



# Nemorense

## Markets, Migrants and Urban Space

Blanche Shao   Isaiah Murray   Samuel May   Yabework Abebe Kifetew

## Acknowledgements

Firstly we would like to thank the people living and working in Nemorense, who were willing to speak to us about their experiences. This project would not have been possible without their kindness, generosity and wisdom.

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Last but not least, we would like to thank our professors, Thomas J. Campanella and Gregory Smith, as well as our teaching associates Viviana Andriola and Serena Muccitelli, for the time they spent with us surveying the neighborhoods, contacting stakeholders, conducting interviews, and giving us overall guidance and support.



Figure 1

# **Nemorense**

## **Markets, Migrants and Urban Space**

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1.

# Introduction to the Study



Figure 2



# Preface

“You know the government, SPRAR, they did try helping in the beginning, but there are too many of us. There are a lot of refugees and they don’t have enough jobs to give. Living here is good and bad, it’s sweet and bitter.

Do I like Italy? It’s not what I expected ... people’s attitude towards me in the neighborhood are mixed - some good, some bad, but it’s not their fault, it’s not my fault. They’re trying their best... no, it’s not their fault.”

- A man who was panhandling in front of Bar Torrefazione Arcioni.

This man we spoke to on the street has been in Italy for about a year. He used to live on the streets around Termini Station, but government officials eventually forced him to find an apartment. He sweeps the streets in Nemorense to help pay his rent, which is his main priority.

His story reflects a larger trend in Italy regarding the influx of immigrants and how this is impacting the urban fabric. Because of its geographic location along the Mediterranean Sea, Italy is at the forefront of migration from the Global South and thus carries a disproportionate burden of responsibility for immigrants hoping to settle in Europe. In 2017, the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) published a report on International Protection in Italy, highlighting

this contrast, “good and bad” nature of the situation. The report claims that the European Commission has “reaffirmed its commitment to immigration and migrants”, but on the other hand, has also gone “in a direction that unfortunately, almost exclusively, tries to block [already established immigration flows from North Africa] to Europe”.<sup>1</sup>

This phenomenon has affected many major European cities. Rome is tasked with providing for immigrants and asylum seekers, while also handling other urgent issues, such as unemployment and the deficiency of waste management. Immigrants are creative in making use of the resources available to them, and they have turned to Rome’s abundant public spaces as places of opportunities.

Immigrant practices in the Nemorense neighborhood align closely with those observed elsewhere in Rome. These include street sweeping by African asylum-seekers, caregiving for the elderly by women from the Philippines, as well as numerous mini-markets throughout the area managed by Bangladeshi men.

There is, however, a very unique immigrant group in our neighborhood. Based in the central open space of Nemorense, Parco Virgiliano is managed and maintained by Barikamà, a social cooperative consisting of African

migrants and young Italians with Asperger’s Syndrome that have been warmly welcomed and celebrated by the local community. While our neighborhood largely follows similar urban trends as the rest of Rome, it also has a unique and distinctive identity with respect to immigrants, markets and food culture.

<sup>1</sup> SPRAR, 2017, “Report On International Protection In Italy,” 2017. Gemmagraf Roma.

# Introduction

In Spring 2018, as a team of four Urban and Regional Studies juniors from Cornell University participating in the Rome Workshop (CRP 4160), we conducted a neighborhood study of Nemorense,<sup>2</sup> with a special focus on migrants and markets. Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, we studied and mapped the food systems in Nemorense and investigated the spatial, economic, and social elements that have attracted immigrants to the area. These have included both formal and informal interviews, street surveys, and a variety of spatial and demographic analyses.

Situating our study within the broader context of Italian state and globalization, we have made two interesting observations. First, the sparse presence of immigrants in markets generally complicates the common correlation between public space accessibility and a high immigrant population. This suggests that markets, especially in Rome, are a more complex public space and the spatial dimension may not be the only factor in determining who can participate in a space and its spatial practices.

It also sheds light on the question of whether the immigrant lifestyle is a conscious choice or the result of exclusionary practices in the neighborhood. Second, there appears to be

an increasing number of migrants filling gaps in public service provision on the part of the municipality. Thus, contrary to the common narrative that immigrants are the sole needy party, we discovered a symbiotic relationship between the host and migrants in Nemorense. In both the formal and informal sectors, migrants are making a living by filling the gaps and vacancies where municipal services fail to reach. Moreover, our study supports the conclusion that informality is not necessarily a transient or passing urban activity, but an essential part of urban transformation.

As Karl Marx once said, “The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways – the point, however, is to change it.”<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this report does not stop at fulfilling academic interests in urban transformation and urban informality, but instead hopes to have real impact on the visibility of migrants and their rights to space.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the report hopes to contribute to the academic and public discourse on migrants, highlighting how crucial migrants are to Italian society, as they fill the void of domestic care and compensate for the poor maintenance of public space.

Nevertheless, we recognize the limitations of this report. First of all, the data used for the demographic analysis is somewhat outdated, drawn from the 2001 and 2011 census data

on the ISTAT website. Even though they are the most recent official data, some of the statistical analyses may not reflect the most recent changes in this neighborhood. Secondly, given the short timeframe of the study (i.e. four months), some of the observations in this report might not be comprehensive enough to reflect the actual trends of this neighborhood.

<sup>2</sup>The neighborhood is an aggregate of 50 census tracts surrounding Parco Virgiliano, which belongs to the larger neighborhood Quartiere Trieste.

<sup>3</sup>Karl Marx and Robert Tucker, “Theses On Feuerbach”, in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed. (NY: Norton, 1978), 143-145. Emphasis by the authors.

<sup>4</sup>While Parati Graziella notes that the documented and undocumented immigrants in Italy started to make their voice heard in the 1990s, street sweeping is an emerging phenomenon that corresponds to the recent refugee crisis in Europe; and the stories of street sweepers are largely untold.



Figure 3

# Methodology

When conducting community research, data collection is often skewed, and is heavily dependent on the extent of access to different actors in the neighborhood. To help mitigate this bias, we employed quantitative, qualitative, and mixed data collection methods. In the process of defining our research area, we decided to select the census tracts surrounding Parco Virgiliano — our primary focus area.

## Quantitative

From the Roma Capitale website, we downloaded the 2001 and 2011 census data and compared our neighborhood to Rome as a whole in terms of population, employment, building maintenance, and so forth. The data was formatted in Microsoft Excel and visualized in Tableau. For spatial analysis, maps were made using both Adobe Illustrator and Geographic Information System (GIS).

## Qualitative

Our fieldwork started out at Cafe Nemorensense, the coffee shop inside Parco Virgiliano--the central open space in Nemorensense. We assumed if we could establish a rapport with the café staff, this could open the way to other helpful sources and information. Not only did we employ this informal method at the cafe, but also at other places we frequented for lunch or grocery shopping. This method of “snowball sampling” allowed us to uncover the broader network of people who are involved with Parco Virgiliano,

which in turn enabled us to collect stories about our neighborhood that were both relevant and revealing.

As we became more familiar with our neighborhood, we began conducting intercept interviews with people in the park and the markets, store owners, street sweepers, and other people who happened to be in an area we were focusing on. In these interviews, we began with general warm-up questions before moving to more substantive ones. We found that, once they opened up, interviewees would often speak at great length, and reveal aspects of neighborhood life and ways that added immeasurably to our understanding of the place.

## Mixed

Not all types of spatial analysis were possible with the census information available to us. We conducted our own street surveys on the initial twenty-two census tracts, documenting building typology, building maintenance, building style, street typology, street maintenance, land use, green and public spaces, public transit, and the presence of graffiti. To do so, we numbered each census tract and split them up amongst us. We walked each census tract and recorded information according to a rubric we created for each of these measures.

To supplement the number of interviews we had conducted, we wanted to gather data that

could be quantified. We created a survey with a Likert scale, open-ended, and multiple choice questions. At the end of the survey, there was a question about the respondent’s age. These surveys allowed all team members to conduct interviews while minimizing the language barriers.

## Limitations

There were only two census years we could use to analyze trends in our neighborhood and Rome - 2001 and 2011. In addition, there were new measures that were introduced in 2011 that were not measured in 2001. Even though many of these measurements had to do with immigrants and their places of origin, we could not use those measures to account for the changes taking place during that decade. There is also the possibility that the 2011 data no longer represents the current situation of Rome, and its influx of immigrants, in particular. Many immigrants have arrived in the past few years - nothing the previous two census tracts could have projected. Last but not least, the census does not account for non-males, and we had to make the assumptions that the non-male remainder of any gendered measure was female.

Given the limitation of our class schedule, we usually visited our neighborhood from 9am until 3pm on Thursdays. This time window gave us a very limited perspective of the neighborhood dynamics. Had we visited more frequently,

especially on weekends, we could have gained a much broader understanding of our neighborhood.

When conducting ethnographic research, there are often communication barriers and ideological differences that can result in discrepancies in interview transcriptions and the implications drawn from them. For some of our interviews, we had a translator with us who was able to serve as a mediator between the different parties. This was not always the case. Often, we resorted to using our elementary Italian skills, simple English, and hand gestures to communicate with interviewees. Generally, this seemed to work, and interviewees were receptive and willing to speak with us. The next limitation was trying to understand our interviewees. There were times when we did not know what they were saying and took note of what they may have said.

Furthermore, we needed to be aware that we did not overstep any boundaries when asking questions of people in vulnerable situations or broach sensitive or impolite subjects. The same idea was applied when asking people about their perception of the immigrants in their neighborhood. Given the current political situation in Italy, this conversation could make interviewees feel subject to judgment, as some people did not want us to interview them at all.



Figure 4



2.

# Introduction to Nemorense

Situated on the North-Eastern side of Rome, Nemorense is a relatively upper-class neighborhood within Quartiere Trieste. It is bordered by Via Chiana, Via Salaria, Via dei Giordani, Via Lucrino and Corso Trieste. It borders the “African neighborhood” to the northeast, and is surrounded by multiple embassies to the south. The most significant portion of inhabitants is people above the age of 74, most of whom are women. Nemorense is going through various changes, brought about by the new metro stop in the area, with many new stores, restaurants, art studios and dentists. It is also experiencing increased presence of immigrants in both public and private, formal and informal sectors. The neighborhood is affluent in cultural activities – it has three cinemas, something quite unusual in Rome, and its center, Parco Virgiliano is a popular place for families with children as well as the elderly.

# Historical Timeline

**1909**

First wave of urbanization

Most of the area planned on a grid

**1930s**

Intense development of large condominiums begins

Parco Virgiliano is built, designed by architect Raffaele de Vico and named after poet, Virgil

**1946**

Quartiere assumes its current name, *Trieste*

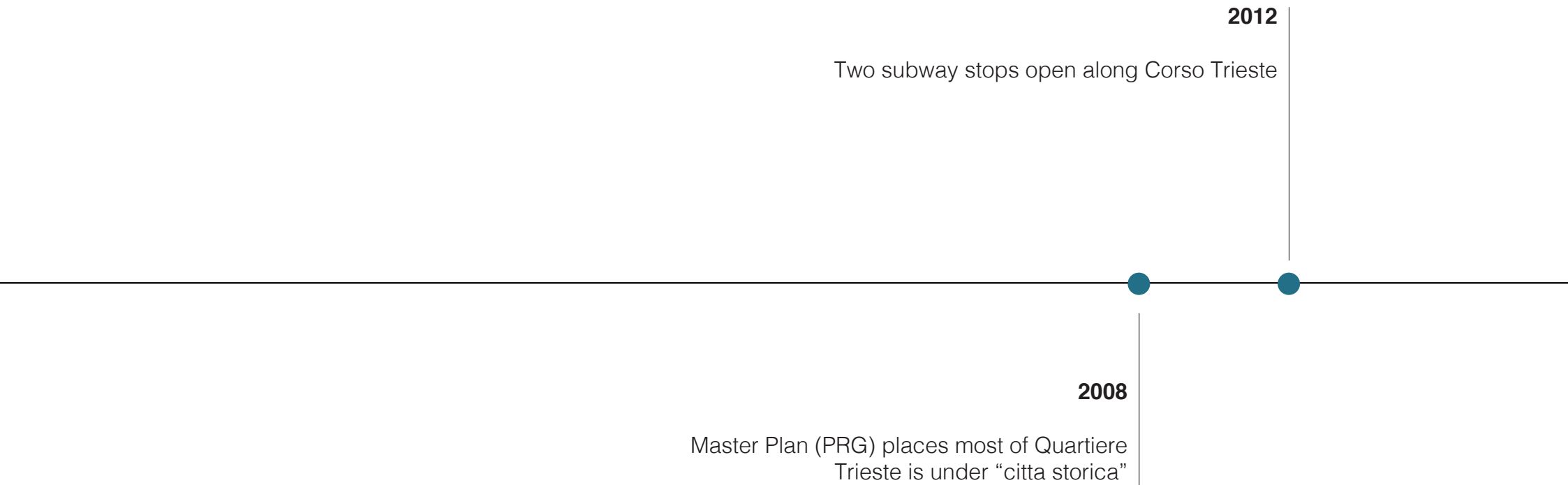
**1926**

Quartiere gets named of "Savoia"

Area made up of mainly small cottage houses, *Villini*

Residents mostly upper-class





# Landmarks - Past and Present

## Parco Virgiliano and Caffè Nemorense

The park is utilized by several different groups. Locals go to Caffè Nemorense to grab coffee around 8am. Other everyday activities include jogging, dog walking, strolling, and school organized exercises. After the school lets out at around 4pm, the park becomes a popular spot for kids to hang out. On Sundays, Barikama, a social cooperative, sets up an outdoor stand and sells its farm products.

## Mercato Crati

Mercato Crati is an outdoor market that sells flowers, fruits and vegetables, cheese, and clothing. According to the local residents, it is not a popular destination for grocery shopping because of its high prices.

## Mercato Trieste

Opened in 1957,<sup>5</sup> Mercato Trieste is a market selling fresh products like fruits and vegetables, meat, and cheese. In recent years, it has also incorporated non-food stalls such as clothing, household products, and book stations. In response to the increasing competition with supermarkets and shopping malls, the market now organizes cultural events to attract more customers. According to the locals, this market is quite successful, as many of them still frequent Mercato Trieste to do their grocery shopping.

Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7



**Piazza Verbano**

Piazza Verbano is a large urban open space characterized by apartment complexes that occupy the entire block that contains an average of 100 housing units per building. Constructed in the 1920s, the apartments are public housing for state employers, most of whom are now retirees with high pensions.<sup>6</sup> Around the piazza, residents can find almost everything they need -- restaurants, shops, a pharmacy, bars, gas stations, and travel agencies.

