there are too many immigrants in the hospital and the schools (though he seemed to think there was only one) and he thinks that there should be a separate hospital and schools for immigrants. Interestingly enough, when we asked what could be done to ameliorate the condition of

the neighborhood, he responded that the most important thing would be to clean the area because it is full of trash.





**Figure 2.4**  
Cognitive Map of Luigi  
(Andi Israel & Melissa Kim)

## **Interview 3: Luciana**

Luciana is a 68-year-old Italian who has lived her whole life in what she referred to as Tor Pignattara. We interviewed her on Via Ludovico Pavoni, where she was congregating with a couple of other elderly Italians who lived in the area.

Although she was able to identify the area as Tor Pignattara, Luciana did not seem to understand the term “neighborhood.” When we asked her general questions about the neighborhood, she responded in terms of streets, showing that, like Luigi, her scale is very small. From this description of streets we created the map seen in Figure 2.5.

Since Luciana, like Luigi, tended not to go far from the street she lives on, Via Ludovico Pavoni, she did not name many paths, landmarks or nodes for us. Even so, from the interview we can infer that Via Ludovico Pavoni is a path for her, because it is where she states that she spends the majority of her time. When we asked what she considered to be landmarks, she named two parks as can be seen on the map: Villa de Santi and Parco di Piazza Guardinati (See Photo 2.3). When we inquired about the placement of a possible fountain she said that there is nowhere to put one. She told us that there was once a fountain in Maranella Square, but they took it away because there was too much vandalism and drunk immigrants tended to congregate there.

Like Luigi, she was more eager to talk about the problems of the neighborhood than its’ image. She said that the neighborhood is getting much worse. She said that before there were criminals and shootings in the area, but they felt safer. She stated that Via Ludovico Pavoni is the worst area followed by Via Casalina, which she found to be a “little better” and Tempesta, which she found to be “the best.” Although she never clarified what makes certain streets “better” than others, it is clear from the rest of her interview, that she believes that the “better” areas are the ones with the least number of immigrants. Now there are immigrants littering and



**Photo 2.3**

Parco di Piazza Guardinati (the aqueduct), a commonly identified landmark  
*(Karl Chan)*

getting drunk in the area. She stated that the immigrants are so loud it makes it impossible to sleep at night. She also stated that since the immigrants have arrived it’s impossible to find affordable housing. When we asked her what could be done to improve the state of the neighborhood, she simply replied that the immigrants would have to be gone.

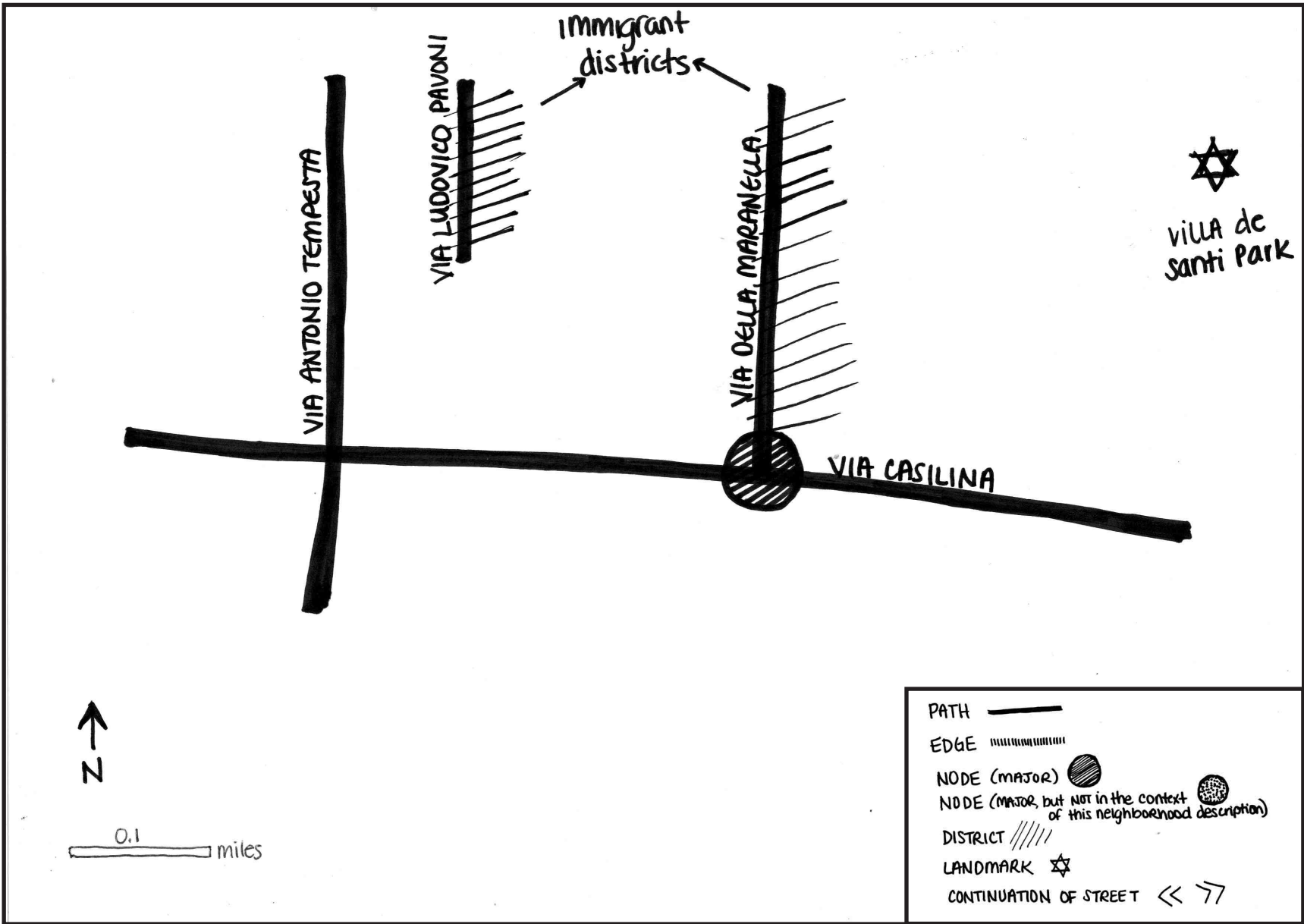


Figure 2.5  
 Cognitive Map of Luciana  
 (Andi Israel & Melissa Kim)

## Interview 4: Alessandro

Alessandro is an elderly Italian man living on Via Ludovico Pavoni who identified his neighborhood as Tor Pignatarra.

The one place that Alessandro viewed as a landmark was Saint Barnabas Church (See Figure 2.6). Although the church is located very close to Via Ludovico Pavoni, he complained that because of the construction taking place, he had to walk a much longer path to the church, a huge inconvenience to a man of his age.

While we found it hard to persuade him to talk about the image of the neighborhood (when we asked him about landmarks he told us to go ask people working in the municipal office,) he was more than happy to tell us about what a terrible neighborhood it is. In the very beginning of the interview he stated that the area “is the worst of Rome” and when we asked why he replied, as if it were obvious, “it sucks, don’t you see!”

The reason that he believes his neighborhood to be the worst of Rome is the presence of so many immigrants. He said that out of twenty-two apartments in his building, Italians own only three and that the immigrants crowd up to ten people in one apartment. He recalled a time, about fifty years ago, when the area was full of Italians whom he called “good people.” He said that although he considers the immigrants to be “good people” as well, there are too many of them, and the only solution to the immigrant problem is to have them all “sent back to their own country.”

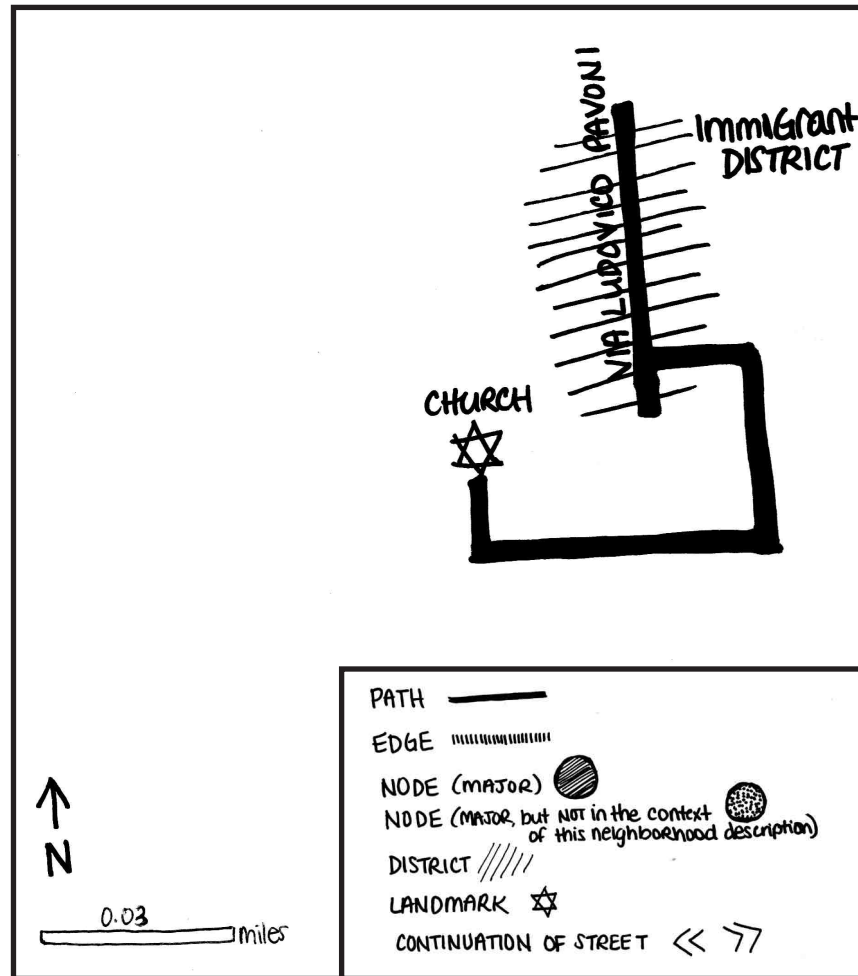


Figure 2.6  
Cognitive Map of Alessandro  
(Andi Israel & Melissa Kim)

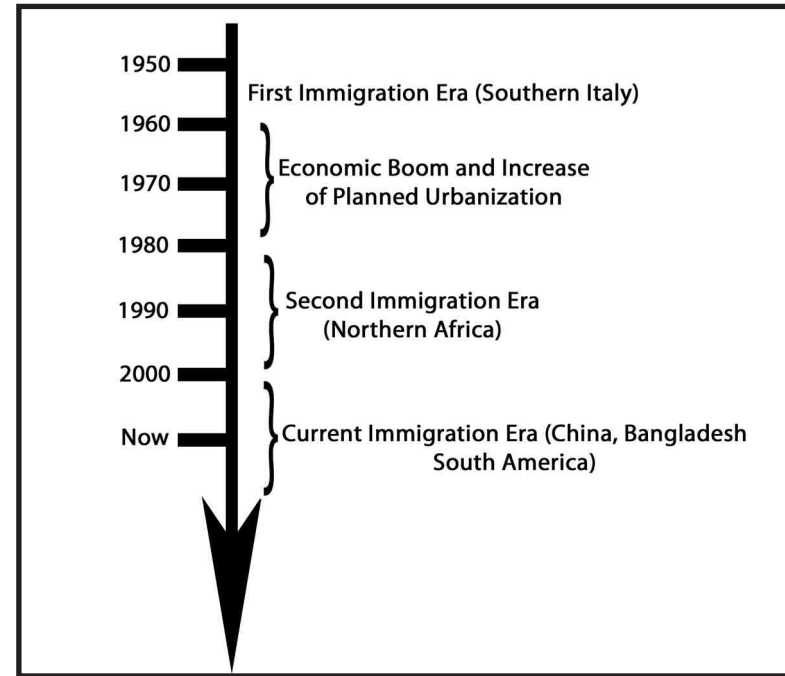


### **Interview 5: Emmanuella & Giuseppi**

Emmanuella and Giuseppi are workers at the Servizio Sociale Municipio Roma 6, the social service building for the municipality. Emmanuella was born in Bullicante and has lived there for her whole life, while Giuseppe has lived in the neighborhood for eleven years, from 1958 to 1969.

They called the neighborhood Tor Pignattara and during the interview they focused on the history of the neighborhood rather than its image. Emmanuelle and Giuseppi argued about the boundaries of the neighborhood and did not seem to reach a satisfactory conclusion. Emmanuelle told us that the neighborhood of Tor Pignettara is bordered by Pigneto and Gordiani, while Giuseppe was very unclear on what he thought of as the boundaries of Bullicante. They also listed a number of landmarks, although these were areas or buildings which they believed were landmarks to the residents' of Bullicante, not necessarily ones they considered themselves. The first landmark they named was Villa de Santi, an area that houses a sporting structure and an area where families meet for picnics. They stated that Piazza della Maranella is also a landmark because it's a point of meeting for Bangladeshi residents on the first day of the year. They stated that San Barnabas Church was another landmark because it is a family house and community center for all. Finally, they named Cinema Avilla, a movie theater, and Parco di Piazza Guardinato, or Alessandrino Aquaduct Park, as landmarks. This information was verbalized to us; however, the interviewees were unable to draw cognitive maps and that's why none are included to supplement the interview.

Emmanuelle was, however, able to develop a cognitive timeline (See Figure 2.7) and give us a brief history of the area, beginning with its birth at the end of antiquity. In ancient times Bullicante was well-known because it had many villas and cemeteries. The neighborhood was also important because Via Casalina was an important link between the Southern and Northern parts of Italy. At the beginning of the century there were



**Figure 2.7**  
Cognitive Time Line of Emmanuella & Giuseppi  
(Melissa Kim)

a lot of families because there was a lot of open land. The families would built one-family houses on part of the land and sell the rest of the land to other families in order to become richer. Because of the influx of immigrants, a number of smaller and more artisan-based shops were opened, owned by immigrants.

In the after-war period a large number of lower-income migrants came to the neighborhood. Even areas that were previously upper- and middle-class had pockets of lower-income individuals and families. The first immigrants came from Southern Italy, and they moved into the area during the 1950s and since then mass immigration to Bullicante has continued. The next wave of immigrants came from Northern Africa, and the most recent wave of immigration came from China, Bangladesh and South America.

