

PONTE MILVIO: A NEIGHBORHOOD STUDY

CORNELL IN ROME
CRP STUDIO
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PART 1

STREET SURVEY OF PONTE MILVIO



MARCH 12, 2009

Introduction

Overview

The following report is a descriptive account of the neighborhood of Ponte Milvio that examines the space, how it is used, and by whom it is used. In order to develop the report, we employed a methodology of street surveying to research the neighborhood. We visited the Ponte Milvio several times to perform field work with a criteria to study land uses, open spaces, vehicular circulations, human activities and building typologies, each with more specific components that are explored in this order more in depth in this section.

Our street surveys consisted of walking street by street to experience the neighborhood, as walking allows observers to be “in the environment where there are no barriers between the eyes and what is seen.”¹ The surveys were organized to examine several components of the neighborhood such as its prevalent building stock, greenery, noise levels, and residential and commercial spaces. We also spent time focusing on human activity as a way of understanding who is in the neighborhood and what their daily activities consists of. After noting these qualitative factors, we develop the following that provides a thorough descriptive account of the neighborhood and an understanding of the people who comprise it.

The Ponte Milvio neighborhood is located north of the central historic district of the city of Rome, adjacent to the Tiber River and the Olympic stadium. It is joined to the city center by two bridges crossing the Tiber River, one designated for pedestrian use and the other for automobile use. This predominantly upper-middle class neighborhood extends from Piazzale Ponte Milvio, which serves as an entryway into the community; it is the main commercial corridor lined with cafes and street vendors. This Piazzale is located at the bottom of a hill that the neighborhood ascends through its main thoroughfare, Via Cassia.

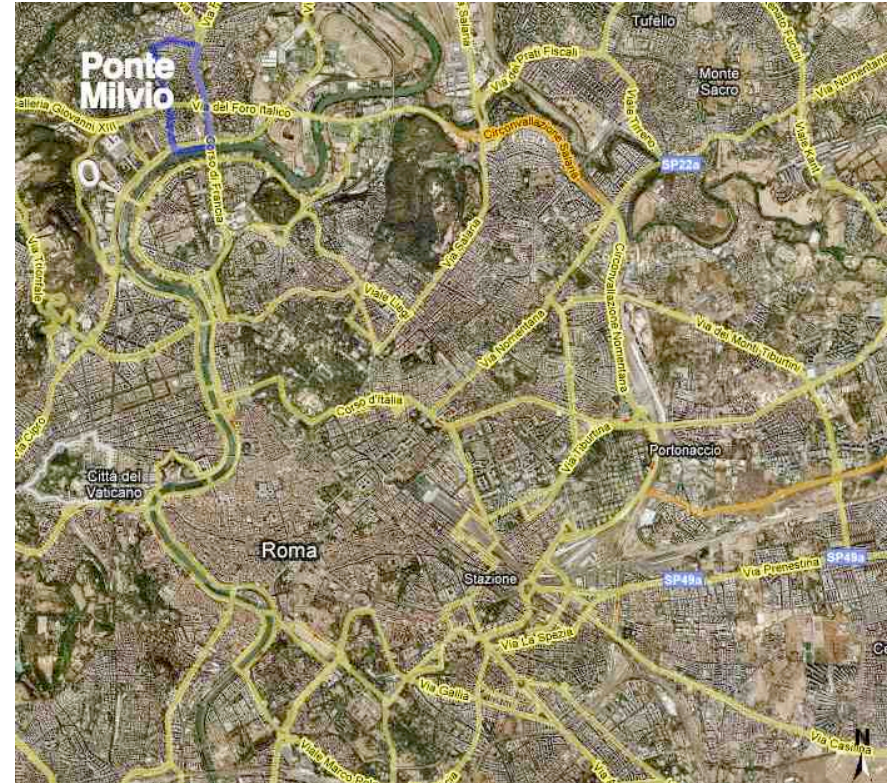


Figure 1.1 Location of Ponte Milvio within Rome (Google Maps, 2009).

Ponte Milvio is comprised primarily of private residential condominium complexes (and some private streets), most of which are modern buildings equipped with balconies, roof top gardens and tree lined avenues. The apartments tend to be three to six stories high and seem to be inhabited by many older residents who can be spotted walking to and from their apartments with groceries in hand. There is also, however, a strong presence of younger families, as evidenced by the nearby selection of children’s clothing stores, playgrounds, schools and signage indicating drivers to proceed through the neighborhood with caution. Overall, Ponte Milvio is quiet and appears to be safe, as most of the buildings have gated entrances and porters.

Figure 1.2 Location of Ponte Milvio within Rome in relation to other neighborhoods (ISTAT GIS Data, 2001).

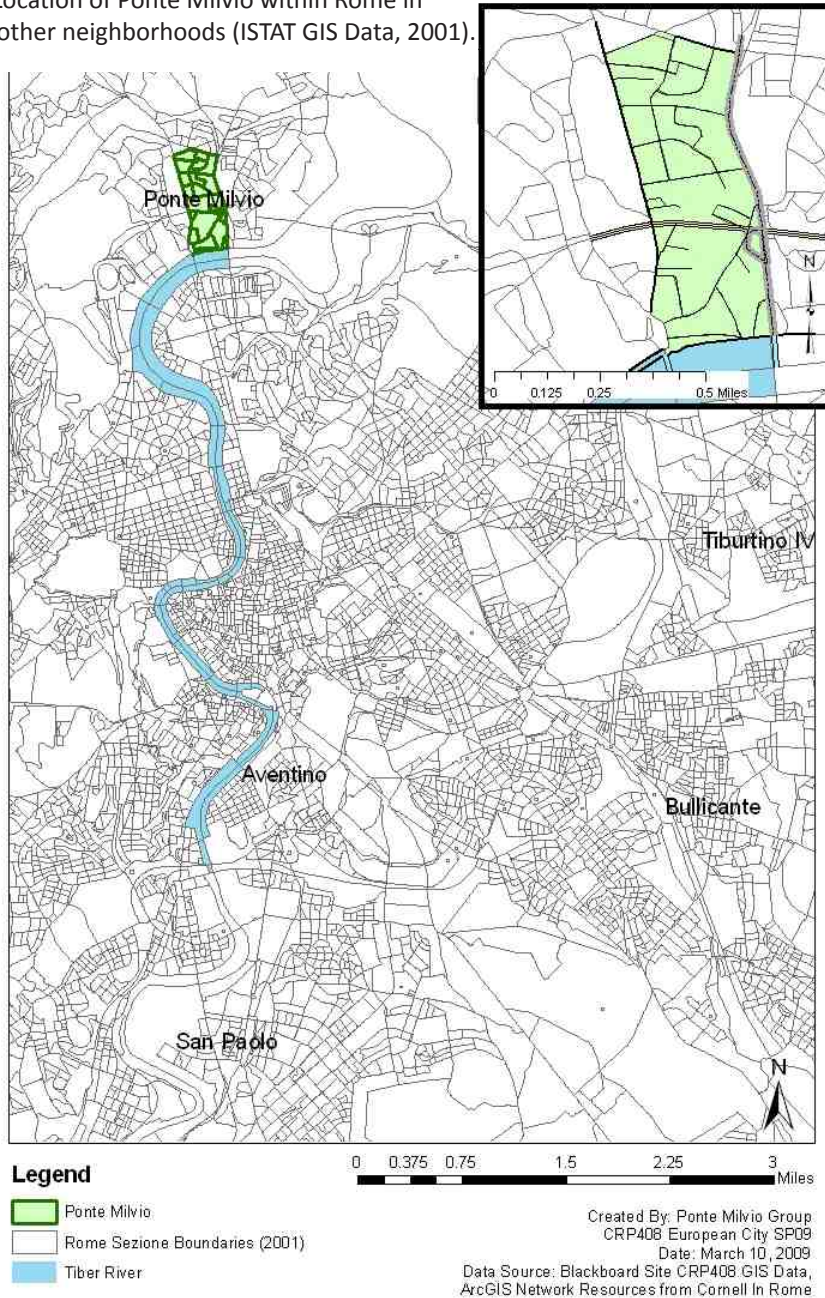


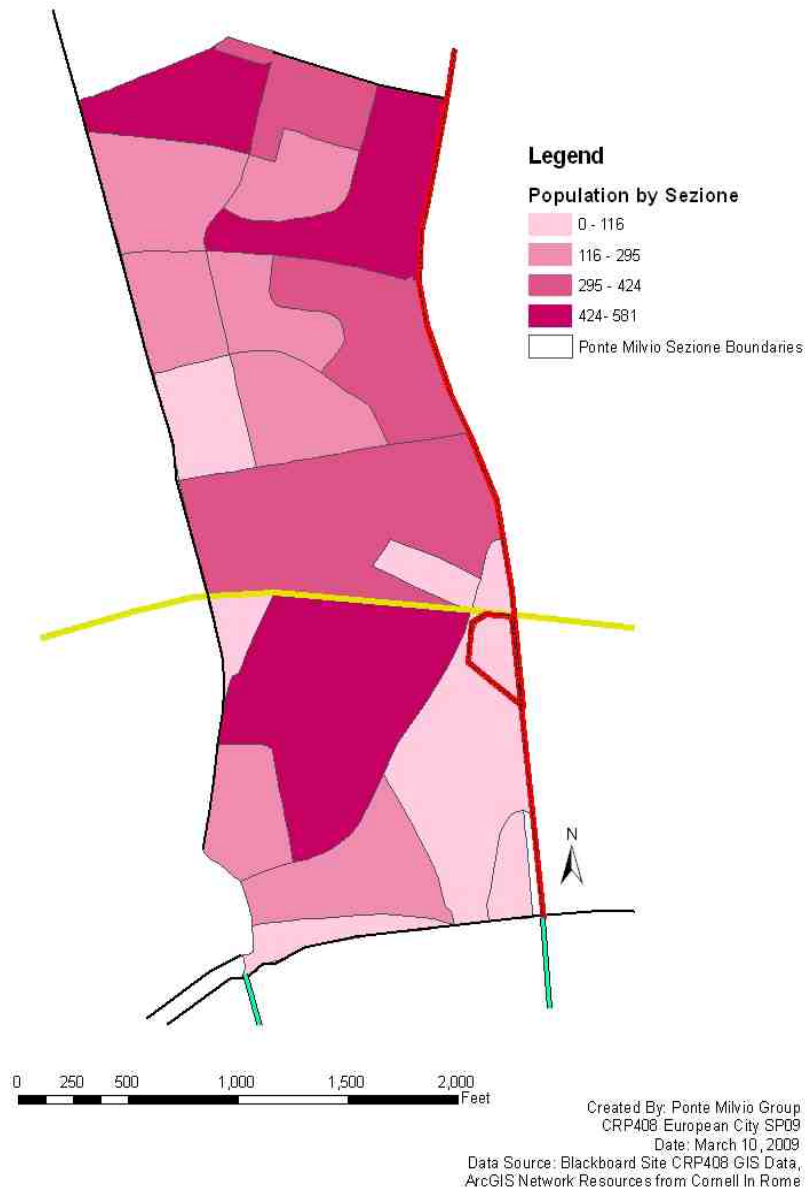
Figure 1.3 Ponte Milvio, the gateway into the Ponte Milvio-Vigna Clara community (Shulman, 2009).

In addition to private entrances to most of the residential complexes, many of the residential streets in Ponte Milvio are not public and have signs that inform pedestrians that entering is prohibited to those who do not live there. Residents adhere to this principle, so much that a well-dressed woman approached us and inquired as to why we were in the neighborhood, informing us that the street that we were examining was private. Essentially, she hinted that we should leave; this is one of many anecdotes of residents of Ponte Milvio approaching us to find out what we were doing in their neighborhood. We have shared some of these stories throughout this section.

Methodology

While surveying the Ponte Milvio neighborhood, we paid particularly close attention to the movement of people by studying the quality and types of streets and sidewalks, the intensity of traffic, the number of parked cars and mopeds, as well as the prevalence of pedestrian activity. We visited

Figure 1.4 Population by sezione in Ponte Milvio-Vigna Clara (ISTAT GIS Data, 2001).



the neighborhood in the months of January and February 2009 during weekdays in the day time ten to fifteen times.

Ponte Milvio as Three Sections

After considering the large size of the neighborhood and time constraints, we decided to approach the survey by dividing the area into three sections. This report has thus been divided into three main sections—Southern (1), Central (2) and Northern (3) Ponte Milvio—that reflect these sharp changes present from one district of the neighborhood to the next. Each section has been organized in a similar manner, with slight differences in formatting to reflect characteristic aspects of the neighborhood’s three districts. Accordingly, the reader will be able to develop a better understanding about the nuances that make up the neighborhood of Ponte Milvio. Please refer to the map on the next page, which illustrates exactly how we have divided the neighborhood.

Traffic Flows

Our observations indicated a wide spectrum of street types in Ponte Milvio, which we have delineated into three categories: heavy, medium and light traffic flows. When a street is described with heavy traffic, it generally refers to one with multiple lanes, with many vehicles in traffic at any given moment, and with more noise than the other two types of streets, because of the increased prevalence of vehicles and people. Heavy traffic streets are those such as Via Cassia, Corso di Francia and Via di Vigna Stelluti, which are all recognizable as main arteries in the neighborhood when looking at the maps provided.

Medium level traffic streets are generally residential corridors, located off of these main streets; they usually have several parked cars and few automobiles in transit at any time of the day. They also tend to be frequented by pedestrians quite often because the neighborhood is primarily residential and some of the main streets have extremely narrow sidewalks, like in Via Cassia. A good example of a medium traffic street is Via Ronciglione.



Figure 1.5 The three sections of Ponte Milvio as outlined (Google Maps, 2009).

Upper Section III

Middle Section II

Lower Section I

Figure 1.6 Road Types in Ponte Milvio (ISTAT GIS Data, 2001).

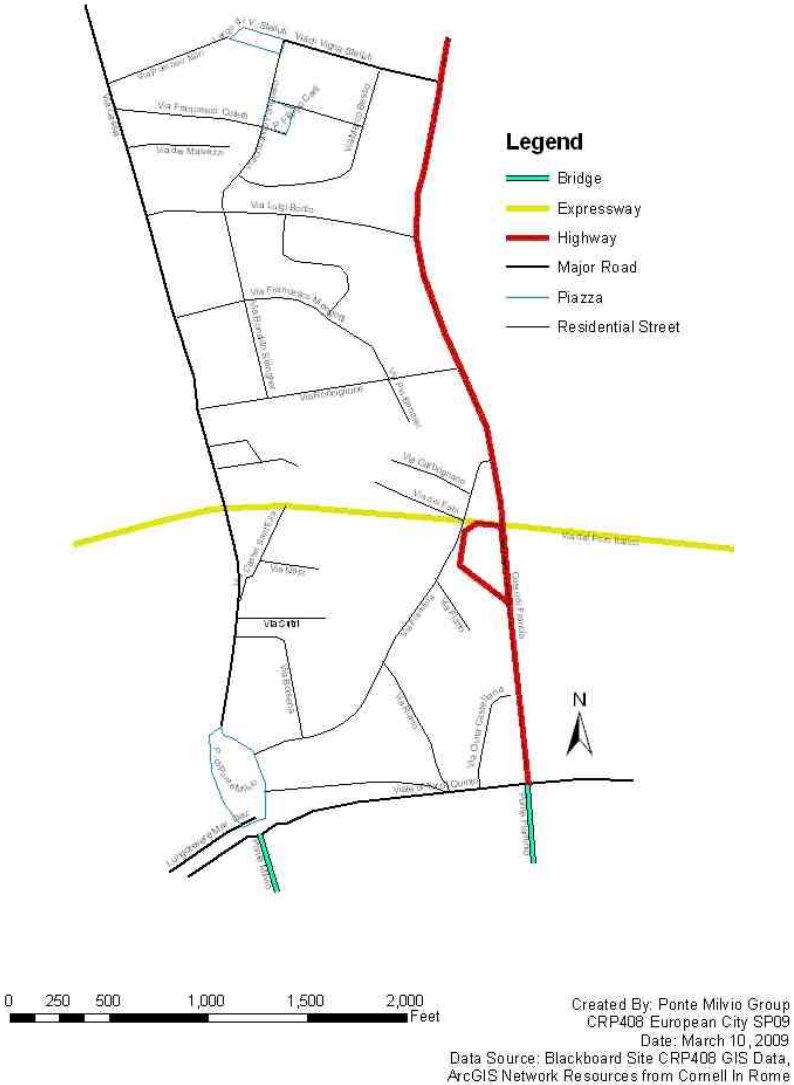


Figure 1.7 Elderly couple crossing Via di Vigna Stelluti (Shulman, 2009).

The low level traffic streets are those that are private and usually have gates that make them completely inaccessible to the general public. These streets usually have very few cars and people in sight, such as Via Pio Benassi.

Other Components

Our street surveys also include a synopsis of many other components of the neighborhood, including building stock, greenery, noise levels, the ratio of residential to commercial space, and building typologies. There are also segments that focus solely on human activity, which help provide a better sense about who lives in the neighborhood and the activities they perform on a daily basis. After noting these qualitative factors, we were able to develop the following in-depth analysis of the Ponte Milvio neighborhood, its functions, and its people.

Section One (Southern/Lower Ponte Milvio)

Land Use in Ponte Milvio

Land use map based on street survey data. Image portrays Ponte Milvio building blocks classified by different land use types. This land use map indicates commercial and mixed-use activities around Piazzale di Ponte Milvio, while Vigna Clara area to the north shows predominantly residential and mixed-use activities. Mixed-use building blocks surround Piazza F. Carli and along Via di Vigna Stelluti. A greater prevalence of commercial activities exists near Ponte Milvio bridge area. The middle section consists of private streets, private green spaces and residential apartments.



appear to be small and under-utilized. Fortunately, both Via Bolsena and Via Fiano have sidewalks that are well-used and connect the streets to the rest of the community.

Private Streets: Via Sutri and Via Nepi

Via Cassia, one of Ponte Milvio's principal roads, should be divided into two sections. The beginning part of Via Cassia is very wide and well-utilized and, although there are only patches of green space in the middle of an island in the center of the street, public space abounds. This is mostly due to a network of very large and well-paved sidewalks. There is an open fruit and vegetable market that creates more public space along the sidewalk, complete with well-utilized public benches. The streets are lined with restaurants, shops, a handful of apartment buildings, a gas station and a church.

However, when one ascends up Via Cassia, this public space virtually

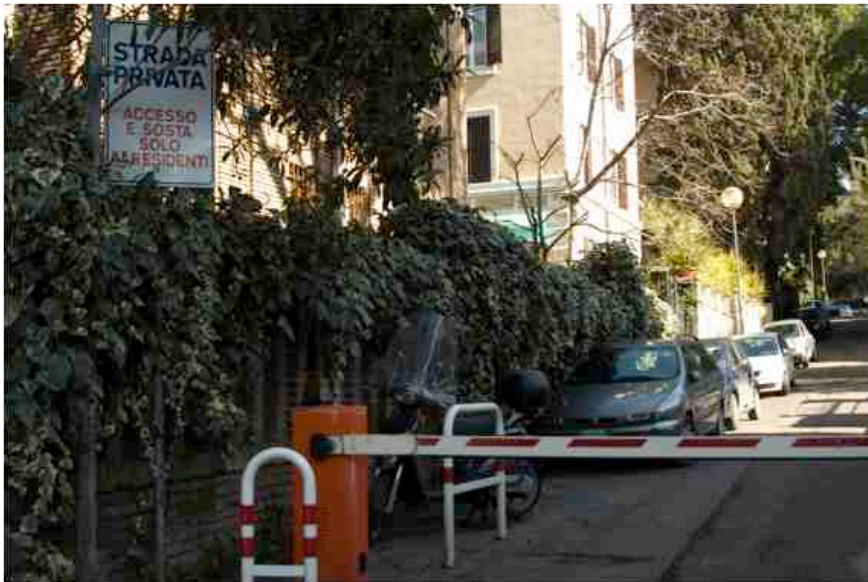


Figure 1.8 Via Nepi, a private street (Shulman, 2009).

disappears and Via Cassia becomes merely a place for connectivity. The street becomes very narrow and there are only patches of pavement

connecting streets instead of large swaths of sidewalk that help forge a neighborhood identity. This lack of public space on this part of the avenue certainly hinders neighborhood relations and affects community cohesiveness as a whole.

Open Spaces: Streets, Sidewalks Green Areas & Piazzas

Street Type

The lower part of the Ponte Milvio neighborhood is comprised of four different kinds of streets: commercial, residential, private and main thoroughfare. Not only is each street built differently in terms of its width and length, but their usages also become apparent as the type and amount of human activity are observed.

The first distinct type of street in Ponte Milvio is commercial, which includes Via Flaminia and Piazzale di Ponte Milvio. These two streets are busy hubs of commercial activity and provide direct access in and out of the neighborhood. For example, Piazzale di Ponte Milvio, a broad street that runs through the Piazzale, is lined with popular cafes and has direct access to Viale di Tor di Quinto, a busy, multi-lane street that crosses the Tiber and connects the neighborhood to the center of Rome.

Via Flaminia, a one-way street leading directly out of the neighborhood is also bustling with commercial activity as both sides of the street are lined with restaurants and different shops. The street also provides vehicular access to two major highways: Via del Foro Italico, which runs from East to West and Corso di Francia, which runs from North to South.

While these commercial streets located in the southern section of Ponte Milvio are indeed comprised of mixed-use buildings, there are certain streets in the neighborhood that are purely residential. Via Bolsena, which runs between Via Cassia and Via Flaminia, is a completely residential street and simultaneously an important public access way in the neighborhood. The street connects Via Cassia and Via Flaminia, two of the busiest streets in this section. There is a significant difference between private and public residential streets in Ponte Milvio. Unlike Via Bolsena, which functions as

a transportation artery in the neighborhood, private residential streets like Via Nepi are very narrow and typically dead end. These streets are for their residents' use with explicit signs and parking control gates.

The fourth street type in the neighborhood is exemplified in Via Cassia, the main thoroughfare. The street has many of the same amenities as the other streets, for example, there are buildings used for both residential and commercial use, however, unlike the other streets, it serves as the main traffic artery for both private and public transportation. Via Cassia runs the entire length of neighborhood. It is the only street that crosses above Via del Foro Italico, the highway that separates the lower third of the neighborhood.

State of Repair



Figure 1.9 View of underpass of Corso di Francia (Shulman, 2009).

The commercial streets in Ponte Milvio have wide sidewalks, which extend 7 to 10 feet in front of the storefronts. This extra space accommodates abundant moped parking and commercial overflow including café seating and The Hotel River Chateau's pull-in driveway located on Via Flaminia.

While the sidewalks themselves are in good repair, trash receptacles lining this street overflow onto the sidewalks the day we observed. The trash and parked mopeds make sections of the commercial streets' sidewalks difficult to navigate. The repairs of the streets vary throughout the neighborhood, while Piazzale di Ponte Milvio is evenly paved, parts of Via Flaminia are under construction; deep holes in the asphalt are blocked off by metal gates.

On the residential streets like Via Bolsena and Via Sutri, sidewalks line both sides of the street. They are wide enough to accommodate two people walking side by side—on Via Bolsena for instance, we witnessed nannies and kids holding hands walking home during our street survey. The sidewalks are in average repair, they look worn and aged but not uncomfortable to walk on. Due to some street maintenance segments, some of the sidewalks were blocked off but otherwise they were completely accessible.

In Ponte Milvio, sidewalks stop on public ground leading up to the private streets, which are designated by signs and gates. People who live on these streets bypass the lowered gates and walk up the middle of the road. We also observed that these private streets were in noticeably worse condition than any of the publicly used roads in the neighborhood.

Compared to the relative consistency we observed in the street and sidewalk maintenance on the three other types of streets in the neighborhood, there is a distinct difference on the state of repair on the main thoroughfare. The street, Via Cassia, which is in continuous use appeared to be in very good repair: no noticeable cracks or potholes. The sidewalks on the other hand were a bit uneven and some sections were cracked and overflowing with grass and weeds. The sidewalks are also strikingly narrow for bordering such a busy street. While surveying the neighborhood, we had to walk in single file in order to feel a comfortable distance from the passing traffic.