**Parrocchia San Saturnino Martire**

Erected in June 1932, this church anchors the local Catholic Parish and its constituents.<sup>7</sup>

**Bar-Pasticceria Benaco**

Located at Piazza Verbano, Bar Benaco is a cafe that is highly received by the locals. People come here to have a cornetto, meet, and socialize.

**Figure 8****Figure 9****Figure 10**

### Metro Station Sant'Agnese/Annibaliano

Opened in June 2013, Station Sant'Agnese/Annibaliano is part of the transit service of Line B1.<sup>8</sup> The opening of the metro station has substantially attracted more economic activities in the neighborhood, as many shops along Corso Trieste were opened after the completion of the metro station.

### Fatamorgana Nemorense

Located just north of Parco Virgiliano, this gelateria is frequented by kids after the end of school, serving as a socializing space for young students.

Figure 11



Figure 12



<sup>5</sup>"Mercato Trieste - Mercato Rionale Storico Del Quartiere Trieste Di Roma", Mercato Trieste, 2018, <http://www.mercatotrieste.it/>.

<sup>6</sup>"Quartiere Di Piazza Verbano", Roma2pass.It, 2018, <http://www.roma2pass.it/quartiere-di-piazza-verbano/>.

<sup>7</sup>"Parrocchia Di San Saturnino Martire - Storia Della Chiesa Parrocchiale", Sansaturninomartire.It, 2018, [http://www.sansaturninomartire.it/info-storia\\_parrocchia.php](http://www.sansaturninomartire.it/info-storia_parrocchia.php).

<sup>8</sup>DVV Ltd, "Roma Metro Opens Line B1", Railway Gazette, 2018, <http://www.railwaygazette.com/news/single-view/view/roma-metro-opens-line-b1.html>.

# Defining Boundaries

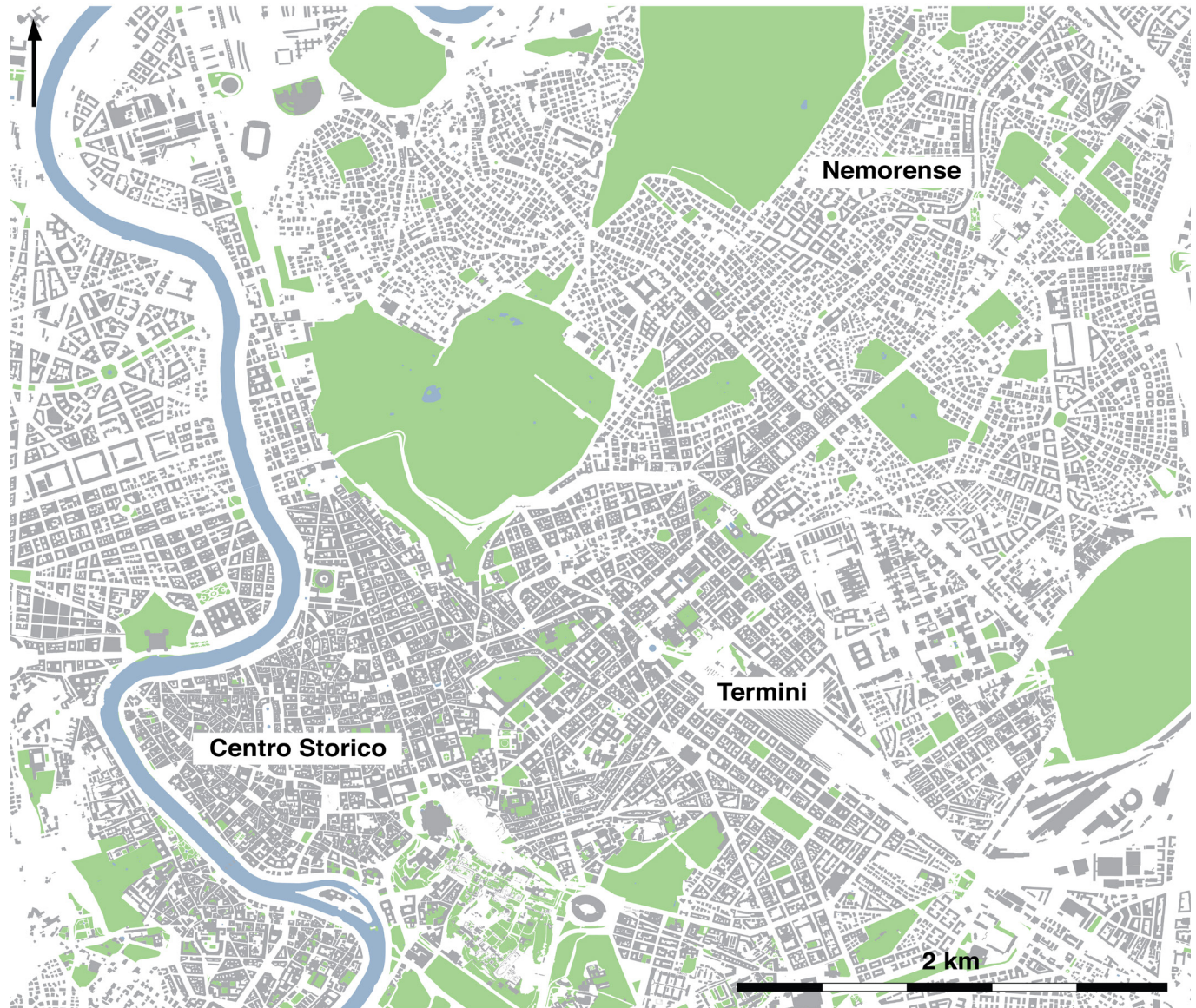
The west boundary of our neighborhood is formed by Via Salaria, which separates Nemorensense from the larger park, Villa Ada. The residents informed us that Villa Ada is excluded because of Via Salaria, a wide road with rapid traffic that one has to cross to be able to get to the park. This makes the park difficult to access to most local residents.

The east boundary is drawn at Corso Trieste, where all the shops are located, since the building use and street typology on Corso Trieste are substantially different from the rest of the mostly residential neighborhood.

The northern boundary is at Via Lucrino, and the southern boundary is at Via Chiana.

Within these boundaries, residents can find almost all kinds of essential urban services, such as restaurants, cinemas, schools, shops, studios, clinics, and health centers.

Given the scope of our study, however, we decided to focus on a smaller area for quantitative analysis purposes. Specifically, for spatial analysis, we focus on the 25 census tract surround Parco Virgiliano; and for statistic analysis, we use the selected 50 census tract surrounding the park. For qualitative analysis, however, we conducted survey of the entire neighborhood.





# 3.

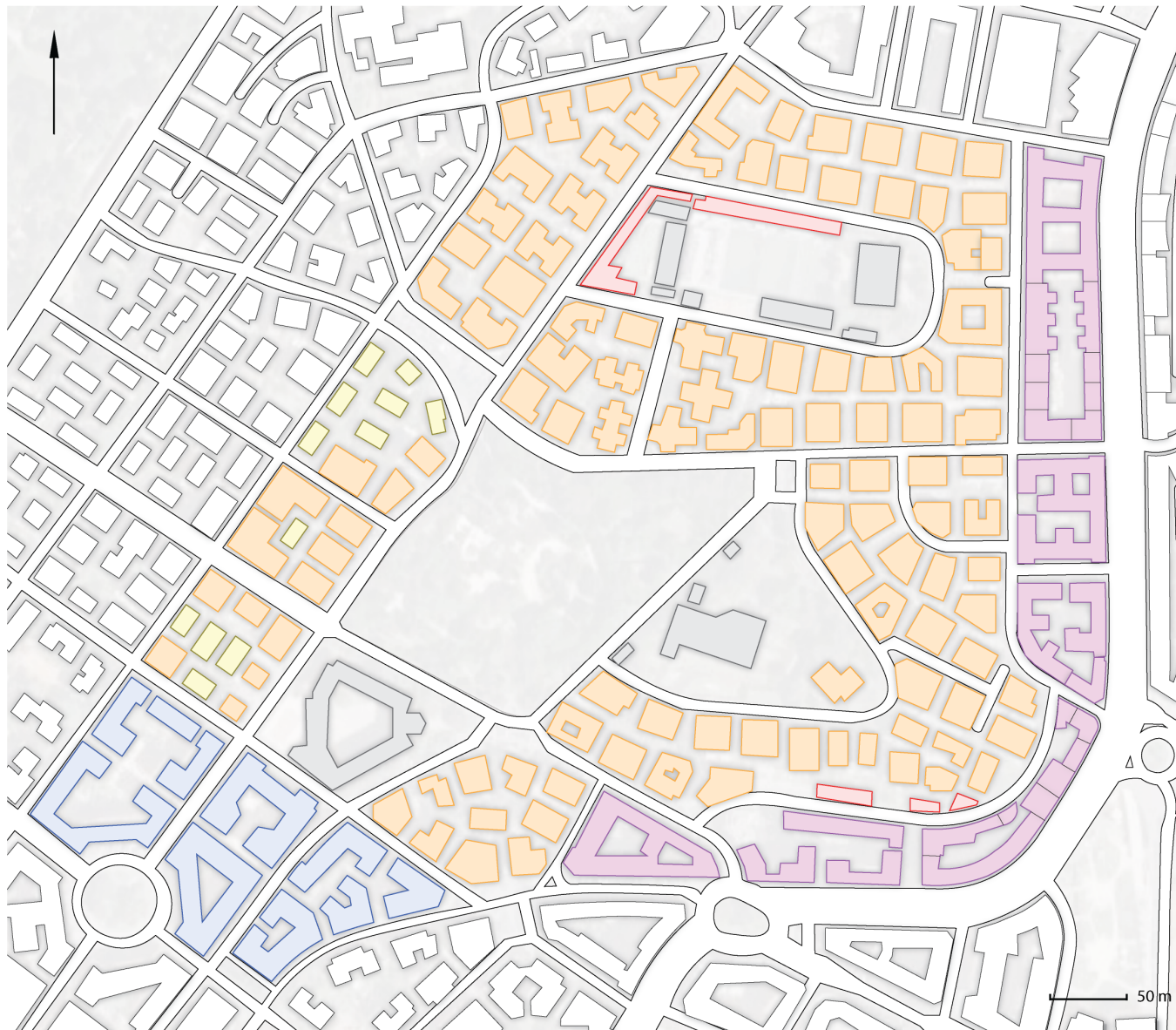
# Physical Analysis

The following section shows a detailed spatial analysis of the physical characteristics of the selected study area from the data we collected from conducting walking surveys and the 2011 ISTAT census. This analysis looks specifically at the physical characteristics of buildings and streetscape as well as other relevant urban networks.

Buildings were categorized into typologies, and assessed for maintenance, style, and land use. Streets were also classified typologically and assessed for maintenance level and the presence of graffiti.

This analysis also examines the networks of public transportation, public space, and food systems in the neighborhood.

# Building Typologies



Nemorense's built form is composed of a variety of building typologies that serve the neighborhood's needs for housing and local commercial activity. The study area is composed almost entirely of residential and mixed-use structures with occasional low-density commercial strips.

The area between Via Nemorense and Villa Ada to the northwest hosts a number of Ville - the lowest density and oldest residential buildings in the neighborhood.

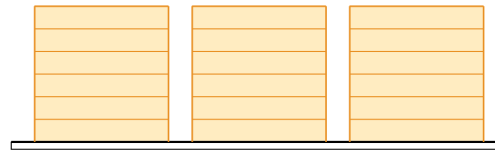
Density in the neighborhood rises to the southeast, with intensive mixed-use and residential development focused along Corso Trieste and Viale Eritrea.





### Intensivi 1

- 8 Stories
- Residential and commercial
- Focused around Corso Trieste and Viale Eritrea Corridor
- Classical or rationalist in style



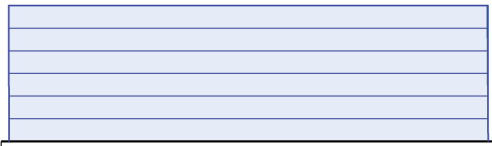
### Palazzine

- 6 Stories
- Residential with some commercial
- Present in a range of styles
- Most prevalent building typology in Nemorense



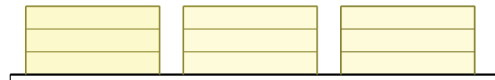
### Low-Rise Commercial

- 1-2 Stories
- Commercial



### Intensivi 2

- 6-8 Stories
- Residential with some commercial
- Classical in style
- Focused around Piazza Verbano



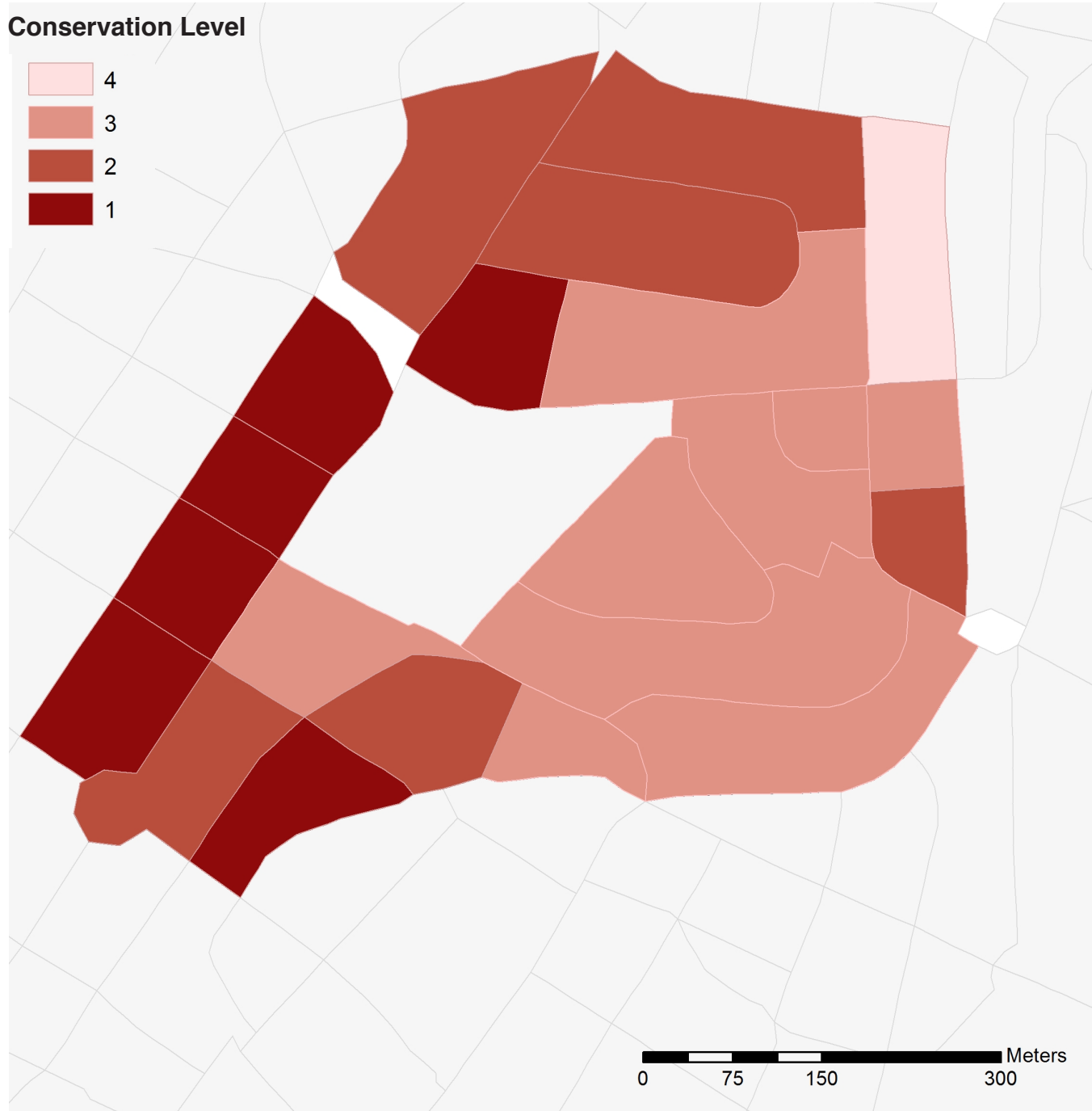
### Ville

- 2-3 Stories
- Residential
- Oldest structures
- Focused in lower density areas close to Villa Ada



Figure 13

# Building Maintenance



There appears to be a high standard of building conservation in the area. According to 2011 Census data, there are no buildings in the study area that have a rating of “poor” or “pessimo”.