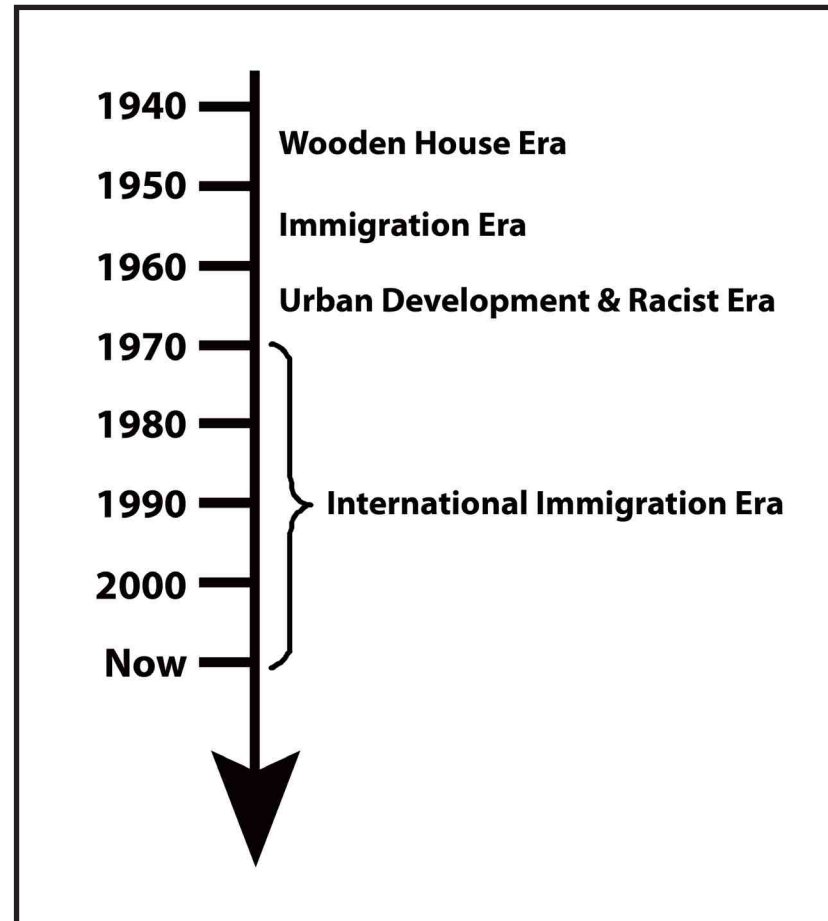
## Interview 6: Fabbri

Fabbri provided one of the more fascinating interviews of this project. Fabbri is 82 years old and has lived in the neighborhood, which he calls Tor Pignattara, for the last 50 years. Previously he lived in Torre Mauro and Centocelle in Rome and was born in the Emilia Romagna province. Initially he moved to Rome because he had five aunts living there, and in 1958 he moved to “Tor Pignattara,” which was then a region composed mostly of farmlands.

Because of Fabbri’s longevity he was able to trace for us the longitudinal development of the neighborhood. He split the timeline into three parts (See Figure 2.8): The Wooden Church Era of the 40s, the Immigration Era of the 1950s, and the Urban Development and Racist Era of the 1960s. Prior to his arrival, in the 1940s post-war era, the land was largely rural and the individuals living there were ex-military personnel. The only major development was a wooden church and the area was connected to Rome only by a tram going to Termini. The tram stop, in fact, was known as “Piazza of the Dead” which was so named because of the many waiting passengers who fell off the platforms and were killed.

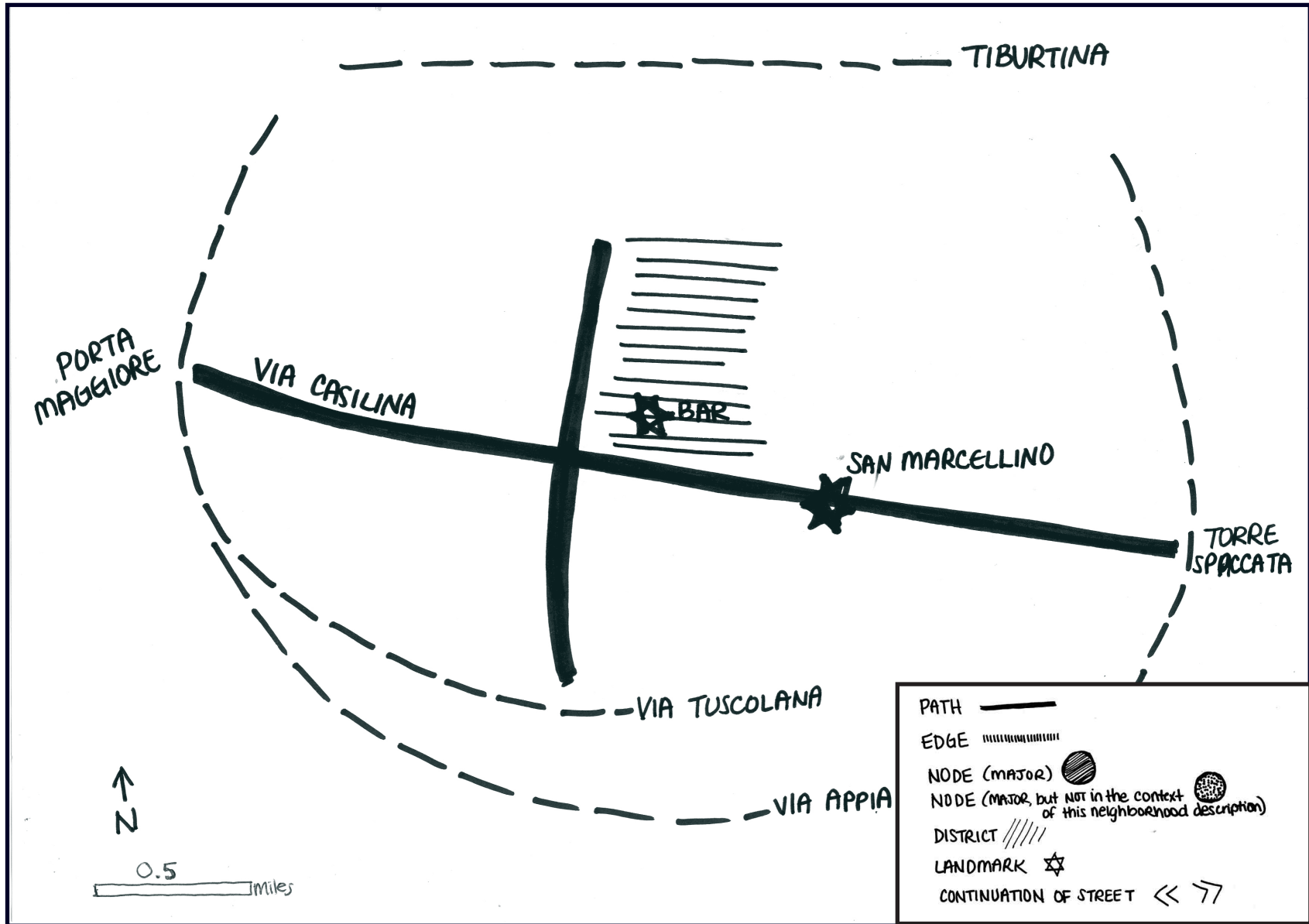
Change began to come in the 1950s, however, as the neighborhood experienced a massive influx of Southern Italian immigrants. He explained that the Southern Italians were snubbed and discriminated against. Residents saw them as less intelligent and lazy and therefore they were relegated to low-level jobs. Yet, despite the discrimination, the new residents brought with them new customs and helped spur new development, as the government needed to meet the demands of a suddenly increasing and diversifying population.

He explains that Italian immigration to the neighborhood continued into the 1960s, except that by then not only were Southern Italians immigrating but so were Milanese people and



**Figure 2.8**  
Cognitive Timeline of Fabbri  
(Karl Chan)

other Northern Italians. This period is marked by both progress and regression. The neighborhood truly began to urbanize during this period. A new “Peruvian Church” was established and public services were brought to the neighborhood. With a rapidly rising population, the self-built houses of old farming families, ex-military personnel, and Southern Italians were no longer sufficient, thus leading to greater housing development. Thus, the neighborhood began to expand and take on its urban form.



**Figure 2.9**  
Cognitive Map of Fabbri

Note: Not all landmarks mentioned by Fabbri are shown on the map, as he did not mention their exact locations.  
(Andi Israel)

However, at the same time regional tensions rose. According to Fabbri, the Southern Italians were already oppressed by native Romans, and they were only further mistreated by the newly arriving Milanese immigrants who brought their northern biases with them. The Milanese further looked down on the Romans as Southerners, Fabbri said, to which Romans took offense as they did not want to be seen as Southerners or bumpkins. Thus, there was great regional tension present in the neighborhood.

Fabbri went on to explain that now he is living in a fourth era marked by international immigration to the neighborhood. He noted that the presence of new foreign immigrants has helped to move Southern Italians up the ladder, as they are now seen as Romans, while the new immigrants are seen as dangerous, uneducated newcomers. He explained that the immigrants are seen as dangerous because they are taking over the businesses in the neighborhoods, thereby pushing Italians out of jobs. Furthermore, natives fear that the immigrants will commit crimes, thereby leading the neighborhood to be tagged as a “dangerous” one by the outside world and the media. Fabbri said that while he does not hate or feel threatened by the immigrants, he is concerned that the neighborhood is losing its Italian identity, and it is therefore important for the Italian government to use its resources to help improve developing nations so that foreigners do not feel the need to move to Italy to improve their lives and thereby interrupt native Italian life.

He did note that despite the fact that the neighborhood is losing its Italian identity, however, the immigration dating back to the '50s has spurred the physical development of the neighborhood. From the farming community of 50 years ago, the neighborhood now, according to Fabbri, stretches from Torre Spuccata to Porta Maggiore on the east-west axis and from Via Tiburtina to Via Appia on the north-south axis. This expansion has required the development of streetways. He sees Via Antonio Filarete/Leonardo Bufalini and Via Casalina as the major paths used by residents as they connect the neighborhood to the rest

of Rome (See Figure 2.9). Furthermore, he noted that though immigrants may take jobs from native Italians, they have started up many small businesses and brought a semblance of economic stability to the neighborhood. He also said that the influx of new residents has led to the development of many landmarks, both good and bad: the Peruvian San Marcellino Church (which he dislikes even more than St. Barnabas but which signifies development nonetheless), St. Helen's Church, a mafia-owned cinema, a Chinese Bar, the school which Chinese children attend, and Aquila. Thus the influx of people has spurred development.

This expansion has hardly been flawless though, he claims. He feels that the neighborhood has gotten worse over the past few years and not just because it is losing its Italian identity. Urban development has halted in recent years, leaving the neighborhood isolated, he claims. Because, he said, the neighborhood was already boxed in by Via Appia and Via Tiburtina it has always been rather isolated; therefore, when the metro was extended and the neighborhood did not receive a station, the neighborhood seemed to be even more isolated and suffered. He explains that the neighborhood receives fewer municipal services and there is little motivation to develop the landscape further with monuments and businesses. All of this, combined with the rise in immigrants, has led the neighborhood to be tagged as “bad” or “dangerous” by the media. He would like this trend curbed by adding a metro stop and improving the terrain, as it could potentially lead to the restarting of services. Furthermore, he would like to see a monument built in the neighborhood dedicated to freedom and respect of foreigners, especially since such a project might spur on further development in the region.



## Interview 7: Xiaofeng

Xiaofeng is a salesperson at a Chinese-owned computer store located on Via Casilina. At the age of 27, she has lived in Italy for around six years. Just like most other Chinese immigrants, she is originally from Zhejiang Province just outside of the city of Wenzhou, which sends the highest number of Chinese immigrants to Italy. Although she did not explicitly specify the reason of coming to Italy, she mentioned that "I have to find money for my rice" (this is a commonly used Chinese phrase that refers to making a living). In particular, she has a five-year old son who is currently living in China, and she hopes that she can earn more money to raise her child.

Xiaofeng did not provide much of a map, as she did not seem to recognize the neighborhood more by a few streets than by set areas (See Figure 2.10). When asked for the name of the neighborhood, she would merely say Via Casilina. She noted she lived nearby on Via Guido Cora (the street which we identified to be a Chinese-dominant street in Part 1), which is just behind her store. Given such a short distance between her living place and work place, she usually does not have to go through other streets in order to go to work. It is understandable therefore that she may have not been as familiar with a wider area. She also identified, as can be inferred by the name she gave for the neighborhood, Via Casilina as a major path. Interestingly, she also regarded Via Casilina as a node, as she usually meets her friends, who are also Chinese at various spots along the strada: for example, sometimes, she said, she will meet her friends at her store, and at other times they will meet at the 409 bus stop. As such, she could not identify any specific spot or corner to be a node, and rather identified the entire street. It is interesting to see how the role of Via Casilina changes with time (See Photo 2.4)- when she goes to work, Via Casilina is a path. In contrast, when she meets with her friends, it is a node. We infer that this is due to the lack of big public space where residents can meet or converge; this, as a result, contributes to the fact that many residents, like Xiaofeng, have to socialize with



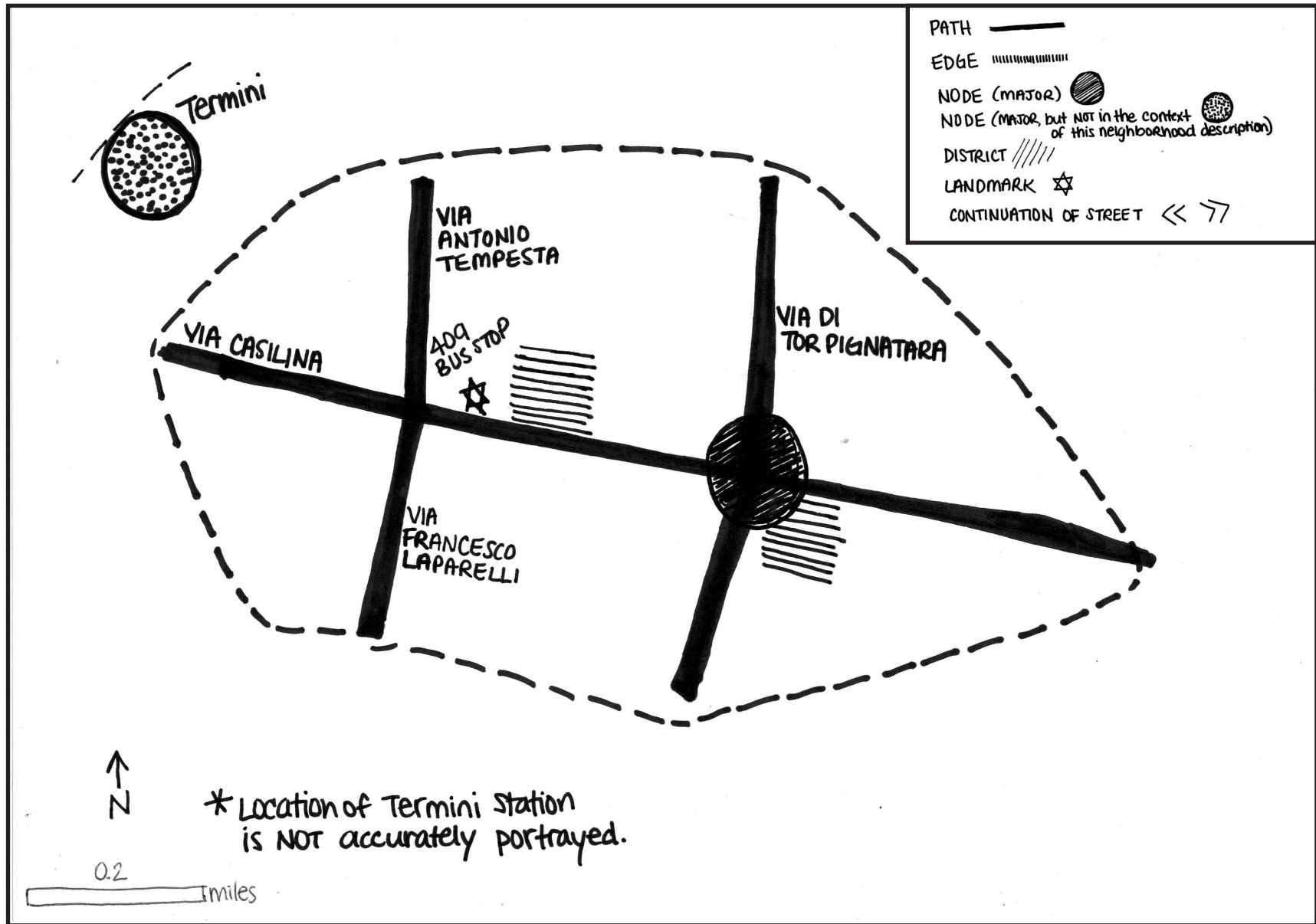
**Photo 2.4**  
Via Casilina as both a path and node for Xiaofeng  
(Karl Chan)

her friends on a path. As for landmarks, she could not think of any. Yet, when she was asked to identify an important object, she again said Via Casilina was her main reference object and that she often orientated herself using the road as the center point. Furthermore, she mentioned that she often goes to central Rome by bus or tram to shop and meet her friends. Because the stops for the tram are located on Via Casilina, when she commutes to other areas, she does not even have to use other paths and continues to go back to Via Casilina. It can be concluded that, given Xiaofeng's near-complete reliance on Via Casilina, this road has the single most important role in her mental map.