Trees / Shrubbery



Figure 1.10 View of the narrow sidewalks on Via Cassia (Shulman, 2009).

There are no areas of high or continual concentration of greenery along the commercial streets. We visited the neighborhood in late February and the sporadically planted trees are seasonal as their branches were still bare. The notable areas of greenery are within private complexes off of the main streets. For example, #497, an elevated residential complex along the left side of Via Flaminia is separated from the street by a three-story brick wall. Standing on the opposite side of the street, one can see that the private building is completely shrouded by lush trees and shrubbery.

The residential streets in the neighborhood have the most greenery. While trees and shrubs are planted within the gates of apartment complexes, the separation between the public sidewalks and the private residential complexes are less obtrusive than they are on Via Flaminia; for example, lush shrubbery pours over metal gates and low brick walls. Trees that range from one to four stories high line apartment buildings are also easily seen from the sidewalks. On Via Bolsina, bamboo is used as a natural fence over a parking garage structure half way down the block.



Figure 1.11 Luscious vegetation on Via Ronciglione (Shulman, 2009).

Private streets have the similar significant amount of greenery as the residential streets in the neighborhood. Via Nepi and Via Castel Sant'Ella, the two longest private streets in this section of the neighborhood, are completely shrouded in trees. On each side of Via Nepi, trees reach up to five stories high and bend over the street to create a shady canopy. An apartment complex off of Via Castel Sant'Ella borders Via del Foro Italico and in an effort to offset the noise of passing traffic, large trees line the highway barrier.

Similarly to the commercial streets in the neighborhood, trees and shrubbery on Via Cassia highlight the delineation of public and private space. Vegetation is not planted directly on the street; instead, trees and shrubs are planted within the walls of private residential and commercial establishments. However, the excessive growth of the greenery often climbs over these barriers, creating an awning effect over the sidewalk to benefit passing pedestrians.

Noise Level

Throughout the section, the noise level varies based on the presence of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Naturally, Via Cassia, the main automotive access way, is the loudest street in this section of the neighborhood. Towards the bottom of the street near its intersection with Piazzale di Ponte Milvio, there is a public bus stop on Via Cassia; the noise level is therefore also significant due to heavy pedestrian usage.

The commercial streets in the neighborhood also have a consistently high noise level. While cars and mopeds do indeed account for the consistent noise, pedestrian traffic is just as significant. There is constant commotion and activity coming from the busy cafés.

The residential streets are significantly quieter; their noise level depends on weather they are frequently used by cars or mopeds. For example, Via Bolsina, an important street connecting two parts of the neighborhood is louder than Via Sutri, a residential street that dead ends at the end of the block.

Private streets are the quietest as their access is limited. Via Nepi and Via Castel Sant’Ella are exceptions to this generalization because they both connect to Via Cassia. There is a distinct noise difference as you move along these private streets away from the busy and loud thoroughfare. At the end of these streets the noise level is relatively low.

Vehicular Circulation

Traffic Intensity/Patterns

The traffic flows we observed in the neighborhood ranged heavily used main thoroughfares like Via Cassia, to private streets like Via Nepi and Via Castel Sant’Ella, which had incredibly light traffic. During our twenty-minute street observation, not a single car entered or exited Via Nepi.

Via Bolsina and Via Flaminia are sample residential and commercial streets in this section of Ponte Milvio were less consistent as the main artery and the private streets. Via Bolsina had a consistent medium traffic flow: at least one car passing through every thirty seconds. However, this



Figure 1.12 Traffic circulating in Piazzale di Ponte Milvio (Shulman, 2009).

medium traffic pattern varies depending on the location of the residential streets—during our observation time on Via Sutri, a dead end residential street, we only observed a few cars pulling in and out of their driveways. The commercial street, Via Flaminia’s traffic flow changes as you move along it away from Piazzale di Ponte Milvio. The street has three notable traffic patterns, shifting from a fairly congested and consistent flow of cars, to a more intense flow around its intersection with Via Riano to a light flow starting at the intersection of Via Fiano.

Accessibility

The neighborhood is physically connected to the center city by two bridges, Ponte Milvio (designated for pedestrian traffic), and Ponte Flaminio for automobile traffic. Both bridges connect to Viale di Tor di Quinto, the street that comprises the southern most border of the neighborhood.

Via Cassia, the main thoroughfare, connects perpendicularly to Viale di Tor di Quinto through Piazzale di Ponte Milvio and provides the only artery for public bus circulation in this part of the neighborhood. At the

bottom of Via Cassia, buses number 301, 446 and 911 pick up and run the length of the neighborhood.

Parking: Cars, Mopeds & Private Garages

Throughout the entire neighborhood, cars and mopeds line the streets and in some cases take over the sidewalks. Along Via Cassia, parking is generally more orderly and cars are parked up closer to the sidewalks to avoid getting in the way of the heavy traffic constantly passing through the neighborhood.

Wider sidewalks found on the commercial streets accommodate larger numbers of parked mopeds, there is also unlike the more organized parking along the main thoroughfare, delineated parking spots on Via Flaminia are generally ignored and cars and mopeds are squeezed into spaces along the sidewalk. When we were surveying the street we watched a man park his Smart Car nearly four feet into the intersection of Via Flaminia and Via Bolsena.

On the private and residential streets there is an abundance of private parking garages and driveways for the residents of the various apartment complexes; these parking structures are enclosed by metal gates equipped with electronic sensors.

Human Activity

Commercial Streets

The commercial streets at the beginning part of Ponte Milvio (closest to the bridge) are bustling and serve as a gathering place for the various members of the community. On Via Flaminia, which directly connects with the main thoroughfare of Via Cassia, there are several coffee shops, restaurants, night establishments and residential buildings that contribute to the constant flow of people on this street. Cars are parked anywhere near the curb to squeeze into this very crowded street, people push past each other on the sidewalk and the cafes and restaurants are humming with activity at midday. Tourists are rarely seen during the day; it is a neighborhood primarily of residents. From personal experience, there is little or no English spoken in the restaurants and cafes on Via Flaminia,



Figure 1.13 Ponte Milvio Galleria Mercato (Shulman, 2009).

where and people often wave and greet each other in passing.

When one turns the corner from Via Flaminia onto Via Riano, it becomes a different neighborhood. It is one less rooted in affluence; around midday, peddlers push dilapidated carts alongside the middle class going shopping at UNIEURO, the shopping behemoth in the middle of the street. Immigrants stand outside of closed stores and smoke cigarettes, speaking in foreign languages. On the bottom floor of UNIEURO, non-native Italians encourage people to purchase fruit, vegetables and meats from their stands. The top floors of UNIEURO were not crowded at midday and the only customers were Caucasian. While there were occasionally mothers with strollers along Via Flaminia, there were no children in Via Riano but there were toddlers with their parents at the supermarket. Despite the presence of UNIEURO, Via Riano was much less crowded than its commercial street counterpart. The second half of Via Riano that runs parallel to the highway is virtually devoid of people. There are many cars parked on the street but only a handful of people on the sidewalks. This

is interesting to note because this entire half of the street is lined with apartment buildings.

Residential Streets

The residential streets in this section of Ponte Milvio were interesting to document because it was difficult to discern who the residents were because of the lack of sidewalks and general human activity. While there were many cars traveling down Via Bolsena and construction occurring on some of the apartment buildings, there were hardly any pedestrians outside. There were a few children walking with their mothers around noon on a Thursday, but that was essentially the only human activity that was noteworthy. Some people were also re-parking their cars in tight parking spaces and the human activity from Via Flaminia could be heard at the end of the street.

Private Streets

Via Nepi is a quiet cul-de-sac where human activity appears to be limited to residents. Based on observation, these residents usually traveled between their cars and home, or to the main thoroughfare of Via Cassia. When we did descend onto this street and if there were people, they would usually ask if we needed help or what we were doing there. Via Nepi had a guardsman on their street who would pleasantly wave and look curiously as we wrote down notes on our pads. Overall, it is safe to note that the human activity on these streets is extremely limited and that people in the community do respect the private nature of these streets.

Main Thoroughfare

Via Cassia begins as a busy gateway into the community, abundant with human activity, and then quickly transforms into a narrow two-lane street with limited walk-ability. Once crossing over the bridge into Ponte Milvio, pedestrians are greeted with the human life along Piazzale Milvio. The cafes that line either side of the street spill out onto the sidewalk with locals. Groups often meet in these cafes or greet others around them warmly. There are fruit and vegetable sellers, as well as vendors selling trinkets, out on the wide sidewalks and there are few homeless people in this section. There are also people waiting for the bus, women pushing

babies in strollers and older men talking over coffee or filling their cars with gas at the main gas station at the intersection. People selling goods such as flowers or glowstick lights are also present. There are also people sitting in park benches at the center of the triangle on a small patch of grass. Overall, this is the busiest area of the entire section.

However, this classification quickly changes as one ascends up Via Cassia and into the neighborhood. There are significantly fewer commercial establishments and therefore, fewer people in the vicinity. Like a funnel, the road goes from very wide to very narrow abruptly and the sidewalks. This section of the road's main human activity comes from people waiting at a bus stop near a tabacchi and people driving in their cars. This change on Via Cassia signals a larger neighborhood shift away from walking and gravitating towards cars as the main mode of transportation.



Figure 1.14 Church at the center of Piazza di Ponte Milvio. Left is Via degli orti della Farnesina and right is start of Via Cassia (Shulman, 2009).



1. View of the entrance to the Ponte Milvio Pedestrian Bridge.
2. Clothing and fresh produce markets along Piazzale Milvio.
3. Chiesa della Gran Madre di Dio at the Piazzale di Ponte Milvio
4. Overflowing trash receptacles lined along Via Flaminia.
5. Example of cars parked along street, bumper to bumper, despite the amount of private garages.
6. Typical façade of residential apartment building, with protruding balconies.
7. One of many private streets fenced off from public entry.
8. Green wall and vegetation established as a buffer between the freeway and residential buildings. (Photos by Schlanger & Shulman, 2009).



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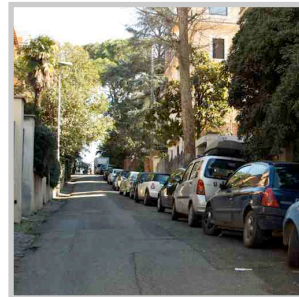
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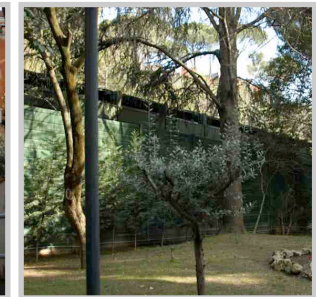
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8

Section 1 Building Typology Sample



12 VIA BOLSENA

Façade: light, crème colored stucco, large windows with wooden shutters. Balconies adorned with plants, shrubs.

Floors: 6 | **Units:** 36

State of Repair: In good condition, set back from street and protected by brick wall.

Other: Bottom floor not visible from entrance. Brick wall protects residents on the first floor and sets the building on a much higher plane from the street.

12 Via Bolsena is the archetypal apartment building on this public, residential street.

The street is lined with parking spots and has a moderately heavy traffic flow, so the protective wall serves as a buffer from the cars. The trees and shrubbery absorb a lot of the sound from Via Flaminia (the adjacent street).

Via Bolsena, although on the day that we observed the street, workers were conducting intrusive landscaping that cut down a lot of the trees and shrubbery.

The building probably houses middle and upper middle class residents that enjoy the amenities of adjacent Via Flaminia and nearby Via Cassia.

Children wearing backpacks and being accompanied by their parents were observed walking down the stairs to the street.



them, as most people in the area know each other.

Because we were stopping at numerous checkpoints to take notes and photograph the neighborhood to complete our street surveys, many of the porters became inquisitive and viewed our fieldwork methods with skepticism, often ushering us along after asking us exactly what we were doing. In fact, on Via Cassia, a porter for one of the buildings told us that we were not allowed to take any photographs and that we ought to move along.

Similarly, many of the neighborhood residents would watch us as we walked and listen to see if they could understand our conversations. Some were even more aggressive; we were stopped by residents several times who wanted to know why we were in the neighborhood. There is a strong sense of ownership among the neighborhood residents in Ponte Mivio, which became evident throughout our exploration of the residential quarters of the area.

Sidewalks



Figure 1.15 A immigrant talking on his cell phone (Atiyyeh, 2009).

The residential streets all have sidewalks, which are used quite often, especially by older residents who do not drive. When walking around Ponte Milvio, one also notices families with children as well as immigrant nannies with young boys and girls in their school uniforms. However, the main streets, such as Via Cassia, tend to be more mixed use and are primarily automobile-oriented in many sections. In fact, the sidewalks are narrow and under-maintained, making them very difficult to walk on.

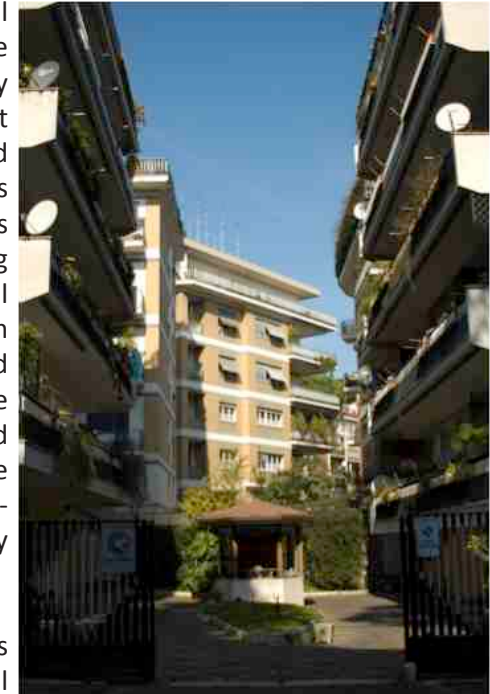


Figure 1.16 A gated apartment complex with a porter station (Shulman, 2009).

Nonetheless, the interior streets that are primarily residential have sidewalks in decent condition—meaning that there are some gaps in the pavement and points where the walking paths become slightly uneven, but they are in a good enough state of repair to walk around the neighborhood comfortably. The streets, on the other hand, tend to be in better condition overall, most likely because the neighborhood relies heavily on the use of private automobiles. In fact, the residential streets such as Via Francesco Mengotti, Via Roncligione and Via Giovanni Arrivabene, are all bordered by two main thoroughfares that are primarily automobile-oriented: Via Cassia and Corso di Francia.

Because the neighborhood is located on a hill, many of the streets in Ponte Milvio are long and tend to be curvy. Many of the buildings are also on hills and located at different elevations, creating a strong visual contrast between them because the land in this section is so uneven.

Piazzas

There are not many open spaces in the middle section of the Ponte Milvio Neighborhood of Rome. In fact, what exists is quite the contrary; many of the streets are privately maintained and are not open to the public. Most of the building complexes and sometimes even whole streets have gates that prevent people from simply walking in. There are no parks or any other open spaces that can be utilized by the public.

Green Areas

While many of the apartment complexes have trees and small grass lawns behind their gates, there are no extensive green open spaces in the middle of the Ponte Milvio neighborhood. Most of the residential streets are tree-lined, some even forming green canopies. Additionally, many of the buildings also have balconies that residents tend to furnish with flowers and plants, as well as rooftop gardens, creating a green façade. This is true for public streets as well as those that are privately maintained, thus there



Figure 1.17 A tree-lined street Via Ronciglione (Shulman, 2009).



Figure 1.18 Parking often on both sides of residential streets (Wong, 2009).

is a large effort to have a strong presence of trees and shrubbery in the neighborhood. On some streets, such as Via Ronciglione, there are even large trees along the sidewalks at even intervals throughout the length of the street; in fact, the sidewalks appear to be constructed around the trees. In effect, there is a large green aesthetic component to the neighborhood, but simply not in the form of parks or other types of open public spaces.

Vehicular Circulation

Traffic Intensity/Patterns

The residential streets of Ponte Milvio have many cars parked during the day; however, the traffic is very light. On the other hand, main streets such as Via Cassia usually have much heavier traffic flows and even experience small traffic jams when schools let out, as explained earlier on.

Parking: Cars, Mopeds & Private Garages

All of the residential streets have cars parked on them and few mopeds. In fact, most of the residential streets are filled with cars even though each of the buildings has their own parking facilities. Via Cassia has few parking spaces at some points; there is some on street parking on Via Cassia across the street from the two schools which are located between Via Ronciglione and Via del Foro Italico; however, parking is very difficult to come by on main roads.

Accessibility

Ponte Milvio is connected to the center of Rome by highways that make the neighborhood easily accessible using an automobile. There is also public transportation, such as busses that run the length of Via Cassia, making it relatively easy to access the interior streets of Ponte Milvio.

However, while it is relatively easy to use the busses to get around Ponte Milvio once inside the neighborhood, accessing the center requires riding a couple of busses and/or using the trams which are located in the neighborhood adjacent to Ponte Milvio on the other side of the pedestrian bridge.

Even though the neighborhood is relatively central, it requires some effort to reach the center of Rome using public transit. For us to get to the neighborhood, we had to catch at least one bus, transfer onto a tram, cross the pedestrian bridge and catch another bus if we were going to the northern section. In total, our average commute would take about forty minutes. Many residents of Ponte Milvio prefer to use private automobiles.



Figure 1.19 One choice for grocery shopping- buying from this produce stall on Piazzale di Ponte Milvio (Atiyyeh, 2009).

Human Activity

The middle section of Ponte Milvio is comprised mostly of older residents who have lived in the neighborhood since the 1960s when most of the area was first developed (even though there are buildings in Ponte Milvio which were constructed before the 1960s). There is also a presence of some young families and even immigrants, although very small in comparison to the senior native Italian population.

On an ordinary day, there are usually older men and women walking to and from nearby grocery stores with bags in hand on the way to and from their apartments. One can also witness people peering outside from their windows or maintaining the plants on their apartment balconies and completing daily tasks such as taking their garbage out. Because most people in the neighborhood know each other, there are usually a few people engaging in friendly conversation on each of the residential streets. On the main thoroughfare, Via Cassia, there are often people waiting on the bus stops; there are usually very few pedestrians who are

walking the street compared to the number of people who are waiting for the busses.

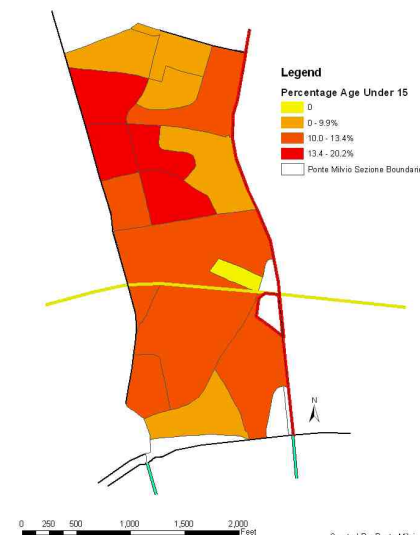
During the day, when people are at work, while walking through Ponte Milvio you can also find people rummaging through the overflowing trash receptacles that are stationed along the streets. Trash collecting is common among some immigrant groups in Ponte Milvio. As way of bringing in additional income, they rummage through trash receptacles and recycling bins to find salvageable items that they then sell at local markets.

There are also some families visible throughout Ponte Milvio, as well as a couple of elementary schools in the mid section, as explained previously. Thus, one can usually spot families with their children, out running errands and going to and from school during the day. There is moreover a small presence of immigrant families living in the neighborhood as well, so the neighborhood is not completely homogeneous.



Figure 1.20 A parent picking up his child from school. There is busy traffic during afterschool time (Atiyeh, 2009).

Age Under 15



Age 65+

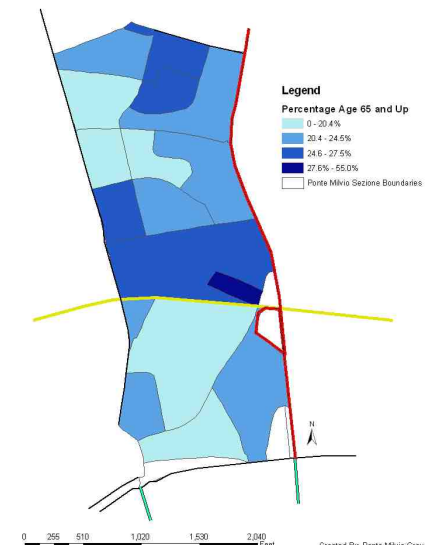


Figure 1.21 Geographic distribution of children and elders in Ponte Milvio (ISTAT GIS Data, 2001).



1. Father picking son up from school; traffic forms.
2. A very narrow sidewalk along Via Cassia; many pedestrians are uncomfortable or inadequate.
3. One of many bus stops along Via Cassia.
4. Signage indicating a private street, with no public pedestrian access.
5. An example of the architecture typical in the neighborhood.
6. Tree-lined residential streets, like Via Roncogli-
one, are present throughout central Ponte Milvio.
7. One of many private streets fenced off from
public entry.
8. Green wall and vegetation established as a buffer
between the freeway and residential buildings.
(Photos by Montejo & Atiyeh, 2009).



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Section 2 Building Typology Sample



7 VIA RONCIGLIONE

Façade: stucco and wood, with panoramic windows. Balconies adorned with plants and shrubs.

Floors: 6 | Units: 12

State of Repair: In good condition, enclosed completely by brick gate

Other: private garage and patio visible from entrance

(Photo by Fernando Montejo, 2009)

At six stories high, with a stucco and wood façade, and completely enclosed by belts of balconies, 7 Via Ronciglione is very representative of the majority of the residential apartment complexes found throughout central Ponte Milvio.

An aesthetically pleasing structure, this apartment complex appears to have been built in the 1960's, and has continued to be maintained in good condition.

Large trees and clean grass ornament the space behind the building's gates, while plants, shrubs and flowers ornament the balconies.

Like most residential structures in this area, 7 Via Ronciglione also has its own private parking garage, along with an electric gate for automobile access.

Several people were observed entering and exiting the building, ranging in age from infant to young parents to grandparents.



Section Three (Northern Area/Vigna Clara)

Land Use

Commercial Street

A major east-west commercial axis lies at the northern edge of Ponte Milvio at Largo Di Vigna Stelluti and along Via di Vigna Stelluti. Most of the shops on Via di Vigna Stelluti are shoe stores and clothing boutiques for women, men, and children. In the piazza, the Vigna Stelluti Bar and Ricci Salumiere in Roma, food store since 1910, are the two main commercial spaces. These shops are on the ground floor of mixed-use five to six story buildings. Most of the shops along Via di Vigna Stelluti have glass facades and products in display windows facing the street.

Another commercial center is around Piazza Filippo Carli embedded in the middle of the section. Similarly, commercial areas are on the ground floor and set back along a colonnaded covered walkway, while residential areas are on the second to fifth floors. The retail shops include men's wear, a toy store, women's wear, jewelry, home décor, and baby's clothing. There are also two banks, BNL and Banca del Fucino, and a vet clinic in the piazza area. About thirty feet away from the piazza, there is a convenient store and a Volkswagen (Criwagen) service station located underground on Via G. Fortunato 13-15. Other commercial spaces include a homey café, La Bodeguita, and a beauty salon Piero & Gigi on Via F. Coletti 19 about 250 feet away from the piazza.

The last commercial area in this section is along Corso di Francia. Commercial uses along the street include Agip gas station, a bank, a café, a Blockbuster, a mortorbike shop and repair, and two photocopy and binding services. There are two financial consultant offices in the upper stories of residential buildings on 229 and 213 Corso di Francia.

Residential Streets

Most of the other areas in this section are residential. Via M. Besso and Via dei Malvezzi, which cut through the heart of this section, are the quietest





Figure 1.22 Criwagen service station on Via Fortunato (Wong, 2009).