Buildings along Via Nemorense to the west and near Piazza Verbano in the south are particularly well maintained, with a rating of “excellent” or “ottimo”. These consist of the large condominiums around Piazza Verbano that were built in the early 1900s that housed state employees, and the small “villini” - cottage houses - along the edge of our area.

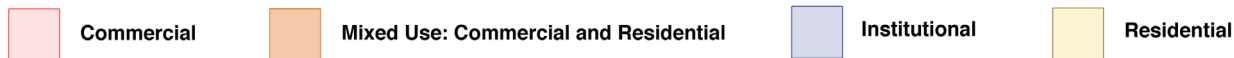
# Active Land Use



The primary active land use in the study area is residential. The overwhelming majority of buildings have at least some residential function.

The residents are served by two primary commercial corridors, along Corso Trieste/Viale Eritrea and Via Nemorense. These corridors are primarily characterized by commercial activity on the first floor of mixed-use buildings. However, there is a limited number of purely commercial buildings of one and two stories.

Nestled within areas of residential use are a series of schools and public spaces that serve the community.



# Changes in Commercial Character

One sign of change within the neighborhood is the appearance of a multitude of new businesses occupying commercial spaces. These new businesses are particularly prevalent along Corso Trieste. These new businesses appear to cater to a younger customer base than longer established businesses in the vicinity.

The transformation of commercial activity over the last decade is made evident through the examination of street photography archives.

## Corso Trieste



2014



2017

## Viale Eritrea



2011



2017

## Via Nemorense

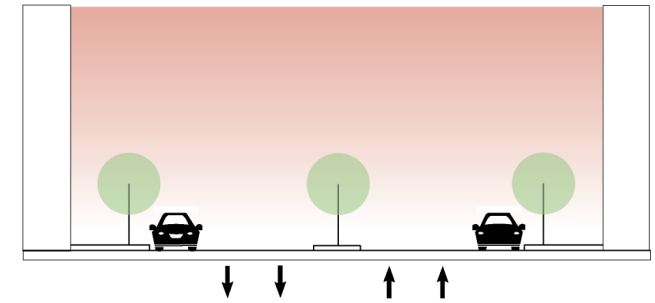
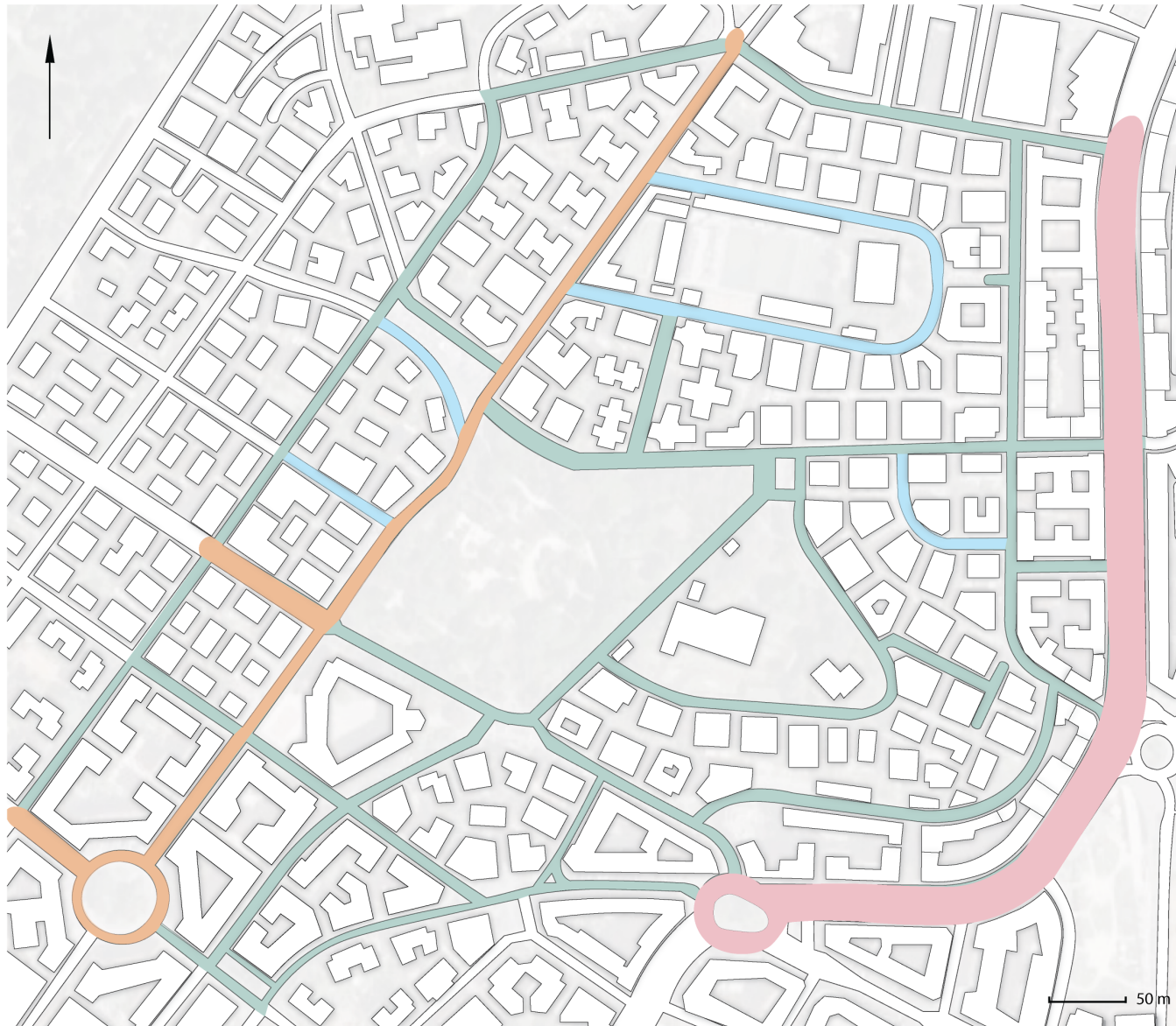


2008



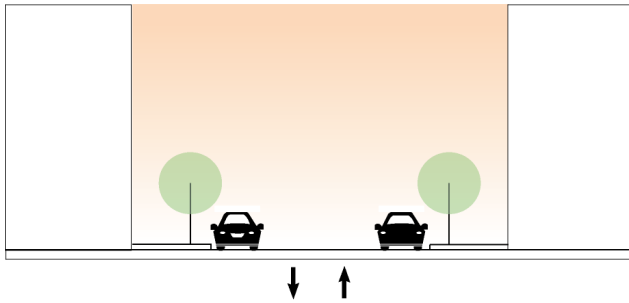
2017

# Street Typologies



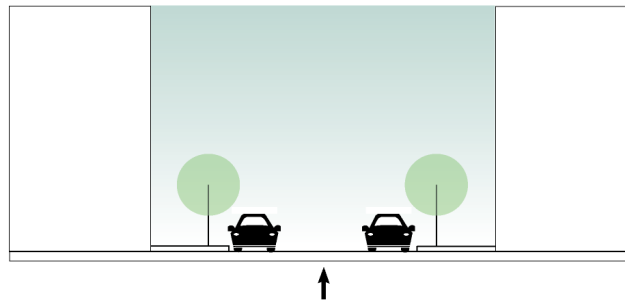
## Arterial

- 4 Driving Lanes
- Green Median
- 2-3 Parking Lanes
- Services highest density mixed-use and residential corridor



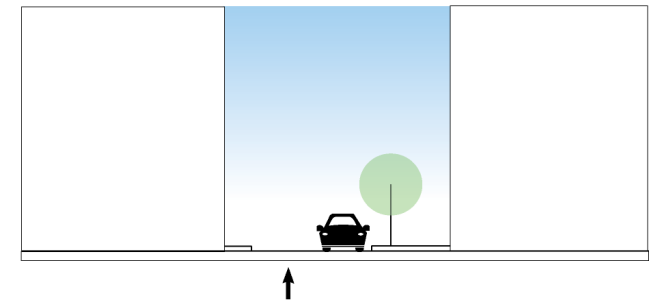
**Collector**

- 2 Driving Lanes
- 2 Parking Lanes
- Services mixed-use commercial and residential corridor



**Major Local**

- 1 Driving Lane
- 2 Parking Lanes
- Services primarily residential and institutional areas



**Minor Local**

- 1 Driving Lane
- 1 Parking Lane
- Services lower-density residential and institutional areas

# Street Maintenance



The streets of the study area were assessed for the quality of paving of sidewalks and roads. The accumulation of dirt and trash was also factored into this maintenance assessment. With these standards in mind, sections of the street were graded on a scale from one to four, with one being poor maintenance and 4 being excellent.

In general, street maintenance in the neighborhood is good with respect to Rome as a whole. The arterials of the neighborhood are particularly well maintained including the area between Via Nemorense and Villa Ada in the northwest of the study area.

Minor local streets in residential areas east of Parco Virgiliano exhibit the worst maintenance. These streets also receive the less pedestrian and car traffic than other streets in the neighborhood.

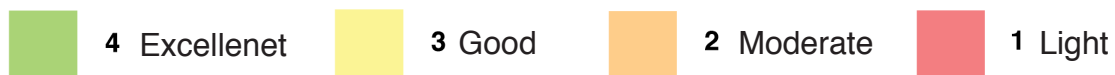
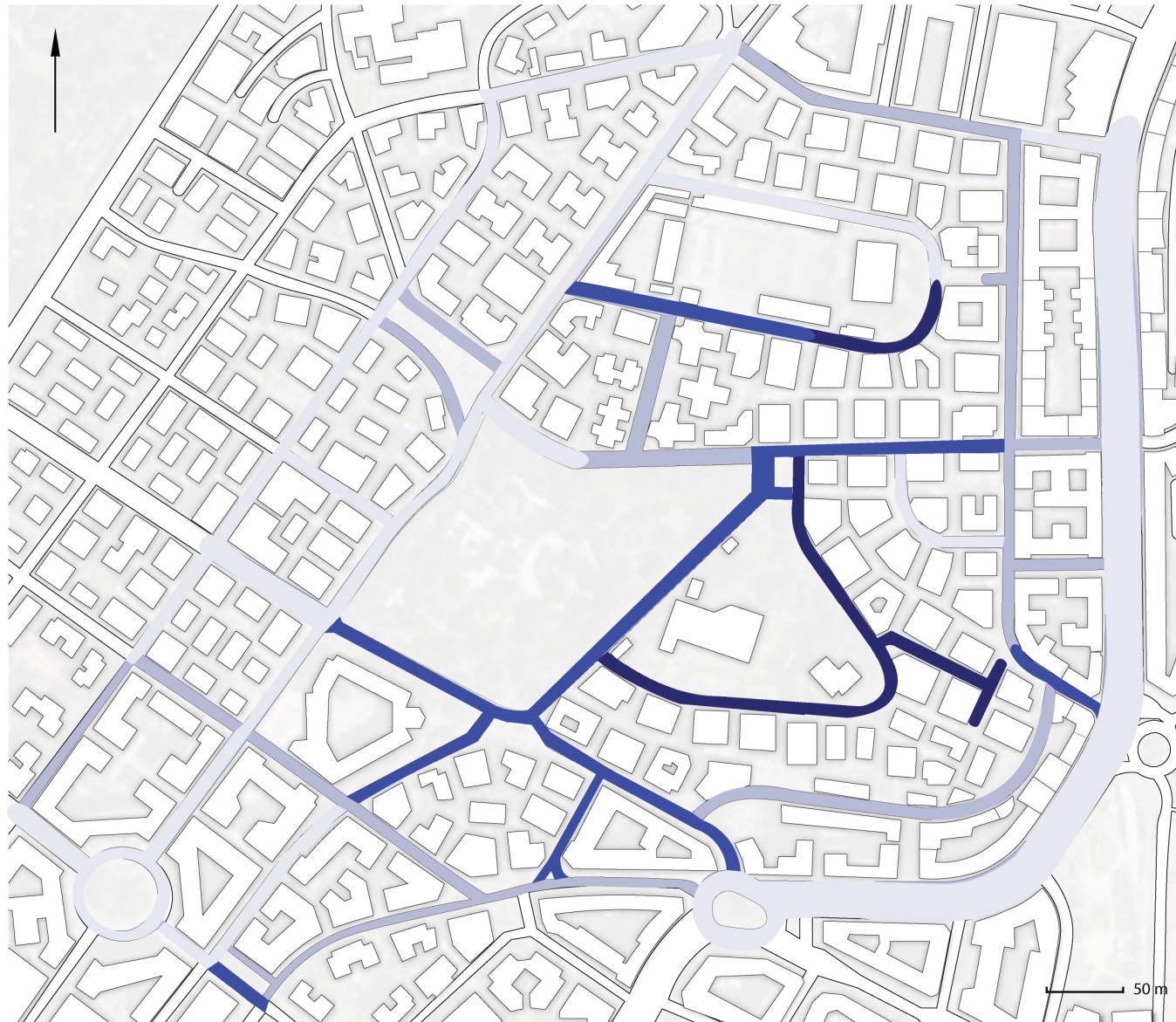






Figure 20

# Graffiti



The density of graffiti was mapped through a walking survey. Graffiti is present at higher densities on smaller, less active streets. There is a particularly strong presence of graffiti on the minor local streets to the southeast of Parco Virgiliano.