We also spoke with her about the demographics of the neighborhood. When we asked where other Chinese immigrants live, she could not provide a concrete answer.

She merely said that Chinese immigrants are evenly spread out throughout the district. Similarly, she could not identify any South Asian-dominant district or Italian-dominant district.

Despite her stay in Italy for six years, she does not speak any Italian. This suggests that she is still very confined to her environmental bubble. In fact, given the nature of her work, living environment and social circles, it is not surprising that she is still having a Chinese lifestyle in Bullicante. Yet, she thought that “there are too many people here”. Not only does she dislike the high variety of ethnicities in the neighborhood, she, rather surprisingly, is not fond of the high presence of Chinese people. Preferring to live in a quiet neighborhood with a small population (just like her hometown in China), she criticized the neighborhood as too “hybrid” and “complicated”. Nonetheless, she said she had no choice but to live there. In general, she does not really like the neighborhood, because, in addition to the high immigrant population, she does not feel safe because of the frequent incidents of pocket picking. Finally, she expressed her wish to go back to China and unite with her son- “China is my home, after all”, she said.



**Figure 2.10**  
 Cognitive Map of Xiaofeng  
 (Andi Israel)

## **Interview 8: Lima**

Lima is a 24 year old immigrant from Bangladesh who runs a phone center (See Photo 2.5). She moved to Rome 11 years ago to join her father who had already been living in the city for 10 years. When she first arrived she lived in a more westerly part of Rome; however, for many years now she has lived mostly in or near the neighborhood, which she calls Tor Pignattara.

Lima first discussed the spatial design of the neighborhood. When sketching her cognitive map (See Figure 2.11), she indicated that she takes the same route to work every day, going from her home on Via Amadeo Cencelli toward Via Casilina, which she then walks along until she reaches Via Antonio Tempesta where she turns right and walks another half a block to the phone center. To return home at night, she simply takes the same route but in reverse. Such a route and routine implies that Via Casalina is a major path for her. It is also notable that when she was asked to sketch the outlines of her neighborhood she sketched the route and then said that she does not go out with friends so often, so this route is what she recognizes as the neighborhood.

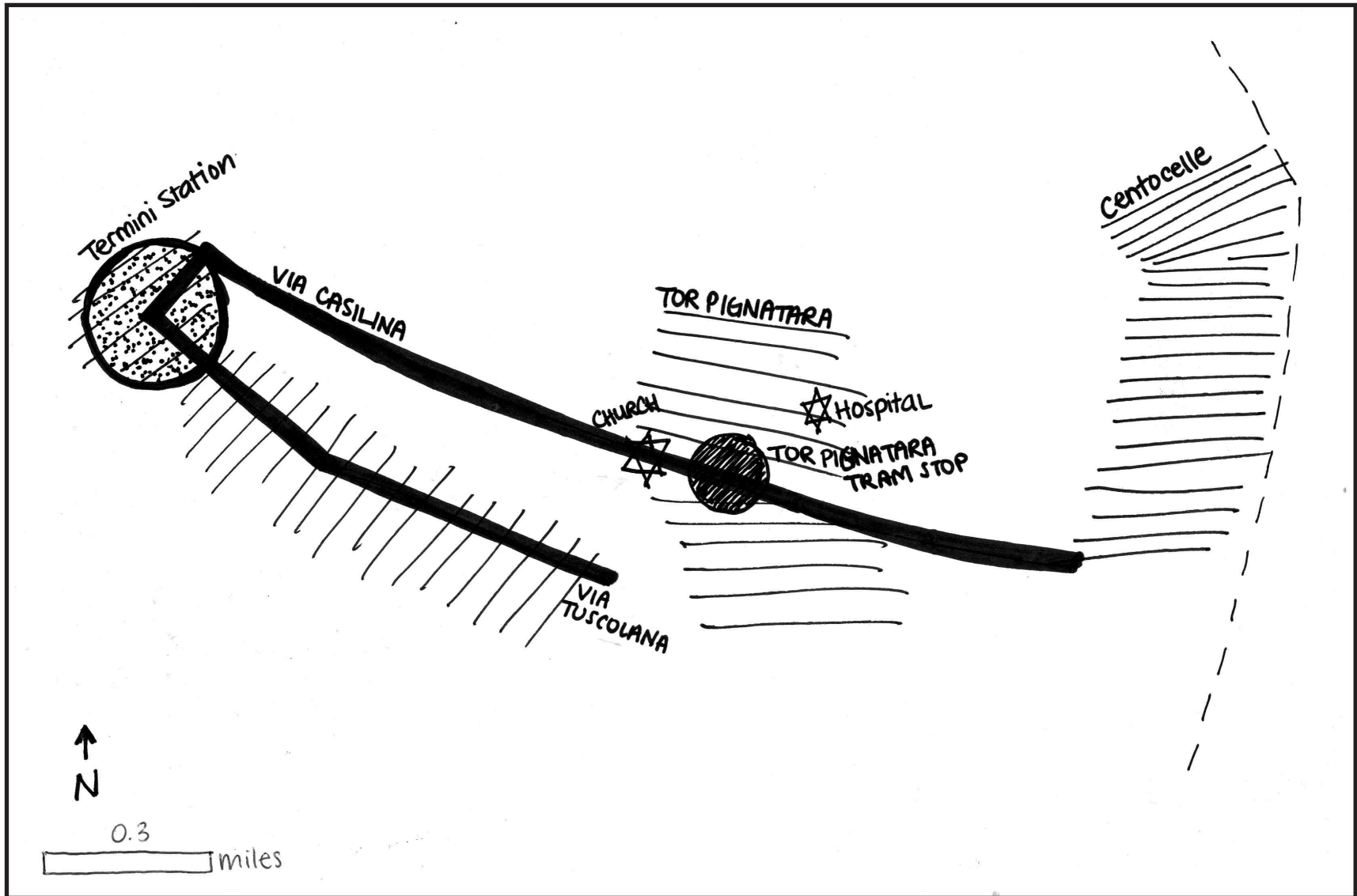
Her verbal description of the layout and size of the neighborhood was quite different from the written one. When she spoke of the neighborhood, it was quite vast. She extended it to Termini, which she seemed to say was a node, as it served as an entryway into the neighborhood. Furthermore, she felt that the Arco di Travertino, where her parents currently live with many other Bangladeshis, was just outside the borders of the neighborhood. Also, she was able to tell us that the hospital was a landmark, but she did not note it in her sketches and had difficulties finding it on a map. Such contradictions imply that she may have had difficulty understanding what we were asking her to draw but understood enough to discuss the outlay of the neighborhood. What was clear was that she felt more comfortable speaking about the image of the neighborhood than drawing it.



**Photo 2.5**  
Lima's Phone Center  
(Karl Chan)

She also spoke at great length about the demographic makeup of the neighborhood. As noted on the map she identified the southeast quadrant of the neighborhood as a major Bangladeshi enclave, as well as a Southern portion near Arco di Travertino. She noted that there are two major reasons for the development of these enclaves: the comfort of living near family, friends, and fellow expatriots, as well as problems with governmental part. She said that living near other immigrants allows Bangladeshis to assimilate in comfortable environments and to develop networks to find work and housing. At the same time she said, governmental regulations make it difficult to receive work permission visas, thereby causing many immigrants to move in with relatives and overcrowd since they have no money. Thus, she felt that governmental policy, combined with a desire for comfort, has caused Bangladeshis to create enclaves, which can often be overcrowded.





**Figure 2.11**  
Cognitive Map of Lima  
(Andi Israel)

## **Interview 9: Rahonan**

Rahonan is a grocer in his thirties from Bangladesh. He has lived in Rome for three years, all in the neighborhood, which he calls “Tor Pignattara.” He spoke at great length about his goals in moving to Rome and about his unmet expectations as well as, what he saw as, pervasive social problems, in specific poor education.

In Bangladesh, he said, he studied pharmaceuticals for two years and worked at an arts/media center. He explained that, because there weren’t many pharmaceutical jobs in Bangladesh, he came to Rome to get a better education and to become a video and sound engineer; however, he has been unable to study for many reasons. First, there is a language barrier. He speaks Bangladeshi, English, and only a bit of Italian; however, as he notes, because Italian schools do not place much emphasis on English and speak only Italian, he has had trouble locating places to study. Second, because he is in need of money, he does not have the time to go to school and educate himself in Italian or in video and sound engineering. Third, he feels that the educational opportunities for people of any age, and especially for a man of his age, are poor and do not fulfill his needs, such as improving his English. In fact, he went so far as to say that if he has kids (right now it is just he and his wife in Rome) he will try to move to the United Kingdom or France, or if he can’t back to Bangladesh, to make sure his children receive strong educations and learn English.

Also, he feels very unsafe in the neighborhood. He said that there is a great deal of crime. Combined with his perceived unequal treatment for immigrants and poor education, he seemed to be very uncomfortable with his situation and seemed to be set on moving out of Rome.

Rahonan did not provide much of a map, as he focused more on social issues in his interview. As can be seen on the

map (See Figure 2.12) he sketched a very small area for the neighborhood boundaries. He sees the major paths as being Via Antonio Tempesta, Via Galeazzo Alessi, Via Francesco Baracca, where he lives along with many other Bangladeshis, and Via Casalina. Furthermore, he saw the Tor Pignattara tram stop as the only node, and he did not believe there were any landmarks. When he was asked if he would like for a landmark to be built, he said he would like to see a park built to provide a green public space where a monument could be built; otherwise, he said, he could not think of an area in the neighborhood where one could put a monument if there was no green space.

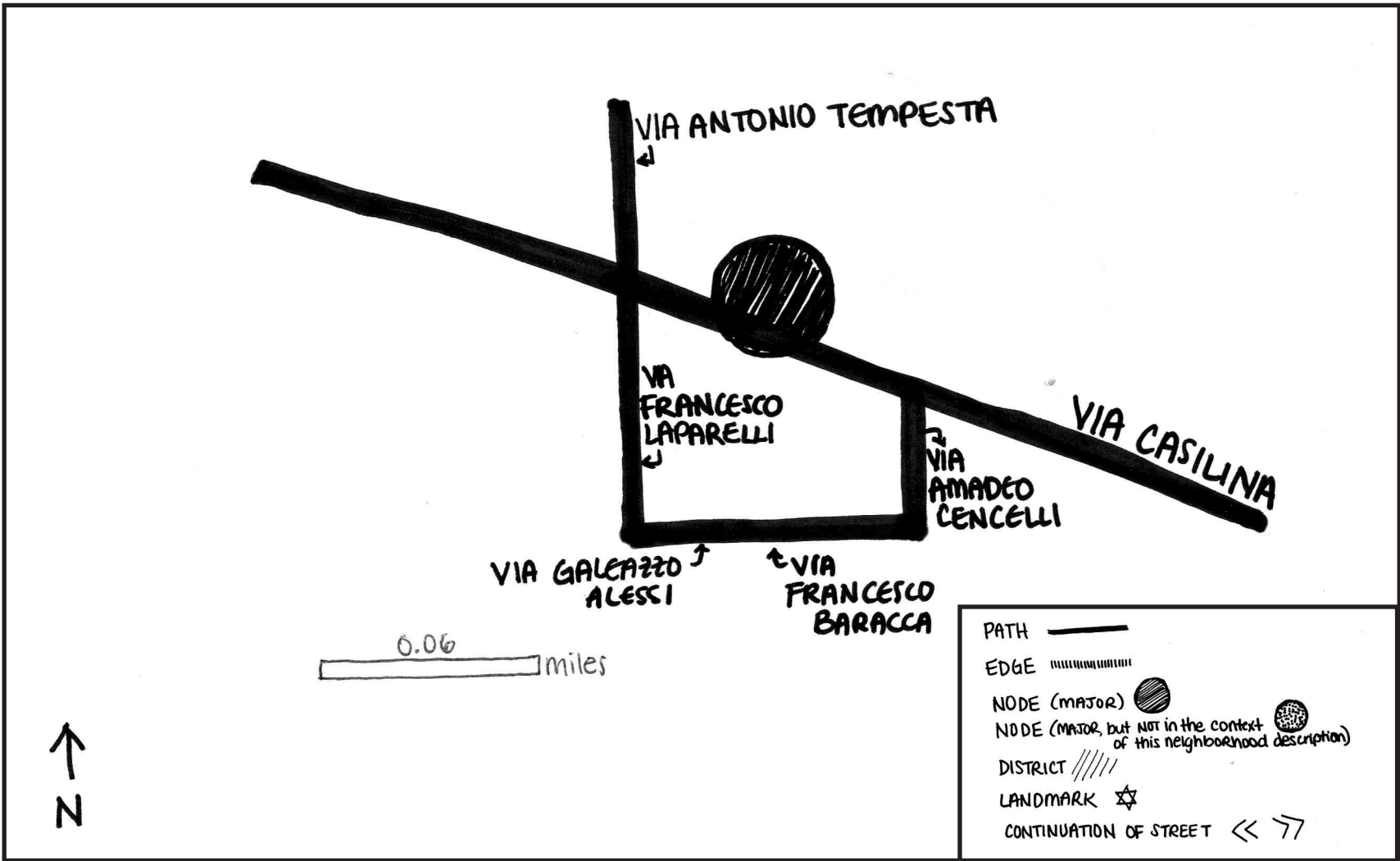


Figure 2.12  
 Cognitive Map of Rahonan  
 (Andi Israel)

## **Interview 10: Romano**

Romano, is a 40-year old man from Bangladesh. Despite his 18-year stay in Italy, he has only lived in Bullicante for 1 year. Currently, he is the owner of a small-sized kebab-pizza restaurant located on Via Francesco Baracca. Before he came to Bullicante, he owned a wholesaling business that imported vegetables from Bangladesh and India to Italy and helped run his brothers' butcher shop. As we conducted the interview at his restaurant, we observed that he had many loyal customers- almost all customers, regardless of ethnicity, who came to his restaurant seemed to know Romano. When asked about his social circles, he seemed to know many people within the neighborhood: for example, he knows the owner of the Indian restaurant located on Via Antonio Tempesta, the neighborhood's immigration officer, who is also from Bangladesh, and many of his customers.

Similar to other interviewees, he called the neighborhood "Tor Pignattara," and he described Porta Maggiore as the western boundary of the neighborhood (he did not draw any maps and instead verbalized them to us)(See Figure 2.13). Such a boundary created a larger neighborhood than the one we had been assigned, as Porta Maggiore is approximately 3.5 kilometers away from the Tor Pignattara tram stop. Furthermore, he identified his main path as Via Casilina and the CIM clothing store (See Photo 2.6), which is located on the southwest corner of the intersection between Via Casilina and Via di Tor Pignattara (where the tram stop is also located), as a node, as he usually meets his friend there given its convenient and central location. This is parallel with our group's mental map that the intersection is the major node of the neighborhood. He also regarded the hospital (Ospedale Generale Madre Giuseppinda Vannini), the aqueduct and the church on Via Giovanni Maggi as landmarks, since these three were the three buildings that came to his mind when he had to name important and easily recognizable structures.