Figure 1.23 Shops at Piazza Filippo Carli closed during lunch time (Wong, 2009).

and narrowest residential streets. Other streets such as Via F. Coletti, Via Pompeo Neri, and Via G. Fortunato are busier and wider residential streets. Typically, four to six floor apartment buildings that each have an average of 10 units make up the residential fabric. However, this pattern is broken at Via Cassia, which consists of large palazzi with fewer units, Corso di Francia (221-227), which has large apartment complexes in a courtyard layout with more than a hundred units, and three larger apartment blocks (two elongated rectangular and one L-shaped) that make up the enclosed area of Piazza F. Carli.

Public & Administrative Facilities

Largo di Vigna Stelluti is a ground-level public car park with about a hundred parking spaces. Along the southern perimeter of the largo is a sidewalk of about five meters (sixteen feet) wide with some benches that function as a public space for transit and loitering.

In terms of a leisure space for residents, Piazza F. Carli is a well-articulated public space in this section of the neighborhood. It is formed with three one-way streets: Via F. Coletti, Via G. Fortunato and Via S. Bandini. The square-like area in the middle, created by the streets, is a raised area with a park. In the park, there are benches, grass surfaces and playground elements that are positioned on different elevations. Its borders are articulated with rails and a major path that allows access from one side to the other. There is also a constant flow of people across the space from various directions and people of different age groups are present.

Green space

Most green as seen in residential streets are 'spillovers' or plants visible in the public realm since they grow beyond their private premises. This greenery takes the form of tall trees, balcony plants and shrubbery on the ground or walls. There is no major public green space in this section of Ponte Milvio except for Piazza F. Carli with some landscaping--about ten trees are planted and some grass surfaces. Some street side plants are also well maintained.



Figure 1.24 Playground and park in Piazza Filippo Carli (Wong, 2009).



Figure 1.25 Plants on balconies in this apartment block in Piazza Filippo Carli (Wong, 2009).

Open Spaces: Streets, Sidewalks, Green Areas & Piazzas

Street Type

Most of the streets are one-way residential streets. These include Via Pompeo Neri, Via Francesco Coletti, Via Dei Malvezzi, Via Sallustio Bandini and Via Marco Besso. These streets are twenty to thirty feet wide and have paved sidewalks that are about four feet wide. They are often interconnected to other one-way streets creating a restricted navigation through this section of the neighborhood.

Some exceptions are as follows: Via dei Malvezzi off of Via Cassia is a cul-de-sac (but walkable to Via Luigi Bodio, a parallel street to its south). Via Cassia is a two-lane thoroughfare that continues from the lower sections of Ponte Milvio as a one-way road northbound. Via di Vigna Stelluti is a two-way commercial artery going in an east-west direction. And Corso di Francia with four lanes is a two-way highway going in a north-south direction; however, it has a side road that serves as a driveway to access a

run down near the busy intersection with Corso di Francia. Via Pompeo Neri and Via Sallustio Bandini have more trash and cracked sidewalks compared to others.

Trees & Shrubbery

Trees are often grown within apartment walls and gates. Often plants hang from balconies or grow on walls between the apartment complex and the street. Shrubbery often functions as secondary walls marking the boundary between private and public space. It also functions as a screen to give privacy to residents on the ground floor. On Via di Vigna Stelluti, trees line both sides of the street. They provide shade to pedestrians and add greenery to the streetscape, enhancing shoppers' experience along the commercial axis. As mentioned before, there are trees and grass within the Piazza F. Carli. Overall, there is more vegetation in the west side of the section near Via Cassia and Via dei Malvezzi as private residences there have larger garden spaces with denser vegetation.



Figure 1.26 Piazza Filippo Carli functions as a roundabout (Wong, 2009).

Noise Level

Corso di Francia, Via di Vigna Stelluti, Via G. Fortunato and Via Cassia have high noise levels due to heavy vehicular traffic. In Largo di Vigna Stelluti, noise comes from the parking lot, a street-side bar and Piazza F. Carli, which has a medium noise level from people passing by, shops and activities in the park. Via Francesco Coletti, a wider residential street compared to others, has medium noise level from Via Cassia and its traffic. All the other streets have little noise. Because of their narrowness and one-way orientation, these streets are quiet. In particular, the bend in the middle of Via M. Besso and the dead end of Via dei Malvezzi are the quietest.

Vehicular Circulation

Traffic Intensity/Patterns

Consistent with their street types--main thoroughfare, commercial artery and highway--Via Cassia, Corso di Francia and Via di Vigna Stelluti are reasonably heavy in traffic intensity. The three streets of medium traffic intensity in this section are the following: Piazza F. Carli functions



Figure 1.27 Via Marco Besso connects Via di Vigna Stelluti to Via Fortunato (Wong, 2009).

as a roundabout (and parking space) for cars, thus carry cars from the three streets that make up the piazza; Via S. Bandini, which splits into a westbound street in the piazza area and an eastbound street at the edge of the piazza, has a medium flow of cars exiting the piazza; and Via G. Fortunato as it is the only other road besides Corso di Francia that goes from the north to the south. All other streets have light traffic intensity.

Parking: Cars, Mopeds & Private Garages

Car parking is evident on every street regardless of street type. Cars are parked bumper-to-bumper on both sides of streets, around the piazza and of course in parking garages and lots. On Via dei Malvezzi and Via Marco Besso, cars are even parked on the sidewalks to ensure that cars in traffic can pass by. Moped parking is less evident on the streets except in Largo di Vigna Stelluti and on the sidewalk of Via P. Neri.

Accessibility

The area is accessible by the three streets that mark the border of the

neighborhood--Via Cassia from the south, Corso di Francia, and Via di Vigna Stelluti/Via Pompeo Neri. Via F. Coletti is the only street that allows entrance into the section off of Via Cassia, leading straight into Piazza F. Carli. Via G. Fortunato, functions as a north-south connection between Via di Vigna Stelluti and Via Luigi Bodio. These two streets form a major junction at the heart of this section of Ponte Milvio. Besides driving cars, walking around this section of the neighborhood appears to be a convenient way for residents to navigate through the area due to the numerous one-way and narrow streets.

Bus stops are located along the three border streets. A bus stop is near the intersection of Via Cassia and Via Pompeo Neri. Bus stops on either sides of Via di Vigna Stelluti are located in front of the rows of shops, as well as a major bus stop at the tip of the parking island on Corso di Francia near the Agip gas station. Thus the northern part of Ponte Milvio is connected to other areas by bus at the edge.

This section of Ponte Milvio is not easily accessible from the lower sections of Ponte Milvio. As Ponte Milvio is located on sloping land and Via Cassia is not pedestrian-friendly, it is hard to walk up to this area. To get to the upper section without a car, one has to take a bus that goes along Via Cassia from Piazzale di Ponte Milvio. After two stops and getting off near the intersection of Via Cassia and Via Pompeo Neri, one still has to walk eastward towards the neighborhood's center, finally arriving at Largo di Vigna Stelluti.

Human Activity

In Largo and Via di Vigna Stelluti, various commercial activities go on. A bustling street side bar serves customers. It is also where residents and visitors park their cars and walk to their destinations. For example, we witnessed four well-dressed women in their mid-forties walking together to the bar after parking their cars. On a daily basis, shopkeepers carry on their business and keep eyes on the street. We saw a young mother take her child to ask for money from customers sitting by the street-side bar street as the waiter pressured them to go away. Two South Asian men



Figure 1.28 A young family at the park in Piazza Filippo Carli (Wong, 2009).

in their thirties loitered in the parking lot. On the commercial street, pedestrians looked at shop windows while some waited for the bus at the bus stops.

In residential streets, there are many examples of well-dressed local residents in mid thirties to fifties walking towards commercial areas with errands in mind or walking leisurely with their dogs. For example, a woman in her mid-thirties, dressed in a fur coat, walked hurriedly towards Via G. Fortunato while talking on her cell phone on Via M. Besso. In another example, a man in mid-fifties ate a snack while walking in a relaxed pace with his dog on Via F. Coletti. There are also many mothers in their mid-thirties with baby strollers or children. Thus, the demographics of the area are composed of elderly people and young couples with children.

Another group of pedestrians, mostly women, are in their late twenties and thirties from South Asia; a foreign woman in her thirties from South Asia walked down Via G. Fortunato without any bags and she was wearing jeans and looking at her cell phone. This may mean she only intended on a brief journey, perhaps she was running an errand around the immediate



Figure 1.29 Elders conversing on park benches in the piazza (Wong, 2009).

neighborhood. In another example, a mother with three lively young children and a maid perhaps from South Asian walked together on a late weekday afternoon. It is likely that families in the neighborhood hire these foreign domestic helpers.

In Piazza F. Carli, people of different ages and purposes used the space. A woman in her mid-thirties sat cross-legged and arm-crossed on the park bench in the sun waiting for someone. Four women in their sixties sat on two benches talking occasionally while enjoying people-watching under a tree. An old man in his late sixties walked into the piazza and greeted them. A South Asian young woman cut across the park back and forth three times.

A young couple, a woman sat on the bench while the man stood facing her, engaged in a serious conversation at a corner of the park. A man in his mid-thirties sat one leg crossed in the sun with his laptop. A woman in her fifties played with a young child near the playground. A group of teenage girls with backpacks passed by the piazza while chatting with each other. An old man and a young man sat on opposite sides of a bench

with backs to each other resting in the sun. Pedestrians looked at shops as they walked along the colonnaded covered walkways. The piazza is a public space displaying an urban spectacle at a neighborhood level.



Figure 1.30 A couple enjoying the sun in the playground (Wong, 2009).



1. Street view of Via Francesco Coletti; typical apartment building on the right.
 2. Via Francesco Coletti 38, built in 1935.
 3. Piazza F. Carli, Apartment along Via G. Fortunato
 4. Open area and playground in Piazza F. Carli
 5. A playground slide in Piazza F. Carli. A change of levels create steps as seats and borders. A young couple sits together enjoying the sun.
 6. Volkswagen service station at Via Fortunato 15.
 7. Intersection of Via Marco Besso and Via di Vigna Stelluti.
 8. Via di Vigna Stelluti 187—women’s clothing boutique on this commercial axis.
- (Photos by Wong, 2009)



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Section 3 Building Typology Sample



13 VIA MARCO BESSO

Façade: White stucco; decorative awnings over windows

Floors: 6 (including a sub ground level) | Units: 12

State of Repair: In good condition

Other: Arches; balconies facing street; island-like layout

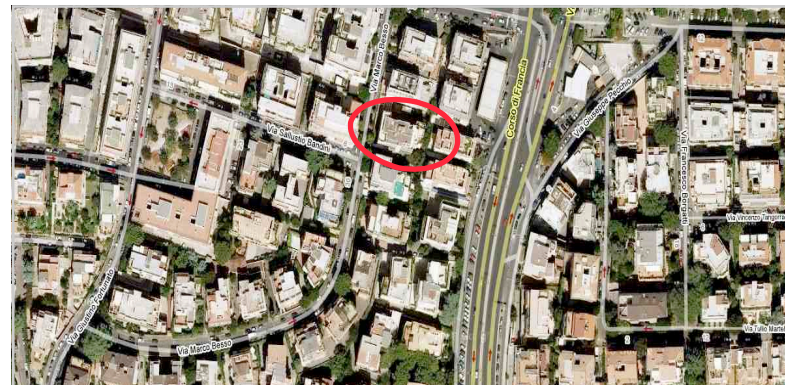
(Photo by Esther Wong, 2009)

13 Via Marco Besso is a variation of the typical residential building in the section and stands out with its streamline design and minimal surface decorations.

The balconies facing the street are the main elements of the building. The arch designs at the ends of the balconies create an imagery of porties. The porch area is the intermediate area between the inner private and open public spaces. It also adds transparency to the balcony and acts as a frame. The solid sidewall and narrow windows contrast the more open front. White stucco surface gives a clean and smooth appearance.

The entrance is through a bridge that connects to a reception space at the second floor. Thus, the building is like an island. The surrounding area is void, like a moat system. This is to accommodate to the raising elevation as this section is higher than Ponte Milvio.

This island quality is also expressed in most other apartment buildings. Each residential building is like its own island; boundaries are marked by walls, gates and fences, isolating each apartment as a residential island.





Residential Building Development in Ponte Milvio

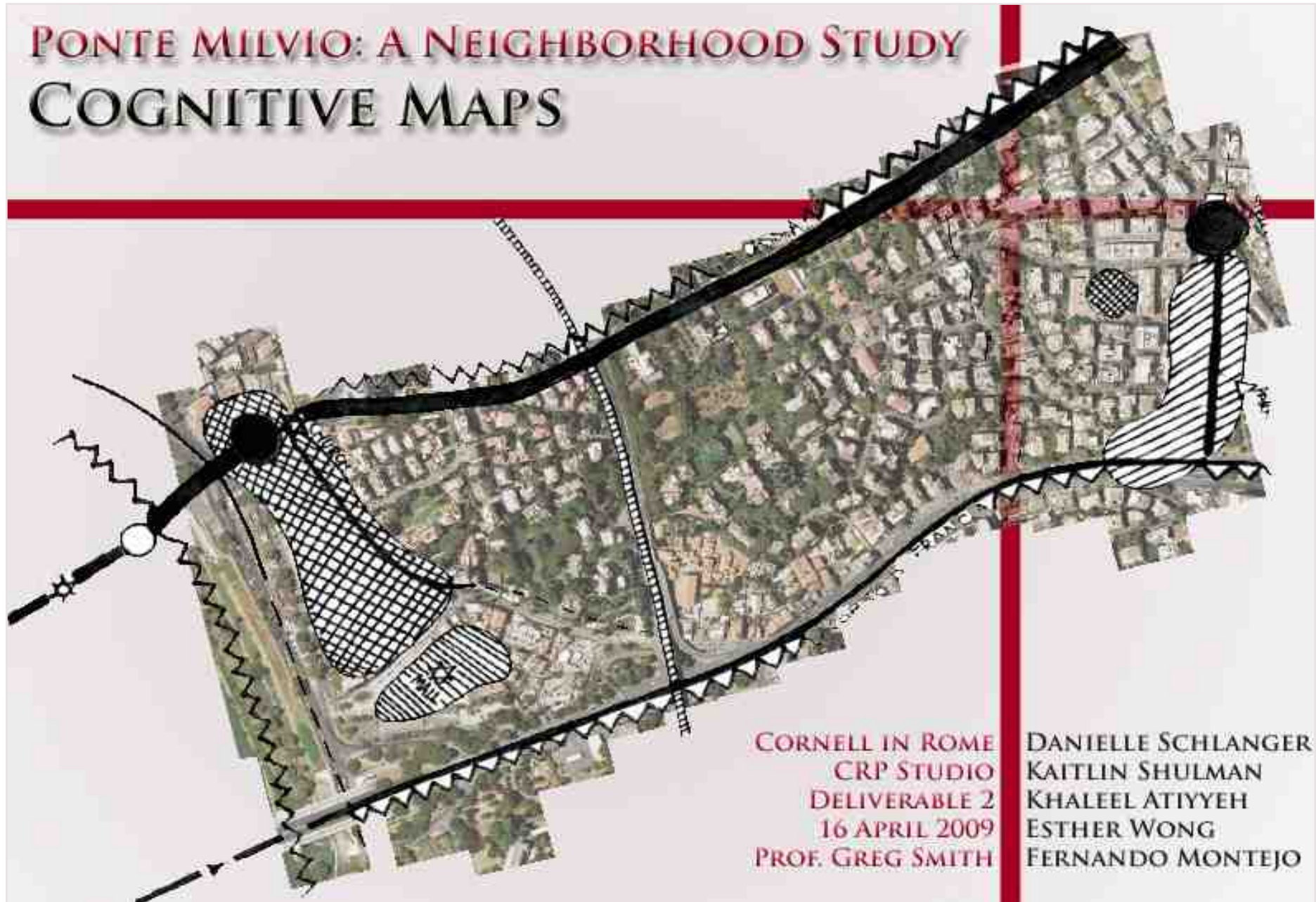
Figure 1.30 Left is an outline of building footprints. Note irregular orientation of residential units in the middle section, as they were constructed earlier, in the mid-20th century. Upper and lower sections were developed later, in the 106- and 1970s, using a more structure layout. Below are maps showing the age of residential buildings in Ponte Milvio distributed across the neighborhood (ISTAT GIS Data, 2001).

Created By: Ponte Milvio Group
 CRP408 European City SP09
 Date: March 10, 2009
 Data Source: Blackboard Site CRP408 GIS Data,
 ArcGIS Network Resources from Cornell In Rome
 Note: Classifications by Equal Interval;
 Percentage based on total residential buildings
 built by 2001 (same as 1991)



PART 2

PONTE MILVIO: A NEIGHBORHOOD STUDY COGNITIVE MAPS



CORNELL IN ROME
CRP STUDIO
DELIVERABLE 2
16 APRIL 2009
PROF. GREG SMITH

DANIELLE SCHLANGER
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KHALEEL ATIYEH
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Introduction

The objective of the following study is to establish a sound understanding of how Ponte Milvio is perceived by residents and visitors. Because a genuine imageability of Ponte Milvio could only be realized with the input of the neighborhood's inhabitants, this study employs a strategic and systematic method to gather relevant and concise information from a sample of residents. Additionally, written comprehensive analyses of these interviews and cognitive maps drawn by residents are included in this report.

Cognitive maps underscore what the residents believe to be the most important elements of their neighborhood; they are based on Kevin Lynch's notions of paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. This report investigates the imageability of Ponte Milvio by implementing two principle methods: examining the neighborhood as observers in the field and interviewing citizens with regard to the image of the neighborhood.



Figure 2.1 A gateway into Ponte Milvio, a key landmark, or both? (Montejo, 2009).

Methodology

The examination of the neighborhood is based on our previous street-by-street study of Ponte Milvio. We used our senses to develop a didactic learning process between us and the environment. The environment suggests identities, meanings and relations; while we perceive, organize and interpret. We weave together the identities, structures and meanings encountered to develop a neighborhood image. Although each individual observer bears his or her own image, there seems to be considerable agreement among observers. When there are differences, we discussed to reach a consensus. These mental images form the basis of creating a cognitive map from our observations in the field.

Between March 30, 2009 and April 9, 2009, we interviewed twelve residents and employees who work in or around Ponte Milvio. While not all interviews were conducted exhaustively, each person interviewed contributed useful insights that helped us understand the neighborhood significantly better. We have chosen interviewees representing a range of residents of different sexes, age groups, race and perceived economic backgrounds. For example, this study includes long-time residents, immigrants, workers, middle-age professionals and the elderly.

The interviews documented with maps and written accounts are based on the methods set out in Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City*.³ The citizens interviewed are randomly selected and subsequently interviewed to help create a cohesive cognitive map of Ponte Milvio. Because the citizens we interviewed had varying perceptions of the neighborhood based on their personal experiences, it was useful and important for us to structure a standard questionnaire that presented an unbiased opinion of the neighborhood.

The interview questionnaire included questions about the image of the neighborhood, such as how one defines the neighborhood and where the key features of the community are, calling for both concrete and abstract answers. Some questions asked interviewees to list key places and provide brief descriptions of them in the neighborhood. Open-ended questions

allowed citizens to express their personal opinions and experiences in Ponte Milvio. Questions such as if the interviewee thought Ponte Milvio is improving or declining as a neighborhood disguised inquires about the history of the neighborhood. Other questions include:

How would you define the boundaries of the neighborhood?

What are some salient identity features of the community?

What is the prestige difference among different areas of the neighborhood?

What are pathways leading out of the neighborhood?

What are the occasions when you have to leave the neighborhood?

What amenities are lacking in the neighborhood?

The interviews vary in formality; oftentimes, interviewees reveal their answers indirectly while giving additional information about what they feel is important in their neighborhood. Not all interviewees answer all the questions, as some neighborhood residents have their own ideas about the information they want to share with us. Therefore, the interviews presented in this study are not in the same format and vary in length.

Cognitive Maps

The other significant aspect of the interviews is the cognitive map exercise. At meetings with various citizens, we present a blank sheet of paper and a pen to our interviewee in order to collect visual data that could directly contribute to a personal map of the neighborhood. Interviewees are asked to show on the map where landmarks, nodes, districts, boundaries and other elements are and to draw these elements on the paper. The strength of this method is that it produces a pictorial image of a resident's frame of reference, their ideas and their relations about neighborhood.

Using the Lynch model, this image effectively records information about locations and phenomena in the neighborhood by emphasizing key spatial elements and eliminating less important details. The maps are drawn according to the same legend (with degrees of high, medium and low) allowing for comparison.

Discussion of Methodology

Although the Lynch method provides a strong method, in retrospect there are some weaknesses in the methodology. The cognitive maps are inherently subject-specific. What an individual sees is based on the same exterior form, but how one interprets this form is unique (Lynch, 1960). This means that there is little uniformity with the maps, despite the common legend and re-formatting of the map by our group.

With the maps, interviewees that feel more spatially oriented tend to produce more accurate sketch maps.¹ Interviewees also vary in terms of how comfortable they were representing their ideas by drawing. Nonetheless, the cognitive maps gathered in this study provide a sound visual image of Ponte Milvio through the eyes of its residents.

There are also a number of biases present in the interviews that are difficult to avoid. These include self-selective bias (those willing to be interviewed), the unbalanced nature of the sample (time of day of interview often during weekdays and working hours), and non-random distribution of residence and work place of interviewees across the neighborhood.⁴

Once we have finished interviewing residents, the interviews are then transcribed into written accounts. We also re-draw the maps drawn by interviewees based on Lynch's legend to present them in a more stylistically consistent way.

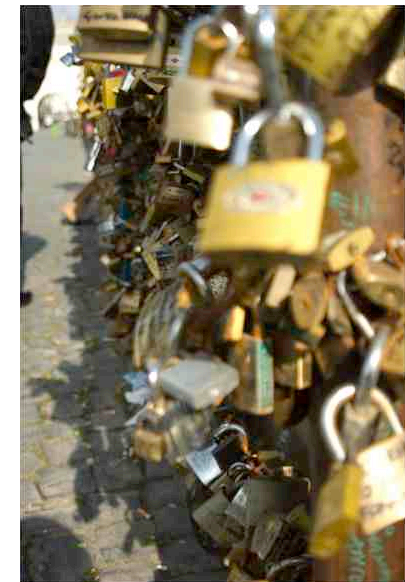


Figure 2.2 “Love locks” on Ponte Milvio influenced by the movie *3 Meters Above the Sky*, which takes place in the neighborhood (Shulman, 2009).

Map Derived from Observations

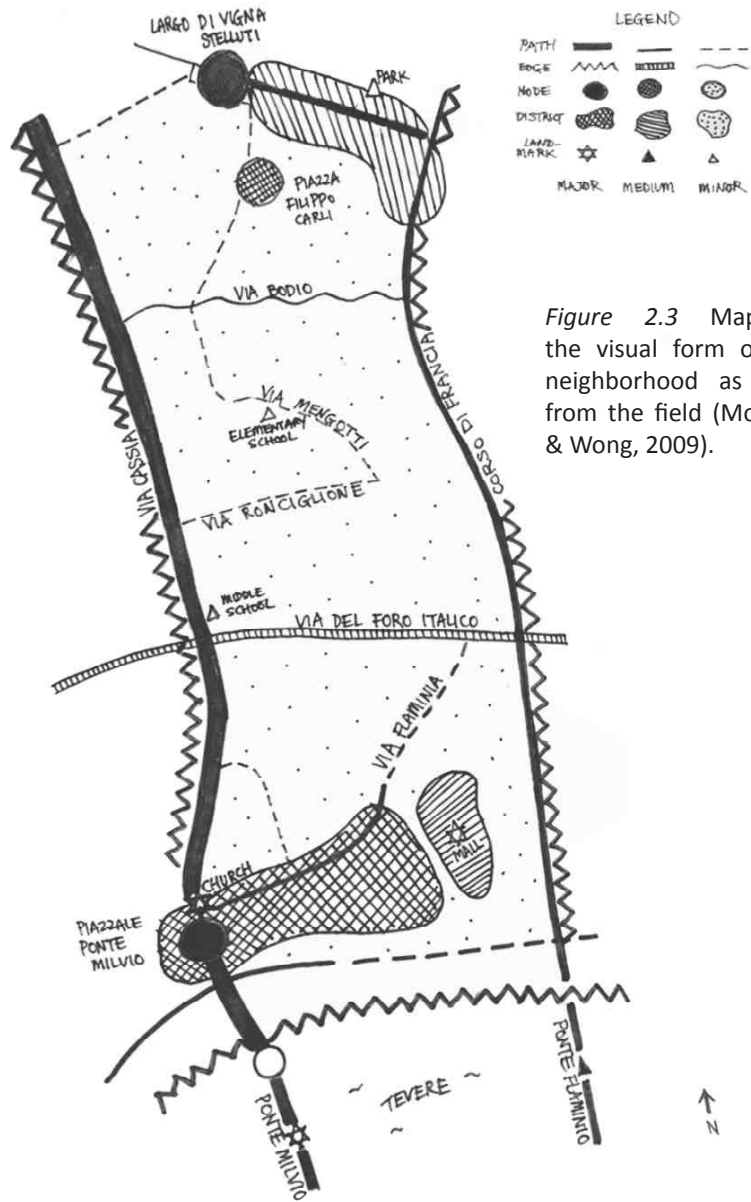


Figure 2.3 Map of the visual form of the neighborhood as seen from the field (Montejo & Wong, 2009).