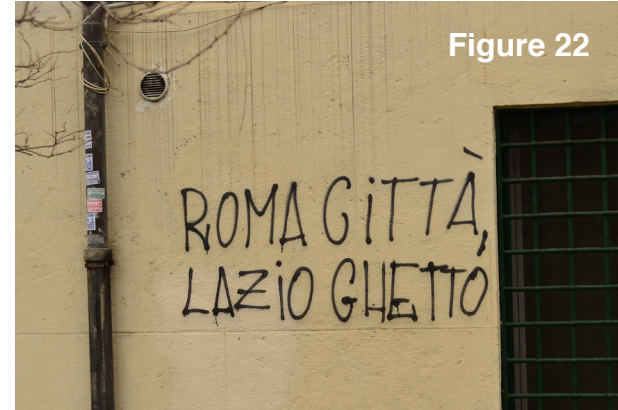
Through our survey, we also found that the presence of graffiti correlated with certain building materials. Buildings faced with travertine, metal, or other unpainted materials tended to have more graffiti.



# Types of Graffiti Present



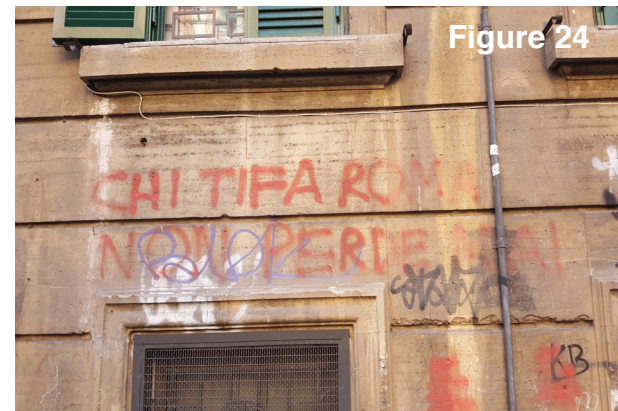
Romantic



Political

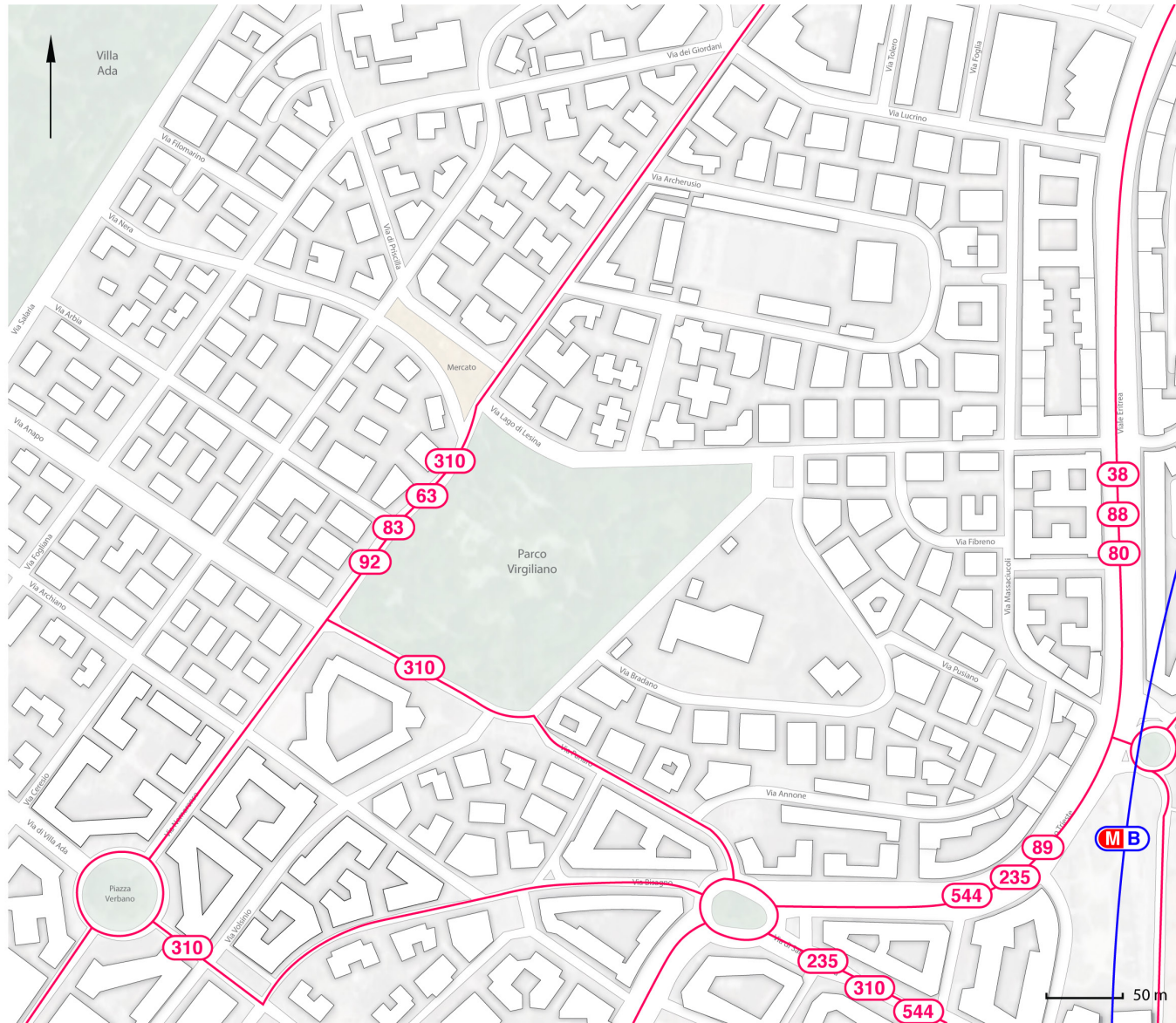


Tagging



Soccer

# Public Transportation



Nemorensis is connected to the rest of Rome through a network of bus routes, which run primarily along the corridors of Via Nemorensis and Corso Trieste.

In recent years, Nemorensis has also been served by the B Line of the Rome Metro. The Sant'Agnes subway stop is southeast of Parco Virgiliano along Corso Trieste. The location of the stop also conveniently marks the high point of commercial activity and density in the study area.

Subway —————

Bus —————

# Public Green Space



Nemorense has quite a few distinct public spaces where people gather and socialize. For most neighborhood residents, Parco Virgiliano is the main green space<sup>4</sup> - despite being adjacent to one of the larger parks in Rome, Villa Ada, which is less popular for locals due to the lack of accessibility.

There is also Piazza Verbano, a roundabout at the southern tip of our focus area that hosts many cafes and shops around it, outdoor seating areas, and a central green space that beautifies the area.

There are two markets in Nemorense: Piazza Crati is North-West of the park, and Mercato Trieste is further south along Via Chiana, which contribute to the public spaces in the area.



# 4.

# Demographic Analysis

Nemorensis is an upper-class, wealthy neighborhood. It has an aging population, many of whom used to be state employees now enjoy a high pension. Neighborhood residents frequent the neighborhood parks, embracing its beauty and sophistication. Even though the neighborhood is inhabited by people with a high education level, they did not escape the city-wide high unemployment rate despite their qualifications.

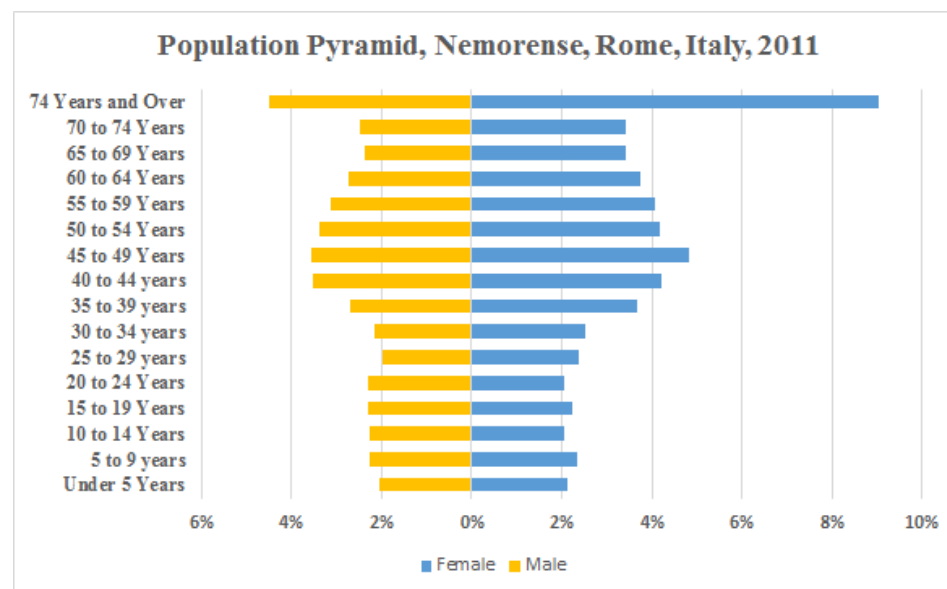
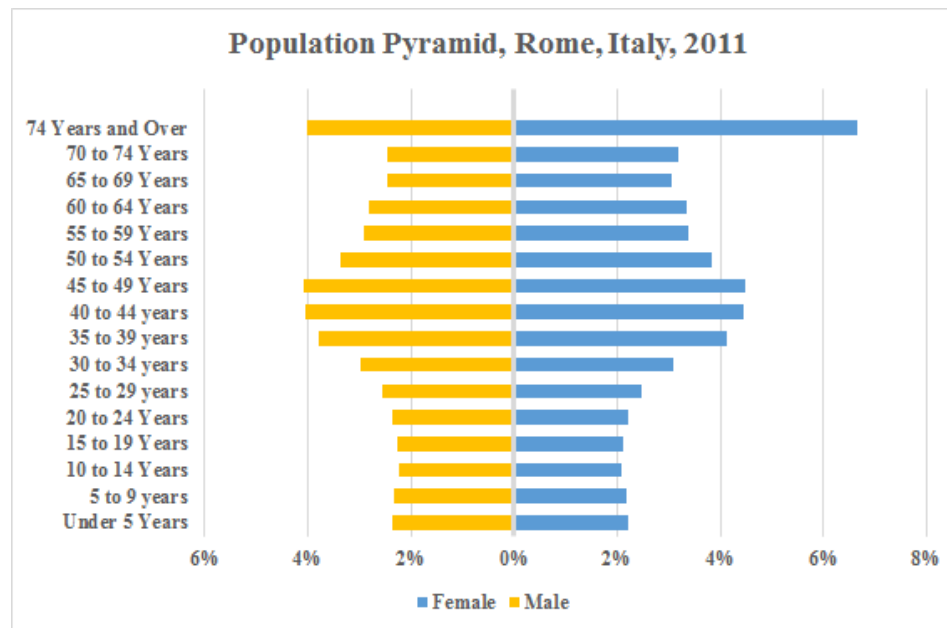
Nemorensis exudes this personality to the rest of the city and immigrants have seen this as a place of opportunity. The neighborhood also has many embassies. Besides those working in diplomacy, immigrants have a presence in the neighborhood taking jobs as shop owners, market vendors, caregivers, and street sweepers. Specifically, there is a large number of immigrants from Asia who are most

likely to work in domestic care. Moreover, the most prevalent age group with respect to sex are women from 30 to 54, a typical demographic for caregivers. The integration of immigrants and the neighborhood is essential to determining the future of the neighborhood.

# Age

Comparing the Rome and Nemorense population pyramids, we can see that Nemorense follows the general trend of Rome--having a large aging population. In Nemorense, the population of people 74 years and over is about three times the size of any other given age group. When looking at sex, we see that there are more females than males who are in this group.

There is also a larger percentage of people belonging to the group of age 74 and older in Nemorense than in Rome. In this light, this neighborhood has the characteristic of an elderly neighborhood, compared to Rome as a whole. With a large elderly population, we suspect that there to be more elderly care centers, more medical facilities, and more caregivers than the rest of the city.