Because he runs the store, he must keep late hours and he

therefore usually stays within the neighborhood. He seldom goes to other places in Rome; when he does go out (once or twice a month), he usually drives to areas near Termini and parks the car at Via Nazionale. In addition, he expressed his desire to move his business to the city center; however, he cannot afford such a move, as the rent is too high there.

He also said that while he likes the neighborhood, he also recognizes that there are many problems. One major problem, he said, is poor public transportation as it is not very accessible. He explained that it is because of the poor transportation that he drives his car, despite the expense of doing so. Also, he advocated for improved hospital services: he complained, for example, that it usually takes him six months in order to get a doctor appointment. In a similar vein, he explained that the most pressing problem is that immigrants are treated unequally to natives. They experience more violence and hate crimes (though he said it is rare and he has not experienced it), and they are the victims of bias and unjust governmental policies he says. Finally, as many other residents also said, he wanted to see a park built in the neighborhood because there is not enough green space. Essentially, Romano felt that while the neighborhood provided him opportunities and benefits, it could be largely improved on and less isolated from the rest of Rome.



**Photo 2.6**

CIM Clothing Store as a node for Romano (*Karl Chan*)



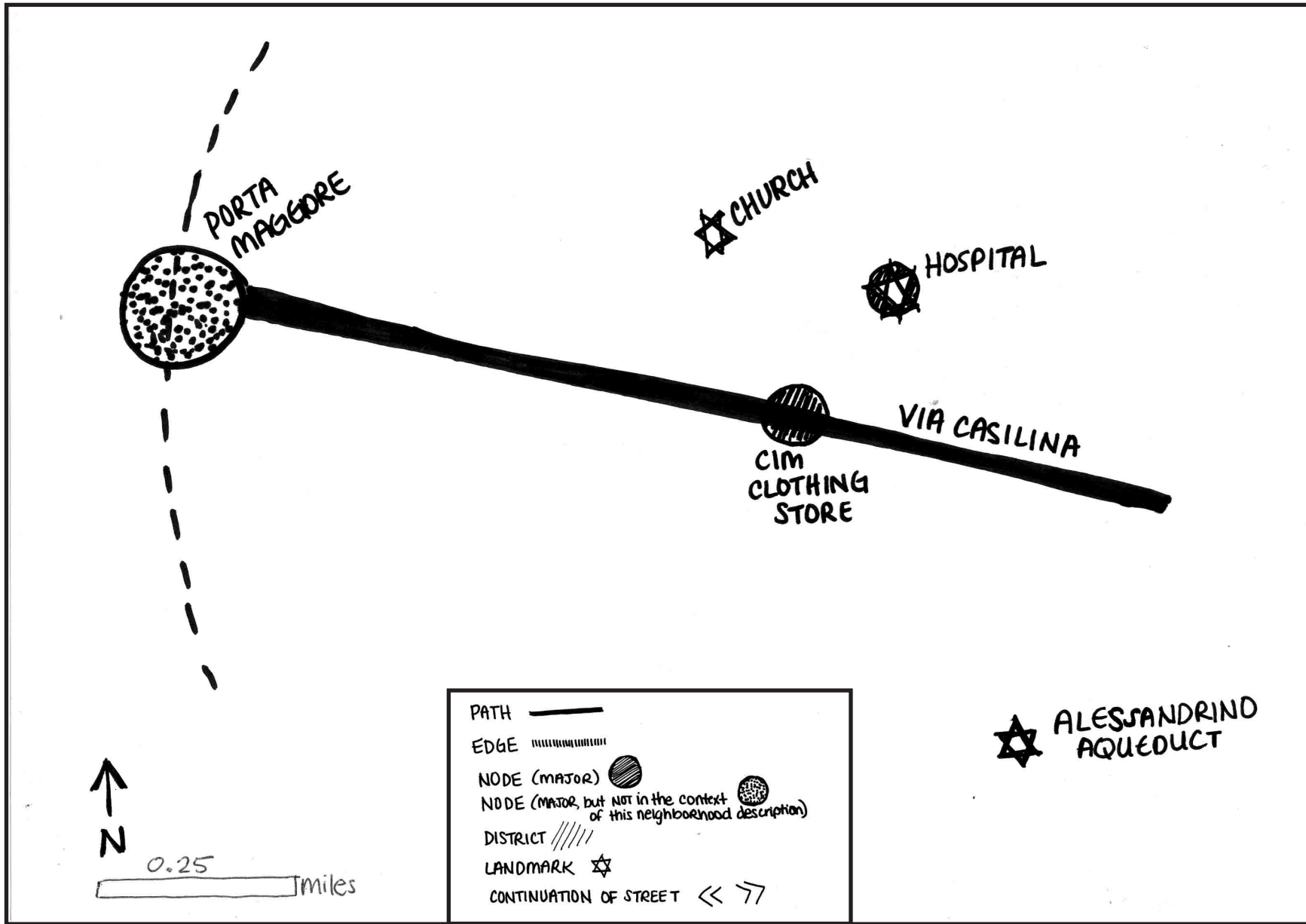


Figure 2.13  
Cognitive Map of Romano  
(Andi Israel)

# General Considerations & Conclusion

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A neighborhood or a city is perceived by millions of people of widely diverse class and character. To truly understand a neighborhood like Bullicante, we must take into account the perceptions of its inhabitants.

As Lynch (1960) notes, "Every citizen has had long associations with some part of his city, and his image is soaked in memories and meanings". Mental maps derived from interviews are therefore very useful tools to help us understand the neighborhood better. Through analyzing and comparing the mental maps of all our interviews, we can come up with several general considerations and important points:

## Differing Legibility

The legibility, which is defined by Lynch as the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern (Lynch, 1960), of the residents of Bullicante differed greatly from ours. In studying the individual sketches and interviews, it became apparent that most of our interviewees did not see the neighborhood as we did. Where we saw multiple nodes and landmarks, residents often saw only one or two, if any at all. Where we considered the hospital, the Eurospin market, St. Barnabas Church, and two schools as landmarks, some residents saw streets or just one or two of these structures as landmarks (See Photos 2.7/2.8/2.9). Such differences in legibility can



**Photos 2.7/2.8/2.9**

The Aqueduct, the church and the hospital are often identified as landmarks  
*(Karl Chan)*

be attributed to the fact that many of the objects have low levels of imageability, defined as the quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer (Lynch, 1960). Without any big public space or monument, there are only a few distinctive objects (which include Via Casilina and the hospital) that the residents can easily identify. Another potential reason for the differences is the differences in the defined boundaries, as discussed below.

## Differences in Scale

Interestingly, the scale of the neighborhood, as perceived by our interviews, varies to a large extent both from our map and from each other's maps. While some consider the "neighborhood" to be the area that is a few blocks away from the Tor Pignattara tram stop, some perceive their neighborhood as a much larger district, whose boundary extends to Porta Maggiore in the west. Such a difference in neighborhood scale is due to the lack of neighborhood identity--none of the respondents knew that their neighborhood is statistically identified as "Bullicante"; most of them called their "neighborhood" "Tor Pignattara" or "Via Casilina", some even did not understand the notion of a "neighborhood," as they saw the area as a compilation of streets. As a result, on many of the mental maps, there is no boundary or a definite area. This is similar to the Jersey City cognitive map described by Lynch-- the mental maps were often fragmented, with large blank areas, concentrating most often on small home territories (Lynch, 1960). The residents either saw only part of their surroundings as the neighborhood while others saw massive areas as the neighborhoods, without fully knowing what was in these neighborhoods. Thus the maps often had snippets of information and were not elaborately drawn. Only one man, Fabbri, was able to fill in a large area on a map with monuments, streets and boundaries (See Figure 6). Thus, it was clear that the residents pictured their neighborhood boundaries quite differently from us outsiders and from each other.

## Cognitive Time Line

Thanks to the interviewees who have been living in Bullicante for a long time, we are able to trace the neighborhood history back to the 1940s. The cognitive time lines (Figure 7 and Figure 9) are in agreement with each other-- Before the 1950s, the neighborhood was a rural area with very few establishments. In the 1950s, there was an influx of immigrants from Southern Italy. It was followed by the economic boom, which brought urban development, in the 1960s. International immigration began in 1970s. Northern African immigrants first came in 1970s/80s, followed by the influx of immigrants from China, Bangladesh and South America in the 1990s/2000s.

## General Problems

For all respondents, the most commonly identified problems were safety, trash and transportation. Many of our respondents do not feel safe because of the high crime rate. While some Italian interviewees specified that crime was exacerbated by the influx of immigrants, most others, including immigrants, deem the problem as a general one. As for the trash problems, many interviewees are unsatisfied with the overall cleanliness of the neighborhood. This agrees with our street surveys in Deliverable 1 that the cleanliness is an issue that should be seriously addressed. Again, some Italian interviewees attribute the problem to immigrants. Finally, many interviewees think that transportation has to improve. Although there are already two tram stops within the neighborhood, they think there should be more public transports, such as adding a metro stop. Many interviewees said they feel isolated from the center because it takes too long to travel there: some even said they drive; however, due to the expense of owning and operating a car and the scarcity of parking in the center, driving is not an option for all. This problem too is blamed on the immigrants, as residents argue that the government is unmotivated to improve transport to and from an area with so many non-Italians.

## Perception of the Neighborhood

Regarding their opinions towards the neighborhood, most of the Italian respondents think that the neighborhood is declining; many of them attribute the decline the influx of immigrants, who, in their opinion, are the ones who have created the problems. By contrast, most immigrant interviewees would not specify whether they thought it is improving or declining: the only interviewee who thinks the neighborhood is improving is a Bengali.

This comparison reflects the difference in the Italians' perception towards immigrants and that of the immigrants towards themselves. When speaking of the neighborhood, the Italian respondents emphasize on the impact brought by immigrants. They worry that the neighborhood is losing its Italian identity because immigrants bring their own culture and do not attempt to integrate. Furthermore, they feel the immigrants commit crimes, while also fueling a negative perception of the neighborhood on the part of outsiders, thereby halting development in the neighborhood as the government is unmotivated to act and make improvements. By contrast, immigrants usually focus on their own experience in Italy (e.g. racial discrimination) and social problems (e.g. crime) and note they are just searching for better lives than they have back home and that Italians do not give them enough opportunities. They feel discriminated against and do not think the Italians do enough to help them assimilate and integrate into their new home country, all of which leads them to search for the comfort of their fellow ex-patriots. Nevertheless, in every single interview, ethnic integration is the main issue discussed.

## Conclusion: Immigration's Impact

Ultimately, while issues of trash and transportation were listed as major concerns, the major point of debate and unrest was immigration and assimilation. The Italian interviewees all discussed the ways in which they all think that immigration has

changed the neighborhood. Some of our interviewees said they have a very negative impression of the immigrants. They see them as intruding upon Italian culture, dirty, uneducated, and threatening to the safety of the community. They pointed out that the main problems caused by immigrants are unclean streets, overcrowding, hindrance of local Italian identity, and Italian job loss. Of course, some seemed to hold a more neutral view: they said that while immigration is not the root cause of the neighborhood's problems and indeed provides some benefits such as diversifying the culture and spurring urban development, it is certainly a problem in it of itself.

Immigrant interviewees, by contrast, argued that they are treated unfairly. They said they came looking for work and educational opportunities; however, they often found it difficult to obtain working permits or to attend school. They seemed to feel that the stereotypes are unfair, as they all seemed to have education back home and exhibited entrepreneurial spirit in starting their own small businesses and restaurants. Furthermore, certain interviewees noted that it is not by choice that they overcrowd into houses and enclaves, but rather they must because of discriminatory immigration policies that leave them unable to work and make money. Some interviewees also said that they feel unsafe because of the hostility they experience. Romano, for example, mentioned that while he feels safe and has not experienced any violence, many of his friends have had their stores broken into and robbed. Lima mentioned that she and her friends often receive hostile looks at the grocery. Essentially, where Italians argue that immigrants have not assimilated and tried to enter Italian culture, immigrants argue they have not been given the opportunity and are instead shunned and rejected, leading them to maintain their cultural traditions in a new land.

From this debate, it is clear that, while there may be other problems, immigration and assimilation, pressing issues throughout all of Italy, are very much the hot button issues in Bullicante. Part III will address this issue of assimilation and identity formation in both Italy and Bullicante.





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*Part 3:*  
*Analytical Account*

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# Introduction to the Issue

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Migration has always been a feature of human societies. As such, there has always been a debate about its effects on the host nation. Modern democratic states in particular are multi-cultural and committed to, at the very least, tolerating the co-existence of different cultures within their borders. Yet often states are slow to accept immigration as a cultural phenomenon and to attempt to integrate the newcomers into the national identity. At the same time, immigrants are often unwilling to take on the responsibilities of citizenship in the new nation, such as accepting the authority of the law, voting, and even taking part in civil society activities like neighborhood associations. Essentially, immigration involves a two-way contract between immigrant groups and the receiving states and to create a successful community and both parties must act accordingly for immigration and subsequent cultural integration to be beneficial.

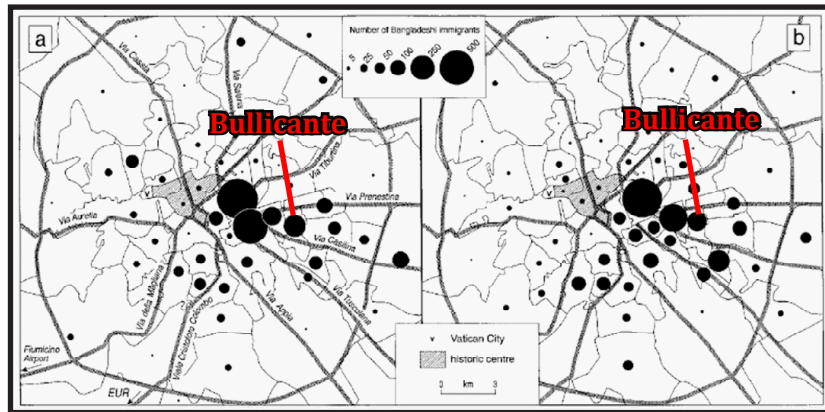
Such is the dilemma today in Italy, which has been experiencing ever-increasing immigration rates since the 1970s. Over the past 30 years (a time period which we will call the “Immigration Era”), Italy has become a hub for immigrants from around the world, and even more recently for immigrants from Bangladesh, China, and Africa. The newcomers have brought with them their own cultural values but have had difficulties in bringing these values to the mainstream. Simultaneously, there has been an increase in native Italians who see the newcomers as potential threats to Italian culture and identity. This tension has spilled over into political debate with regard to reforms for both potential immigrants and immigrants already in the country who need help integrating. As the government has become progressively more right-wing and immigration has risen, expulsions have risen and immigration laws have become tighter. At the same time, reforms have been passed to ease the integration process for immigrants

already in Italy, though the success of these reforms remains to be seen.

This national debate and tension can be seen on the local level in the neighborhood of Bullicante. As mentioned in Part II, there are high tensions between native Italians and immigrants in the neighborhood. The immigrants tend to form enclaves and develop their own networks, while Italians feel that the immigrants are intruding and are threatening the neighborhood and the nation’s identity. At the same time, the immigrants have developed some political strength as they now have representatives in city government, again paralleling the national model of increased civil rights. Thus, when we look at Bullicante, we see a microcosm of the national debate and tensions.

The immigrant groups that are the targets of the most controversy in both Bullicante and Italy are the Bangladeshis and the Chinese. They have been among the most widespread of the new immigrants and have had numerous problems integrating.