The strengths of the image are its emphasis and organized method of presenting the notions of path, edge, node, district and landmarks. It conveys the highlights of the neighborhood, its visual essence, in a systematic and concise manner.

The weaknesses of the image comes from the difficulty to draw and fit everything together simultaneously on the map. This cause the map to be somewhat fragmented and distorted. Portraying 3D space on a 2D surface in abstract symbols may cause some of the key spatial relations lost. Since the map is not drawn to scale and do not include much details on built environment, the map offer weak orientation for viewers without in depth knowledge of the neighborhood.

Citizen Interviews & Cognitive Maps

The following presents systematic efforts to interview citizens to establish an understanding of notions set out by Lynch, with a focus on imageability. These interviews are documented with maps and written accounts. In the interviews in this section, each dialogue includes 'I' for interviewer(s) and 'S' for subjects; the exception is for interviews where there is more than one subject. The subjects will be indicated with their first initial.

Interview #1

Profile

Date and Time: 30 March 2009, 11:30AM

Location: Diner Vigna Stelluti

Interviewee: Margot and Diane (Mother and daughter with two children)

Age(s): Mother late 50's, daughter early 30's, one infant, one three-year-old

Interviewer(s): Fernando and Esther

Years living in neighborhood: 20 years

Account of Interview

I: How would you define Ponte Milvio?

S: Well, right now we are in Vigna Clara, which is separate from Ponte Milvio. Ponte Milvio is further south, where the piazzale and the bridge are.

I: Really? How exactly is Vigna Clara separate from Ponte Milvio—what are some borders?

S: Vigna Clara has its own Piazza—this one—and Via Vigna Stelluti, which is this street that runs along the neighborhood, from Via Cassia on westward until it meets Corso di Francia at the east.

I: What are some surrounding neighborhoods?

S: You can reach Piazza del Popolo after crossing the bridge and taking the tram. Prati is also very nearby, just south of Ponte Milvio.

I: How long have you been living here?

S: I am originally from France, but we've been living here for 20 years now.

My daughter grew up and went to school in the neighborhood.

I: And have you noticed any stark differences in your two decades as a resident?

S: No, not really. Nothing has changed. It's always the same. Very quiet, not many stores, and there have always been a lot of cars. We're forced to have one, because it's impossible to live here without one. However, years ago, the pulmino public buses used to come frequently to the neighborhood and transport people to Termini Station and Piazza del Popolo. But these don't run anymore.

I: So to buy groceries and go shopping, do you stay in Vigna Clara or use your car?

S: Well, it depends. If we want to eat something quick, we come to this diner. But then there aren't many other places to eat. In this neighborhood, we don't eat much, all we do is shop! There are places like the Ricci Salumiere food shop, which opened nearly a century ago in 1910, although it's very expensive and only the high-class go there. If we want fresh produce, we go down to the market in Ponte Milvio, but most of the time we simply end up going to the larger supermarkets and department stores located just outside of the city.



Figure 2.5. An elderly couple crossing the Via di Vigna Stelluti, a commercial street with clothing boutiques and bus stops (Shulman, 2009).

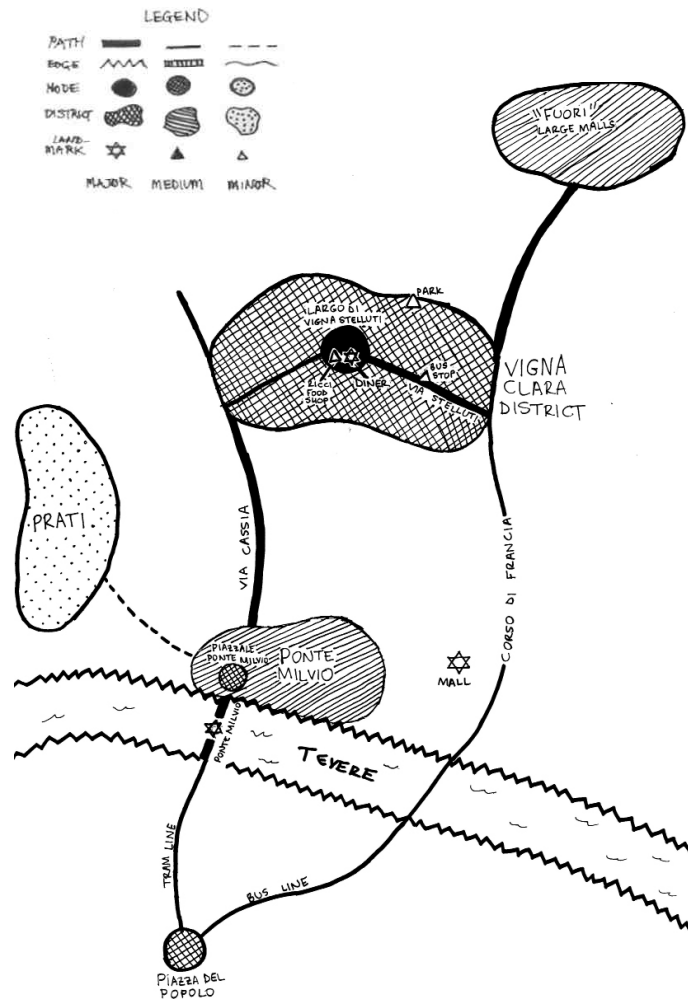


Figure 2.6 The neighborhood image derived from interview with Margot and Diane (Montejo, 2009).

I: Are these large businesses far?

S: Actually no, you can get there in just about 15 to 20 minutes by car from Vigna Clara—but you must go by car.

I: And do you visit the city center for any reasons?

S: We sometimes go to the center, which is relatively nearby, driving a car. The public transportation to the Center is very inconvenient; there are at least two transfers between buses, trams, metros, etc. I do think, though, that the 224 bus can take you to Piazza del Popolo.

I: Another interesting observation is the fact that most of the people we've encountered here speak English. Why do you think that is, as opposed to other parts of Rome?

S: (Daughter) The education system in Ponte Milvio and Vigna Clara is very good, and everyone learns English in school from a young age, because it is considered a primary language. It is necessary "per il lavoro," because most professional jobs require you now to be able to communicate a little bit in English.

Additional Information & Observations

The well-dressed mother is well-traveled, she has visited New York, many European cities and even Hong Kong. The daughter spoke English well.

Interview #2

Profile

Interviewee: Cheryl

Age: 30-40

Years living in neighborhood: 17

Education Level: Unknown

Date and Time: March 30, 2009, 2pm

Location: In park of Piazza Filippo Carli, sitting on a bench

Interviewer(s): Esther and Fernando

Account of Interview

I: Sorry, we are lost. Could you tell us where are we on this map?

Interviewee studies map, after a moment, points correctly to Piazza Filippo Carli.

I: May we ask you some questions about the neighborhood?

S: OK, but my English is not so good... lack of practice for English.

I: How long have you lived in the neighborhood?

S: I have lived here for seventeen years. I am from the Philippines, I live with my sister here in Rome. It took me six years to learn Italian!

I: How would you define your neighborhood?

S: This area is Vigna Clara, it is quiet-

I: This is not Ponte Milvio?

S: No, this is Vigna Clara, you can take a bus to Ponte Milvio

I: What are some main places or landmarks in the neighborhood?

S: Well, this piazza is a gathering place. Other landmarks are the Ponte Milvio Bridge. The bus stop to go down to Ponte Milvio is on the street there (Via di Vigna Stelluti). I live on Via Coletti. This street leads out to Via Cassia; there are bus stops there too. Are you studying here?

I: (Brief self-introductions) Our project is to study this neighborhood.

S: Oh, Rome is a great place to study the city and architecture. I like to look at architecture, especially in the historic city, like the Pantheon. But here in this neighborhood, it is modern architecture that is different, not as pretty, right?

I: Yes, this neighborhood is so different from the city center, we live in the historic center... Do you think the neighborhood has changed?

S: Well, no, not really, it is peaceful here.

I: In the neighborhood, are there many immigrants present?

S: Yes, there are a lot of Filipinos that work here. See, that's my friend sitting there (points to a man on another park bench). They come here to work in casa and in stores. It is hard to find office jobs.

Additional Information & Observations

Although we did not conduct a formal interview with Cheryl, our conversation with her answered many of questions regarding her spatial image of the neighborhood. She was waiting for her sister in the park because she has some paper (visa) problems despite having lived in Italy for sixteen years.

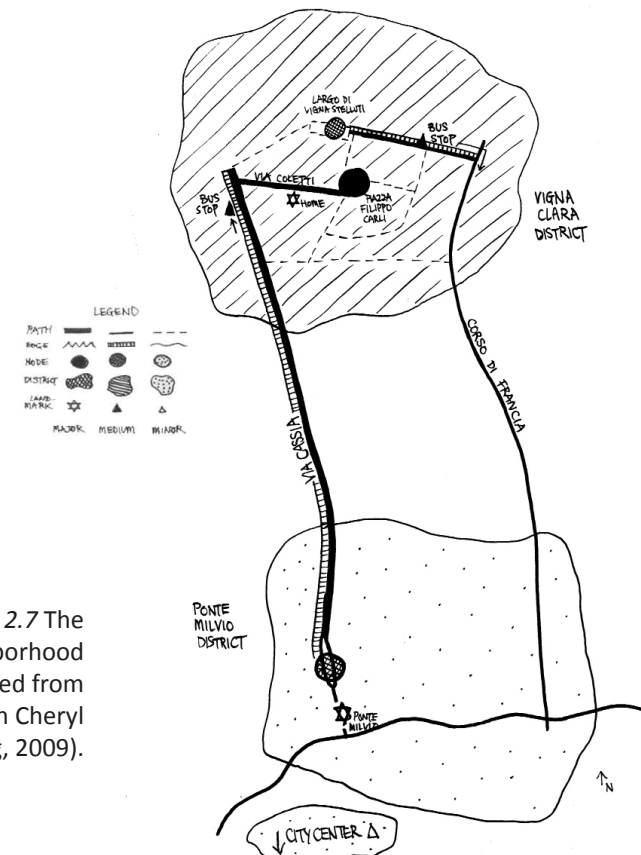


Figure 2.7 The Neighborhood image derived from interview with Cheryl (Wong, 2009).

Interview #3

Profile

Date and Time: 30 March 2009, 2:15PM

Location: Piazza Filippo Carli

Interviewee: Sylvia (with infant)

Age: 35-45, has child less than 6 months old

Interviewer(s): Fernando and Esther

Years living in neighborhood: 40 years

Account of Interview

I: How would you describe the Ponte Milvio neighborhood?

S: Let me start off by saying that this is Vigna Clara, not Ponte Milvio. Ponte Milvio is further south, by the bridge. Are you sure you want to learn about Vigna Clara?

I: We were told that this whole area [using map] was considered Ponte Milvio.

S: I see. Is your professor Italian or American? Because this is not Ponte Milvio, it is clearly Vigna Clara. However, both of them are in Municipio XX.

I: Thank you for the clarification. What are some of the identity features and recognizable features of the community?

S: Well, both Ponte Milvio and Vigna Clara are rich with history. Ponte Milvio is about 2000 years old—the oldest bridge in Rome. And Via Cassia connects the center of Rome to the rest of Northern Italy. Also, Vigna Clara is relatively new—it used to be a vineyard until about sixty years ago, before it became developed. That is what “Vigna” means, vineyards. And “Clara” comes from Claretta Petacci, which is the name of the lover of Mussolini. So yes, Vigna Clara was named after Mussolini’s lover.

Another interesting thing is the bridge itself, and how it has become tradition for ragazzi to literally “lock their love” on Ponte Milvio—have you heard of the film “Ho voglia di te”? That’s where the ritual comes from. So yes, landmarks include the 2000-year-old Bridge, the Piazzale, and Via Cassia. And there is also a well-known American/English school along Via Cassia.

I: How would you describe your neighborhood among the neighborhoods

found in the quadrant?

S: Simply put, this is a rich area. This zone, along with Parioli and Corso Trieste, are the most high-income neighborhoods in Rome. Many professionals live here, because they can afford the expensive costs of living here. Lawyers, architects, doctors—yes, many of the residents are successful professionals. Oh, and the north area--Vigna Clara--has always been wealthier than the lower area, where Ponte Milvio is. The old market down there was an example of the difference in people that tend to be in Ponte Milvio, as opposed to up here.



Figure 2.8 Pleasant apartments in Piazza Fliippo Carli (Wong, 2009).

I: Having lived here for forty years, do you think your neighborhood is improving or declining in any way?

S: Speaking of Ponte Milvio, a few years ago, it was not a good area—it was not very beautiful, and you could see many people drinking and doing other distasteful things in public. But today, Ponte Milvio attracts many young people—it has many bars and restaurants, and in the night it is very vibrant.

The problem with Vigna Clara today is that there is nothing to do here. It is very residential, just apartment buildings and a few shops. In the evening and at night the area is too quiet and empty. The young people here have no activities to do, so they go elsewhere. It is not like Ponte Milvio. I think this problem stems from a lack of transportation services connecting Vigna Clara to other parts of the city. No one wants to come all the way up here, especially if the buses are inefficient.

I: I see. So the youth of the neighborhood have to leave the area to find leisure activities. Is it the same for you? On what occasions do you have to leave Vigna Clara?

S: I frequently visit the city center—for work, to visit some cafés, and just to walk around (fare delle passeggiate) and admire the history. I love Rome and all of its history. When I was younger I used to go all the time and just walk around for hours. Now it is difficult because of the baby, but we still go sometimes.

I: You go for work... what is your profession?

S: I am a lawyer, but I am not working right now. You know, I work often with architects. They are a tough group, and sometimes they can be impractical. I'm sure you, as urban planners, know that at times they prefer aesthetics over function, and so we always end up with problems of inefficiency.

I: Yes, it is very true. We are so glad that you are knowledgeable in so many different aspects of Rome that are related to our studies!

S: No problem. But there are many other resources out there that can probably be more useful to you than I am. I suggest that you visit www.virgilio.it to find out more about Ponte Milvio and Vigna Clara. You can also visit www.comine.roma.it and type in Ponte Milvio. And for better directions to get here, try going on www.atac.roma.it. I also advise you to visit La Sapienza's Department of Urbanistica and Architettura, which is actually just down Via Flaminia across the bridge. There you can visit their library and speak with other students who may have already done similar projects.

I: Thank you so much. Do you know how we can return to the center?

S: Yes, from here, go back to Largo Vigna Stelluti, then go down Via Stelluti toward Corso di Francia, and you'll see a bus stop. Take the 224 to Piazza del Popolo and from there you know your way.

Additional Information & Observations

We also briefly met her mother-in-law, who worked at the Korean Embassy for the Vatican City, and is very well-versed in English, Italian and Korean.

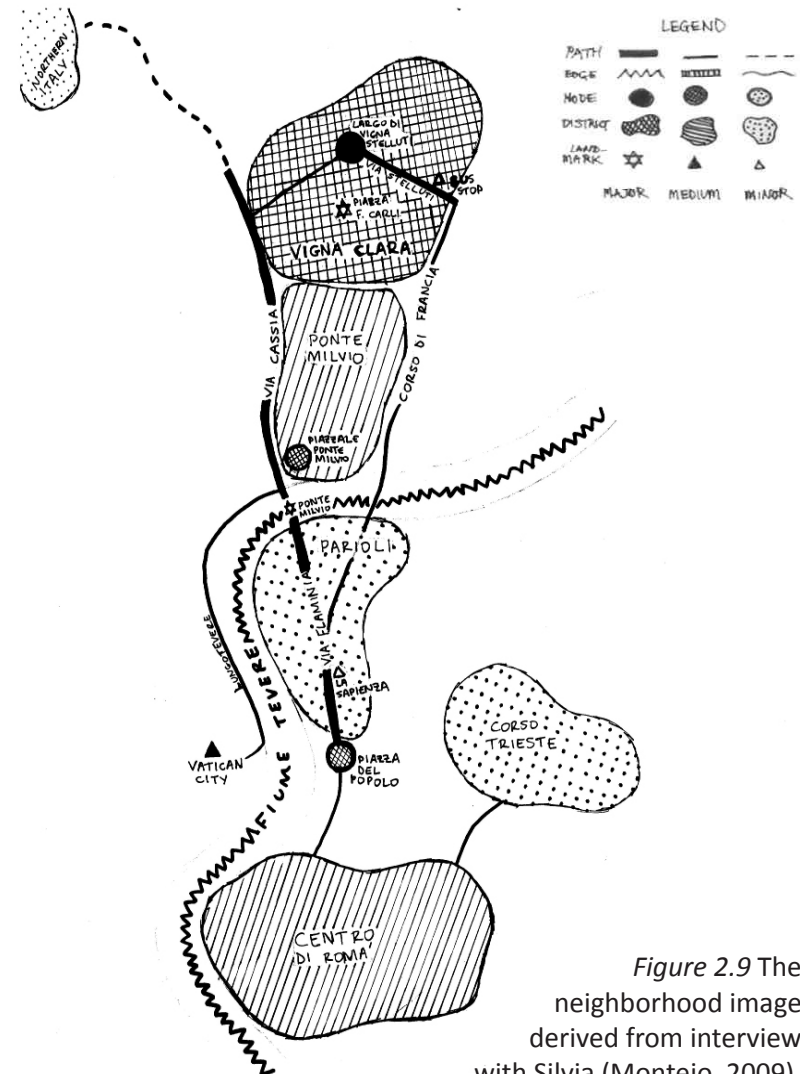


Figure 2.9 The neighborhood image derived from interview with Silvia (Montejo, 2009).

Interview #4

Profile

Date and Time: 9 April 2009, 1:30PM

Location: Galleria Mercato

Interviewee: Silvana, bookstore owner

Age: 40-50 years old

Interviewer(s): Khaleel

Years living in neighborhood: unknown

Account of Interview

I: How would you describe this neighborhood?

S: This is a very quiet neighborhood; the only problem is that there are very high traffic volumes in certain areas at certain times of day.

I: Can you describe the socio-economic class of the neighborhood?

S: This is a very rich neighborhood, although there are some areas with social housing.

I: Where is the social housing located?

S: Via Della Farnesina is a mixed neighborhood that has social housing.

I: Is the neighborhood generally affordable?

S: The market downstairs is cheap. There are shops in Vigna Clara, which are typically more expensive. The shopping areas in Vigna Clara are catered more towards upper class people. Actually, a lot of people who live in Vigna Clara come here to shop because this mall has lower prices.

I: Can you describe the immigrant presence in the neighborhood?

S: A lot of immigrants work here in the market, but they do not live here. This is a very upper class neighborhood and it is too expensive for immigrants to afford to live here.

I: Do you know where they live?

S: I do not know where the immigrant workers live.

I: What are some important places in the community?

S: The Piazza is very important. It is a huge meeting point for lots of people in the community.

I: How long have you worked here at the market?

S: I have worked here for almost a year. The market moved to this location last year on May 7th. Before this facility opened, the market was out in

the street, very near to the footbridge.

I: What did you do before you started working here?

S: I was a teacher before I bought this space in the mall to open up this bookstore.

I: As a storeowner, what kind of problems have you encountered?

S: As a store owner, I have noticed that many people in Rome just do not do a lot of reading, so it has been difficult for me to sell as many books as I would like too. Also, the market was much more popular when it was in the street. Many people, who once used to come to the market, do not come here to shop. The market was also a really important part of the spirit of the community that has been lost since it was moved to this location.

I: It is interesting that many people would not be buying books here; is this not a well-educated neighborhood?

S: The neighborhood is well educated, and a lot of professionals live here, which is one of the reasons I opened my shop here. I think another



Figure 2.10 Entrance to Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio (Shulman, 2009).

problem, besides the fact that people do not read as much as I would expect, is that maybe that people continue to shop for certain items in the center of the city, such as books, when they could come here. Maybe the people who live here shop near the offices they work in and decide not come here. I don't know. There are also huge shopping centers outside of the city center that people drive to when they want to shop, so it is not so common for people to shop in Ponte Milvio. On average day, I have about forty to fifty people visit my shop, so I do have customers.

I: What do you like to do when you have spare time?

S: I like to go to the cinema and to see expositions.

I: Do you believe that the neighborhood is easily accessible?

S: I think the neighborhood is very accessible to the city center. You can get everywhere by walking or taking a bus.

I: In some of our other interviews, we were told that the public transit is not as efficient as it could be, and therefore most people drive. What would you say about that?

S: This is a problem all over Rome. Romans choose to drive everywhere even when they do not have too, and it is a huge issue because traffic is always congested. It would be much better if people chose to use the busses more often because it is easy to get around. In fact, during the Christmas season, there was even a free bus that came to Ponte Milvio to take people to the city center and they chose not to ride it. It was absolutely free and people still drove to the same places that the bus would take them to. There are busses that take you directly to Piazza Mancini, which connects you to busses and trams that can take you wherever you want to go. For example, from Piazza Mancini, you can take the 218 bus to Trastevere and the 32 to Prati.

I: Can you think of anything that the neighborhood may be lacking?

S: I think the neighborhood needs a cultural center where young people can go. At night you see lots of teenagers hanging around at bars in the Piazza because outside of the nightlife, there are not many recreational places to go in Ponte Milvio. This neighborhood also has a strong presence of fascism. I personally think we need something to fight against it. More monumental space is also something the neighborhood is lacking. However, because the neighborhood is so built, there is no place to put a monument. I have a book here that I am working to have people read in

the neighborhood about the importance of having a cultural center; I am working along with others to have one built here in Ponte Milvio.