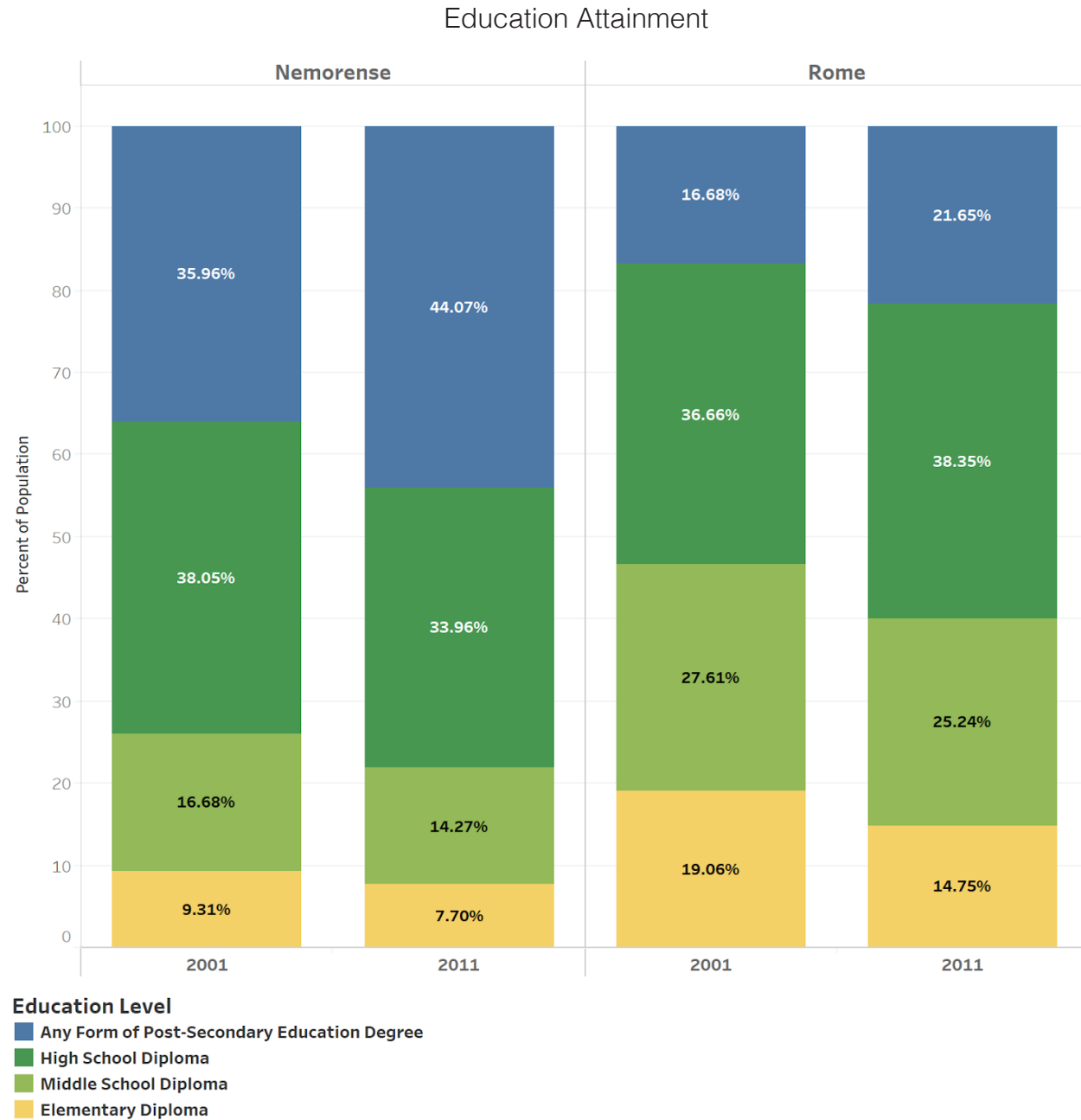




# Education

Between 2001 and 2011, both Rome and Nemorensense have an increase in higher educational attainment--the percentage of people obtaining any form of post-secondary education has increased. In general, Nemorensense surpasses Rome drastically in educational attainment having nearly twice the percentage of post-secondary education degrees compared to Rome in 2011.

Observing the literacy trends between Rome and Nemorensense with respect to gender, females in Nemorensense are twice as literate than those of Rome. Compared to Rome, females are more likely to be literate in this neighborhood.

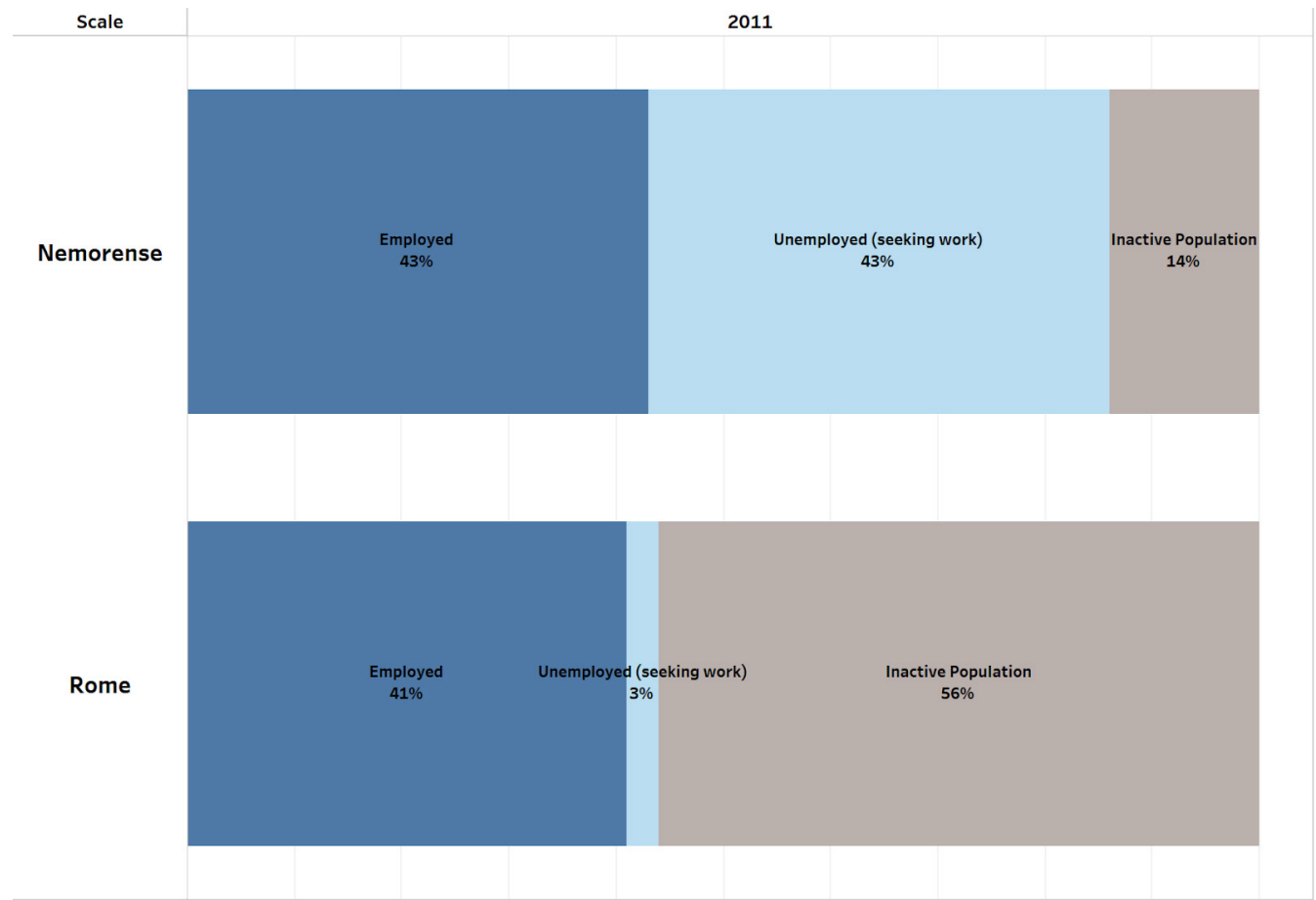


# Employment

Nemorensense's active population (i.e. those employed and those seeking employment) is nearly 90% while that of the City of Rome is 44%. The unemployment rate of Nemorensense, however, is 43%, while Rome only has 3% unemployed. This substantial difference indicates that the people of Nemorensense are not giving up finding a job. They are determined to be an active contributor to society, despite low job prospects.

Investigating the unemployed population concerning sex uncovers the disproportionality that exists for females, who are looking for work. Although the neighborhood has people of higher levels of education, more women are having a hard time finding jobs.

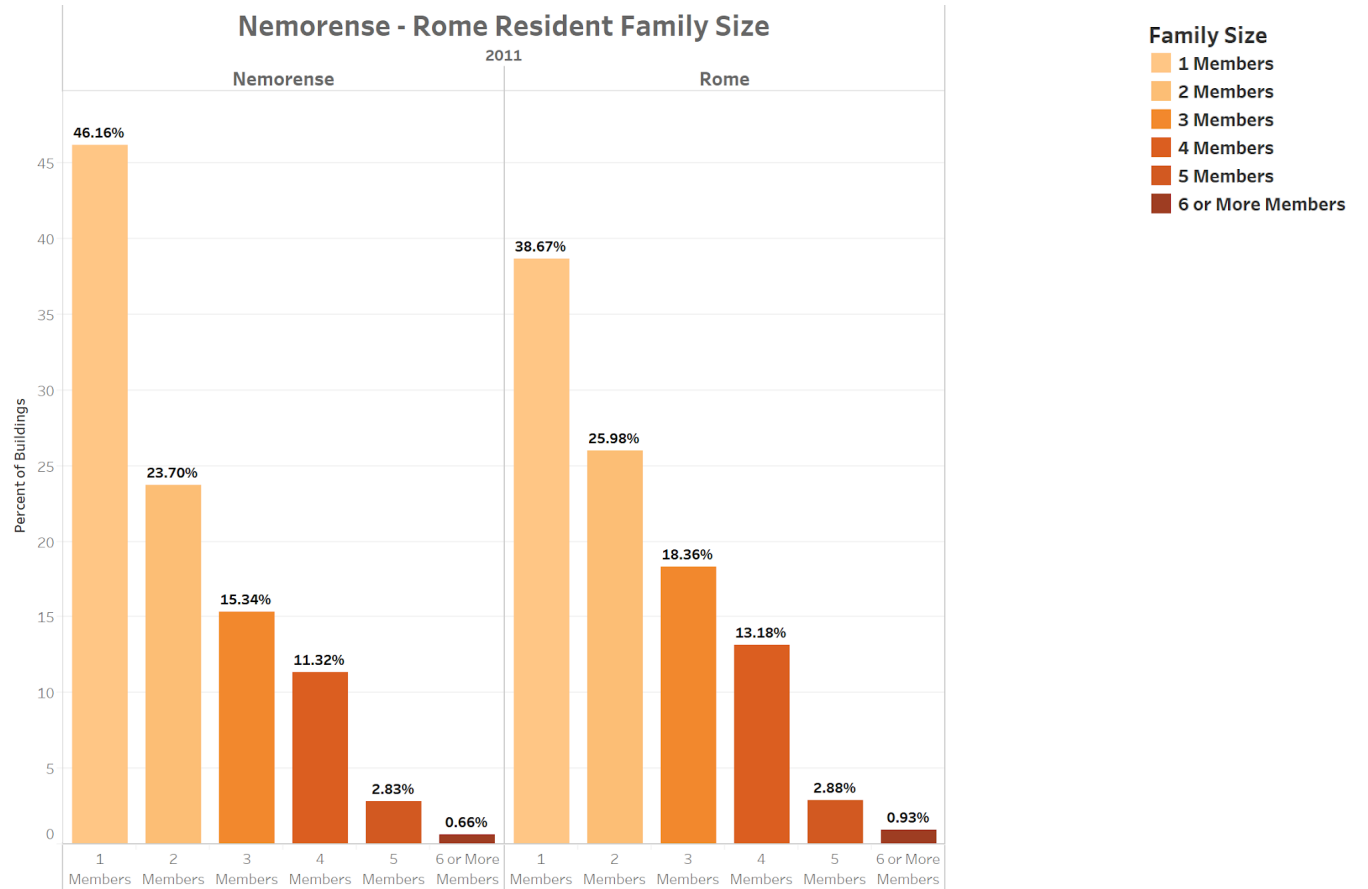
Employment Breakdown



# Family Size

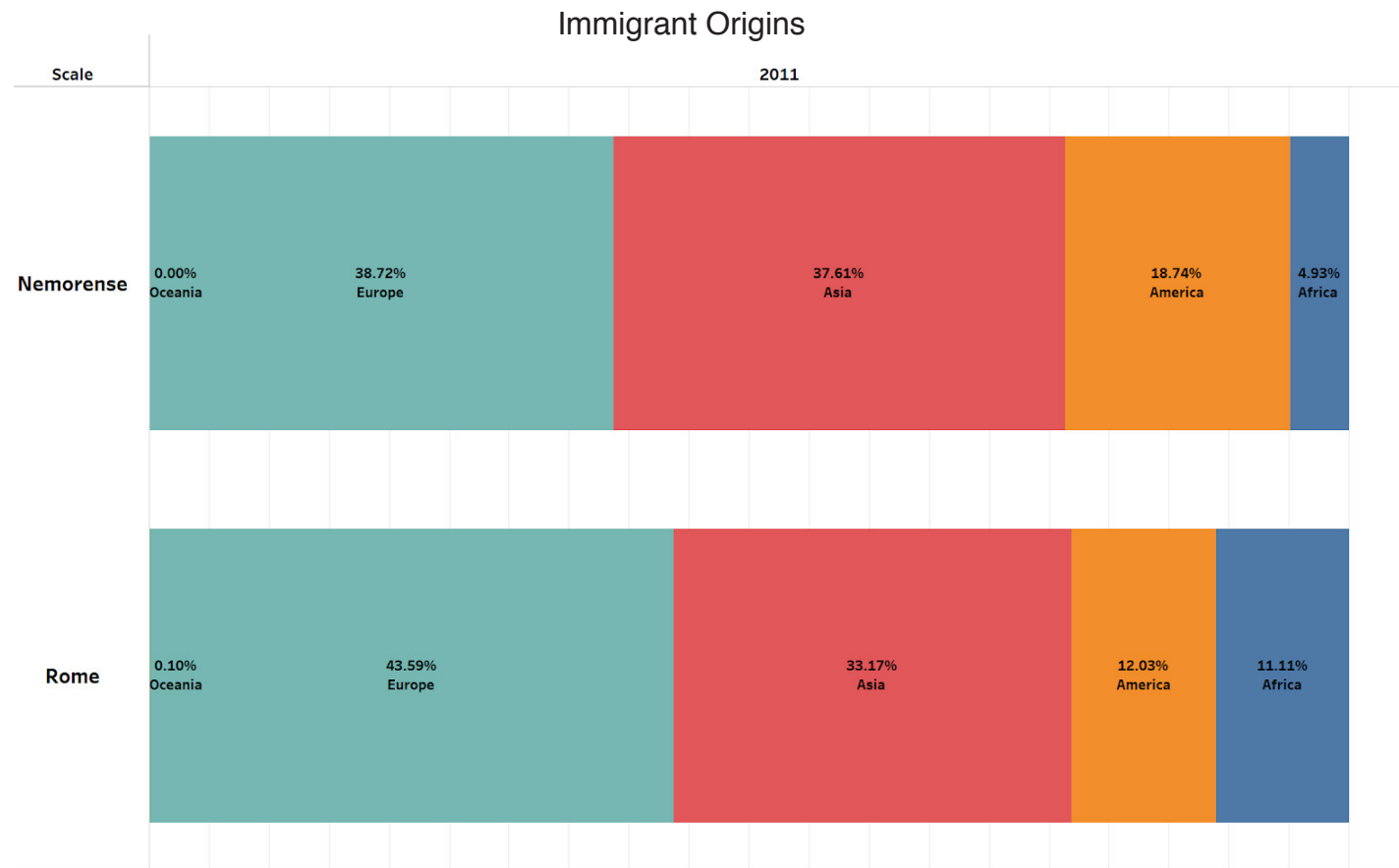
Nemorense follows the general trend for family size in Rome. From the charts, we can see a preference for small family sizes is increasing. Compare to Rome, this trend is more evident in Nemorense, which could be an indicator of embracing the ideals of a Fordist family.