There are currently around 5,500 Bangladeshi immigrants in Italy. Italy became a hub for Bangladeshi immigrants as a result of the immigration laws of 1986 and 1990s, which offered amnesty and regularization to immigrants. Many Bangladeshis entered the country ever after the deadlines of these laws, but were able to backdate their papers (Knights & Russell, 1998). During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Bangladeshis in Italy established themselves as the largest Bangladeshi community outside of Britain. In particular, about 95 percent of the Bangladeshi population lives in Rome, with a large number of them living in areas around Via Casalina, including Bullicante, Centocelle, and Via Tuscolana (See Figure 3.1).



**Figure 3.1**  
*Distribution of Bangladeshis in Rome in (a) 1986 and (b) 1995*  
 Source: *Bangladeshi Immigration Archive* (Edited by Karl Chan)

The concentration of Bangladeshi residents in Bullicante is not a coincidence: it is partly a result of the immigrant housing crisis in Rome. When the Roman municipal authority could not provide the 2,000 beds it had promised to alleviate the housing crisis, the United Asian Workers Association and the Bangladeshi Association, both points of reference for the Bangladeshi community in Italy, encouraged immigrants to occupy La Pantanella, a large, abandoned pasta factory on Via Casalina, a main thoroughfare of Bullicante. When it was finally evacuated in 1991, it had become home to 3,500 Asian and African immigrants, thirty-nine percent of whom were Bangladeshi (Knights & Russell, 1998). Since then, more and more Bangladeshi immigrants chose to stay in these areas with large concentration of Bangladeshi residents. This explains how Bullicante has become a "Little Dhaka" in Rome.

With regard to the Chinese, after the emigration law came into force in China in 1985, a completely new emigration regime took shape in the overseas in China. According to Piekie, et al (2004), the immediate result of this was the infusion of new blood into the aging and increasingly isolated communities of overseas Chinese. In the process, these long-established and geographically

specialized diasporas were turned into truly global transnational communities. In Rome, the Chinese form the seventh largest immigrant community in the city with around 8,400 residents, according to figures released by Caritas (2008). Such an influx can be seen in Bullicante.

According to our interviewee Xiaofeng, most Chinese immigrants in Bullicante come from the Zhejiang Province, with the majority of them coming from the province capital, Wenzhou. This is supported by our observation that many Chinese restaurants in the neighborhood offer "authentic Wenzhou" dishes on their menu. Unlike central Rome, where most Chinese immigrants operate their own wholesaling stores for trading purposes, most Chinese establishments in Bullicante provide family goods and services, including restaurants, grocery stores (See Photo 3.1), churches and computer stores. In fact, no wholesaling/trading Chinese-owned store can be found in the neighborhood. This shows that Bullicante, unlike Esquilino, is more a residential neighborhood than a commercial or business place for the Chinese immigrants.

Such tensions also parallel those in the Chinatown of the American city San Francisco. The Chinese began to immigrate to San Francisco around 100 years before immigrating to Rome. San Francisco, threatened culturally and economically, confined the immigrants to a specific enclave with harsh boundaries. During the period between the California Gold Rush and the Second World War, the Chinese immigrants in San Francisco created a tightly-knit, united and strong community, faithfully maintaining their cultural heritage as a result of isolation. The years leading up to the Technological Revolution of the 1990s brought forth an increase in immigrants and a crisis in the housing market, causing many of the Chinese to move into newly formed enclaves outside of the original Chinatown boundaries. Even after the elimination of the exclusionary laws and the subsequent formation of additional Chinese enclaves, the original Chinatown remains a cultural hub among the Chinese, accepted by the native San Francisco and prided as a key landmark representing the city's diversity.



**Photo 3.1**  
*Chinese Grocery Store*  
*(Karl Chan)*

Unlike the American government which gradually eased up its strict exclusionary policies, the Italian government originally responded passive-aggressively and became increasingly more stringent. Also, since the Italian government never legally isolated the immigrants, the immigrants have not formed the same kind of cultural home away from home as did the immigrants in San Francisco. As the immigrants in Italy are continually met with animosity from the Italian nation, they continue to view Italy as a stopping point rather than a home.

This paper will explore how the process works on the various national and local levels, as well as how the tensions play out in daily life for both Italians and immigrants. We will start by looking at the Italian example, followed by its microcosm of Bullicante, culminating with the comparison to San Francisco.

Ultimately, we see that while Italy and San Francisco do not parallel each other in how they deal with the immigration process, some of the general effects of immigration on both communities are the same. We will also see how Bullicante presents a small-scale version of the more national problem of immigration into Italy.

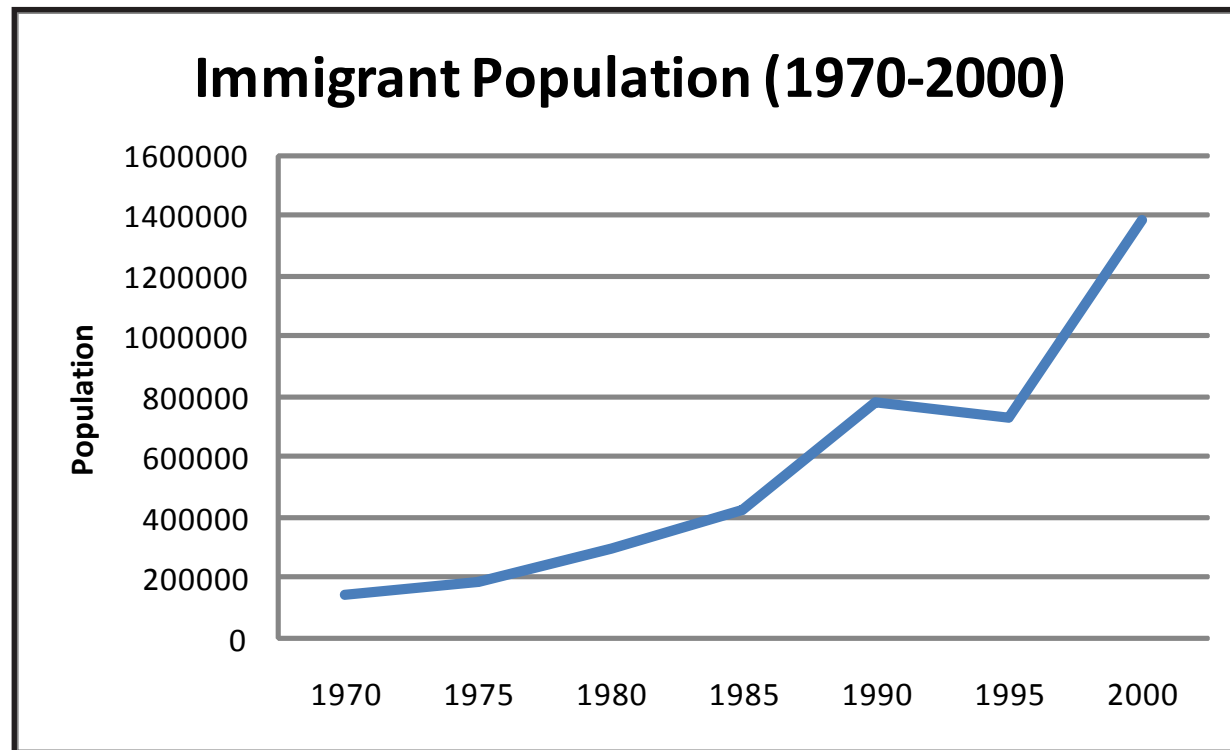


# Overview of Immigration in Italy



Italy has historically been known as a country of emigrants; however, in the past 30 years that reputation has changed as the country has become a haven for immigrants. Currently, Italy has approximately a million officially registered immigrant workers in addition to between 200,000 to 300,000 undocumented aliens. Despite an immigrant population of only 143,838 in 1970, Italy, by

2000, had an immigrant population of 1,388,153 (See Figure 3.2). Italy receives immigrants from around the world, especially from other European countries (See Figure 3.3). However, in recent years, while immigration from European countries has abated in terms of percentage of total immigrants, immigration from Asia and Africa has largely intensified (See Figure 3.4). This increase in



**Figure 3.2**  
*Increase in Italy's Immigration Population from 1970 to 2000 (Produced by Karl Chan)*  
Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and ISTAT

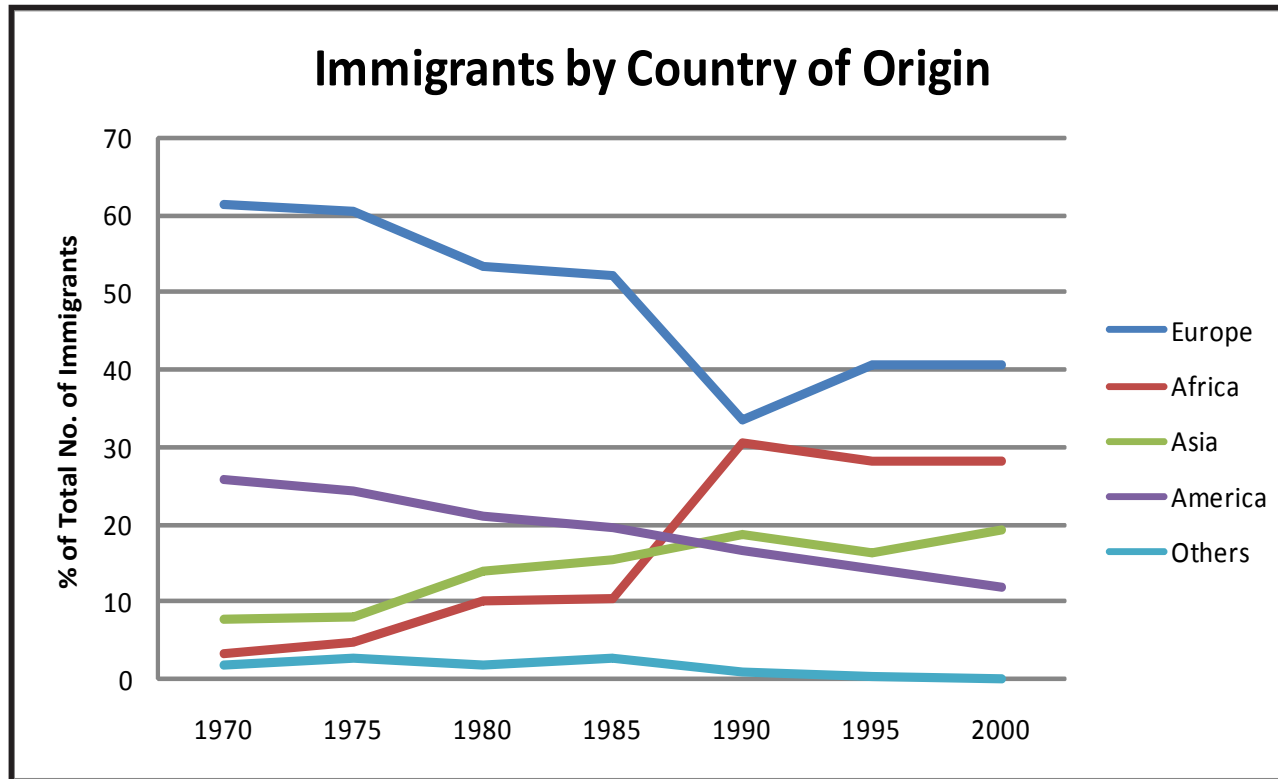
Country	Stay permits
Morocco	158.094
Albania	144.12
Romania	75.377
Philippines	64.215
China	56.566
Tunisia	46.494
USA	43.65
Yugoslavia	36.614
Germany	35.888
Senegal	34.811
Sri Lanka	34.464
Poland	30.658
India	29.873
Peru	29.627
Egypt	26.166
France	25.88
UK	23.617
Macedonia	23.142
Bangladesh	20.127
Others	314.554
<b>Total</b>	<b>1.362.630</b>

**Figure 3.3**  
*Number of Legal Immigrants by Principal Nationality (2001)*  
*Source: Caritas, 2002*

immigration has had social and economic impacts, thereby leading to major social and political debates over how to approach this phenomenon.

First, it is necessary to consider the social impact of immigration. Since Italy became a country of immigration, ethnic communities have not only begun to form, but have in fact stabilized, as seen by factors such as a growing number of immigrant children and increasing rate of family reunification (Colombo and Sciortion, 2004). The process is similar to that seen in the United States: individuals leave their homelands and, often, families, looking for better lives; they move in with or near to family members or friends already in the country; they use friends or family in the country to find jobs and make enough money to send home for their families; the process is repeated, as family and friends of the new immigrants eventually come over. In this way, ethnic enclaves form: immigrants move into areas around like-minded people who make them feel most comfortable and provide the greatest opportunities for work.

It is also in this way that cultural traditions are preserved. In an enclave, individuals are seemingly less coerced to accept Italian values and traditions and instead can continue their own, whether these traditions are linguistic, culinary, or ritualistic. Melanie Knights and Russell King explain that such trends can be seen in Bangladeshi immigrant families: “Despite their history as ‘global foragers’, migrants clung in most cases to their own regional and local cultural identities, exemplifying the remarkable way in which international migrants combine global relocation and hypermobility with personal and local ties connected to their social networks, political allegiances, working and living arrangement” (Knights and King, 1998). Around fellow ex-patriots, immigrants can maintain their cultural traditions and values, as they attempt to adapt to integrate into their new environs. Thus, essentially, immigrants form communities for comfort and convenience, while simultaneously forming labor and political networks.



**Figure 3.4**  
*Italy's Immigrants by Country of Origin (Produced by Karl Chan)*  
 Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and ISTAT

However, this approach is often perceived by Italians as the immigrants' refusal to integrate. Such a perceived mind set insults many Italians, who see themselves as hosts who are protecting immigrants (Miller, 2008). Immigration is thought of as the migration of the poor and underprivileged, brought about by factors pushing them out of their nation of origin, such as war, family and poverty (Colombo and Sciortion, 2004). Thus, Italians feel they are rescuing immigrants and providing them with homes, jobs, and potentially even welfare money (which would make them potential economic drains on the country). As David Miller explains, "The legitimacy of the modern state derives in part from

its role as protector and promoter of the national culture of its people—if there was no distinct culture to protect, there would be no reason for the state to exist as an independent entity" (Miller, 2008). Essentially, Italy sees itself as a protector for the immigrant groups; however, it is also part of Italy's role to preserve the culture of the immigrant groups. Yet, as native Italians told us in their interviews, they believe that immigrants should adopt some of the cultural traditions of their new homeland because not doing so would be disrespectful: immigrants should attempt to integrate by living amongst Italians, learning the language, hiring Italians, and eating Italian food. Many see immigrants as potential

economic and social drains on Italian society as they may steal jobs and collect on welfare, while simultaneously intruding on Italian cultural identity and pride.

Yet there is also a strong immigrant resistance as they often feel un-welcomed by Italians, as our interviewees told us. At the same time, immigrants do not see Italy as their true home, and perhaps even as simply a rest point until they move elsewhere or go back home, and they often fear losing their cultural identity, therefore failing to blend the two. As such, cultural and social tensions arise and there is widespread xenophobia and resentment of Italians.

Economically, immigrants have also changed the landscape. Often immigrant groups find work within their communities or through friends and family (Forti, 1998). Such hiring processes are usually legal, yet sometimes they are not: as Marina Forti writes, “The country also looked with a different eye at its informal “underground” economy in which family members sometimes employed one another, taxes were avoided and black market labor was often used” (Forti, 1998). Legal or not, nonetheless, these groups often form “professional enclaves”: jobs marked by the presence of a single ethnic group. For this reason many immigrants work at or own grocery stores, barbershops, clothing stores, and an assortment of other retail shops. This is a simplified view of the process.