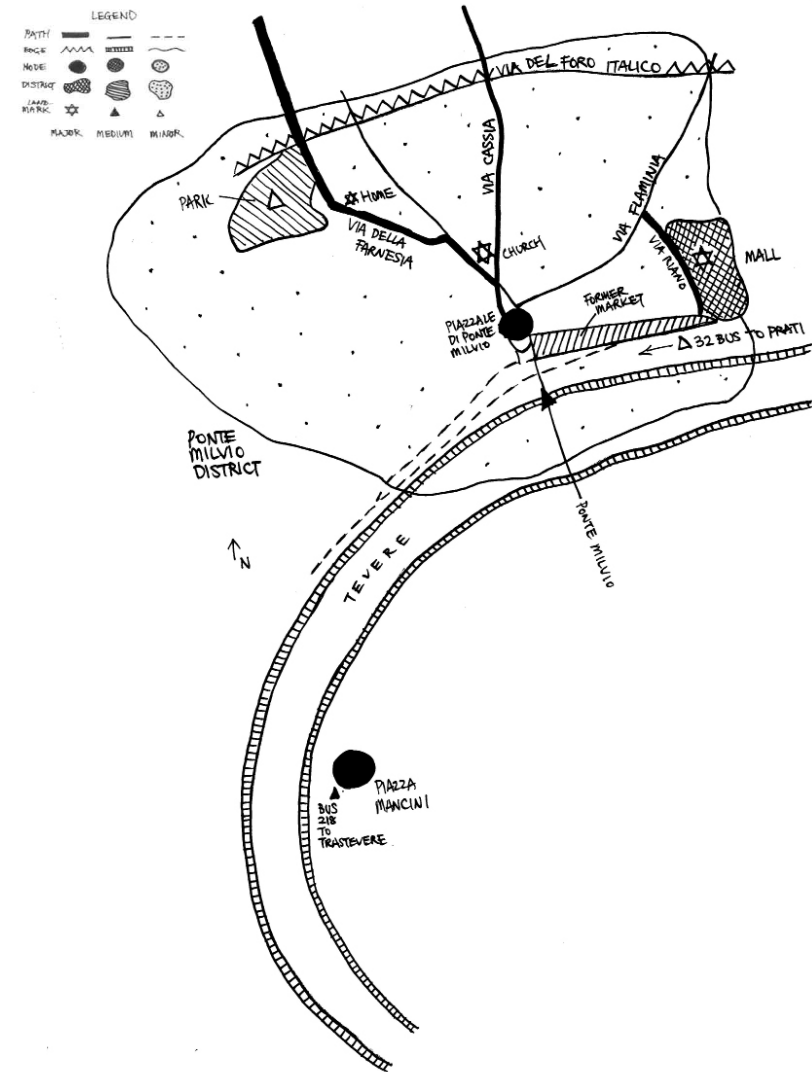


Figure 2.11. The Ponte Milvio image derived from interview with Silvana (Wong, 2009).

Interview #5

Profile

Date and Time: 9 April 2009, 2:00PM

Location: Galleria Mercato

Interviewee: Augustino

Sex: Male

Age: 40-45 years old

Interviewer(s): Gilda with Esther, Fernando and Khaleel

Account of Interview

I: Can you tell us what it is like working in this market?

S: The market is not what it used to be. When it was still in the street, a lot more people would come than they do now. Its location is more discreet and further away from the footbridge, which is a huge access point into the Ponte Milvio neighborhood. The previous location was more visible and made it easier for people to access the market using public transportation.

I: How long have you been working in the market?

S: I have been working at the market for the past ten years.

I: Where was the previous market area located?

S: The previous market is now a fenced in parking lot, which is located directly adjacent to the bridge.

I: Have workers done anything to try to attract more people back to the market?

S: Some people have been advocating that a bus stop be placed in front of the mall.

Additional Information & Observations

When we approached Augustino, he was packing up to go, so we could not speak with him for long, but he did answer a few questions for us.



Figure 2.12. View of an informal open air market that gathers on the right side of Piazzale di Ponte Milvio.

Interview #6

Profile

Interviewee: Francesco

Age: 45-55

Years working in neighborhood: 30

Education Level: More than others working in the market

Date and Time: April 9, 2009, 1:30pm

Location: In ground floor of market, at Azienda Agricola Biologica organic food stall

Interviewer: Gilda with Esther, Fernando and Khaleel

Account of Interview

I: May we ask you some questions about the market?

S: Yes

I: What are some problems with the market?

S: It is hard for trucks to carry and unload. And there is not enough parking. There are only 120 parking spaces below, and there are seventy shops in the market and forty shops upstairs, we need more parking spaces. Yes, there is a new parking lot (at the site of the former market), but no one knows when it will open.

I: How was the market before?

S: The market before was not hygienic. There were no toilets and no water source, these were problems. I prefer the present market. Many vendors do not like the new market, but I like it because I want to work with more selective people.

I: Are you earning about the same amount as before?

S: Profits are more or less the same. But here there are more services. There are toilets here and water inside the shops. I am a minority here with this idea (preferring the new market). Actually, people come to look for me and my produce because it is organic. What do you think of this architecture? I like this architecture.

I: Could you tell us more about the history of the market?

S: So the town council had no money. A builder suggested building the building for free, in exchange the builder holds the right for the first and second floors (commercial spaces) for thirty five years, and also the parking. After thirty-five years, the building will be turned over to the city.

I: Why did the town council agree?

S: The council allowed this to happen because it was free.

I: How much do you pay for this stall?

S: I was initially supposed to pay about 120 Euros a month for the services but currently I am not paying rent because the town council is still deciding how much rent should be.

I: What times do you work?

S: I work from six in the morning to two in the afternoon, except on Tuesday when I work until six at night.

I: How would you describe Ponte Milvio?

S: It is a good neighborhood, a quiet neighborhood.

I: Are there many immigrants in Ponte Milvio?

S: There are immigrants who work in the market, a lot of them work for others. They do come to buy food here, but less than before when the

market was still in the street.

I: What kind of food do you sell?

S: Everything I sell is selective. I have a farm in Fiumicino, in the countryside; I grow there and sell the produce here. The problem is that I have to park the truck far away because the street is too narrow. The infrastructure is poor. If you are interested, there is another market, bigger than this one with 270 stores but not as pretty. It is on Via Andrea Doria- the Trionfale market.

I: Thank you for telling us so much about the market. How do you know so much?

S: I like to be informed. Others do not know so much or do not care to know, I think I am more educated than the others here.

Additional Information & Observations

Francesco is probably one of the few, or perhaps the only vendor that thinks the new market is better. He was enthusiastic to talk about his views and the history of the market, discussing the themes of project financing and the politics concerning the market in Ponte Milvio.



Figure 2.13 A vendor in the market (Shulman, 2009).

Interview #7

Profile

Interviewee: Signora Olivia, fruit seller

Date and Time: 30 March 2009, 3:00PM

Location: Ponte Milvio Galleria Mercato

Age: 55-65

Interviewer(s): Gilda with Esther, Fernando and Khaleel

Years working in neighborhood: 40 years

Account of Interview

I: May we ask you some question about the new market?

S: Yes, although we're about to close.

I: Okay thank you. So, in general, how do you like the new market?

S: "Piu moderno ma meno funzionante." It's more modern, but it is less functional. It looks nicer, and it is certainly cleaner, but it is not the same as the old one.

I: Why do you think this is the case?

S: Because a real market belongs in the street. Not in a city-owned building, below a mall.

I: What have been some of the key changes between the old and new markets?

S: Before, people used to come to "fare le passeggiate e fare mercato"—to have a walk and do some grocery shopping. It was much more congenial and pleasant. "Invece, adesso questo e un centro commerciale"—Instead today this is a mall; it is not a real market. The heart and soul—the informal traditions—of the market is gone.

I: What was an example of the informal traditions of the old market?

S: "Il modo di comunicazione e diferente; Ha cambiato il modo di parlare con la gente": The mode of communication is different now; the way of speaking to people in the market has changed. As a shop owner, I now have to be "piu formale" with my customers—much more formal. In my forty years working here, I have formed many friendly relationships with my customers, and that is one reason why I am still here and doing well. Otherwise, it would be more difficult, especially because there are fewer people passing by.

I: Are you a local resident of Ponte Milvio?

S: No, I am not. I travel here every day from home, except for Sundays. I live in Fregene, near the seaside.

I: Really? And what do you think of Ponte Milvio.

S: Well ... Ponte Milvio is like an institution, ma non lo so. It is very nice, and many wealthy people live here. It wasn't always like this though.

I: Would you happen to know anything in particular about the area. Is there any neighborhood identity or recognizable features?

I: Yes, actually Ponte Milvio is known for its vibrant nightlife scene that attracts Rome's youth. Many young people come here "per fare tendenza," to do fashionable things. Before, the fashionable place to go to was Via Veneto [an expensive boulevard in Ludovisi], but now Ponte Milvio has taken on that role!

I: Really?

S: Yes, "i giovani Pariolini"—the young people of the affluent Parioli district of Rome—come here, because they prefer going to lesser-known places. In fact, because they are wealthy and fashionable, when they go to places like Ponte Milvio bars that are not popular, then become famous simply because of their presence.



Figure 2.14 Church on the visual axis of Ponte Milvio on Piazzale di Ponte Milvio (Shulman, 2009).

I: Really? That is so interesting!

S: Yes, my young son told me about this phenomenon! He likes to go too!

Interview #8

Profile

Interviewee: Anna

Age: 60-65

Years Living in Neighborhood: 20

Education Level: Masters Degree

Date and Time: April 1, 2009, 12:30 pm

Location: Villa Borghese (a pleasant and classy environment outside neighborhood)

Interviewers: Katie and Danielle

Account of Interview

I: Hi, where would you like to sit?

S: Lets sit on the park bench over there. I love this area and walking through Villa Borghese is very peaceful and allows me to get exercise in the park.

I: Yes, it is really beautiful. Pick a spot and we will follow you.

S: I really like by the pond.

I: OK (we get settled on the park bench and take out our notes. Anna notices that we have a question sheet and asks to see it. She reads the first question and begins answering)

S: Actually, I live in the neighborhood Vigna Clara but there was a market built on Via Riano in Ponte Milvio a year ago and I go shopping there twice a week.

I: We are surprised to hear that you do not consider yourself part of the Ponte Milvio neighborhood. Are there any special features of Vigna Clara that you can tell us about?

S: Yes, I frequently go to Piazza dei Giuochi Delfici. There are many shops there along with a members-only movie theatre which I love to go to.

I: We've noticed that there is a lot of privatization in Ponte Milvio, specifically the streets. Can you us why that is?

S: The private streets are filled with a lot of retired people who are still



Figure 2.15 Via Nepi, one of the many designated private streets, inhabitants are often elderly and retired according to Anna (Shulman, 2009).

living there and they are quite old, older than I am. The presence of these quiet streets gives Ponte Milvio a good reputation, especially for having younger families with children because the peace and quiet is associated with a good quality of life.

I: So safety must be high on the list of priorities in the neighborhood if there are a lot of young families. Can you please tell us a little bit about safety in Ponte Milvio?

S: I heard of a mugging once but it was random and I generally feel very safe. There is not a safety problem. Even the neighborhood park is closed after 8:30pm when the sun goes down to ensure everyone's safety.

I: You've lived in the Ponte Milvio area for 20 years, can you please tell us about some of the changes that you've seen in the neighborhood?

S: While there is a significant older population who have lived in the neighborhood forever and know each other very well, younger people have started to come in from outside the neighborhood and I have seen many, many changes because of this. For example, 20 years ago all of the shops were very different than they are today.

I: Well what do you mean by that—the things that they sell?

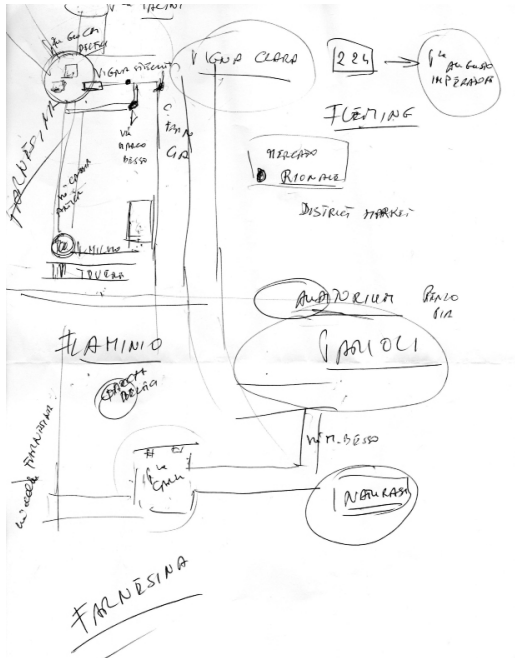


Figure 2.16 Hand-drawn map and notes by Anna.

S: The things that they sell, but also the people who run the businesses. Twenty years ago, instead of being a commercial shopping district with only clothing to sell, the shops were run by residents of the community who sold many specialty items and knew everyone who came into their store. They are not like these franchise businesses that they have today.

I: Now that these specialty shops are gone, what do you need to leave the neighborhood for?

S: Well, I love the theatre and unfortunately there is no theatre in my neighborhood. These small stores that used to carry everything and now they don't, so we have to go into the center city to get everything such as lamps and other utilities that I would need around the house. It is kind of annoying because it can take up to 20 minutes to get into the city.

I: How do you get into the city? Do you take your car or use public transportation? We have found it difficult to use public transport and wanted to know if residents feel the same way.

S: Well I do have a car, but I am getting very sick of the traffic in this city. It takes me a very long time to get anywhere and figure out where to park. During the day, I try to use public transportation but as I'm sure you've



Figure 2.17 View of Corso di Francia from the middle of Ponte Milvio (Montejo, 2009).

found out, it really isn't great or 100 percent reliable and there is no metro stop here. At night, if I don't want to drive; a taxi can cost anywhere from 12 to 15 euro to get into the center city.

I: What streets do you use to get out of the neighborhood?

S: By car, I take Corso di Francia and if I am picking up a bus, I will usually take the 224 that runs along the Lungotevere.

I: We've noticed that a lot of private transportation is utilized in this neighborhood and usually that correlates with having more money. How do you think that that relates to Ponte Milvio?

S: Well, Vigna Clara is an incredibly wealthy area. It is considered one of the best in all of Rome. It is up there with neighborhoods like Parioli and Flaminio. Many of the people who work in Vigna Clara work for a high level of the government and have a great and steady salary. However, as you get near Ponte Milvio and the river, you will find more middle class and immigrants living there who don't make as much money. Money is stratified as you move down the slope of the neighborhood. It goes from rich to poor as you move closer to the Tiber River.

I: Do you think overall, Ponte Milvio is improving or declining?

S: It's improving in terms of wealth and money because there is a lot of that in the neighborhood. But it's declining socially.

I: What do you mean by declining socially?

S: Well, a lot of young people come into the neighborhood at night and this has been happening recently over the past five years. Twenty years ago, there were not as many bars and restaurants in the neighborhood. On Fridays and Saturdays in the summer, I have known that some of these kids create enough of a problem for the police to be called. It can be very noisy. One of the only establishments to have stayed around is the Pallotta Restaurant that is on the left side of the Piazzale.

I: Thank you so much for meeting with us. Will you be around if we have any more questions to ask you?

S: Easter weekend is coming up and I am going to the South to visit my family. I am thinking about taking some time off to get away from the city and will probably be away for the month. But please call me if you have any questions.

I: Thank you again for taking the time to meet with us.

S: Not a problem.

Additional Information & Observations

Anna is a sixty-year-old woman who was born outside of Verona, but moved to the neighborhood twenty years ago. She has lived in the same apartment ever since. She lives alone and has one son who is thirty-nine years old. He does not live in Rome and has not lived with her since he began attending University roughly 20 years ago.

Though she is retired now, she had a long career working for the government and commuted from her apartment in Ponte Milvio to the City Center daily. Though according to our maps Anna's apartment is located in the Ponte Milvio neighborhood, she considers herself a resident of Vigna Clara. Anna is very energetic and is passionate about maintaining an active lifestyle. She is also passionate about going to the theatre often and eating organic food.

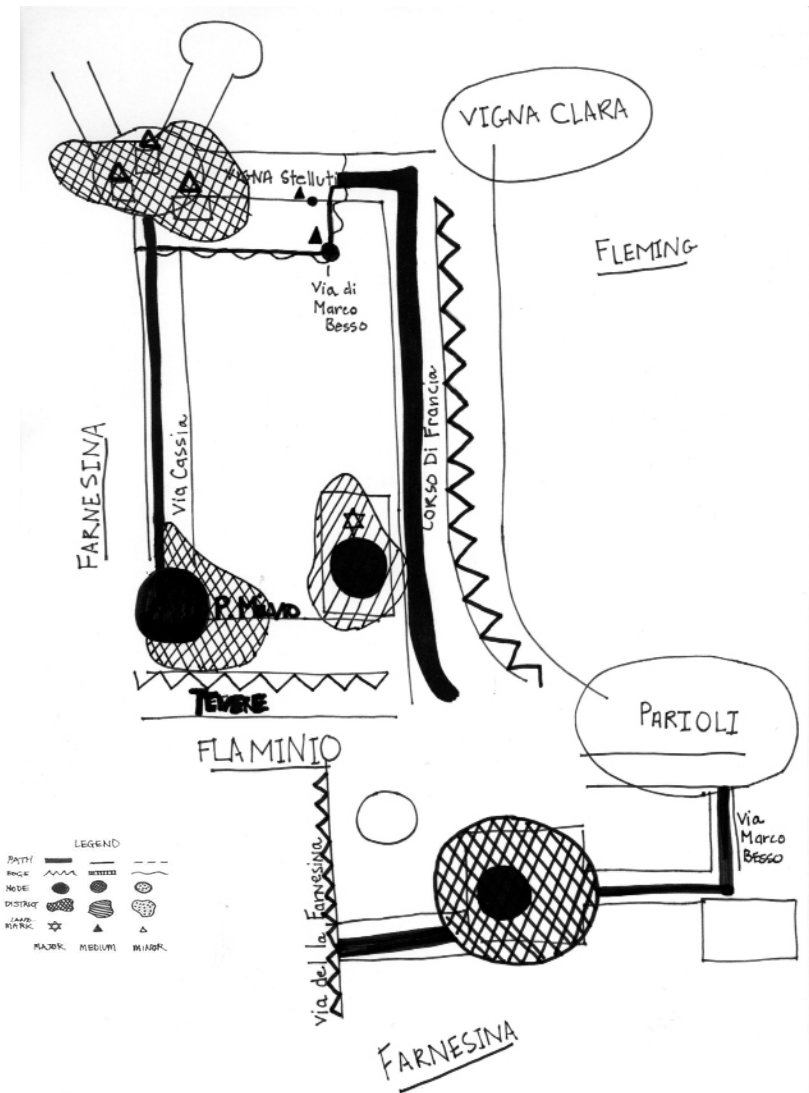


Figure 2.18 The image of Ponte Milvio derived from interview with Anna (Shulman, 2009).

Interview #9

Profile

Interviewee: Dario Pallottas

Age: 58

Years Living in Neighborhood: 58

Education Level: Unknown

Date and Time: April 9, 2009, 12:30 pm

Location: Piazzale dei Ponte Milvio

Interviewers: Katie and Danielle

Account of Interview

(I for Interviewers; D for Dario; G for Giuliana)

I: How long have you lived in the neighborhood?

D: I have lived here for my entire life. I actually live and was born right above my room in a small room on the second floor. Actually, my family has owned this shop since 1820.

I: What has changed since you've lived here?

D: Everything has changed. Today there are many different types of people that live in the neighborhood. Before, it was mostly Roman. About 20 years ago, most of the Romans who lived here were displaced in social housing because they could not afford their houses anymore. That was the first wave of changes.

I: Although a lot of your neighbors were displaced, do you still feel like you know a lot of your neighbors?

D: Yes, I feel like I know everyone.

I: What about the people who live up towards Vigna Clara at the top of the neighborhood?

D: During the night, the people who live at the top of the neighborhood come down to the Piazzale for night life including the pubs and bars.

I: Do you feel like you need to leave your neighborhood for everything? And do you feel well-connected to the center-city and able to get the things you need?

D: I don't need anything outside the neighborhood, I have everything I need right here. But if I did need to go I am very well-connected to the center-city (points to the bridge that can be seen from the shop)

I: Well, when you do leave the neighborhood how do you get around?

D: I either use public transportation or my bicycle.

I: If you had to describe Ponte Milvio how would you describe it?

D: Bellissima!

I: Can you describe the social characteristics of the neighborhood?

D: Ponte Milvio is very chaotic during the night. The square is very similar to Campo di Fiori in the center city because it is very hectic and a lot of people come here. From my point of view, this is a good thing because it brings in money. However, the negative aspect is the noise. It can get very loud here at night.

I: Do you notice any class differences in your neighborhood?

D: No, everything is equal here.

I: Thank you for taking the time to speak with us.

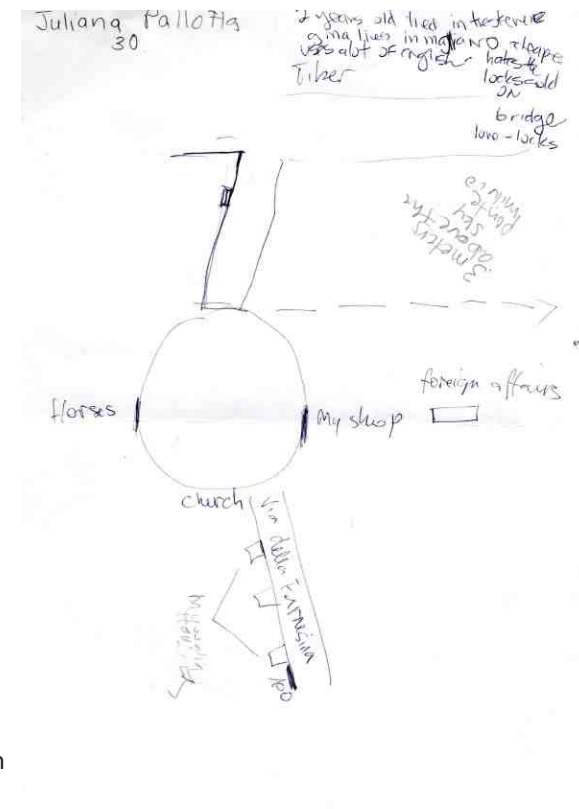


Figure 2.19 Hand-drawn notes by the Pallottas

Profile

Interviewee: Giuliana Pallottas

Age: 30

Years Living in Neighborhood: 28

Education Level: University

Date and Time: April 9, 2009, 1:00 pm

Location: Piazzale dei Ponte Milvio

Interviewers: Katie and Danielle

I: We were wondering if you could draw us a map of your neighborhood and the most important points of the neighborhood to you.

G: Well, the most important thing is my family's shop, which has been around since 1820 and was my great-grandfather's. Back then, the building across the street used to be a horse stable and I think it is the most beautiful building in Ponte Milvio. If you go inside, you can still see some of the old horse stalls.

I: So you have lived in this neighborhood your entire life?

G: Well no. Actually I was born in Trastevere and lived there for 2 years. That is where my mother's family is from. However, my grandmother lost her property there, on Vicolo del Cinque, and was forced to move to Majiano because it was cheaper. But I have mostly lived in this neighborhood.

I: Do you also live above the shop with your family?

G: No, I actually live on Via Della Farnesina; 70 years ago, there was a lot of public housing created by Mussolini and I lived in one of those buildings.

I: What other types of people live in your building?

G: Actually, there is a large immigrant population that lives in my area, including Filipino and Senegalese people. But I also live around a lot of young families with children and older, established residents.

I: Do you think the quality of life in your neighborhood is increasing or decreasing?

G: In the last few years, there has been an increase in tourism and traffic because of a film that was made about the Ponte Milvio bridge called "Three Meters Above the Sky." It is a stupid love story about two teenagers and that is why they sell the locks on the bridge.



Figure 2.20 View of the Pallotta family's café and tabacchi on the Piazzale. These shops have been in business since 1820 (Shulman, 2009).

I: So do you think that this influx of tourism is negative for the neighborhood?

G: Well, while it brings in a lot of traffic and noise, from the shop's point of view it is very good for our business.

I: Thank you for your time.

G: Oh, I would very much like to see your project at the end.

I: We would love to have you come for our exhibition.

G: If I am not working here at the store, I will try to come and see your presentation.

I: Thanks again!

Observations & Additional Information

The Pallottas are a very established family in the neighborhood and both Dario and Giuliana have been residents of the area for virtually their entire lives. Dario runs the tabacchi attached to a popular café and bookstore. The tabacchi has been in his family since 1820, when the Pallottas first settled in Ponte Milvio. Dario was actually born in the apartment directly above his shop, where he still lives today. When we spoke to Giuliana, she pointed to the window of the bedroom facing out onto the main square of the Piazza where her father was born.

Giuliana is Dario's daughter. Though she was born in Trastevere, Giuliana moved to Ponte Milvio when she was one and has joined the family business in helping to run the tabacchi. In the tabacchi, Giuliana works alongside her mother, father and grandfather to make sure that the business is running smoothly. Though she grew up in the apartment directly above the shop, today Giuliana lives one block away from the shop on Via Della Farnesina.