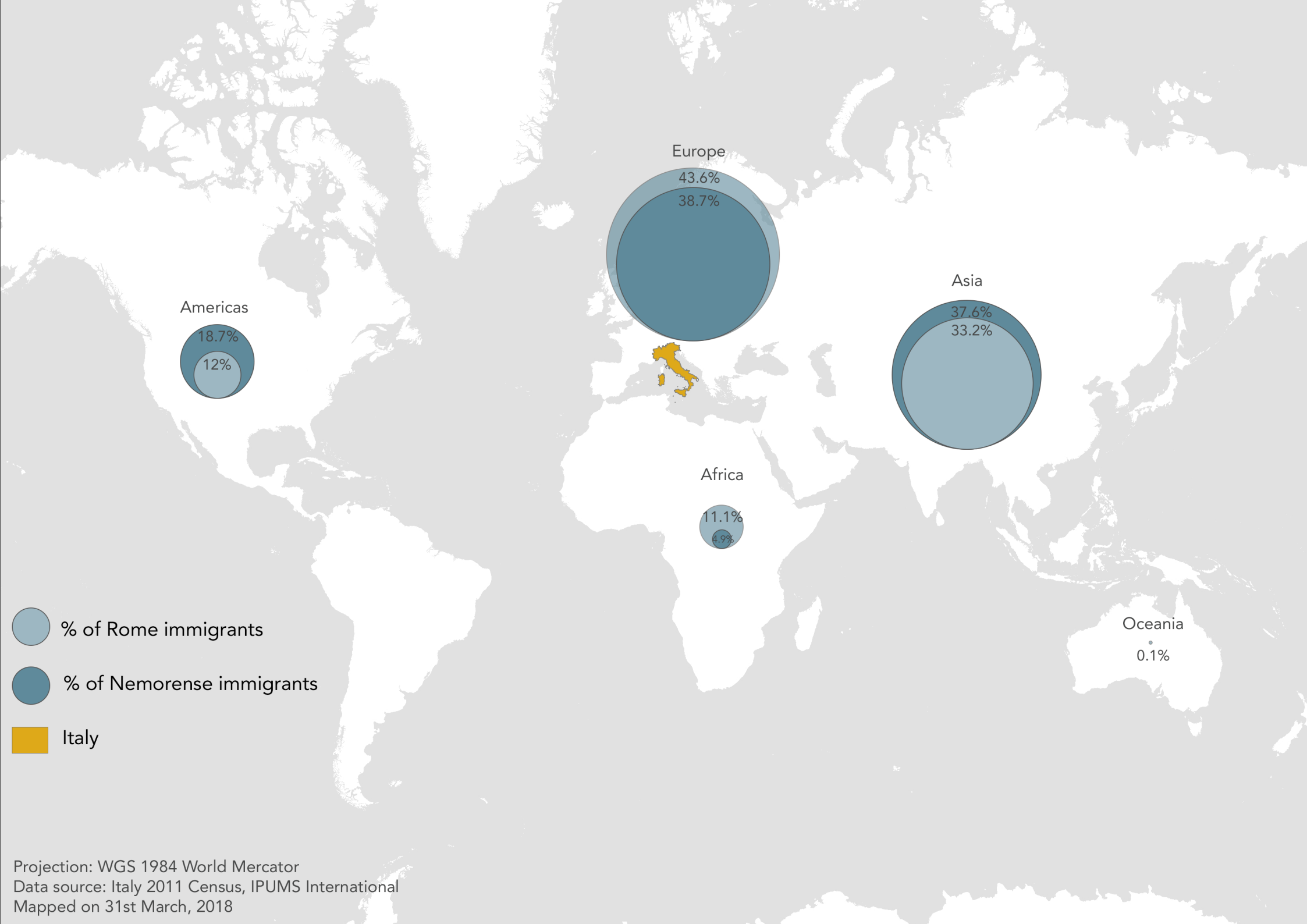
These smaller family sizes could be contributed to the fact that the younger adults who are moving into the neighborhood do not have any children yet.



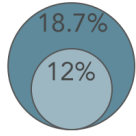
# Immigrants

In Nemorensis, there are more immigrants from the Americas and Asia than the rest of Rome, which has more immigrants from Africa and Europe. This suggests that there could be an existing network in this neighborhood causing the chain immigration phenomenon. There is also a smaller percentage of Africans, indicating there might be a barrier that is discouraging them from living in the neighborhood.

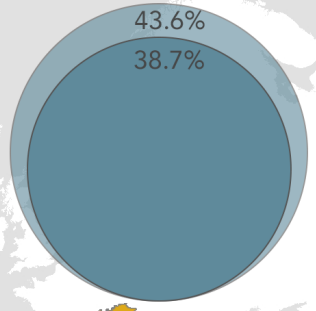




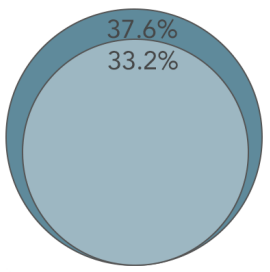
Americas



Europe



Asia




Africa



Oceania

0.1%

 % of Rome immigrants

 % of Nemorese immigrants

 Italy

Projection: WGS 1984 World Mercator  
Data source: Italy 2011 Census, IPUMS International  
Mapped on 31st March, 2018



5.

# Community Engagement

To complement the quantitative data, we had collected from the census, we conducted several interviews with park visitors, street sweepers, business owners, and active community stakeholders including Barikama and the Founder of Retake Roma. In these conversations, we were able to form a complete picture of our neighborhood by listening to their stories and learning how they live and interact with the neighborhood.

To prepare for the interviews, we collectively developed specific questions to ask our diverse groups of interviewees. Given the linguistic abilities of our team members and the presence of immigrants coming from different parts of the world, at least six different languages were utilized when conducting interviews. Translation of these questions was done through google translate as well as with

the assistance of our professors and teaching assistants. While these questions were intended to guide us, we intended to let the interviewee tell us what they consider to be important.

# Interviews In and Around the Park

## Elderly Regulars

As we start surveying the park, we noticed a group of people that would go to the park daily. Among these people are a group of three elderly women over the age of 75, who always have their dogs with them. Another person who frequents the park was an elderly man, who usually sits on the bench alone and entertains conversations with people he recognizes passing through the park. We had the pleasure of speaking to them about their perspectives of the park and of the immigrants.

The elderly who frequent the park usually live nearby. When we asked them where they lived they would simply point over to a building across the street. That being stated, when we asked about the presence of the street sweepers, many of them said they were a disturbance, but some others said they did not have a problem with it, “E meglio che fanno quello che fanno niente. [It’s better to have them doing that than them doing nothing]”.

These conversations usually proceed to a larger political conversation about the presence of immigrants in Italy. Many people said there were too many immigrants in Italy. One woman said, “They come here looking for work, but there isn’t even work for us.” Among the three women, when we asked who cleans the park, one woman said, “no one.” Another woman said the Africans. The two bantered for a while about

who cleans the park and then decided to settle with a disagreement.

In addition to the conversations about immigration, we found out some interesting information about life in Nemorense. The elderly have lived in the neighborhood for over fifteen years. They witness the reopening of Caffè Nemorense and construction of the metro station. They have witnessed the remodeling and the hike in prices around the area. When they told us about where they went for grocery shopping, they mentioned places like Tuodi and a market, which was not Piazza Crati--he one across the street. Pointing at Piazza Crati, they told us, “Quello e molto caro.” [That one is too expensive].

## Students

We were able to interview some students who were hanging out in the park. They informed us that they are not too concerned with the immigrants and that they have noticed the transition of the neighborhood, referring to the construction of the metro station. We asked them if they wanted to live in the area when they graduated, they both said, “No, this is a great place to raise a family, but I want more.”

## Families

Among the families we spoke to, there were usually groups of mothers chatting as their kids playing in the park. Other families were alone



Figure 25

large issue of bullying in schools and that there is a Nemorense gang. This family also mentioned that she was very happy to know that there was socioeconomic variation in the school where her children attended. The general idea is that Nemorense is a great place to raise a family.

## Caregivers

We were fortunate to be able to speak with a few caregivers. Many of them are always busy caring for their clients and thus cannot talk to us. Once we tried to speak with someone and she responded in Spanish, “No puedo ahorita porque le da miedo a la señora. [I can’t right now, the woman will get scared.]” This in itself was information for us. This particular caregiver was not Italian. In addition, we also spoke to two caregivers on their lunch break in the park. They told us that they had been living in Rome for 30 years and they came from the Philippines. They were both related; one sister came before the other. Not only are there caregivers for elder-



ly, but for children too. We were able to speak to a Colombian woman about her 12 years in Rome as a caregiver. The family she works for she has known for a while; she said that she had seen the kids grow. Altogether, these caregivers expressed that they were grateful to have found work in the neighborhood.

### Barikamà

Barikamà is a social cooperative started by three asylum-seekers coming from Africa in 2011. They sell organic vegetables and yogurt by bike delivery. They also set up outdoor stands in several parts of the city, one of which is in Parco Virgiliano. Besides their farm business, they also co-manage Caffè Nemorense with another social organization called Grandma. In 2014, they expanded their business and started to work for a charity cause--people with Asperger's Syndrome.

With the help of Professor Gregory Smith, we were able to interview two of the members from Barikamà. We learned that they are in charge of the maintenance of the park, including opening and closing the park, and cleaning. If it is not raining, they go to the park every morning during the weekday.

### Street Sweepers

From our observation, the street sweepers in our neighborhood were all men except for one woman. Many of them came from Nigeria in

hopes of finding work here in Italy. Many of them came alone, without knowing anyone. They often wake up very early and head to areas with heavy foot traffic, with a broom in hand and a bucket for people to drop a few coins for their service. Speaking Italian is not their forte, but they do attempt to greet everyone they see and entertain any conversation with whomever that speaks to them.

Although some residents of the neighborhood may perceive them as a nuisance to the community, many street sweepers that we have spoken to have faith that the work they are doing will give them a better life. Many of them do not work on Sundays so that they can go to church.



Figure 26

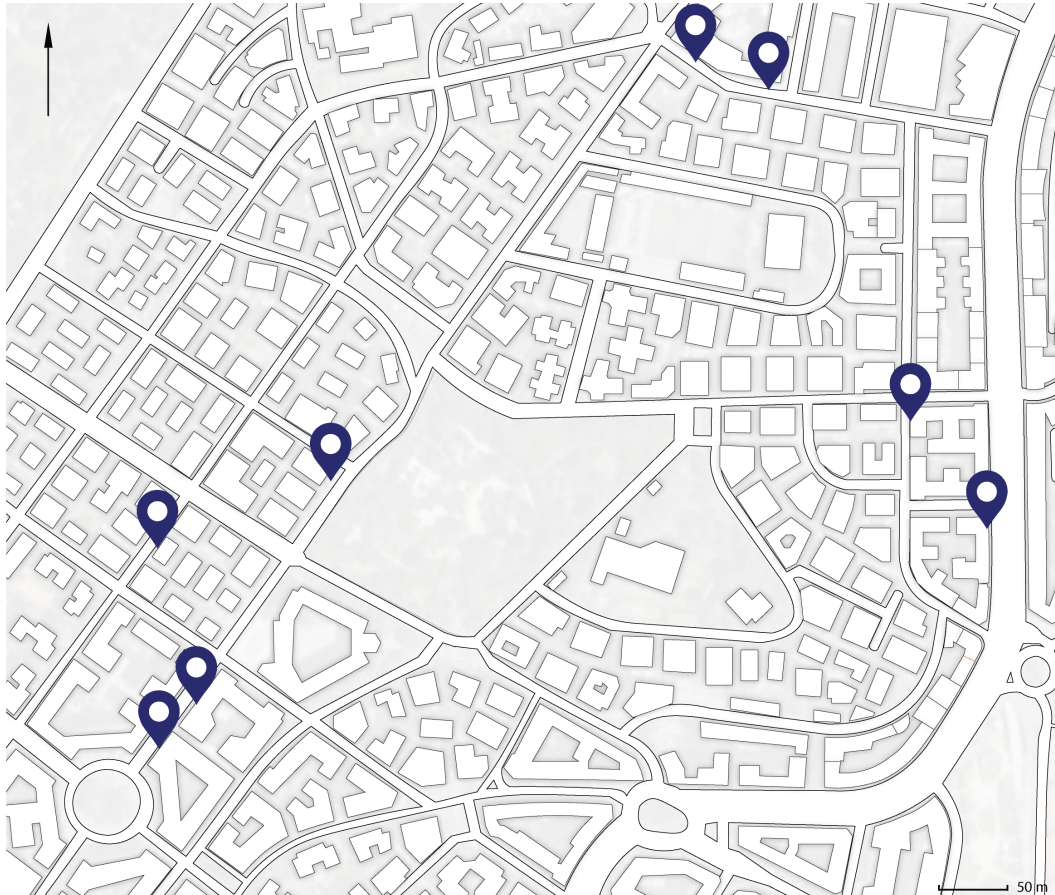


6.

# Market Networks

Residents purchase food items from three different places: supermarkets, mini-markets, and traditional municipal markets - Piazza Crati, which is located in the northwest of the park; and Mercato Trieste is further south along Via Chiana, which also act as public spaces in the area. Customers are mainly comprised of local residents - most of whom are Italians - and caregivers who shop for their clients following a specific list. While most residents shop at supermarkets, there is still a substantial number of residents that do grocery shopping in traditional municipal markets, where they believe that they could find higher quality products.