More analytically, as our interviewees noted, when most immigrants arrive they are lacking money and therefore must work their way up the chain. They often begin by working in the stores or shops of relatives and friends or at low wage jobs for Italians until they can make enough money to open their own shops. However, the development of such businesses often affects Italians. As foreigners open more businesses, both small and large, there is less space for native Italians to conduct commerce. Furthermore, immigrant hiring practices potentially push Italians out of jobs. According to our interviews, by hiring within the

community or within the family, the perception is that foreigners living in Italy forgo hiring native Italians. Immigrants who will work for lower wages than Italians, especially at jobs requiring little education, take away potential jobs from Italians, who end up unemployed as they are pushed out of even the most low-wage jobs. It is through these processes that immigrants work their way up the ladder. Yet it is also important to note that such hiring and work practices often serve to fuel the widespread xenophobia in Italy.

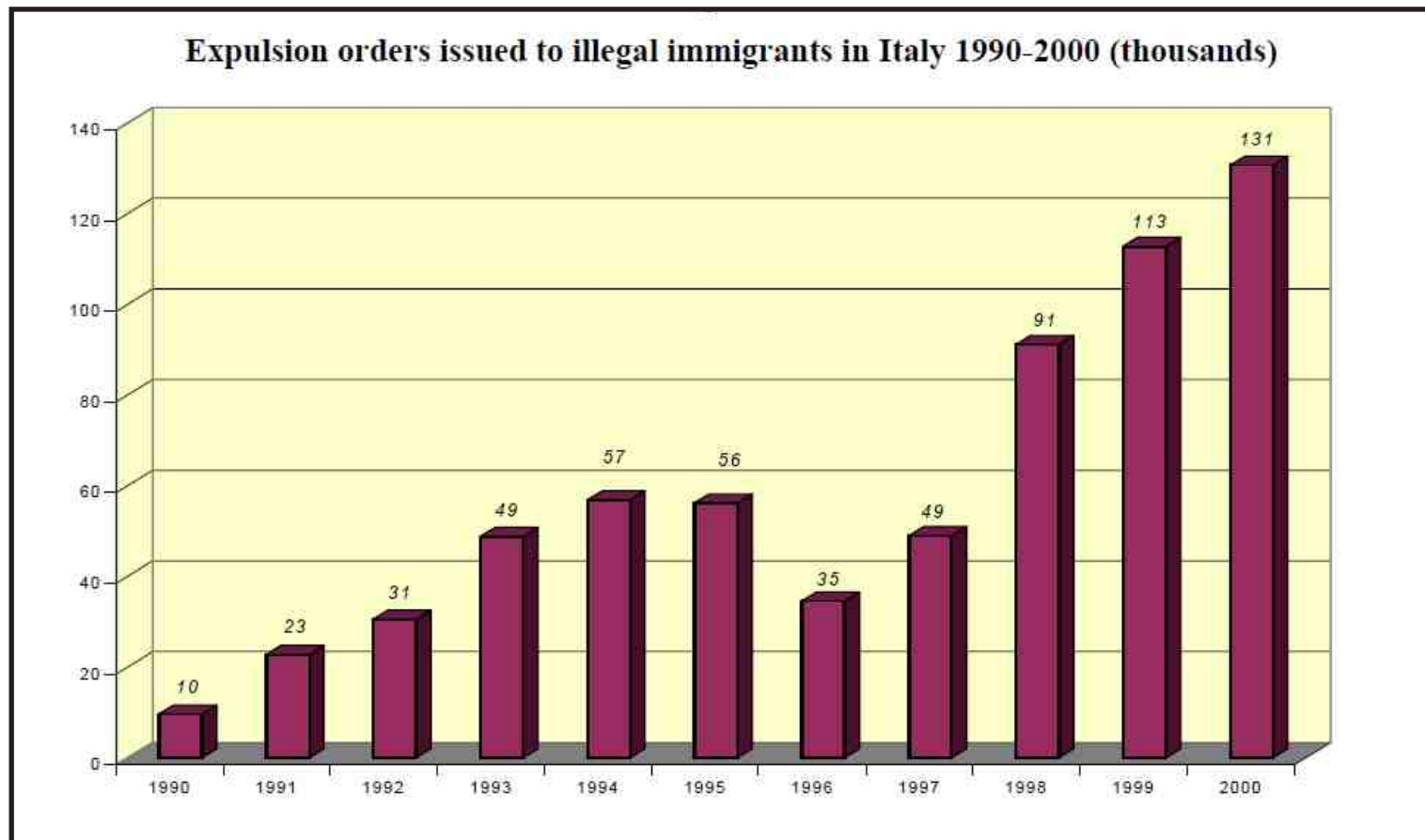
The ever-strengthening wave of xenophobia combined with the still-increasing influx of immigrants has elicited a massive political debate over how to handle the issue of immigration. David Miller writes, “Modern democratic states are multicultural- they are committed to tolerating or even encouraging the co-existence of different cultural groups within their borders, and this ties their hands when it comes to promoting a common national identity across the various groups” (Miller, 2008). While Miller claims that it is necessary for the State to protect and even encourage a multi-cultural environment, the Italian government has hardly been quick to embrace such a philosophy. Since the beginning of the Immigration Era in the 1970s, immigration has become a national issue requiring the full political and legal attention of the Italian government. In 1986, Law 943, the first immigration law, attempted to solve the issue of undocumented immigration, thereby regularizing the situation of the immigrants. In 1990, Law 39 was passed, which provided amnesty to illegal immigrants and led to the regularization of 235,000 immigrants. The law also tried to equalize the possibility of employment among immigrants and Italians via employment centers. Finally, in 1992, Law 91 was passed, which took a more restrictive approach to immigration by making it more difficult for immigrants of non-Italian origin to acquire citizenship (King and Andall, 1999). As Russell King and Jacqueline Andall write, “Law 91 established a clear hierarchy of desirable citizens. While facilitating Italian citizenship for people of Italian origin with foreign citizenship and establishing a four-year residence period for EU nationals in order to gain



Italian citizenship, the conditions imposed on non-EU nationals to acquire Italian citizenship were quite different. Ten years of legal residence were now required, as opposed to the earlier provision which had required only five” (King and Andall, 1999). The law has been changed back to five years of legal residence, but the initial intent of the law nonetheless signals the intent of the Italian government to become more restrictive of immigration (Wanted in Rome, 2006). Furthermore, as we can see in Figure 3.5, from

1990 to 2000, Italy has progressively expelled more immigrants, maintaining the trend towards tighter restrictions.

However, despite these expulsions and stricter policies, we actually see an increasing number of “Permits to Stay” and a generally increasing number of immigrants. Thus, essentially, what we see is a more tolerant approach to immigration at the beginning of the immigration era, followed by more restrictive



**Figure 3.5**  
*Expulsion Orders Issued to Illegal Immigrants in Italy (1990-2000)*  
Source: Chiuri, Maria, Giuseppe De Arcangelis and Giovanni Ferri

anti-immigration reforms that reflect the change to a right-wing government and a shift in public sentiment toward immigrants. Moreover, while the political approach to immigration appears to reflect the political landscape and public discourse, it also seems to do little to curb the immigration phenomenon, as there is still constant increase in the number of immigrants.

Despite the attempts to curb future immigration, there has been a movement to integrate immigrants and ameliorate tensions. First, the government has fastened the approval of citizenship for immigrants. According to *Wanted in Rome* (2006), under this measure, the time needed for foreigners to obtain citizenship will be halved from ten years to five years. Children who are born in Italy to non-Italian parents, who have been residents in Italy intermittently for at least five years will automatically become citizens. Similarly, children who have been residing in the country for a period of five years, whether they are born in the country or not, will be granted automatic citizenship provided that they have been attending school, further educational studies or that they have been working for at least one year. However, adult applicants will have to meet with certain requisites, such as proof of minimum income and integration to society, as well as knowledge of the local language. This measure is aimed at enhancing immigrants' sense of belonging to the country as well as forcing them to integrate to society.

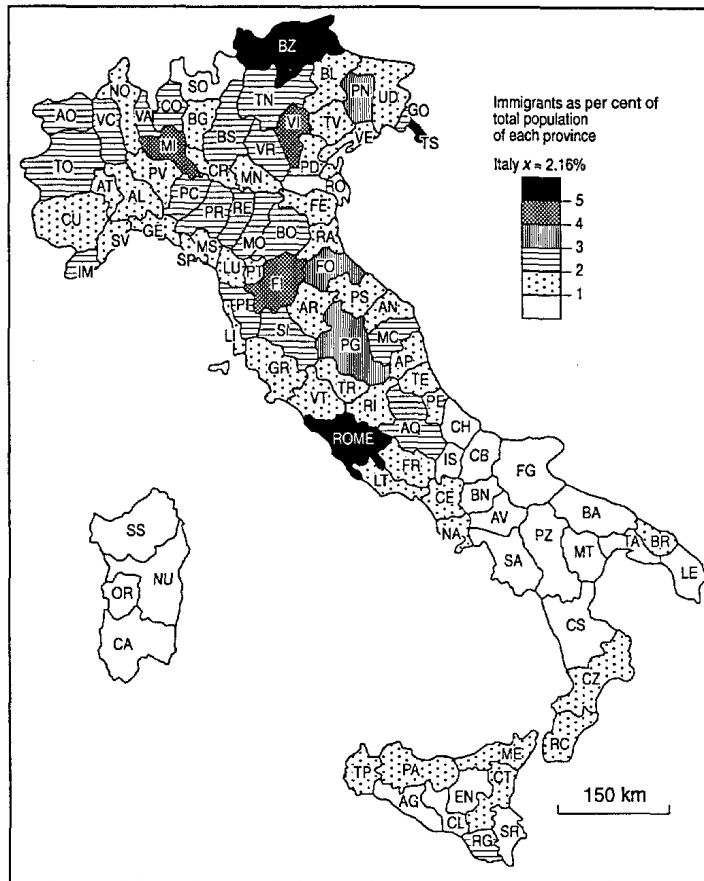
Second, the Rome's city council and the city's Chinese community, in 2007, signed a 16-point declaration of intent aimed at improving integration between the minority group and Italian residents (*Wanted in Rome*, 2007). According to the declaration, the Chinese immigrants promise to respect Italian laws by keeping streets tidy and working with AMA, the city's waste disposal unit, to improve the cleanliness of their neighborhoods. Moreover, shops that currently have signs only in Chinese will also have to install new signs in Italian. In return, the city council will start up Italian language courses and a legal information point specifically for the Chinese community. Also, the council will work towards

translating laws and regulations into Chinese in order to improve communication with the minority group. This is hoped to be a win-win agreement which can both enhance the city's cleanliness and facilitate Chinese immigrants' integration. Indeed, we saw various advertisements for cultural immersion classes, as well as a few posters (written in Chinese) for Italian language classes.

Third, voices against ethnic discrimination have been increasing in recent years. Several powerful forces in Italian society, including the church and trade unions, have all spoken out in defense of immigrants' rights (BBC, 2009). In addition, the government has also shown its efforts to combat ethnic prejudice. For example, it set up a toll-free hotline for victims of ethnic discrimination advertised on the subway in Rome. On a popular level, there have also been anti-racism marches.

In addition to integrating legal immigrants, the government has carried out various measures to counter illegal immigrants, such as setting stricter control measures on citizenship granted through marriage, and restricting the annual quota for immigrants. In particular, the government is also considering making illegal immigration a crime (Reuters, 2008). This shows that while efforts have been made to help immigrants integrate into the society, the government has also been active in combating illegal immigration, which, in their view, creates many social problems such as crime.

# Integration in Bullicante

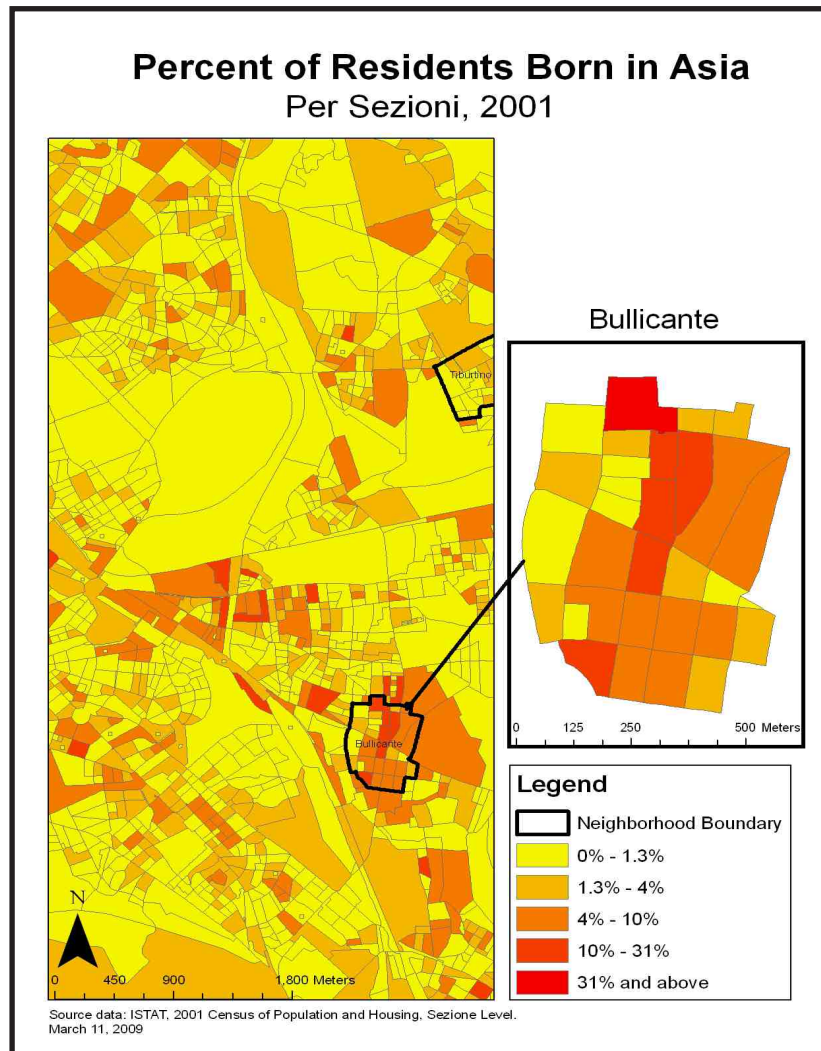


**Figure 3.6**  
*Foreign Immigrants in Italy (by Province) in 2007*  
Source: Caritas di Roma, 2007

## Overview and Brief History of Bullicante

Bullicante is now recognized as one of the immigrant neighborhoods in Rome, the major destination for foreign immigrants in Italy (Figure 3.6). In 2007, there were approximately 180,000 legal immigrants in Rome (Gilbert, 2008), of whom 73,000 (29%) immigrants who were from Asia (Caritas, 2007). According to Mudu (2006), the Pigneto-Tor Pignattara district is the second largest multiethnic enclave in Rome, only after Esquilino. Therefore, this neighborhood is a good microscope of Asian immigrants' entry to Rome, as the population of Asian-born residents is particularly high as seen in Figure 3.7. As we pointed out in Part I and Part II, the neighborhood has a particularly high concentration of Bangladeshi and Chinese immigrants, as well as a considerable amount of immigrants from India and Africa. This can be seen by the presence of many ethnic establishments (e.g. Chinese church, Bangladeshi grocery store) throughout the neighborhood.

However, Bullicante has not always been an immigrant-dominant neighborhood. According to our interviewees Emmanuella, Giuseppi and Fabbri, before the World War II, the neighborhood was well known for its villas and cemeteries, and had a lot of open land. The land was largely rural and the individuals who lived there were mostly ex-military personnel. Yet, changes began to come in the 1950s, during which the first wave of immigrants (mostly low-income Southern Italians) arrived at Bullicante. As the mass immigration to Bullicante continued, urban development and population increase became accordingly



**Figure 3.7**  
*GIS Map for Percentage of Residents Born in Asia (Bullicante)*  
(Melissa Kim)  
Source: ISTAT, 2001 Census of Population and Housing

rapid as well, however, in the past ten years such development has slowed.