She studied linguistics for five years in Dresden, Germany; in addition to Italian, she is fluent in both English and German. As a side job, she works as a translator. Giuliana expressed a lot of interest in our study and was curious to see the final product when we finish our assignment.

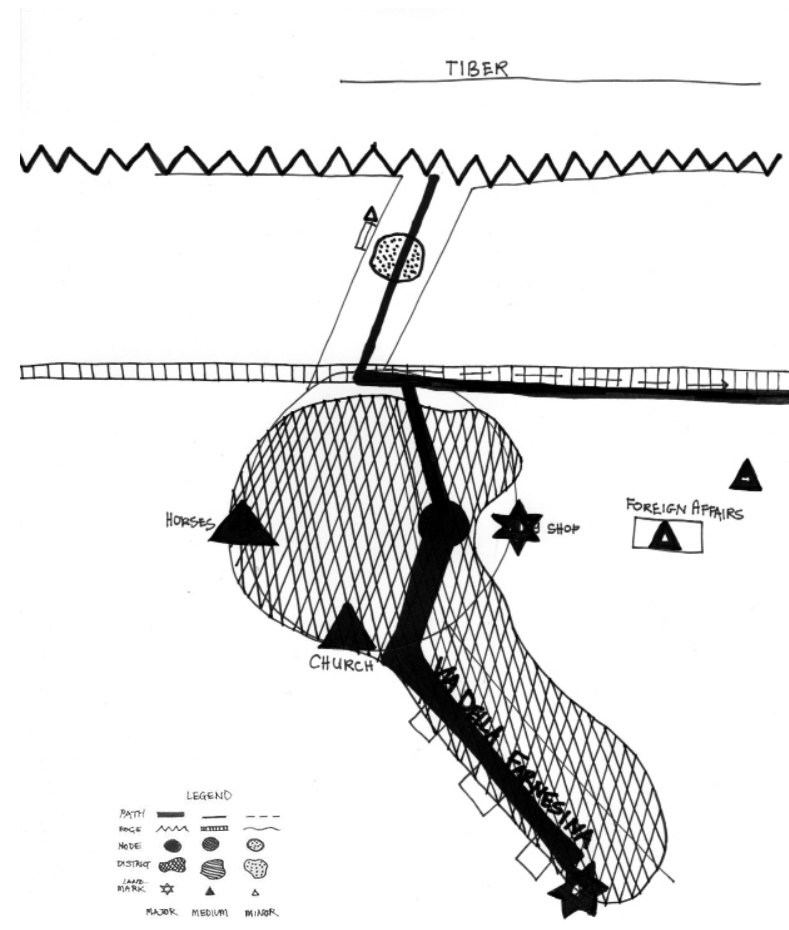


Figure 2.21 The image of Ponte Milvio derived from interview with the Pallottas (Shulman, 2009).

Analysis of Interviews and Cognitive Maps

Introduction

This section of the Ponte Milvio neighborhood study consists of an analysis of the city as seen from the standpoint of different categories of citizens. Upon first conducting interviews in the neighborhood we knew to be Ponte Milvio, we were very surprised to learn that many residents living in the northern regions of the neighborhood actually consider themselves to be living in Vigna Clara, a community that borders Ponte Milvio to the north.

In most cases, when asked if they could provide us with some information about Ponte Milvio, each of these residents affirmed that they do, in fact, live in Vigna Clara. While these residents are within the radius of what this neighborhood study defines as Ponte Milvio, for them living in Vigna Clara is a distinctive experience from that of Ponte Milvio. Thus, in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the interviewed citizens, the northern part of the study area and its residents will be referred to as Vigna Clara, while the southern part of the study area and its residents will be referred to as Ponte Milvio.

When comparing the Vigna Clara and Ponte Milvio areas of the neighborhood site, there are several fundamental differences that should be noted. For instance, the Vigna Clara area is comprised largely of residential buildings, save for businesses along Via Stelluti. The Ponte Milvio area, on the other hand, has many mixed-use structures scattered throughout, most visible in the area surrounding Piazzale di Ponte Milvio. Our citizen interviews also indicate that many of the people who work in Ponte Milvio do not actually live there, in particular those who work in the new market at the Ponte Milvio Galleria Mercato.

In summary, the following is an analysis of the Ponte Milvio neighborhood study site as it is perceived by two key categories of citizens:

- 1) Residents: Those who live within the study area , and
- 2) Workers: Those who work within the study area.

More specifically, Category One is divided into residents that identify more closely with Vigna Clara, and those that call Ponte Milvio home. Category Two instead discusses the neighborhood study area as perceived by the vendors that work in the market at the Ponte Milvio Galleria Mercato. This section thus serves as an in-depth analysis of the new market, with a focus on its public image and function within the study area.

It is important to note, however, that we did conduct interviews with people who had professional occupations—Silvia, a lawyer, and Silvana, a former teacher who now owns her own bookstore at the mall. However, since they are both also residents of the study area, their viewpoints will be discussed within the “Residents” section.

Although a number of issues were discussed in the interviews, certain themes and topics were more common throughout. For instance, residents of Ponte Milvio and Vigna Clara placed greater emphasis on neighborhood perceptions, mobility and the demographics of their neighborhood. Likewise, the market vendors focused more on topics such as neighborhood perceptions, accessibility to the market, and the impacts of transforming the market. Each of these categories will be analyzed in their respective sections of “Residents” and “Workers.”

Residents

Vigna Clara Residents

The residents that we interviewed who live North of the highway in Ponte Milvio—Silvia, Margot & Diane, Anna and Cheryl, all agree that the area they live in is Vigna Clara. They also agree that there are many distinctive characteristics that make the area much different from the area closer to the river; these differences affect the way that they experience the neighborhood and the city as a whole.

Neighborhood Perceptions

Our interviewees stressed that Vigna Clara is a very expensive and upscale neighborhood, even more so than the lower section that they agree is Ponte Milvio. In our interview with Anna, she said, “Vigna Clara is an incredibly wealthy area. It is considered one of the best in all of Rome. It is up there with neighborhoods like Parioli and Flaminio. Many of the people who work in Vigna Clara work for a high level of government and have a great deal of steady salary.” She went on further to explain that Ponte Milvio, near the river, has a stronger presence of middle class families and immigrants, which is true in large part because many immigrants and middle class people work in the Galleria Mercato and in the eateries that surround the piazzale. Ponte Milvio is also very accessible to the center city by bus and the pedestrian bridge, more so than the area people refer to as Vigna Clara. Thus, the section of Ponte Milvio near the river is a major access point where all types of people can be spotted.

The area near the river is also more mixed-use; it has many bars, restaurants and cafes in addition to residential units where as the area that people know as Vigna Clara is almost exclusively residential. In fact, Ponte Milvio is widely recognized around the city of Rome for its dynamic nightlife scene as a place to enjoy good food and drinks. Therefore, it is easy to see why many people may view Ponte Milvio as two distinctive neighborhoods, as the neighborhood becomes much quieter and more residential as you travel up Via Cassia into the area that many people view



Figure 2.22 Piazza Filippo Carli in Vigna Clara (Wong, 2009).

as Vigna Clara. These differences in the nature of the two neighborhoods also make it easier to understand why people in the area known as Vigna Clara perceive their neighborhood to be more upscale. Again, this is the reason why our analytical section for part three is broken into the categories of Via Clara residents and Ponte Milvio residents.

Having been born in the Vigna Clara area, and lived there for four decades now, Silvia is very critical of her neighborhood as being too residential in comparison to the rest of the city; the area today has very few shops and other businesses that can attract outsiders. Thus, people who live there must go outside the neighborhood to shop for food, groceries and household items—necessary purchases that most city residents can make near their homes. While it is a peaceful neighborhood, Silvia would prefer to see more places that can retain residents, especially the youth.

Nonetheless, as a native resident, Silvia also retains a very strong sense of ownership of Vigna Clara/Ponte Milvio; she is also a great example of the typical neighborhood resident Anna describes—as a lawyer, she

is financially stable (even though she is not working now because she recently had a baby) and well educated. Besides knowing much historical information about the area, she also is knowledgeable about accessibility to and from the neighborhood, and lack thereof, using public transit. The neighborhood also has some strong points for Sylvia as well; as a new mother, Silvia admires the presence of safe open public spaces like Piazza Filippo Carli in the neighborhood, where she can go for a stroll with her newborn child and still stay close to home.

Demographics

Ponte Milvio's Northern section, known to many as Vigna Clara, is predominantly an upper-class neighborhood, comprised of many wealthy families and individuals, as explained several times before. Anna is a retired government official who has a master's degree and Silvia is a lawyer; they are characteristic of most of the neighborhood. Cheryl, on the other hand, is an immigrant and has a different experience in Ponte Milvio, and the city of Rome as a whole. As a Filipina, she noted the presence of other minorities in the neighborhood. Cheryl informed us that many Filipinos work in Vigna Clara. Our field observations show that Southeast Asian women running errands in the area and as baby sitters accompanying children and their mothers in the afternoons. We have also seen Southeast Asian men work as parking attendants along Largo di Vigna Stelluti. Like many other immigrants in Ponte Milvio/Vigna Clara, Cheryl works in the homes of wealthy native Italians, who are the largest population in the neighborhood. Our interview with Cheryl also reveals many distinctive class issues that become very apparent in the section on transportation.

Mobility

The ability to travel not only within the Ponte Milvio/Vigna Clara area, but also from the neighborhood to other parts of the city is a topic that many long-term residents discussed in their interviews. The mother and daughter pair from Vigna Clara emphasized the prevailing car culture that exists throughout the neighborhood, noting that the use of private vehicles has become more prevalent in recent years. This is directly correlated to flaws of the public transit system in the area; the system serving the



Figure 2.23 Menswear shop in Piazza Filippo Carli (Wong, 2009).

community has become increasingly inconvenient and unreliable. As Margot and Diane explained, twenty years ago there were increased efforts to transport people from this peripheral neighborhood to the center—two shuttle buses specifically connected Ponte Milvio to Termini Station and Piazza del Popolo. The system's current defunct state may be indicative of the overall socioeconomic standing of the neighborhood, where most residents are within the middle to higher-income class range and can therefore afford to pay for all of the expenses that come with owning a vehicle.

In many ways, the car culture in Ponte Milvio can be considered a self-fulfilling prophecy. Because citizens like Margot and Diane feel forced to drive and cannot imagine not owning a car, the public transportation system is utilized less. A brief observation of the neighborhood reveals that most buildings were originally constructed with private parking garages, meaning that builders and planners recognized the affluence in the neighborhood and designed a community based around car culture. In addition, the neighborhood's proclivity for large malls and supermarkets "fuori"—that are further out in the peripheries of Rome—

can only be reached by car. This point illustrates the strong relationship of Ponte Milvio's rich and the automobile; the wealthy use their cars for basic necessities like grocery shopping because they can and because the public transport infrastructure does not fit their needs.

Mobility for residents at a lower income level is very different than that for professionals and upper-middle class residents. Cheryl, an immigrant from the Philippines, has lived in Vigna Clara for seventeen years and works in casa. Since Cheryl works in homes, she most likely earns less than the professionals living in her community. She reveals that she does not own a car, and therefore relies on public transportation to travel. For all of the destinations she mentioned in her interview, she takes the bus to reach them. In fact, when we met Cheryl she was waiting in Piazza Filippo Carli for her sister to arrive because she needed to be driven to the immigration office.

Unlike the French mother and daughter who claim that one is forced to have a car — and stressed that it is nearly impossible to live without one in the neighborhood — Cheryl's case shows that it is possible to travel using public transit. However, it is clear that it is significantly more difficult to rely solely on public transit in the area described as Vigna Clara, even compared to the section of Ponte Milvio near the river that is closer to major transportation nodes. Cheryl's cognitive map shows a different set of paths and landmarks. In her cognitive map of the neighborhood, bus stops and streets, she walks on key landmarks and paths. Cheryl's cognitive map of the neighborhood is strongly centered on Piazza Filippo Carli, since it is connected to her home on Via Coletti, a major path. The edges of the neighborhood are roads where she can take buses, as she arrives and leaves the neighborhood from there.

Ponte Milvio Residents

The residents of the neighborhood who live in the area closest to the main piazzale, and near the footbridge, agree that Ponte Milvio is also a pleasant neighborhood in the city of Rome where professionals and upper middle class live. In our interview with Silvana she stressed that although there is a section of the neighborhood with social housing, in Via Della Farnesina, she says that overall Ponte Milvio is a very rich neighborhood. The residents who consider themselves inhabitants of Vigna Clara mentioned several times that they believe the area they live in is nicer and more upscale than Ponte Milvio; this may be true, but nonetheless, the section of the study site near Piazzale di Ponte Milvio is a very privileged neighborhood overall.

While Ponte Milvio is known for being a nice, quiet residential neighborhood, it is interesting to note that the area has quite the reputation throughout the city of Rome for being a very popular nightlife location. The main Piazzale near the bridge has several bars and restaurants that draw people of all ages from Ponte Milvio, Vigna Clara and all other sections of Rome as well. In our interview with Silvana, one of her concerns was that there are not enough recreational centers in the area for people to pass time, so they spend a large amount of their free time hanging around in bars.

Ponte Milvio has also been known around the city for its market, which has been moved to a new location in the past year. The market is now the ground floor of the Galleria Mercato, few blocks away from its original location. Above the market is a mall, where Silvana owns a bookstore (the market will be explained more thoroughly in the Workers section).

Resident Demographics

Many of the people who live near the Piazzale in Ponte Milvio are also well-educated professionals. In fact, Giuliana studied linguistics for five years in Dresden, Germany; in addition to Italian, she is fluent in both English and German and works as a translator as a side job. Silvana worked as a teacher before opening up her bookstore in the Mercato

Galleria and explained that, “the neighborhood is well educated, and a lot of professionals live here, which is one of the reasons I opened my shop here.”

Besides high-end professional and shop owners, this section of Ponte Milvio is also more diverse than the area closer to Vigna Clara. Guiliana explains that there is a growing immigrant population living in the area, including Filipino and Senegalese people, as well as some young families living near older, more established residents. Via della Farnesina even has social housing, which is indicative that there may be a strong presence of lower income individuals than Vigna Clara where there are some immigrants who work in peoples homes, but do not have much influence in the neighborhood otherwise.

Mobility

Because the Pallottas work steps away from where they live, in the section of the neighborhood with several shops and stores, they have no need to drive often at all. In fact, when we interviewed them, the Pallottas told us , “I don’t need anything outside the neighborhood, I have everything I need right here. But if I did need to go somewhere I am very well-connected to the center-city.”

Likewise, Silvana also lives in the neighborhood and walks from her home to the Galleria Mercado each day; Dario also mentioned that he normally uses public transit and rides his bicycle. Silvana explains to us that she believes the neighborhood is very well accessible to all parts of the city, as there are busses that leave from near the Piazzale di Ponte Milvio which take people to major transportation nodes such as Piazza del Popolo and Via Flaminia.

However, it is important to note that for residents who live in the Northern section of Ponte Milvio, and who see their neighborhood as Vigna Clara, getting to the city center by public transit requires more effort, as they would have to use public transit to get to Piazza di Ponte Milvio before they can catch another bus to get to one of the transportation nodes previously mentioned. It is also important to note that the area where

Silvana lives and works is also more mixed use, which makes it easier to acquire food and household items without going far; this is not true for those who live further up Via Cassia in Vigna Clara.



Figure 2.24 Entrance to Ponte Milvio Galleria Mercato (Montejo, 2009).

The Market Vendors

The workers that we interviewed in the market at the new Ponte Milvio Galleria Mercato—Augustino, Francesco and Olivia—are all vendors of fresh produce that have been working in the area for at least a decade. Nevertheless, each maintains diverse opinions about the new market and how it weighs against the original informal open-air market. Despite their different viewpoints, all three vendors address similar topics that relate to their businesses, including their perception of Ponte Milvio, issues with the accessibility to the market, and the impacts of the physical transformation of the market, such as an altered ambiance, the new clientele, and the enhanced hygienic services.

Neighborhood Perceptions

When asked to describe the Ponte Milvio neighborhood, all of the interviewees at the market noted that they were not from the area; they commuted to work here. As a result, their responses were generally comparable and not as substantial as the Ponte Milvio/Vigna Clara residents that were interviewed. In general, the vendors agreed that Ponte Milvio is relatively quiet, very residential, and primarily populated by affluent citizens. Francesco, a vendor of organic fruits and vegetables, noted that there is also a visible presence of immigrants within the market, both as workers and as customers. He does point out that there was a larger presence of immigrants before, especially from Bangladesh, in the old street market.

Olivia, a vendor of fresh produce, had very little to say about Ponte Milvio when initially asked to describe it, despite having worked in the area for forty years. “It’s like an institution,” she vaguely stated, “but I don’t know.” Elucidating her statement, she described Ponte Milvio as very well-structured, like a good institution, with many wealthy people living in a pleasant environment.

The highlight of Olivia’s analysis of the neighborhood, however, was when she was asked to identify any recognizable features or identities of Ponte Milvio. Spotlighting the distinctive nightlife culture, she vividly described

how Piazzale di Ponte Milvio and its surroundings had become the new fashionable nightlife scene for many of Rome’s youth. These young people, especially from wealthy districts like Parioli, frequent Ponte Milvio to “fare tendenza”—to do fashionable things, explained Olivia. They come to this neighborhood because they prefer going to lesser-known places around the city. An interesting phenomenon that occurs though, as explained to Olivia by her son, is that the presence of these hip “giovani Pariolini” makes these lesser-known places popular and fashionable. Thus, Ponte Milvio has become the new Via Veneto, a vibrant hang-out spot for the city’s affluent youth.

Accessibility to the Market

While Ponte Milvio has experienced recent success as an attraction for younger people, all of the interviewed vendors expressed some concern about the reduced number of customers frequenting the new market. Even Francesco, whose organic products business has remained solid, admits that there are much fewer people coming into the shops now compared to how many visited the previous open-air market. One key reason for this issue is the fact that the primary means of transportation to Galleria Mercato is the automobile. Unlike the old street market, to which customers normally traveled by public transport or by foot, the new



Figure 2.25. View of market stalls in central atrium of Galleria Mercato (Montejo, 2009).

commercial space is geared towards a community of drivers, with a private parking garage and reduced access to any nearby public transit systems. To make matters worse, Francesco says, the 120 available parking spaces are inadequate to accommodate customers for the seventy shops in the market and the other forty at the mall upstairs.

Augustino, whose fruit and vegetable shop has served fewer customers in the past months, further notes that a group of vendors has already discussed with politicians about adding a bus stop in front of the Galleria Mercato. He also mentions that the new location of the market is disadvantageous, since the original was more visibly accessible because it was closer to the Ponte Milvio footbridge and the roads running alongside the Tevere.

Likewise, Olivia tells of how before, people used to visit the open-air market not only to shop, but also to “fare delle passeggiate”—to take walks—and interact with other shoppers, many of whom were members of the local community. This narrative is just one of many examples demonstrating how the physical transformation of the market impacted the functions of the commercial-public space.

Impacts of the Transformation of the Market

- The Ambiance

In addition to revealing that less people utilize the market as a meeting place now, Olivia adds that the space was much more informal and casual back then, whereas today it has become too structured, too ingrained in the “institutional” feeling of Ponte Milvio. Becoming “squeezed” into a mall has caused the heart of the local market—its informal traditions—to be lost. “This is not a market,” she asserts, “because a real market belongs in the street.” Augustino further stresses that the market no longer retains the same lively ambiance that it once embraced, particularly because of the diminishing amount of people shopping there. His mannerisms and tone while describing the altered atmosphere of the market indicated his frustration with and disapproval of the new space, stating that his clientele has dwindled and suggesting that his shop might actually be losing money.

- The Clientele

In contrast to Augustino’s disapproving description of the new market, organic farmer Francesco spoke of the place with delight and pride. He preferred the new indoor marketplace because it offers an enhanced atmosphere suitable for a more “selective clientele.” Since his organic produce business caters to more affluent customers that can afford to pay higher prices for his products, his shop continues to yield steady returns. In fact, Francesco claims that some people come to the market only to visit his stand, which is gaining popularity within the local neighborhood. Olivia complemented Francesco’s comments by discussing the way in which the vendor-customer mode of communication has changed. In



Figure 2.26 View of market stalls in central atrium of Galleria Mercato at ground level (Montejo, 2009).

the previous market, there was a sense of community and congeniality among the shoppers and shop owners, and she had formed several friendly relationships throughout her four decades serving Ponte Milvio. Today, Olivia says she must be “much more formal” when speaking to her

customers; the amiable communication that once existed is now scarce. Another interesting observation that was mentioned is the change in customers that shop at the market since its transformation. Francesco specifically noted that although there has always been an immigrant population working and shopping at the market, their presence has visibly decreased at the new site. Many immigrants, especially from Bangladesh, used to frequent the market for two key reasons: first, because it was much more accessible via public transportation as it was situated along the Lungotevere, and second, because the informal nature of the open-air street market made it more appealing and comfortable for immigrants.

- The Enhanced Amenities

Nonetheless, most vendors will agree that the most visible impacts of the new indoor market are the new infrastructural and hygienic services that have been established. Despite its charm and commercial success, Francesco remarked that the previous street market lacked several important amenities. The new indoor space is instead furnished with restrooms, clean water available in each stand, and a parking garage. In addition, he takes pride in the architecture and design of the space itself, which is more welcoming for his selective clientele than the former street market.

Olivia also acknowledges that the hygienic services are a beneficial addition, and is fond of the cleanliness and physical appearance of the new market. However, she is quick to affirm that while the space is certainly more modern and clean, it is by no means any more functional: “Certo, é piu moderno, ma meno funzionante.” From quick observations and brief interactions with more shop owners, Olivia’s comment summarizes the general sentiment held by most vendors at the Ponte Milvio Galleria Mercato.



Figure 2.27 Amenities available within each stall- water, electricity, shelve space, air conditioning and fire extinguisher (Montejo, 2009).

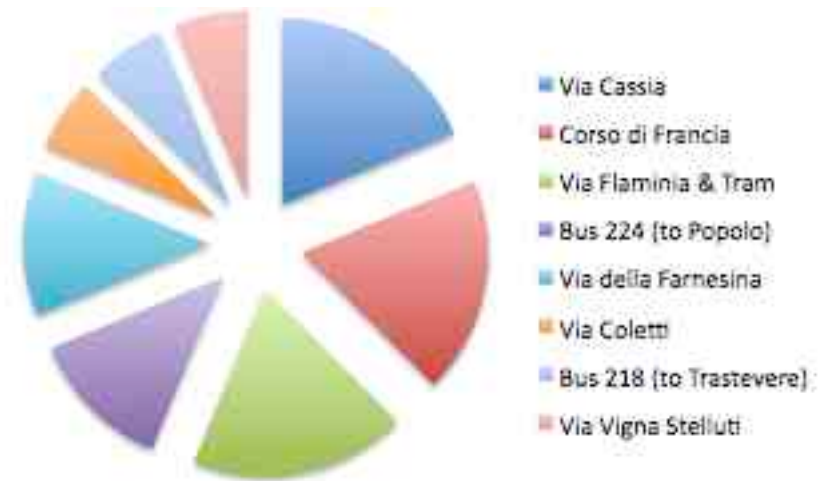
Comparisons & Conclusions

	Margot/Diane	Cheryl	Silvia	Silvanna	Augustino	Francesco	Oliva	Anna	Pallottas	Total
Path										
Via Cassia	x		x						x	3
Corso di Francia	x	x						x		3
Via Flaminia & Tram			x	x					x	3
Bus 224 (to Popolo)	x		x							2
Via della Farnesina				x					x	2
Via Coletti		x								1
Bus 218 (to Trastevere)				x						1
Via Vigna Stelluti	x									1
Edges										
Tevere	x		x					x		3
Via Cassia		x								1
Corso di Francia								x		1
Via del Foro Italico				x						1
Nodes										
Piazzale di Ponte Milvio (day)	x		x	x	x			x	x	6
Piazzale di Ponte Milvio (night)			x	x			x		x	4
Piazza Filippo Carli	x	x								2
Largo di Vigna Stelluti	x	x								2
Bus Stops		x				x				2
Piazza Mancini				x						1
Piazza dei Giuochi Delfici								x		1
District										
Ponte Milvio	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	7
Vigna Clara	x	x	x	x				x	x	6
Parioli/ Corso Trieste/Flaminio			x				x	x		3
Prati	x			x						2
Landmark										
Ponte Milvio	x	x	x	x	x					5
New Market in Galleria Mercato	x			x	x	x	x			5
Old market			x	x	x	x	x			5
Historic city center	x	x	x	x					x	5
Bus stop on Via Vigna Stelluti	x	x								2
Pallotta Restaurant								x	x	2
Mall in Galleria Mercato				x		x				2
Outside supermarkets & malls	x			x						2
American English school	x		x							2
Ricci Salumiere	x									1
Termini Station	x									1
Piazza del Popolo	x									1

Figure 2.28. Statistical count of Lynch's notions of paths, edges, nodes, districts and landmarks as mentioned in the interviews. Elements are ordered by descending order.