# Mini-Markets



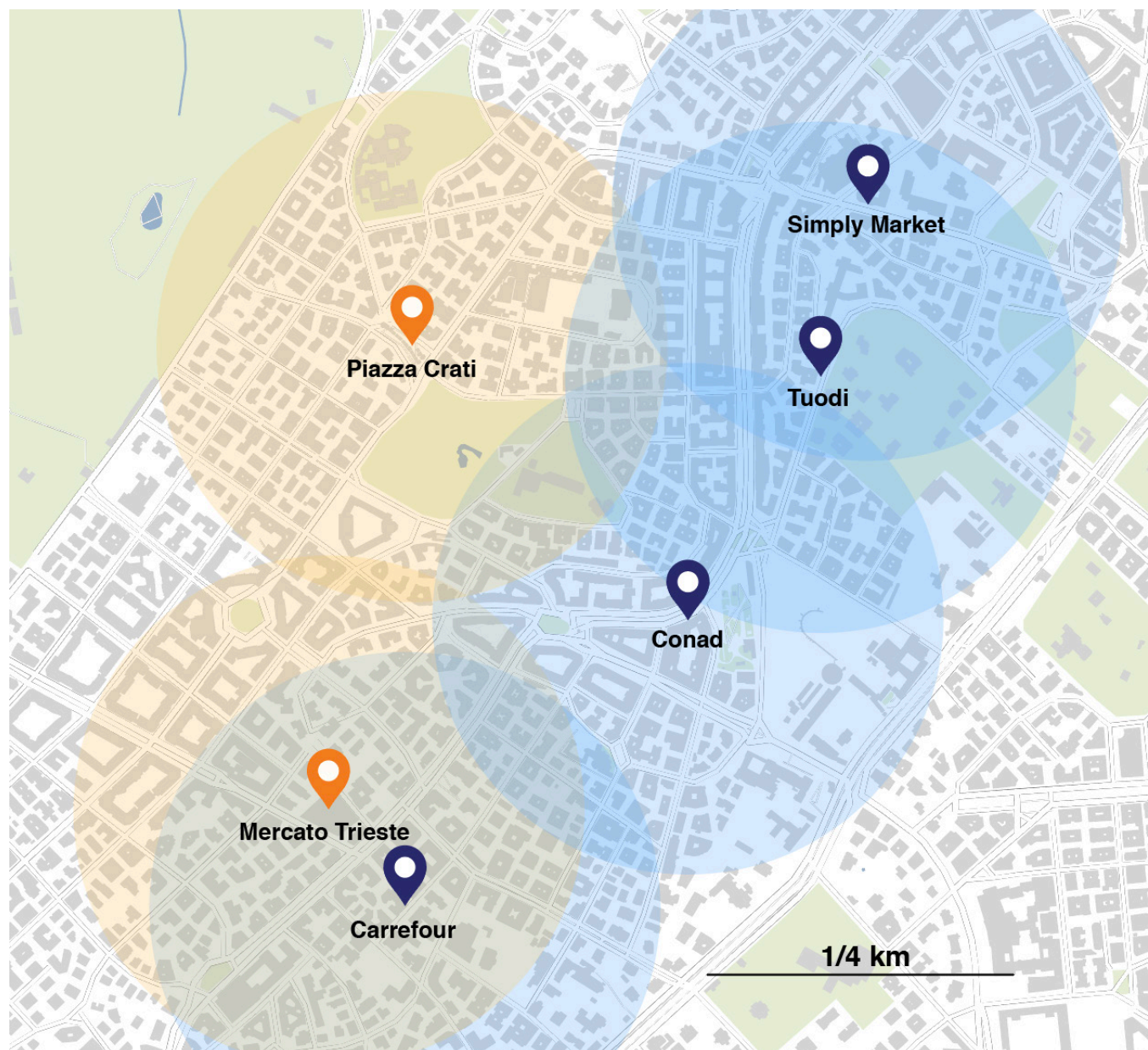
Some residents go to the mini-markets that are conveniently located throughout the neighborhood. Mini-markets, or small fruit stands, are an alternative to shopping at the supermarkets and municipal markets. Often occupying a space of a 3m<sup>2</sup> room, they sell a range of products, including fruits, vegetables, dry goods, and essential household products. Most mini-markets are owned by Bangladeshi immigrants, which is different from the booths in Mercato Trieste, where most are owned by Italians.

Municipal markets, on the other hand, are regulated by the local government, and are indoor or outdoor spaces. Food vendors often sell their home-grown fruits and vegetables, providing more local food products for customers. Italian vendors, in particular, often sell cured meat and cheeses. There is a longstanding culture in Rome relating to markets - residents usually have a relationship with market vendors, and they are trusted for better quality products. Most vendors in the markets in Nemorense have their stalls for many decades, and it is rare to find new market stalls due to the difficult bureaucratic process of registering for one with the municipal government.



Figure 27

# Supermarkets and Markets



## Supermarkets

There are four supermarkets in close proximity to our neighborhood - Simply Market, Tuodi, Conad, and Carrefour. Conad, for instance, has a grocery delivery system - something that would benefit the older population of Nemorense. Supermarkets are defined as large indoor shops that sell foods and household goods. Contrary to a markets, where individual vendors sell their own produce, supermarkets procure goods in bulk and usually sell it in a large store format organized by aisles. Residents often go to supermarkets for convenience-- they have longer hours of operation and a greater variety of products, so everything can be purchased in one place.

## Municipal Markets

There are two municipal markets in Nemorense: Mercato Trieste (indoor) and Piazza Crati (outdoor). Mercato Trieste, opened in 1957, is known for selling fresh products like fruits and vegetables, meat, and cheese. It has a larger capacity and is more popular among the locals in comparison other markets in the area. In recent years, it has also incorporated non-food stalls such as clothing, household products, and book stations. In response to the increasing competition with supermarkets and shopping malls, the market now organizes cultural events. The market as a social space and as a result, increase publicity about the market. According to the locals, this market is quite successful, as

many of them still frequent Mercato Trieste to do their grocery shopping.

Another municipal market in out neighborhoods is Piazza Crati. It is an outdoor market that sells flowers, fruits and vegetables, cheese, and clothing. According to the local residents, it is not a popular destination for grocery shopping because of its high prices. With only about twelve stalls, it has a smaller capacity. Nevertheless, people who frequent this market seem to have a very high rapport with the stall owners. They call each other by name and ask about each other's personal lives.

Diversity spans from vendors to the customers who visit the market. There are roughly an equal number of male and female vendors, most of whom are Italians. One produce stand is run by a couple from El Salvador, who has been in Italy for over eight years. Several of the vendors explained the difficulty immigrant vendors have when running a stall in the market because of language barriers. Customers are very particular about their food needs and want to communicate that to stall owner.

### Supply Chain

Vendors relay where they purchase their goods to customers who ask. They usually procure their food from Rome's Agri-Food Center called CAR. Some of the vendors also procure certain food items from regional producers where they can find products that are not traditionally used in Italian cuisines, such as mangos, papaya, avocado, manioc, and plantains. This great variety of food products caters to immigrant customers and Italians who are starting to incorporate these ingredients into their cooking.



### Customer Shopping Patterns

In this neighborhood, the choice of whether to shop in markets, supermarkets, or mini-markets is mainly affected by three factors: the proximity of the shopping location to individual's residence, the quality and price of products, and the relationship between customers and the stall owners.

Shopping patterns are largely dependent on price, convenience, and product quality. The most important factor is how close their residences are to each shopping location. This reflects the upper-middle class characteristic of our neighborhood, as the price is not the main concern for the majority of residents. Moreover, given the substantial number of elderly people in the neighborhood, traveling long distances to shopping locations is not preferred.

Nevertheless, there are people in the neighborhood who weigh quality and price. They are able to select where they purchase different goods when purchasing food. For instance, they may know that the mini-market has cheaper strawberries or that the supermarket has cheaper cherry tomatoes. This awareness of where to buy certain products is developed over time with the familiarity of the neighborhood and the availability of its food options.

Although Nemorensense has a sizeable immigrant population, many are embassy employees with high purchasing power. Many of them do not

visit markets. This might be the result of the difference in shopping patterns, as embassy employees are typically people with busy working schedules and desire the most efficient shopping option--supermarkets. Markets, on the other hand, only open from 7am to 2pm, when embassy employees could not get away from work to do grocery shopping.

There appear to be a discernible shopping pattern among the immigrant population in the neighborhood. While Italians tend to use markets and mini-markets more often, immigrant residents are more likely to go to supermarkets. Mercato Trieste, Piazza Crati, and the mini-markets have non-local fruit products like mango, avocado, plantain, and manioc. These vendors explain that both Italians and immigrants purchase these items, which may be an effect of increased trends of globalization.

In the context of increasing competition between markets and supermarkets, most customers that prefer to shop in markets and mini-markets emphasized the availability of seasonal, high quality, and fresh products. Furthermore, the determining factor between markets and mini-markets depends on proximity and vendors' relationship with the customers. Residents that frequent markets say that they not only trust the vendors with their food sources but also like to chat with them and learn new recipes.







## Vendors

### Cost

### Registration Process

### Flexibility

Markets, owned by the municipality, are dually used as public spaces. It is not only a place that people purchase food and other necessities, but also a space for people to interact and socialize. These are the advantages that supermarkets do not have. The disadvantages, however, have two dimensions. There is a general trend of markets in Rome, which are losing in competition to the supermarkets. Supermarkets are more convenient because customers can purchase everything in one place and are usually open later than markets. The purchasing capacity of supermarkets ensures that they could offer customers a wider range of products with lower prices.

#### Vendor Patterns

Not only are there factors that affect the customer experience in markets, but also for the vendors. Factors such as rental prices, the process of registering stalls, and the flexibility of accommodating the changing needs of both the customer and the vendors.

For potential vendors and current vendors, Mercato Trieste stands out for two reasons. Firstly, it is situated in an upper-class neighborhood and has a solid client base, who could afford to make purchases. Secondly, for vendors, it is more economical than renting a store. Specifically, each stall only costs about 1,000 euros per year, with an additional cost of 100 euros for maintenance. It is substantially more afford-

able compared to the individual stores along the streets.

Similar circumstances apply to Piazza Crati. Although, compared to Mercato Trieste, it is more expensive--about 220 euros a month for rent, this is still far more economical than opening a mini-market--it costs about 1,500 euros a month for one along Via Nemorense. In this light, vendors do not always have a choice where they open their business. They must predict where their business will succeed accounting for foot traffic, competition with similar stands, and most of all, rental costs.

Considering the registration process, specific to the Nemorense, there seem to be issues with the municipality, which is rather inefficient in granting vending permissions to aspiring stall owners. Municipal markets have a high entry point, as it requires an application to the municipality that takes a relatively long time to be approved. For one, at Mercato Trieste, a vendor indicated that it took her 4 years to get permission; fortunately, she was able to wait because she has another job as a graphic designer which diversified her sources of income. Consequently, it is not surprising to see that most of the vendors at the municipal markets have their stalls for decades--many of the stalls are family business that are passed down from their parents.

Mini-markets, on the other hand, has an easier registration process that attracted many immigrants who depend on their vending business to make a living. Thus, the opportunity cost of going through the entire stall registration process outweigh the relative higher rent for a mini-market. Moreover, the high rent is compensated by having the flexibility of choosing opening hours and running business in whatever way the mini-market owners desires.

### The Future of Markets

These are internal changes that can change the character of a market, but other physical characteristics like location, building maintenance, and lack of public transit are more difficult to change. Mercato Trieste, for example, does not have a parking lot, which significantly decreases its attraction to customers that need a car to move around. Piazza Crati, on the other hand, underwent a major renovation process that

created a five-floor underground parking lot in the vicinity. Yet the parking lot is privately owned and thus is not open to non-resident customers.

The area around markets is always changing. To remain competitive, markets need to be flexible to adapt. In response to the increasing aging population, which indicates the decline of client base, Mercato Trieste attempts to make up for the loss by drawing customers from other neighborhoods. Vendors of Mercato Trieste have devised several strategies to attract customers, such as focusing on the quality of their products and providing excellent services. To emphasize the market as a public space for people to socialize, it hosts cultural events that attract 500 people to attend every week.

Figure 28





Figure 29



7.

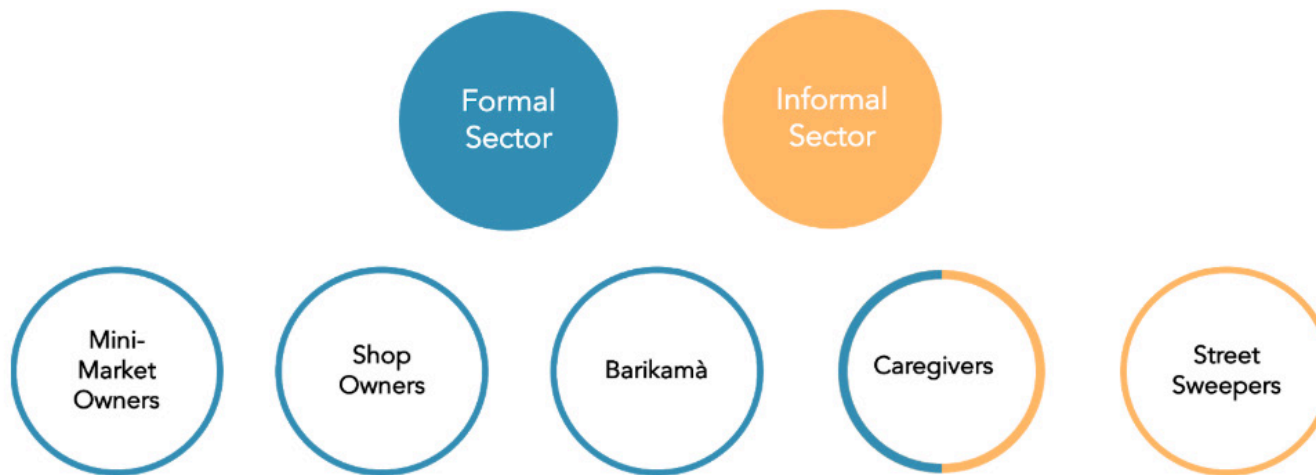
# Immigrant Networks

During our neighborhood survey, we identified five different jobs that the immigrants are engaged in. Firstly, there are mini-market owners who are mainly Bangladeshi, whereas most of the shops like salons and convenience stores are owned by Chinese families. The Barikamà social cooperative and street sweepers are mostly from Northern and West African countries, and caregivers we observed to be mainly Asian and South Americans.

Based on the neighborhood surveys and interviews we conducted, we categorized these jobs based on whether they were in the formal and informal sector. For immigrants working in the formal sector, they have a work permit, typically speak fluent Italian, and have been in Italy for more than 5 years. Also, many of them, especially mini-markets and shops owners live in Nemorense. People working in the informal sector, however, are mostly asylum-seekers

who have only been in Italy for several months. They typically do not speak Italian very well but have good command of English. They usually live far away from the city and commute to Nemorense by train and/or subway every morning.