Beginning from the 1970s, foreign immigrants began to congregate in Bullicante. While it was the African immigrants who first came to the neighborhood, the influx of immigrants from Asia (mainly China, Bangladesh and India) intensified in the 1990s. Nowadays, while the original Southern Italian immigrants have now become Romans, the strong presence of Asian immigrants has totally changed the streetscape of Bullicante.

## Main Difficulties Faced By Immigrants

As discussed in Part II, the main difficulties many immigrants in Bullicante feel confront them are unfair treatment and racial discrimination. Many of our interviewees in Part II mentioned that they originally moved to Rome for work and educational opportunities. Yet, they often found it difficult to obtain work permit visas or to attend school. According to them, discriminatory governmental policies and regulations made it much more difficult for them to find a job, thereby forcing them to live with relatives as they could not earn money to rent their own housing. This then led to the overcrowding problems mentioned above. Such policies are in keeping with federal Italian policies, as noted before, which serve to discourage immigration and limit the flow of immigrants into the country.

In addition, almost all immigrant interviewees pointed out that they feel they are viewed differently by the local Italians. While Lima mentioned that she and her Bangladeshi friends often receive hostile looks at grocery stores and said "Italians are not good to me", Rahonan emphasized repeatedly that he wanted to be treated as an equal. Also, Xiaofeng, as a Chinese immigrant, thought that Chinese immigrants were viewed inferior by Italians.



This made her dislike the "arrogant and self-centered Italians" because she, similar to other interviewees, also thought that all ethnic groups should be viewed as equal to Italians. Such problems again serve to show how Bullicante is a microcosm for the problems faced by immigrants to Italy: they feel they face racism and unequal treatment from residents.

Aside from the general problems, Bangladeshi immigrants are confronted by a specific problem- underemployment, which is defined as the employment of highly skilled workers in low-wage jobs that do not require such abilities (Friedland & Price, 2003). According to Brandi (2002), many highly qualified foreign residents in Italy are currently employed in unqualified jobs, a considerable percentage of whom possess much higher qualifications than those required for the job they do. This is a common problem among Bangladeshi immigrants in the neighborhood. Rahonan, our Bangladeshi interviewee, is a good example. In his home country, he studied pharmaceuticals for two years. In hope of getting a job in video editing and production, he came to Rome. Unfortunately, he could not do what he wanted here, and instead he is now a shopkeeper at his own fruit store. According to Rahonan, he is just one of many Bangladeshis in the neighborhood who has had difficulty finding desirable jobs.

This problem can be attributed to several factors. First, many new Bangladeshi immigrants cannot speak fluent Italian: such language barrier discourages employers from hiring them. Second, there is a lack of job offers appropriate to the Bangladeshis' academic or professional qualifications due to the peculiar situation of the Roman labor market (Brandi, 2002). Third, there is a lack of protocols concerning the recognition of the academic qualifications of non-EU citizens, thereby making it more difficult for immigrants to find jobs in Rome (Brandi, 2002). On the other hand, underemployment is not a common problem among Chinese immigrants in Bullicante. This, we infer, is because educated Chinese people are able to find a job in China that they do not have to migrate to Rome unless for trading purposes. However,

the underemployment problem among Bangladeshis may imply that the job market in their home country is so bad that they are forced to come to Rome to look for jobs.

## **Immigrants' Integration into the Community**

As an increasing number of foreign immigrants have moved into Bullicante, immigrants of different origins and local Italians living in the neighborhood are bound to face the issue of integration and assimilation. Each side's actions and responses to this coercion seems to mimic that played out on the national scale explained earlier. To effectively understand the progress of immigrants' integration into the community, the following analyses are divided into the following aspects: socio-cultural aspects, business activities and politics:

### ***Socio-cultural Aspect***

The question over whether immigrants have adapted the Italian way of life can be analyzed through our street study in Part I and interviews in Part II. We found that most immigrants we observed are still very much confined to their own environmental bubble; despite their residence in Italy, they still live the way of living in their home country. Using Lima as an example, not only does she usually read Bangladeshi books and watch Bangladeshi movies, most of her friends are all from Bangladesh as well. Apart from doing business with Italians (during which she has to speak Italian), she usually communicates in Bengali. In terms of food, she mentioned that she usually eats either Bengali food or Chinese food; very seldom would she eat Italian food. Similar to Lima, Rahonan is also living a Bangladeshi lifestyle to a large extent. Not only does he follow politics and current issues in Bangladesh, he also eats Asian food usually. Although he has Italian customers to whom he speaks Italian, his work time is the only occasion during which he interacts with Italians.



**Photo 3.2**  
*Chinese Newspaper in Italy*  
(Karl Chan)

As for Xiaofeng, our only Chinese interviewee. Because she does not speak any Italian, she normally does not interact with Italians at all. Moreover, in our informal conversations with the shopkeepers of several Chinese grocery stores, we realized that they do not speak Italian either. The only Chinese residents who normally interact with other ethnic groups are probably those who work in Chinese restaurants or those who work for Italian/Bangladeshi-owned stores. However, apart from work place, according to Xiaofeng and her friends, normally Chinese immigrants do not have to interact with other ethnic groups. In their daily life, they eat Chinese food, speak Chinese and hang out with Chinese people. They read Chinese newspapers (which include news from both Italy and China) (See Photo 3.2), celebrate Chinese New Year and go to Chinese church (See Photo 3.3). Given the availability of most necessary services and goods in Bullicante, they can survive without interacting with Italians or living in the Italian culture.



**Photo 3.3**  
*Chinese Church in Bullicante*  
(Karl Chan)

In short, apart from work place, most immigrants do not seem to interact with Italians or live in the Italian culture, which feeds into the complaints of Italians as noted earlier. They normally live comfortably within their environmental bubble brought from their origin country. However, it does not mean that they are totally living the same way as they did in their home country; there are still some modifications. For instance, they follow current issues in Italy through reading newspapers that are written in their native language. Nevertheless, it is safe to conclude that the majority of foreign immigrants are not largely integrated into the mainstream Italian community culturally.

This lack of integration fuels the complaints of both Italians and neighborhood residents. Both say that immigrants separate themselves, speak their own language, and fail to embrace Italian culture. In Bullicante, much as on the national scale, immigrants



**Figure 3.8**  
*Immigrant-owned Stores in the Neighborhood*  
 (Karl Chan)

say they have not been given the opportunity to integrate. This disagreement again serves to provide an example of how Bullicante is a small example of the immigration debate on the grander Italian national scale.

### **Business Activities**

Mudu (2006) points out that, though immigrant concentrations are evenly spread out in Rome, the only two immigrant business enclaves in Rome are Esquilino and the Pigneto-Tor Pignattara district. Although Bullicante is mainly inhabited by Chinese and Bangladeshi immigrants, it also includes commercial activities operated by over twenty different ethnic groups. Within the statistical boundaries of Bullicante, we observed a total of 49 immigrant-owned shops (16 owned by Chinese and 33 owned by South Asians) (See Figure 3.8). These stores are mainly restaurants, foodstuff stores and call centers, with a small number of legal services firms. These stores, together with a myriad of public promotional posters and flyers, have transformed almost half of the buildings' street-level facade into an array of signboards written in foreign languages. Some of these shop signs are intended for immigrants only, some are bilingual, and others are still in Italian in accordance with the law. Within these representations, there are forms of resistance, integration and dominance (Mudu, 2006).

The degree of integration, from this viewpoint, varies among ethnic groups. For the Chinese-owned businesses, the majority of them just have signs written in Chinese. They include the Chinese-owned hotel, the Chinese church, most grocery stores and a number of restaurants (See Photo 3.4). All these stores have a common feature-- they are all located in small streets and do not have open windows. For example, both the hotel and the church have on their façades large banners with Chinese writing indicating their names; the inner area is largely isolated from the outside. As such, we could not see what was going on inside during our street study. We infer that these stores do not target at Italian customers at all, but just for Chinese people. There are only





**Photo 3.4**  
*Dynasty Restaurant -  
A Chinese-owned Store with signs only in Chinese  
(Karl Chan)*

a few Chinese-owned stores (mainly restaurants on big roads) that show signs written in both Chinese and Italian (See Photo 3.5). This potentially shows that Chinese immigrants in Bullicante tend not to make contacts with Italians or other ethnic groups and mostly do business amongst themselves.

By contrast, South Asian-owned businesses (usually Bangladeshi-owned) often have signs that are written in both Hindi and Italian (See Photo 3.6), with an exception of several ethnic stores such as the traditional clothing store (which Chinese immigrants and Italians would by no means consume). Particularly, there are many vegetable stores that are operated by Bangladeshi in the neighborhood. As we observed, these stores could attract all South Asian immigrants, Chinese immigrants and local Italians to visit. Moreover, using Romano's pizza-kebab store as an example,



**Photo 3.5**  
*One of the Chinese restaurants with both Chinese and Italian  
(Andi Israel)*

we observed that his customers include both immigrants (including Chinese) and local Italians. It is important to note that at these stores most customers still seem to be South Asian, but they nonetheless appear to have more diverse clientele than their Chinese counterparts. In short, apart from a small number of stores that sell ethnic products, most South Asian-owned businesses in Bullicante are quite Italian-friendly. We infer that this is due to the fact that most Bangladeshi people in the neighborhood can speak Italian. This shows that, compared to Chinese immigrants, South Asian immigrants in the neighborhood are more likely to interact with local Italians, at least in the aspect of business activities. Furthermore, while the Chinese entrepreneurs appear to hire mostly Chinese assistants, the Bangladeshis seem to either work alone or to employ more diverse hiring practices, as exemplified by Romano who hired multiple Chinese immigrants.





**Photo 3.6**  
*Indian-Italian Restaurant with both Hindi and Italian  
(Andi Israel)*

Yet despite this diversity and open business policy, many of the Italian complaints over immigrant business in the neighborhood again mimic those of Italians on the national scale. Many Italians feel as though these immigrant businesses force Italians out of jobs, as they seem to hire their own. Furthermore, as immigrants start up their own small businesses no larger Italian ones can come in and the limited space stunts the ability of Italians to start up small businesses.

### ***Politics***

In contrast to the case throughout Italy, it is difficult to tell how, or even if, the increasing presence of immigrants in Bullicante has affected the political landscape. We do know that the immigrant community is represented by an adjunct on the

city council; however, in none of our interviews did immigrants mention their political leanings, nor did the Italians ask for certain sanctions or legal changes. The closest any interviewee came to discussing the relation between politics and immigration was Lima's discussion of the difficulties immigrants have in receiving permits to stay, due to racist policies, which is in keeping with Law 91 mentioned earlier. Interviewees spoke mostly about their experiences living in Italy and interacting with Italians and not discussing their political preferences. Furthermore, no interviewees mentioned a representative for an ethnic community, nor did they note the presence of an adjunct, thereby implying that there is little in the way of political representation or even demand for representation. An interview request with the adjunct for the Bangladeshis in Bullicante was unsuccessful and therefore we have very little understanding of the interaction between politics and immigration in the quarter, particularly in relation to what we have discovered about the rest of Italy.

## **Reasons of Ineffectiveness in Socio-cultural Integration**

Despite various government's measures to facilitate social/cultural integration as discussed earlier, our findings suggest that the progress has been ineffective in terms of socio-cultural integration. This can be attributed to the following reasons: Italy, for many immigrants, is not their top choice of residence. While some of our Bangladeshi immigrants mentioned that their top choice was actually the United Kingdom, many Chinese immigrants, to whom we informally talked, told us that they did not intend to come to Italy at all, but because of financial difficulties, they had no choice. While Xiaofeng expressed her wish to go back to China to reunite with her family, Rahonan also told us that he wanted to send his son to Bangladesh or the United Kingdom for education.

Knights and Russell (1998) suggest that the increased migration to Italy was caused because of the increased difficulty to enter other countries in Europe, the long coastlines and mountainous frontiers of southern Europe, which makes it difficult to patrol effectively, the ease with which a tourist can overstay his or her visa, religious links to the country and the development of labor shortages in certain 'undesirable jobs.' In light of this, we can infer that many immigrants do not prefer to live in Italy, but rather in another foreign country or their home country. In fact, based on all our interviews with immigrants, they all pointed out that the main reason why they came to Italy was to look for job opportunities, not for living standard or cultural admiration. As suggested earlier, immigrants do not see Italy as their true home, but perhaps as simply as a rest point until they move back to home or another country. Such ideology, as evidenced in our interviewees, suggests why the immigrants are reluctant to adopt the Italian way of life, or even to learn the language.

On the other hand, many local Italians still hold a negative impression of immigrants. While many of them think that immigrants bring economic benefits by filling up low-wage jobs, they also think that immigrants bring social and cultural problems that not only do they think immigrants are "dirty" and occupy the affordable housing, they are also worried about the intrusion of foreign cultures. Unlike the United States as a historic immigrant country, Italy has not been experiencing foreign immigration before. As such, integration, at this stage, is still in the stage of development. It takes time for locals to abate their prejudice towards immigrants. As Fabbri mentioned, Bullicante was once portrayed by media to be a "bad neighborhood" because of the strong presence of immigrants. Simultaneously, Luciana believed that the "better areas" within the neighborhood are those with fewer immigrants. Because of media and peers' influence, many local Italians in the neighborhood easily attribute the problems to immigrants, thereby developing a negative image of immigrants.

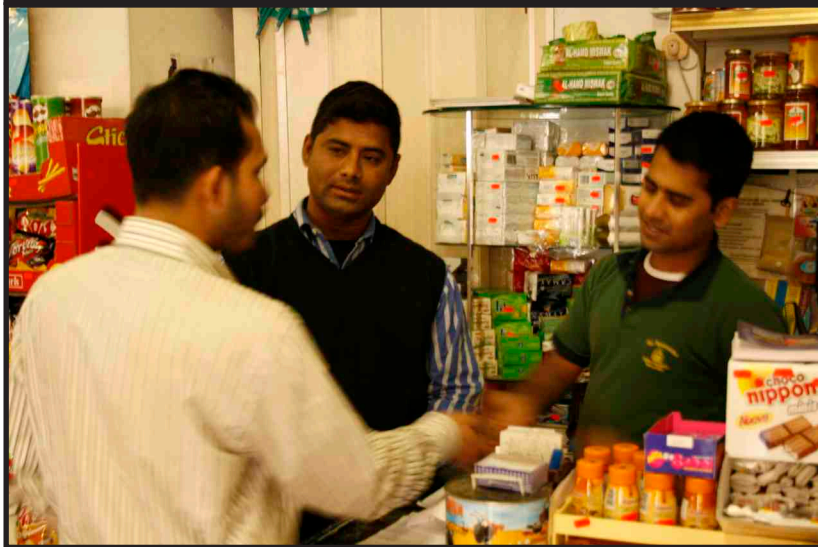
In sum, the problem of slow integration between immigrants

and locals is a two-way consequence- While the immigrants wish to maintain their cultural practices, the locals, due to media influence and insufficient understanding of immigrants, are also reluctant to integrate with immigrants. Despite the intervention of a middleman (the government) which adopted several measures to facilitate integration, the progress appears to be slow.