Figure 2.29-31 (Interviews², 2009).
 Top. Nodes mentioned in interviews presented in graphic form. Note Piazzale di Ponte Milvio day and night is major node in residents' mental image of the neighborhood.
 Top Right. Tiber river is the major edge of Ponte Milvio.
 Right. Paths presented in chart form show a no one path dominates as the major path.



Conclusion

After following methodologies laid out by Kevin Lynch in which we interviewed neighborhood residents and had them sketch personal cognitive maps, we have gained a more thorough understanding of how Ponte Milvio is perceived by its residents and visitors. It is now apparent that Ponte Milvio is really two distinct neighborhoods and can be broken down into Ponte Milvio, the lower part of the neighborhood adjacent to the bridge, and Vigna Clara, the area farthest north. Our ability to now classify the Ponte Milvio neighborhood into two different parts is the most important new element of our understanding of our neighborhood gained from this cognitive mapping experience.

Our interviewee Silvia described this divide well when we asked her if she would speak to us about Ponte Milvio, she replied by saying: “Let me start off by saying that this is Vigna Clara, not Ponte Milvio. Ponte Milvio is further south, by the bridge. Are you sure you want to learn about Vigna Clara?” From our discussion with Sylvia and others, we learned that the split between Ponte Milvio and Vigna Clara is much more than a geographic divide. From our interviews, it is clear that there are some socio-economic and lifestyle differences between them that are acknowledged by residents. After walking across the overpass of Via del Foro Italico, the hill of Via Cassia becomes much steeper, and as one ascends into Vigna Clara, the neighborhood becomes a bit more exclusive, as it is further from major public transit hubs that make Ponte Milvio more accessible to outsiders. When one reaches Vigna Clara, the neighborhood becomes significantly more residential, has fewer cafes and has a central business district of franchised shops than Ponte Milvio, as some people have explained in their interviews that they frequent shopping malls on the outer rings of Rome.

Silvia said that in Vigna Clara, “there is nothing to do...It is very residential, just apartment buildings and a few shops.” This is a stark contrast from Ponte Milvio, where mixed-use buildings are more common and there are a number of specialty stores that cater to local demand including the two-story market on Via Riano. Again, Vigna Clara is not well connected to the City Center by public transportation as Ponte Milvio;

many of the Vigna Clara residents said that because of the geographic location of the neighborhood relative to the City Center, having a car makes living in the neighbor much more comfortable. The vast majority of residents are also able to purchase cars as we found that many of Vigna Clara’s inhabitants made high incomes because a number of them hold important jobs in the government and other professional careers. This means that these residents are constantly leaving their community in order to work and run errands. As a result, many of them find it easier to drive than use public transit. Ponte Milvio on the other hand is better connected to the City Center using public transit and has mixed use areas so residents have fewer reasons to leave the neighborhood.

Reviewing the interviewees’ cognitive maps also helped us gain a better and more thorough understanding of the differences and similarities between the Ponte Milvio/Vigna Clara communities. The maps were particularly interesting to review because while each map had overlapping landmarks and nodes between members of the two neighborhoods, they contained unique borders including edges and districts, which tended to



Figure 2.33 Ponte Milvio (Montejo, 2009).

be more similar among residents from the same area of the neighborhood. For example, there was a handful of overlapping landmarks and nodes on the residents from Vigna Clara and Ponte Milvio's cognitive maps.

Many community members in their interviews and cognitive maps also noted that the Ponte Milvio Bridge is a major landmark and has contributed to the neighborhood's imageability over the years. The bridge and its level of accessibility to the City Center has helped to make the Piazzale di Ponte Milvio a very well known area in the city of Rome, in which many people have come to purchase fresh produce and other items from the market, which is now housed on the lower level of the Mercato Galleria.

In our interviews, we learned that some of the same people have been coming to shop at the market for years, many of whom do not live in Ponte Milvio. The market also provides jobs for many native Italians and immigrants who do not actually live in the neighborhood, but who appreciate the market and the people who shop there. Ponte Milvio's accessibility has also contributed to its reputation as being one of the premier nightspots in Rome, where people come from all over the city to eat and drink at Ponte Milvio's establishments.

Regardless of similar living situations in the neighborhoods, each resident we interviewed produced nuanced maps with landmarks and nodes that were uniquely their own. These subtleties were only discovered through the process of interviewing and having residents draw cognitive maps.

In the first part of the cognitive map exercise, our group created our own uniform cognitive map of Ponte Milvio based on Kevin Lynch's examples; we included different nodes and landmarks that we assumed would be of the highest importance to the local residents of Ponte Milvio as a whole. Without these interviews, which have augmented our perception of the community and lead us to our conclusions regarding the Ponte Milvio - Vigna Clara split, our assumptions would not have accurately reflected public perception, which we have found to be multifaceted.

The interviewing process and the subsequent reflection period of this cognitive map exercise has encouraged us to look beyond our preconceived ideas about this community as a holistic place. The small sampling of workers and residents in the Ponte Milvio/Vigna Clara neighborhood we interviewed have provided us with the primary resources to explore the inherent dichotomies of this neighborhood. As we enter the third phase of our study, we plan to explore the differences between these two communities and identify the issues that arise from this distinction.



Figure 2.34 Park in Piazza Filippo Carli, where many interviews took place (Wong, 2009).

PART 3

PONTE MILVIO: A NEIGHBORHOOD STUDY

Analytical Account:

Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio



Cornell in Rome
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Introduction

The following analytical account focuses on the new Galleria Mercato commercial complex in the Ponte Milvio neighborhood. Built last year to replace the local market located on Viale To di Quinto, the new project is a multifaceted complex that houses a farmer's market on its ground floor, a mall on its upper levels, and an underground parking garage.¹⁴ The innovative development formalized the two different phases of Ponte Milvio's open-air market, the first which was in the main Piazzale di Ponte Milvio, and the second along Viale Tor di Quinto. By relocating the market a third time to an indoor structure and adding amenities for the vendors, the new market is much different than its predecessors.

The Galleria Mercato combines market and mall, two types of commercial spaces that would not ordinarily be in close proximity. Municipal planning counselor Guiseppe Molinari described the melding of these two spaces as a "social experiment" that aims to bring individuals from different social and economic classes together to work, shop and interact.

This account also explains how the new market in Ponte Milvio attempts to fuel economic development within the city of Rome. While Rome is a major political force and a culturally significant city within Italy and in the world, the Comune di Roma admits that it trails behind some of its European counterparts, including Berlin, London and Paris, as a modern urban metropolis.

The *mercato nuovo* (new market) also serves as a prime example of a Roman establishment dedicated to the Italian Slow Food Movement, which aims to preserve Italy's reputation as a nation of fine cuisine. This account examines how farmer's markets such as the new one in Ponte Milvio, contribute to the Movement, preserve Italy's cultural identity, and help to improve the environment as well as promote a healthier standard of living.

In summary, the following analysis uses primary and secondary sources, ranging from personal interviews to newspaper reports, to:

1. offer a description of the Galleria Mercato complex and specifically the market,
2. explain the reasoning and purpose behind the transfer of the market to its current location,
3. describe the problems the market has encountered within the past year,
4. identify how the market incorporates aspects of the Italian Slow Food Movement, and
5. form comparisons between the market and similar developments in North America.



Figure 3.1 Entrance to Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio (Montejo, 2009).

The Old Ponte Milvio Market

The Ponte Milvio neighborhood can claim to have one of the oldest surviving farmer's markets in the City of Rome. Throughout its extensive history, the area has been an important access point into and out of the city. The Milvian Bridge, built in 206 B.C., connected Ponte Milvio with the rest of the City and major roads like Via Cassia historically linked Rome with other cities throughout the Italian Peninsula. As a result, a regional market has continuously served the area for over two thousand years.¹⁰

In recent history, the regional market had been specifically established within the traffic island of Viale Tor di Quinto, just east of the Milvian Bridge. This version of the mercato began in 1982 when seventy-four market stalls were relocated to that site from Piazzale di Ponte Milvio.



Figure 3.2 The still existing antique Ponte Milvio market along Viale Tor di Quinto (Vigna Clara Blog, 2007).

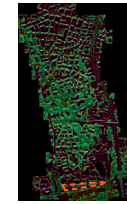
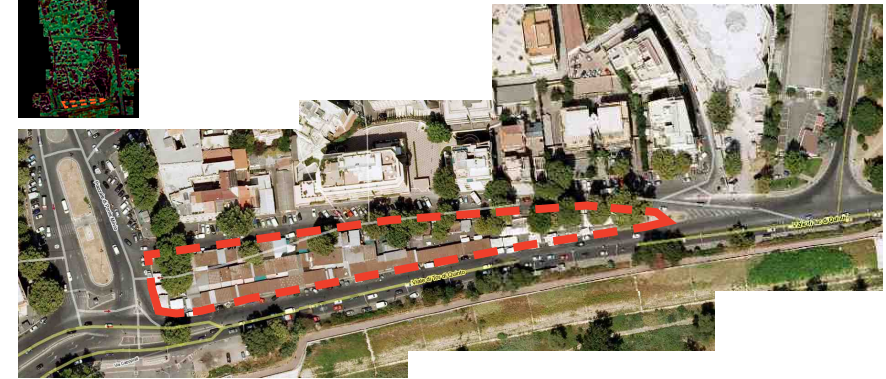


Figure 3.3 The former Ponte Milvio market still visible in outdated Google satellite images (Google Map, 2009).



The transfer took place as a way to “free” the Piazzale designed by Giuseppe Valadier in the early 19th century, which had become overcrowded with vendors.

For over two decades, the shops between the Tor di Quinto thoroughfare served as the chief regional Mercato, attracting customers from Ponte Milvio, Cassia, Flaminia, and other surrounding areas. It consisted of seventy-four traditional stores organized in a long, narrow stretch selling fresh produce, fish, meat spices and other goods (Figures 2 and 3). In addition to daily produce, it also offered specialized local produce such as two certified *biologica* (organic) growers. This outdoor market was considered an attraction for visitors and locals alike, comparable to the Testaccio market and Campo di Fiori.⁹

During the interviews with various vendors and local citizens, many of them noted that the old farmer's market was often characterized as being disorganized and unsanitary. They also believed that it was the cause of severe congestion along the heavily-trafficked Viale Tor di Quinto. Nonetheless, most vendors and residents agreed that the *mercato vecchio* (old market) was an organic space that was very congenial, full of character and generally profitable.

The old open-air market also had the advantage of being easily locatable. The market was noticeable and accessible, as the stalls were clearly visible

upon crossing the Tiber River and entering the neighborhood through the Milvian Bridge. In addition, there were bus lines that passed near the market, and the Tor di Quinto was wide enough to accommodate double parking for quick stops. For all but one of the interviewed vendors, the accessibility and visibility of the *mercato vecchio* compensated for its lack of hygienic services and organization.



Figure 3.4 The new Ponte Milvio market along Via Riano (Montejo, 2009).

The New Ponte Milvio Market

Then, in the spring of 2003, the *Consiglio Comunale* (City Council) of Rome approved a project to construct a new covered space that would replace the old regional market. Four years later, the *mercato nuovo* was established, and all seventy-four stalls were once again relocated into a



Figure 3.5 First floor of Galleria Mercato with mostly clothing shops (Montejo, 2009).

new space. The market was just one segment of a larger complex off of Via Riano known as Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio (Figure 4). This new multi-story commercial complex includes two levels of underground parking and storage space, with the ground floor dedicated to the relocated marketplace, and two upper levels designed as a modern shopping center. The first underground level can accommodate 130 vehicles, while the second underground level has ninety private storage rooms for vendors and shop owners. The two-story shopping mall has space for more than forty individual businesses (Figure 5), and the new market has retained all seventy-four of its original stalls, but with more space and better services (such as running water) for each establishment.¹³

To gain a thorough understanding of the new commercial project in Ponte Milvio, we interviewed two figures central to its development. Our first interview was with Mr. Guiseppe Molinari, the Planning Counselor of



Figure 3.6 Birds-eye view of the Market from the first floor of the Unieuro mall (Shulman, 2009).

Municipio XX of the Comune di Roma (the district in which Ponte Milvio is located), and our second interview was with Ms. Patrizia Fiocchetti, a representative of the Galleria Mercato consortium of private sponsors. Both individuals discussed similar topics related to the market, including a description of how the project was financed, why the project is an important breakthrough, the current issues it is facing, and the planned solutions to these problems.

Mr. Molinari explained the rationale behind the market and how it fits into a larger plan for future developments in the city of Rome. To him, the new Mercato Galleria is a very interesting and innovative commercial strategy, as it mixes private retail stores and a farmer's market within the same building. He described the project as a "social experiment," stating that the space was organized such a way as an effort to attract different socioeconomic classes of people, and subsequently encourage interactions among them. The vendors on the ground level, for instance, do not pay rent and only charged a small fee for cleaning services and utilities, whereas shop owners in the mall above are expected to pay



Figure 3.7 View of Galleria Mercato from Viale Tor di Quinto (Montejo, 2009).

market value rents. If this strategy is effective at bringing diverse groups of people with different interests together, the Comune di Roma hopes to use it as a model for future developments.

Ms. Fiocchetti also discussed the purpose of the complex, claiming that its intention was to "establish a set of regulations that could be repeated by all the *mercati* of Rome." And in agreement with Mr. Molinari, she also mentioned the objective of the Galleria Mercato as being "to create a link between the two types of commercial—*mercato* and *centro commerciale*."¹⁰

Referring to the market, Planning Counselor Molinari asserted that the relocation into a covered space was necessary in order to create an enhanced meeting space for the people. In addition, and perhaps more important to the city government, the new design is also modern, aesthetically pleasing and equipped with alternative energy sources and a sustainable system for recycling inside the market. In the end, however, both interviewees agreed that the most significant element of the entire commercial project was the inventive technique by which it was financed.⁶

Project Financing

After the city of Rome approved the replacement of the old farmer's market in 2003, the *S.p.A Risoase per Roma* ("Resources for Rome" joint stock company) proposed building a commercial complex that would be entirely funded by private means. Thus, the project was realized through the practice of project financing, whereby a set of equity investors and a syndicate of banks provided the 18.3 million euro necessary for the construction of the center. The operation was organized by Unicredit Amenities, fully financed by Unicredit Banca d'Impresa, and promoted by the Consorzio Cooperative Costruzioni, Cogeim and So.Co.Mi.

In return for their investments, these private project sponsors were awarded the concession for construction and management of the complex by the Comune di Roma for forty years, with a total investment of 21.5 million euro. After forty years, the market and shopping center will be handed over to the Comune (and to *Municipio XX* in particular). Both the private group of sponsors and the city will benefit, as the former will collect four decades worth of rent from shop owners, and the latter will benefit from the attraction and utility of a new urban development.²

Thus, beginning with the Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio, the city of Rome and its new administration has visibly begun working to create urban developments that are modern, strategically innovative, sustainable and attractive. The Comune hopes that more technologically-advanced

developments will help Rome become more of a major metropolis within Europe, along with Paris, Berlin and London. And in particular, they anticipate that the employment of project financing will prove efficient and profitable for the future economy of the city.⁶

Challenges

However, the four-year construction period of the complex also helped highlight a reality of Rome: the complex bureaucracies of the city persistently impede progress. There are very few developments throughout the city that are actually completed, and it is increasingly difficult to have plans approved. Thus, a huge challenge for the future of the city is to decrease the amount of time it takes for urban developments to be completed, otherwise Rome will experience major difficulties as it seeks to develop into a modern European metropolis. Furthermore, it is important for Rome to effectively develop a number of projects that will attract funding from private developers. In light of the current recession, private interests will be necessary for Rome to maintain its urban spaces, streets and sidewalks in years to come. Additionally, private investments will also help Rome become a symbol to sell itself, through urban spaces, billboards and events. Publicity and the prevalence of mainstream corporations inherently bring in revenues for the city.

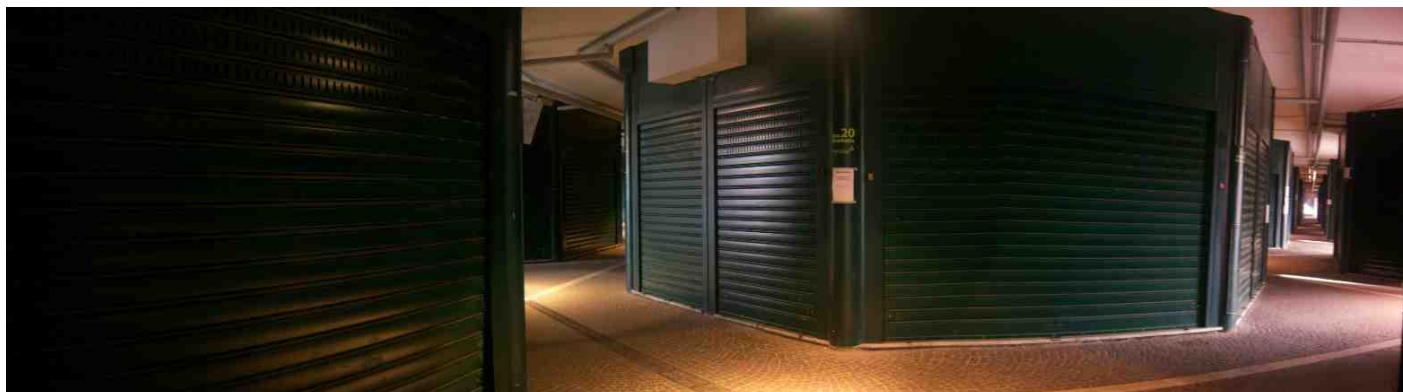


Figure 3.8 Market stalls laid out on an octagonal plan (Montejo, 2009).



Figure 3.11 Brochure with floorplan for the mall at the Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio. Identifies distribution of businesses in the mall:

Abbigliamento (Clothing)	15
Calzature, Pelletteria (Footwear, Leather)	3
Elettronica (Electronics)	1
Beni Per la Persona (Personal Goods)	6
Beni Per la Casa (Home Furnishings)	3
Servizi (Services)	5
Ristorazione (Food Service)	3

A Closer Look at the New Market

The indoor farmer's market, as previously stated, encompasses only the ground floor of the five-level Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio. The entire complex, which opened to the public almost exactly one year ago in May 2008, was built below and above the 8,000-square-meter plot of city-owned property between Viale Tor di Quinto, Via Riano, Via Torrita Tiberina and Via Civita Castellana. The whole structure occupies a total

volume of 59,020 cubic meters and a total area of 17,000 square meters. The two underground levels used for parking and two upper levels that comprise the mall occupy just over 14,000 square meters of the total complex, while the new market extends across 2,600 square meters of space on the ground floor (Figure 3.11).⁴

Each of the seventy-four market stalls covers between twenty-three and thirty square meters of space, and the market also features public toilets, wide pedestrian pathways, and a large open-air courtyard at the center,

complete with a bed of diverse plants, elevator access to the shopping center, and a large water fountain (Figure 3.10). The new farmer’s market is accessible through four main entryways along Via Riano, as well as through some less visible access paths along Via Torrita Tiberina and Via Civita Castellana. The normal market hours are 6:30AM to 2PM from Monday through Saturday; the stalls are closed on Sundays. The shopping center upstairs has different hours from the market and remains opens from 9AM to 8PM. Attempts have been made to keep the farmer’s market open later into the evening on some days, but have been met with little success.

While there is no numerical data available to identify the clientele base of the market or mall, the manager of the complex, Ms. Fiocchetti reveals that most people that shop there come from within Ponte Milvio, as well as neighboring areas such as Cassia, Mancini, Fleming and Prati; even some workers from the nearby Ministry of Foreign Affairs Building come to shop at the Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio. In addition, she mentions that most shoppers tend to be female—both in the market and in the mall—which may explain why there is only one store in the mall dedicated solely to men’s apparel. In the market, for example, the largest demographic is older ladies visiting the various stalls to buy fresh produce and other non-food items.¹⁰

There is a wide variety of goods offered at the nuovo mercato of Ponte Milvio, with vendors selling products that range from inexpensive clothing to fresh produce and even various types of cheeses, pastas and breads. The most abundant type of produce sold is fresh fruits and vegetables. The many stands offer a wide range of items, many of which are featured frequently in multiple stalls. Some of the standard produce found around the market includes oranges, tomatoes, eggplant, artichokes and zucchini. Below is a table with these items and their recorded price:

Item	Price in Euro	Measurement (kilogram or per item)
Oranges	1.49	kilo
Eggplant	1.29	kilo
Tomato	1.79	kilo
Zucchini	1.50	kilo
Artichoke	.60-.70	per 1



Figure 3.12 Fresh meat stall, produce includes sausage and chicken breast (Shulman, 2009).



Figure 3.13 Fresh produce stall with its two attendants in the background (Shulman, 2009).

Stalls that sell fresh meat are also popular within the market; we counted three within its southeast quadrant alone. In total, there are eight *macellerie*, or butcher shops, at the nuovo mercato (See Appendix 1). The arrays of meat are neatly displayed with the price per kilogram behind fluorescent lit glass counters. Two popular items were sausage links and fresh eggs. Sample prices are shown below:

Item	Price in Euro	Measurement (kilogram or per item)
Sausage	6.50	kilo
Eggs	.20-.25	per 1

Other than basic meat and produce stalls, the market has other specialized shops, which sell items such as dried fruits and nuts, cheeses, fresh pasta and canned goods. An ethnic food stall has an array of both fresh produce and packaged goods that are generally not available in Italian grocery stores, (excluding foods such as soy sauce and peanut butter). The specialty products include:

Item	Price in Euro	Measurement (kilogram or per item)
Coconut milk	2.80	per 1 (can)
Soy sauce	2.50	per 1 (bottle)
Curry Sauce	3.00	per 1 (bottle)
Peanut butter	3.50	per 1 (jar)
Oyster sauce	1.50	per 1 (can)
Curry paste	4.00	per 1 (tube)
Plantains	1.49	Kilo

Apart from edible products, the market also has a handful of clothing and kitchenware stalls, as well as a used bookstore. Altogether, the Mercato houses ten of these *negozi non alimentari*, or businesses that are not food-related. We observed one stall specifically for children, which was full of Disney apparel. The clothing prices were very inexpensive: girls' sweaters were ten euro and a toddler-sized winter coat was only five euro. Another clothing stall sells exclusively adult apparel. A men's sweater was priced at twenty euro. Directly inside one of the four entrances off of Via Riano is a cluttered kitchen supply stall full of various types of plastic ware. The stall literally overflows out of the market into the outdoor pedestrian walkway, and its products, while abundant, were mislabeled and disorganized.

While some items in the market were relatively inexpensive, such as clothing, the tables with the prices for produce show that the market is relatively expensive for buying food.