## Consequences of Low Level of Integration

In Bullicante, different ethnic groups establish their own activities in their own parts. Immigrant business activities created the neighborhood that in appearance and character is far different from those the majority might prefer. However, the extent to which immigrants will create their own social space is determined not only by the characteristics of personal and group networks, but also by forms of social oppression or government policies (Kaplan, 1998). Within an environment of unequal power relations, conflict is likely to arise. However, in Bullicante, the low level of integration has not led to seriously violent incidences. Despite this, our interviewees still reported hate crime and the moving out of local Italians. There are no signs showing that local Italians are adopting any active measure to prevent immigrants from moving to Bullicante; instead, it seems, many native residents take a passive and intangible approach to show their resistance, either through leaving the neighborhood or complaining to their peers.

With regards to immigrants, in face of the ideological oppression and discrimination, they resist in two ways. First, they set up shops, firms, restaurants and other businesses (See Photo 3.7 and 3.8) to disprove the view that they are suitable for only domestic or other humble occupation. Second, by reappropriating the territory they wish to prove that local and transnational business enterprises can be economically successful even in the



face of economic globalization (Kaplan, 1998). As such, despite the gradual inclusion of immigrants into the Italian economy, the lack of integration into the social fabric is causing immigrants to be further reluctant to integrate with the mainstream community and therefore create more and more of their own exclusive spaces.

**Photo 3.7 and 3.8**

*Businesses run by South Asians in the neighborhood  
(Andi Israel & Karl Chan)*



# Comparative Case Study: San Francisco Chinatown

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The Italian neighborhood of Bullicante is comparable to the Chinatown neighborhood of San Francisco (See Photo 3.9), as both have become landing spots for immigrants who developed ethnic enclaves in the neighborhoods. This portion of the paper examines the Chinese immigrants in both neighborhoods, examining how each of their histories has led to contrasting positions in their contemporary cities. As indicated earlier, Rome has an increasing number of immigrants. According to the 2000 Census, after 850,000 immigrants had moved to San Francisco in the 1990s, the city's foreign-born population was almost 40% (Pamuk, 2004). Both cities have, at times, struggled to find a comfortable integration of immigrants into their economies, cultures, and housing markets.

As was also stated earlier, immigrants in Bullicante have expressed their desire to be economically integrated but culturally independent. They tend to view Italy as a place where they can make money rather than as a place to make their home. Such is not the case in San Francisco's Chinatown: While the Chinese in San Francisco parallel the Chinese in Bullicante in their desire for economic integration and cultural independence, the Chinese in San Francisco are firmly established where they are.

According to San Francisco-based civil engineer Jon Koller (2009), the historic Chinatown spans over 16 blocks. The Bullicante neighborhood consists of approximately 30 blocks, but this area is not, by any means, a specifically designated Chinatown. In fact, one of the main differences between the enclaves of the Chinese in San Francisco and those in the Bullicante neighborhood is that the Bullicante is shared among Chinese immigrants, Bangladeshi immigrants, other minority groups and Italians, while the enclave in San Francisco is solely a Chinese enclave.



**Photo 3.9**

*Chinatown in San Francisco*

*Source: <http://www.danzfamily.com/archives/blogphotos/sanfran/sanfran18.jpg>*

The history of the Chinese in San Francisco partially explains why their enclave is so strongly untied and prevalent. When the Chinese began moving into San Francisco at the height of the California Gold Rush in the 1850s, the natives hastily viewed them as culturally and economically threatening, and immediately created policies that confined them to their specific enclave (Koller, 2009). In addition to this artificial spatial boundary, San Francisco's natural landscape also acted as a spatial boundary



for this enclave (Koller, 2009). The designated Chinatown could not be expanded. Whether or not such specific boundaries of Chinatown were appropriate or not, they certainly limited the threat of expansion. The ethnic enclave of Bullicante has no such artificial or natural boundaries; the capacity of the immigrants to sprawl has always been unlimited by these means.

While no laws of confinement of specific immigrant groups exist today in the states, San Francisco's Chinatown remains an enclave of Chinese Immigrants. The isolation experienced in past years forced the immigrants to make a home out of their 16 allotted blocks. As legislation wavered, the Chinese immigrants focused on making the most of what they were given. Moreover, the network of hundreds of social services established in San Francisco's Chinatown is a clear indication of the Chinese immigrants' intent to stay put. American-Chinese collaborative organizations, multi-service centers for the elderly, a workshop for Asian artists, myriad children's services and cultural centers, and other organizations including the Chinese Historical Society of America, Chinese Community Housing Corporation, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Chinese American Citizen Alliance, and the Chinese for Affirmative Action are examples of their organizations and efforts. Further, other centers provide counseling, leadership programs, language classes, and more. One Center, the Cameron House, even publishes a newsletter quarterly, called *The Chinese Current* (PBS, 2008).

The establishment of many of these organizations is, in part, due to the fierce leaders, activists and, most significantly, the community organizers of San Francisco's Asian-American immigrant community, including Gordon Lau. While such crusaders of minority groups, like Lau for the Asian Americans, Milk for the LGBT community, or Seale and Newton for the African American community, are never solely responsible for revolutionary social change, the importance of strong community figures is not to be overlooked. Lau later became the first Chinese American appointed to San Francisco's Board of Supervisors, where he continued to be the voice of Asian Americans on a larger

scale. In all of our interviews, not once did we hear mention of any such leader. While some of the ethnic minorities in Bullicante have official local representatives, such as the Bangladeshis, there was no leader well known enough to mention by name (Eljera, 1998).

Having endured years of exclusion, rules finally started to ease for the Chinese in San Francisco in the 1940s; After the Chinese fought for America in WWII, "President Roosevelt signed the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, ending more than sixty years of legalized racism and discrimination" (sanfranciscochinatown.com). In the following years, assimilation was almost seen as a privilege for the Chinese immigrants, since almost all interaction with natives had previously been illegal. When the Chinese came to San Francisco, the Americans did not try to impose American culture on them, rather, they isolated them. In contrast, Chinese (and other) immigrants in neighborhoods like Bullicante were not isolated or confined; rather, as aforementioned, they were met by Italians who felt a national duty to take in these underprivileged immigrants.

Whereas the Italians expected that the immigrants would accept and adapt to the new Italian culture out of gratitude, the Americans were not as culturally demanding and rather looked to reap the benefits from immigration. While it may be a result of historical segregation and discrimination, today, the United States is home to some of the largest ethnic enclaves in the world. In San Francisco alone, "The Chinese, in particular, have made an imprint on the city since the 1970s, most notably in Chinatown, where the annual Chinese New Year Parade (See Photo 3.10) is recognized as the largest event of its type outside China" (Skirnivitz, 2009). The American mentality is different from the Italian mentality in that it is not so much concerned with assimilating immigrants as it is with using them to benefit America in myriad ways (in times of war, economically, etc.). In terms of cultural heritage, American is uniquely accepting, often by way of isolation. Even today, "among the fifty metropolitan regions, the San Francisco metropolitan area is ranked first in Asian isolation, fifth in Asian-white segregation" (Pamuk, 2004).



**Photo 3.10**

*Chinese New Year Parade in San Francisco*

Source: <http://www.latimes.com/media/photo/2008-02/35821987.jpg>

Where Bullicante and San Francisco follow similar patters, however, is in their current lack of integrated housing. In the 1990s, America was dealing with the emerging economy of globalization, and San Francisco was evolving on a local scale as well: the growth of tech-based industries, industry dependence on immigrants, onslaught of technology skilled immigrants from the Silicon Valley, more transnational activities among immigrant workers. (Pamuk, 2004) During this period of expansion, “Housing failed to keep pace with new job creation, worsening the already existing regional jobs-housing imbalance” (Pamuk, 2004). While Chinatown remains a historical and cultural enclave of the Chinese immigrants, many of the Chinese have moved into additional enclaves. This shift is partially due to lack of physical space, and partially due the lack

of affordable housing and increase in market rent; “those who stayed [in Chinatown] [face] greater economic burdens, forced to share housing and live in overcrowded conditions (Pamuk, 2004). The previous description could easily be applied to Bullicante, as it sounds similar to the native Italians’ accounts of the immigrants in their neighborhood. The Gold Rush brought on the first wave of Chinese immigrants and established their isolated enclave, the Second World War liberalized the exclusionary measures against the Chinese, bringing in more immigrants, and the technological revolution of the 1990s forced the Chinese into new enclaves.

Upon their arrival, the immigrants in Bullicante did not endure political exclusion in the way that the immigrants in San Francisco did. The local Italians responded in a more passive aggressive manor, and by the time legislation was passed regarding immigrants, they had already pushed many native Italians out of their neighborhoods. The immigrants in San Francisco were met with exclusion, but were incrementally accepted as exclusionary policies were repealed.

Today, the Chinatown of San Francisco is culturally isolated and locally accepted. The Chinese community in Bullicante is somewhat culturally isolated as it lives near the Bangladeshis and Italians but not amongst them, leaving it segregated though not in a Chinatown.

# Conclusion

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As we can see, Italians are still new to the idea they are no longer living in a country of just emigrants but also of immigrants: Russell King and Jacqueline Andall write, “Italy is both a country of recent mass emigration and, now, of considerable immigration... this switch in migration status was rather sudden and found the country quite unprepared in legal, policy and psychological terms; and that Italy has been slow to apply lessons from its own experience of emigration to the potential benefit of its recently settled immigrant peoples who suffer multiple forms of social exclusion and have been subject to mounting acts of harassment and racism” (King and Andall, 1999) Such a change may appear to threaten the Italian identity, but again a cooperative approach, as Colombo and Sciorton note, can allow for cultural growth. Yet politically, socially, and economically such change has not only been slow to take place but may have actually gone in reverse, as evidence shows that acceptance of immigrants and immigrant culture in Italy has seemed to decline over the last 30 years.

Such a trend can be seen in the neighborhood of Bullicante. While immigration initially proved beneficial for urban development, in recent years the presence of immigrants has led many, both inside and outside the neighborhood, to tag the area as unsafe or undesirable. This change has had far-reaching impacts as urban development has stalled leaving the neighborhood isolated and in decline due to a lack of public services. Yet perhaps more importantly this change in attitude has caused tensions to flare and led to unrest amongst neighborhood residents. Again, as seen on the larger national scale, neighborhood residents see immigrants as uneducated, poor, visiting, ungrateful, and dangerous. Immigrants, in turn, feel unaccepted and separate themselves, thereby failing to integrate themselves and fueling the native perception that they are ungrateful visitors. Thus no

middle ground is found, as is the case on the national level.

The case study of Chinese immigrants in San Francisco provides an interesting point of comparison to Italy and Bullicante. In both cases, the immigrants being studied have been segregated and live in enclaves. In both cases, the enclaves have developed for comfort and convenience, as well as to help immigrant groups establish networks. However, there are two major differences. First, the enclaves in Italy and Bullicante are merely way stations, as immigrants attempt to move to more central business areas or even another country. In San Francisco, however, these enclaves are areas where individuals and families come to truly settle down. Second, in San Francisco, the Chinatown enclave is a place around which the Chinese community rallies and has developed some political muscle, while in the other case the neighborhood is used solely for networking or other socio-economic purposes, with very little in the way of a political agenda.

Furthermore, in both cases the immigrant groups experience varying levels of discrimination and xenophobia. In Italy and the neighborhood, the residents begrudge immigrants, urge for tighter immigration laws and reforms, and sometimes commit acts of violence. The individuals see immigrants as ungrateful for not integrating into Italian culture and they further see them as threats to Italian culture and identity. Similarly, in San Francisco, residents have segregated Chinese immigrants and have attempted to strip them of political power and civil rights. Thus, in all of these cases, we see similar problems and debates over immigration, with minor differences in terms of approaches to dealing with the process and integration of the individuals.

As Asher Colombo and Giuseppe Sciorton write, “In

the past 30 years, Italy has witnessed many migratory influxes from diverse areas...[and]...Immigration's past weighs on its future. These process are based on informal networks, or rather interpersonal ties connecting immigrants, former immigrants, and non-immigrants in the places of origin and in destination, not so much through national connections as much as relations of family, friends and nearness to the country of origin." (Colombo and Sciortion, 2004) Immigration is a process, essentially, about interpersonal connections, and to move forward, both Italians and non-Italian immigrants must come together to reach an understanding, as has begun to be the case in San Francisco. For example, while the Italians have to understand the importance for immigrants to maintain their cultural identity, immigrants also have to know about their possible impacts on the local neighborhood. As such, the 16-point declaration of intent signed between the Rome's city council and the Chinese community in 2007, as mentioned earlier, is in fact a good beginning to the goal of mutual understanding.

To achieve such understanding, not only do the two sides have to interact, but there should also be a mediator (i.e. government) which adopt appropriate measures to help facilitate integration, which have already been gradually carried out. Indeed, until the two sides can achieve this mutual understanding, tensions will continue and the issue of immigration, integration, and assimilation will remain hot-button issues in Bullicante.



**Photo 3.11**

*Despite the current low level of integration in the neighborhood, can integration be finally achieved in the future?  
(Andi Israel)*





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## *Closing Remarks*

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# Closing Remarks

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Preliminary research shows that Italy is struggling, as many countries have, as it experiences the early stages of becoming a country of immigrants. It has seen a shift in its makeup as it moves from a norm of emigration to one of immigration. Acqua Bullicante/Tor Pignattara seems to present a microcosm of this experience, as both native Italians and immigrants accuse each other of discrimination, xenophobia, and cultural. It seems, when we compare this case study to that of San Francisco, that the best solution is to increase the political presence of immigrants and open a dialogue

Yet it must be understood that this research is preliminary and merely gives us a general understanding of the situation. Due to time constraints and language barriers, we were unable to probe as deeply as wished or as was fully necessary to comprehend the scope of the problem or to devise a solution. To fully understand the social problems created by the lack of integration, or even to fully appreciate the reason for the lack of integration, further research is necessary. The situation is far more complicated than it may appear. For example, ideologically both sides agree on the problems of the neighborhood: poor public transportation, lack of appropriate waste disposal, weak delivery of social services. Furthermore, both sides agree that the reason these problems are not fixed is because many of the residents are “immigrants.” The Italians feel that the immigrants are at fault because they come to Italy simply as a way-station than as a home, and leave the trash in the streets and commit crimes, all of which fuels outside perception that the neighborhood is unsafe thereby making the government feel unmotivated to improve the neighborhood. The immigrants, on the other hand, argue that they are seen as just “immigrants” and not as equal Italians, which forces them to segregate themselves. They argue that if they were better integrated and seen as equals

then the government would be motivated to begin development again; however, because Italians do not see them as equals, they do not advocate for greater immigrant rights and instead wish that they leave. Thus, the sides both see the same problems and both agree the reason the problems are not fixed is the presence of people who are immigrants; however, the sides cannot agree on how to solve the problems. Yet the solution proposed here is far too general. Further research, such as more interviews with both sides and studies of social interaction between residents, is necessary to yield greater understanding and better suggestions.

With this understanding of the limits of our study, we can now properly appreciate what can be gained from it. This three month study allowed us to observe how a neighborhood develops. We could see how the space affected the interaction of its peoples and how the people made the space work for them. We gained a general understanding of some of the issues present in modern day Italy : trash, public transportation, and, of course, immigration and the integration and assimilation of immigrants. By comparing it to San Francisco, we can very generally understand that Italy and the neighborhood are both experiencing the growing pains of communities as they experience the beginning stages of immigration. Essentially, we gained a preliminary understanding of a neighborhood and its dynamics, thereby laying the groundwork for a future study, much of which would be conducted in a similar manner. It is in this way that we reach the end of the hour glass: we have a broad understanding of a more narrow issue. Now, as we might flip the hour glass to begin the next hour, we can prepare for the next study of this topic.

# Acknowledgements & Bibliography

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Fabbri  
Giuseppi  
Lima  
Luciana  
Luigi  
Rahonan  
Riccardo  
Romano  
Xiaofeng

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