Comparison of Market with Nearby Punto Sma Supermarket

After completing an in-depth survey of the market's fresh produce, we walked across Via Riano to explore the Punto SMA supermarket in order to compare the prices and quality of their products. This was done in order to help us get a better sense of why a large market and a grocery store are directly across the street from one another. After entering Punto SMA, one is in the first section of the grocery store, the produce department. While stalls in the Ponte Milvio market are well organized, the crates of fruits and vegetables in the grocery store were disorderly; all of the produce looked as though it had been picked over and sorted through by many shoppers throughout the day. Not only was the appearance of the produce less attractive than it was in the market,



Figure 14. Fresh meats on display in a meat stall (Shulman, 2009).

but the quality of the fruit and vegetables seemed to lag in comparison to Galleria Mercato. Apples were bruised, lettuce was wilted and a few yellow peppers were split in half. We moved through the rest of Punto SMA and wrote down the prices of other products around the store that we had observed in the market. Below is a price comparison of a random

Item	Price in Euro @ Market	Price in Euro @ Punto Sma	Measurement (kilogram or per item)
Tomato	1.79	1.59	kilo
Eggplant	1.29	1.79	kilo
Artichoke	.60-.70	.59	per one
Buffalo Mozzarella	14.00	16.90	kilo

sampling of similar products including eggplants, tomatoes, artichokes and buffalo mozzarella:

The results indicate that while the tomatoes and artichokes are cheaper at Punto SMA, eggplant and Buffalo Mozzarella can be found at lower prices in the market. On our way out of Punto SMA, we noticed a terrible smell and witnessed a worker walking around the front of the store (including the produce section) with a lemon-scented anti-bacterial spray trying to mask the odor. Our overall experience at Punto SMA led us to conclude



Figure 3.15 Fresh produce vendor (Shulman, 2009).



Figure 3.16. Unlike a supermarket, there are speciality stalls in the market such as this cheese and salami stall (Shulman, 2009).

that the quality and care of products in the market is far superior to that in the grocery store. However, the price differentials explain how each survives in such close proximity to each other. While it is important to note the type and variation of products at the market, examining and interviewing the people who work there is just as helpful to learn about the character of the space. As we ventured through the market noting products and prices, we paid special attention to the people manning each stall, sometimes observing their interactions between their customers and other times conducting informal interviews.

During our time at the market, we noticed that many customers shop there on a regular basis and know the vendors and their products fairly well. At the last entrance of the market along Via Riano, the second and third stalls are a pair meat counters facing each other. We met Accoliverde attending to his shop, which is the meat counter on the right hand side of the market. Members of his family have worked in the market for many years and he currently lives in Ponte Milvio, minutes from his stall. Other stall owners are equally well established in the Ponte Milvio market.

Silvestro and his wife Anna, owners of a shop that sells fresh pasta and breads, told us that their family has been making and selling their products for 75 years. Accoliverde and the other well established merchants know most of their clients. Even though the meat stand directly across from Accoliverde's has a much wider selection of fresh meats and poultry, Accoliverde can recognize most of his customers by face or name and explained that the *polpetone classico* is his most popular item and attracts many buyers. Claudio, the butcher was constantly busy, helping customers with their orders. As he handed a client her packaged chicken breast, she thanked him by name and carried on through the market.

We also noticed some features that make the market more attractive to customers, such as labels that show where the produce was grown. For an example, Augustino, the manager of a fruit and vegetable stand sells products like strawberries, pears, oranges and tomatoes that range in origin from Lazio, Calabria, and all the way to Sicily.

The next section, which compares this market to international farmers markets, explains why these dynamics are important to shoppers and the benefits of buying locally-produced goods.



Figure 3.17 A colorful fresh produce stall (Shulman, 2009).

Italy & the Slow Food Movement

As previously mentioned, Italy embraces a market culture based on locally produced goods that are grown in the region and are staples of local fare. Historically, and still true today, food in Italy is synonymous with national culture and regional identity, as well as with familial values. In a nation that continues to appreciate and take pride in local produce and local fare, the rising incorporation of fast food into mainstream society and the increasing globalization of one's diet is a menacing threat. This section of the analytical account offers an explanation of the Slow Food Movement, and how it is important to preserving the Italian culture, health and environment. This information looks to elucidate why farmer's markets, such as the new Ponte Milvio one, are important assets to the Italian population.

Slow Food is an Italian-based organization that was founded in the late 1980's to combat the growing international trend of unhealthy fast food consumption. The organization's name has evolved to describe a worldwide movement to preserve local cuisine and restore quality and eco-consciousness in our diets. On its website, Slow Food describes itself as a "non-profit, eco-gastronomic organization founded in 1989 to counteract fast food and fast life, the disappearance of local food traditions and people's dwindling interest in the food they eat, where it comes from, how it tastes and how our food choices affect the rest of the world."¹² Slow Food was created as a spin-off of its predecessor, Arcigola, which was founded in 1986 to resist the opening of Italy's first McDonald's at Piazza di Spagna in Rome. On its homepage, Slow Food clearly elucidates its philosophy:

"We believe that everyone has a fundamental right to pleasure and consequently, the responsibility to protect the heritage of food, tradition and culture that makes this pleasure possible. Our movement is founded upon this concept of eco-gastronomy—a recognition of the strong connection between plate and planet."¹²

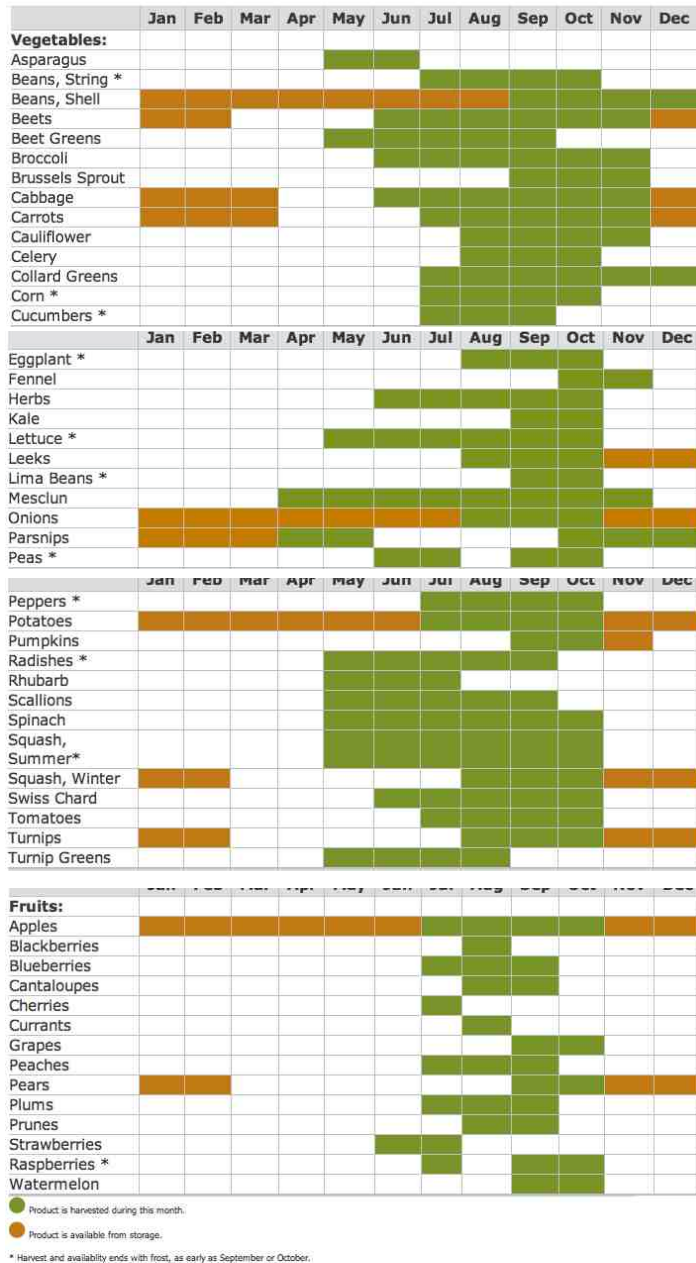


Figure 3.18
 Chart showing when various produces are in season (Council on the Environment of NYC², 2009).

The mission of the Slow Food Movement is simple. However, the tactics used to ensure that the environment’s biodiversity and the cultural heritage of food are preserved is not. Slow Food is dedicated to taste education, which involves taste-testing sessions that give people the resources to distinguish good, quality food from its fast and cheap counterparts. The organization also hosts educational events for people of all ages.

Slow Food also has a foundation for biodiversity whose mission is to safeguard the “gastronomic resources” of local cuisine.⁸ This subset of Slow Food was created in partnership with the region of Toscana and helps identify foods that are in danger of disappearing and artisan food producers who may need financial help with production. Figure 18 outlines what produces are available in which season at the Green markets in New York City. All of the produce on the chart is grown within a 300-mile-radius of the five boroughs, ensuring that the “gastronomic resources” of the traditional northeastern United States are not lost. This also helps customers and restaurant owners plan their diets and menus, respectively, based on the produce in season.

Adhering to a seasonal diet is also a critical element of *Terra Madre*, an initiative that “brings together food communities that work for the sustainability of their food products and for quality which accounts for exceptional taste and respects the environment and people.” Roughly 5,000 delegates representing 1,200 food communities attended the first *Terra Madre* held in Turin in October 2004. Since 2004, the conference has been held biennially and has proven to be a wildly successfully networking event for food producers around the world.¹²

Since its inception, Slow Food has also initiated a number of effective campaigns in order to raise awareness about food-related issues. These campaigns include raising awareness about raw milk cheese in 2001, the future of food in 2004 and currently, climate change and food security.¹ The Slow Food Movement has evolved into an international phenomenon with 100,000 members in 32 countries. While there are now a number of Slow Food offices spread across three continents (Europe, North America and Asia), the headquarters is located in Bra, a town on the outskirts of

Torino. While the Slow Food mantra has taken hold in many countries across the globe, Italy has the strongest representation within the movement. With 35,000 active members in each of the 20 Italian states, *Slow Food Italia* is a formidable force in the world's most celebrated food nation. In addition to *Terra Madre*, Italy is also the host of the Genoan sustainable seafood festival "Slow Fish," (the motto is "*Buono, Pulito e Gusto*") the Torino food exhibition "Salone del Gusto" (bringing over 150,000 visitors to the city) and the Bra biennial cheese exhibition.¹²

Thus, it is evident that farmer's markets such as new Ponte Milvio one establishment are not only important for the economic development of Rome, but also for the growth of the Slow Food Movement. It is one of the City's many markets that seeks to assure that the Italian community continues to eat quality foods that is both good for their health and for the environment.



Figure 3.20 Union Square farmer's market (Inetours.com, 2009).

Comparison of Market with Other International Farmer's Markets

The concept of buying local produce is not unique to Italy. In the United States, for instance, there are a number of thriving farmer's markets in both rural and urban settings. New York City's extensive *Greenmarket* network, Los Angeles' *Farmer's Market at Third and Fairfax*, San Francisco's *Ferry Plaza Market* (operated by the Center for Urban Education about Sustainable Agriculture), and the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area's *Freshfarm Markets* are all examples of flourishing farmer's markets in large American cities. And in Upstate New York, the *Ithaca Farmer's Market* near Cornell University represents an effective model of buying and selling locally-grown produce in rural areas.

The aforementioned markets, which operate under comparable premises as the Ponte Milvio, exemplify the ideals of the Slow Food Movement: Each market seeks to provide local merchants and residents a place to buy and sell local goods that taste great and have a sense of identity; and



Figure 3.19 Variety of fresh produce (Shulman, 2009).

Produce customers like to be informed about where their goods come from and have quality assurance. Nevertheless, the markets in each city of the United States have a different system of operation. By comparing New York City's Greenmarket system to Rome's multi-faceted and seemingly organic system of selling, we can observe the merits and downfalls of both.

New York City's Greenmarket

Greenmarket is a non-profit organization run by the Council on the Environment of New York City that "organizes and manages open-air farmers markets" in Manhattan, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island.² Greenmarket's mission is to provide regional, small family farmers with opportunities to sell their fruits, vegetables and other farm products. It has been the driving force behind their operation since its founding in 1976. Though Greenmarket began with only twelve farmers in an empty lot, it is now the largest farmer's market network in America, operating year-round with fifty locations throughout the city.²

Greenmarket is the creator of a farmer's market system of operation that has become a model for other urban areas in the United States. It owns,



Figure 3.21 Linear layout of stalls at Union Sq market (Inetours.com, 2009).



Figure 3.22 Typical layout of a stall at Ponte Milvio market (Shulman, 2009).

operates and is oversees all of the vendors that sell at their markets. There are over 200 vendors that travel throughout the Northeast region to take advantage of the large population of New York City and their buying power. Consequently, there is a rigorous application process and a long waiting list for a vacant spot at a Greenmarket.

All of the Greenmarket establishments are outdoors and in central locations throughout the city regardless of the area's socioeconomic status. While the number of stalls at each Greenmarket varies, there are two main Greenmarket hubs, one in downtown Manhattan and one in downtown Brooklyn, each with 50 stalls. These markets—in Union Square and Grand Army Plaza—are open year-round.

While most Greenmarkets sell primarily basic local staples (for example, most Greenmarkets in August will sell peppers, squash and tomatoes) many of the markets in ethnic enclaves cater to the local population. At the Boro Park Greenmarket, located next to an Orthodox Jewish enclave in Brooklyn, vendors sell traditional Jewish breads and kosher meats. In Chinatown in Manhattan, the Zuccotti Park Farmer's Market sells traditional Chinese vegetables, herbs that would not necessarily be sold elsewhere. Markets in the South Bronx and Washington Heights will tend to cater to the lower-income communities there, and are also more likely to accept food vouchers.

Comparing New York City’s Greenmarket System to Ponte Milvio’s Market

There are many comparisons that can be drawn between the Greenmarket in New York and the new market in Ponte Milvio. Rome and New York are both major world cities that are home to various ethnic populations, have extensive countryside in their peripheries, and can be considered key cultural centers in their respective countries. Many establishments in both the Greenmarket and Ponte Milvio markets value local farmers and local produce. Everything at both of the markets is clearly labeled with place of origin. Stalls at the Greenmarket usually have a representative from the farm, bakery or butcher present, while some stalls at the Ponte Milvio market instead have wholesale vendors acting as middle men between the farm and the consumer. We encountered two or three vendors at the Ponte Milvio market that did not know who sold them the produce, a instance which does not frequently occur at the market in New York City.

Another difference between the markets is Ponte Milvio’s permanent residence in the indoor structure on Via Riano and its attachment to a middle-class mall. As previously mentioned, the markets in New York City are primarily located in tents outside and are set up manually. However, the Ponte Milvio mercato—which was once also an open-air market—is now within a covered building. This relocation has transformed the nature of the market in many forms—on one hand, it can remain open for business under all weather circumstances, but on the other, a sense of communication has been lost, as stalls are no longer directly next to each other but instead staggered and divided by walls. In New York City, the stalls tend to arranged in a horizontal line, fostering an interactive atmosphere that allows communication between vendors and shoppers.

Based on our observations, most shoppers at the Ponte Milvio market appeared to be local residents or from neighboring communities, which is not usually the case in New York City. While at the neighborhood stands there are primarily local residents, at Union Square and Grand Army Plaza residents come from all over the city to buy an assortment of goods and capitalize on the number of stalls.



Figure 3.23 Public seating inside the mall (Shulman, 2009).



Figure 3.24 Sitting areas in outdoor courtyard in mall (Montejo, 2009).

It is furthermore interesting to note that one goal of the Galleria Mercato project is to act as a model for future ventures that would bring together different types of commercial spaces under one roof. In particular, the decision to relocate the regional market into a state-of-the-art covered structure—complete with basic amenities, open spaces, and with more management and regulations—indicates that the city of Rome is searching for a way to create a unified system of markets. Currently, the markets foster a more organic process, whereas in New York City, it is unlikely for a vendor to start his own farmer’s stand. Because Greenmarket monopolizes the city’s farmer’s market system, there is great consistency from market to market. In Rome, each market has its own distinct personality.



Figure 3.25 Site of old market to be additional parking space for Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio (Montejo, 2009).



Figure 3.26 Parking garage under the market (Shulman, 2009).

Figure 3.27 Outdated satellite images show a reversal in function in the two highlighted spaces in Ponte Milvio: former open-air market along Viale Tor di Quinto and current site of Galleria Mercato used as a parking lot (Microsoft Virtual Earth, 2009).



- Legend**
- Former open-air market
 - A parking lot occupying current site of Galleria Mercato

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE GALLERIA MERCATO

The mercato nuovo of Ponte Milvio possesses the “distinct personality” that is characteristic of most markets in Rome, but its distinction is rooted in much more than just personality or charm. The new market, rather, is unique because it was not designed or established in the same manner that a traditional farmer’s market would be. Unlike virtually any regional market ever constructed, the Ponte Milvio mercato shares a structure with two significant markers of modern society: an underground parking garage and a state-of-the-art shopping mall.

Throughout our interview Ms. Fiocchetti, a representative of the Galleria Mercato consortium, repeatedly discussed various details about the new market (and the entire commercial complex) that made it a very intriguing, challenging, innovative, risky and auspicious venture all at once. The movement of the old market into a new covered space, for instance, was a daring shift that has proven to be both problematic and promising. For most mercato vendors, Ms. Fiocchetti admitted, the initial transfer was difficult; there was an evident drop in customers and overall business, primarily because of the new site’s lack of visibility and accessibility by public means.

Due to these two factors, fewer people visited the market during its open hours from early in the morning to early in the afternoon. A year since its inception, similar problems persist, especially since most local residents that would frequent the stalls—including 80% of the immediate female population—work during these hours of the week. As a result, vendors proposed the idea of keeping the market open for some evenings, so as to attract individuals getting out of work.

However, Ms. Fiocchetti pointed out that there still exists an ingrained “market culture” that most vendors cannot discard. This culture involves waking up at 4AM everyday, setting up shop at 6:30AM, and bringing down the gates by 2PM. Thus, a later closing time was never established,



Figure 3.28 Directory and map of Galleria Mercato Ponte Milvio at the entrance (Shulman, 2009).

and instead vendors have allied with shop owners in the upstairs mall to request that a bus stop be installed nearby. Because of this lobbying, the ATAC bus line No. 188 was recently approved to be extended from Piazzale di Ponte Milvio through Via Riano (in front of the mercato), with a *capolinea* (last stop) along Viale Tor di Quinto.

Two major factors that could help alleviate the current situation include what Ms. Fiocchetti calls *viabilità* as well as advertising. *Viabilità* refers to the condition and networks of roads. She states that the access-ways to the commercial center must be improved, such as the unaccommodating narrowness of Via Riano, and the considerable disconnect between the Galleria Mercato and the heavily trafficked Corso di Francia nearby.

Counselor Molinari explained that the Comune di Roma is well aware that the roads needs to be reconfigured to make the market more accessible and visible; however, he explained that with all the bureaucracies in the city government, it is unclear how long it will take such a change to be implemented. In terms of advertising, Ms. Fiocchetti asserted that it is important to take strong communicative action. “This place needs to be more known—it is unique, it is near the center of the city, it is not *fuori*,” she stated, and then added “But putting up signs is so difficult because of all of the bureaucratic problems.”



Figure 3.29 Landscaped area within the new mall (Montejo, 2009).

Such bureaucratic problems have hindered the overall progress of the Galleria Mercato since its inception, and continue to do so, as the current parking lot situation indicates. When the market was moved from the median between Viale Tor di Quinto into the new complex, the site was cleared and a surface-level parking lot was paved. This lot, to be used by shoppers and residents alike, was completed last March, but has yet to be put into use. The reason for this is a conflict between the private developers and the municipality (*XX Municipio*).

The Municipio owns the new parking lot site, but refuses to open it because the developers, who manage the commercial complex, refuse to give them a central space within the mall to set up a general registry office. As a result, it is the shop owners and vendors that suffer from this predicament, as all 118 businesses must seek to accommodate their customers in the insufficient amount of parking spaces beneath the mercato. Issues like this, Ms. Fiocchetti suggests, will continue to arise because of the inevitable fact that the commercial project was initiated by one administration (former Mayor Veltroni’s) and implemented by another (current Mayor Alemanno’s).

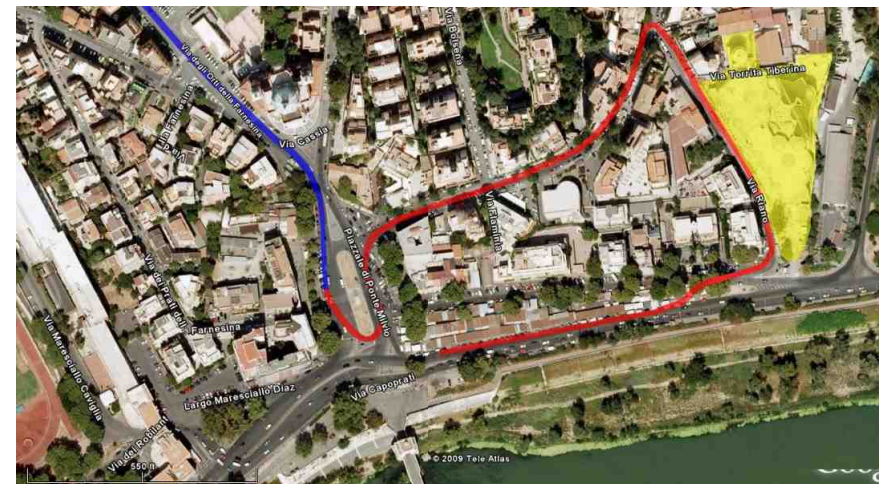


Figure 3.30 Extension of the route of Bus 188 with stops on Via Riano highlighted in red (Google Maps, 2009).

Legend
 Existing Route — Blue line
 Extension of Route — Red line
 Galleria Mercato — Yellow shaded area

Conclusion

Despite the several bureaucratic setbacks that burden the mercato nuovo, there is confidence—from Mr. Molinari and Ms. Fiocchetti, as well as many of the vendors and shoppers interviewed—that the new venture at Ponte Milvio encompasses many promising aspects that can be of great value to the city of Rome. As the first of its kind, the Galleria Mercato serves as the prototype of a new business approach that may greatly influence the future of commercial development throughout the city.

There are a number of features of the new market that indicate that this venture could ultimately manifest as a positive one for all parties involved. Unlike the previous market along Viale Tor di Quinto, all market vendors (and mall shop owners) are currently represented by a trade union and a cooperative. This is a sign of great progress from the previous mercato, which was less organized and not managed as efficiently. The hygienic services are far superior, allowing for a better atmosphere for both the vendor and the customer. Specific shops, such as Francesco's organic produce stall, is not only attracting a growing group of clients, but also keeping in line with the sustainable principles upon which the complex was constructed. Furthermore, there have been efforts to involve vendors in various associations, such as La Coldiretti, which represents agricultural businesses and values them as an economic resource. Another initiative discussed is *Roma Spende Bene*, which sets fair prices for essential goods in local markets and supermarkets.

These promising features of the new market seem to be distinguishing the site as a new and innovative project, which should serve as a model for other similar projects in the future throughout Rome. At the end of our interview, Ms. Fiocchetti said that she hopes such ventures will reverse the ever-growing dilemma of business in Rome. Traditional Italian family businesses—coffee shops, small restaurants, clothing stores, book shops—are dwindling in numbers, while immigrant businesses are being established throughout the city in record numbers.

As the new generation of Italians step away from their family shop, and as they continue to reproduce less, there is less competition for the growing immigrant population. These newcomers, especially from places like Bangladesh and Egypt, retain a powerful entrepreneurial ability that is supported by their emergent communities. Thus, as Ms. Fiocchetti reiterated, hopefully the new market and mall will be a place where the traditional small and medium Italian family businesses could continue to live on. Hopefully the vendors and shop owners there could—like her father did in his generation—form close relationships with their customers and retain them, rather than see them leave the neighborhood to shop in large peripheral shopping centers, big box stores and mega supermarkets. In the words of Mayor Alemanno at the inauguration of the Galleria Mercato last May, “Markets are the hearts of the city’s neighborhoods, and I would never want to see a deserted city that only has shopping centers.”⁷



Figure 3.31 Visit by Mayor Alemanno on May 7, 2008 the opening day of Galleria Mercato (Cittadini del XX, Il Blog de XX Municipio, 2008).

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