# Immigrants Networks



## Caregivers and the Global Care Chain

Based on the demographic analysis, we found that there is a disproportionately high number of female immigrants living in Nemorensense, most of whom are from Asia and America. This population is mostly comprised of immigrants working in the domestic sector, who are coming from Southeast Asian countries like the Philippines, and Central and South American countries like El Salvador and Chile.<sup>9</sup> These people are the first wave migration into Italy, dating back to the 1970s.<sup>10</sup> Commonly called caregivers, these migrants are usually one of the main sources of income for their families back home.<sup>11</sup>

This phenomenon is termed as the global care chain. In their home country, the migrants are

trained as nurses by government-organized agencies and then sent out to different countries. The government officials see their nurses as a source of remittance to boost national income, rather than serving for the domestic healthcare system. For example, in the Philippines, in 2015, remittances accounted for 10% of the country's GDP. It is also the fourth largest remittance-receiving country in the world.<sup>12</sup> The host country, on the other hand, attracts migrants due to economic and social reasons. In the context of Italy, the state has a tradition of being a weak welfare provider, and citizens often have to turn to churches and volunteer organizations for assistance.<sup>13</sup> In short, caregivers are crucial to compensate the state function in terms of welfare provisions. Situating the care industry in the context of

Nemorensense, we suggest that the large number of caregivers is positively correlated to the large number of the aging population who are also well-off retirees.

These caregivers, speak fluent Italian, as that was part of their requirement to graduate nursing school back home, spend most of their days taking their employers for a walk, doing their grocery shopping, and caring for clients in private households. According to the interviews we conducted with them, the only time they are free is during lunch, when they often go to the park to eat their premade meals and socialize with other caregivers in the area.

While the caregivers mentioned above are employed in the formal sector, there is also a small number of people working informally in domestic care. These are asylum-seekers who are waiting for their refugee status to be approved, which takes about 18 months in Italy. While waiting for approval, the asylum-seekers are deprived of employment opportunities. With the little allowance they receive from the government, they lack means to provide for themselves. As a result, they look for off-the-book jobs, one of which is caregivers. Nevertheless, they are under undue treatment, as their employers could threaten to expose their identities to local authorities.



Figure 30

The mainstream scholarship on urban informality could be categorized into different perspectives. While some see urban informality as a backwards practice, separate from the formal economy, and will eventually cease to exist, others see it as a last resort for those who are marginalized and excluded by the formal sector.<sup>14</sup> Alternatively, some view it as a voluntary exit of the informal economic actors under stringent regulations.<sup>15</sup> Ananya Roy criticizes these perspectives, suggesting that they either put a passive connotation on urban informality or comes from a stance of privileges that is not applicable to those actors with little economic resources.<sup>16</sup> Instead, Roy proposes that urban informality is “a series of transactions that connects different economies and spaces to one another”.<sup>17</sup> It is a type of activity that is common across all countries, but varies in different contexts due to political, economic, and social factors. For example, in Egypt, the dynamics of urban and rural interfaces constitute an essential part of urban growth.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, in the arrival cities in China, informal housings occupied by contractions workers contribute substantially to urban development and thereby the economic growth of the region.<sup>19</sup>

In Italy, there seems to be another dimension of urban informality that does not play a directly into economic growth but it fills the void where public services are lacking.

If you wander around Nemorense in the morning, you may bump into Sondi, a regular street sweeper, cleaning the sidewalks. Leaving Ghana six months ago, he now travels 10 km every morning to work here. If you stay longer, you might be able to see a couple local residents saying hello to Sondi, giving him some bananas, or putting money in his little basket.

About a year ago, Rome witnessed the emergence of people cleaning the sidewalks in various neighborhoods. Most of them are asylum-seekers working on a ‘voluntary’ basis. No one asks them to come here, nor are they hired by the municipality. Consequently, they do not get paid but hope that some of the local residents will appreciate their work and give them a small sum of money or some food items in exchange.

This is an interesting landscape of urban informality in Nemorense. Because these activities taking place in the urban space are not set up by the local government and do not exist in the formal economy. Instead, they are informal negotiations between two groups of users of the public space in Nemorense—the local residents who desire clean sidewalks and the asylum-seekers who need resources to make a living but cannot find jobs in the formal sector, resorting to filling in where government services fail to reach.

### Urban Informality

Urban Informality as a crucial mean of sustenance for both the city and informal actors.



**Figure 31**

The sidewalks are not the only type of public space that manifests urban informality. Parco Virgiliano is maintained by a social coop called Barikamà, which is started by a group

of migrants from Africa. As a co-manager of Caffè Nemorense, they pay very little rent. Yet in exchange, they are responsible for the maintenance of the park. Every day, they open the park at 8am and closes it at 6pm. Similar to those cleaning the sidewalks, Barimakà are not employers of the public sector, but engage in semi-formal cooperation with the municipality which lacks the capacity to carry out maintenance work by itself.

This reflects the institutional inadequacy of the government on two levels. On the one hand, the government fails to establish comprehensive structures to assist the asylum-seekers. As a result, the existing system leads to “spatial confinement and social segregation” that negatively affects asylum-seekers lives.<sup>20</sup> Specifically, asylum-seekers are required to live in reception centers before their asylum claim is granted. The reception centers throughout Italy are typically far away from urban areas, making it more difficult for the refugees to participate in urban activities and thus harder for them to integrate socially. Giorgio, a resident of Nemorense and professor at Cornell in Rome, discussed this issue, stating that it is difficult for immigrants to find jobs because they are relocated in low-income areas,<sup>21</sup> which often leads to conflict because they are competing with native Italians who are also looking for jobs. Moreover, the current process of accessing asylum applications takes about 18 months,

during which refugees could not find jobs in the formal economy. Since the Italian state only gives them an allowance of 75 euros per month, most newly-arrived refugees look for off-the-book jobs to support themselves and their families.<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand, the government is insufficient to provide maintenance of public spaces, such as parks and sidewalks. During our interview with Rebecca Spitzmiller, the founder of Retake Roma, she suggested three factors that contribute to the lack of public-place-keeping in Rome. The most obvious one is the lack of funding to support all public services from the central government to the municipalities. In our interview with Professor Giorgio Martocchia and his wife Emmanuella Martocchia, they not only discussed this lack of support but also a lack of willingness of public employees to be committed to their duties, because there is a large amount of debt, high number of employees in the public sector, and very strong union support for public employers. The Martocchia’s gave an example of how an employee in charge of cleaning the street would find a medical excuse such as an allergy and then that employee does not have to work while enjoying the benefits provided by the government.

Moreover, the institutional framework of green-space-keeping is skeletal, as not only the parks



and recreation department is understaffed, but also the jurisdiction over the green spaces in the municipality is not clear. There is also the ideological factor—the absence of civic will to keep public spaces alive. From Rebecca’s standpoint, most local residents do not have an active concept of public space.<sup>23</sup>

In light of the institutional incompetence to provide public services, asylum-seekers and immigrants and are not simply passive agents unable to participate in the formal economy but crucial actors in filling the void where public services are lacking.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Doug Saunders, *Arrival City* (London: Windmill Books, 2011).

<sup>20</sup>Barbara Pinelli, “After The Landing: Moral Control And Surveillance In Italy’s Asylum Seeker Camps”, *Anthropology Today* 31, no. 2 (2015): 12-14, doi:10.1111/1467-8322.12164.

<sup>21</sup>Martocchia, Giorgio and Emmanuella. 2018. Interview on Nemorense, Parco Virgiliano. Interview by Yabework Abebe Kifetew and Blanche Shao. In person. Bar Benaco, Rome, Italy.

<sup>22</sup>Barbara Pinelli, “After The Landing: Moral Control And Surveillance In Italy’s Asylum Seeker Camps”, *Anthropology Today* 31, no. 2 (2015): 12-14, doi:10.1111/1467-8322.12164.

<sup>23</sup>It is worth noting that as an American urban activist, Rebecca might speak from an epistemic standpoint that separates herself from her Italian counterpart living in Nemorense, rendering them as the ‘other’ that do not care about public spaces.

<sup>9</sup>Basa, Charito, Wendy Harcourt, and Angela Zarro. “Remittances and Transnational Families in Italy and the Philippines: Breaking the Global Care Chain.” *Gender & Development* 19, no. 1 (2011): 13.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>World Bank, *Remittance Inflows to GDP for Philippines* [DDO11PH-A156NWDB], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/DDO11PHA156NWDB>, April 12, 2018.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ginsborg, Paul. “Prologue”. In *Silvio Berlusconi: Television, Power and Patrimony*, 4. London: Verso, 2004.

<sup>14</sup>I. Moyo, M. D. Nicolau and Trynos Gumbo, “Johannesburg (South Africa) Inner City African Immigrant Traders: Pathways From Poverty?”, *Urban Forum* 27, no. 3 (2016): 329-345, doi:10.1007/s12132-016-9277-9.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ananya Roy, “Urban Informality: Toward An Epistemology Of Planning”, *Journal Of The American Planning Association* 71, no. 2 (2005): 147-158, doi:10.1080/01944360508976689.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid. p.148. Emphasis original.

# Conclusion: Food and Multifunctionality

As an upper-class neighborhood with a highly-educated and aging population, Nemorense has a solid client base for its traditional markets and many employment opportunities for migrants. Nemorense is, in many ways, representative of the general trend in Rome and its transforming public spaces. At the same time, it is unique for its interaction and integration of different immigrant groups in and around the park.

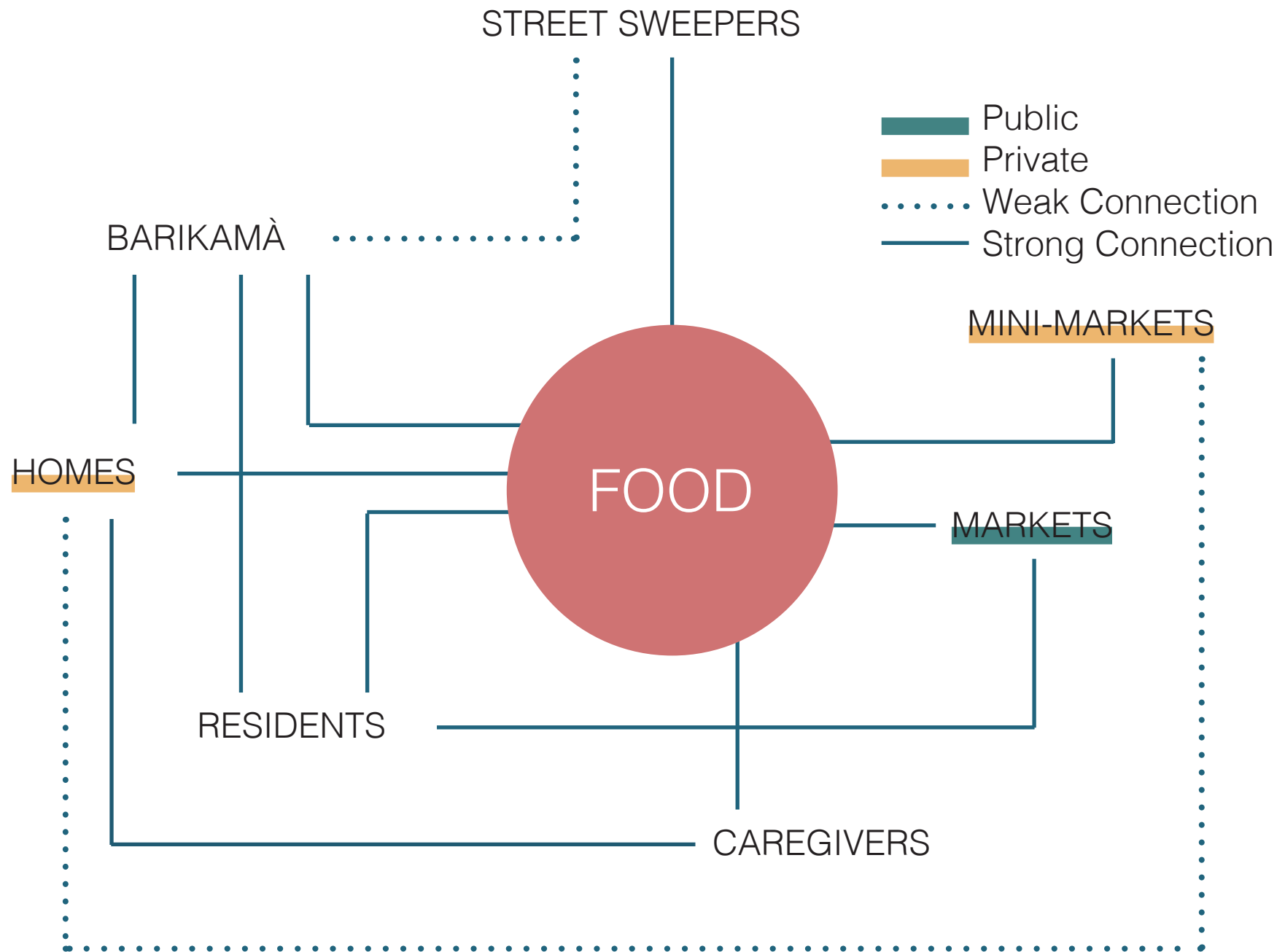
Food, in particular, plays a multifunctional role in bringing together different sectors and residents in Nemorense. Many literatures have written on the multifunctionality of food, which states that food not only participates in the production process but also has many important social functions.<sup>24</sup> Krylatykh, for instance, suggests that food improves the living conditions of the relevant actors, providing employment opportunities, cultural services, and social infrastructure.<sup>25</sup>

In the case of Nemorense, for market customer and vendors, food allows people to practice and share culture. This largely depends on the availability of markets, what they sell, and the price and quality of their products. Each stall is a space where customers experience something new considering what is being sold and who is selling it. This exchange also goes for the vendors - they are able to converse and become more acquainted with the people and culture of the neighborhood. Often, food is both a necessity and a social enabler and

consequently has been a catalyst in revitalizing spaces. Food connects caregivers to the neighborhood at higher degree, when their employers ask them to purchase their groceries from markets. In the case of Barikamà, food has become a tool of social inclusion and promotion for the right to work of people with disabilities, specifically Asperger's Syndrome. Food acts as an enabler for individuals of different social groups to come together adding vibrancy to the community.

<sup>24</sup> Krylatykh, E. N. "Multifunctionality of Agri-food Sector: Theoretic Conception, Practical Implementation." *Economy of Region*, 2011, 29-30. doi:10.17059/2011-4-2.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.





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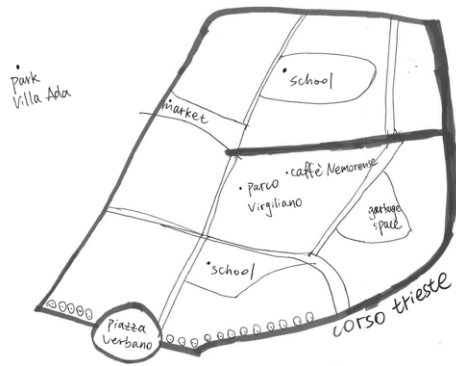
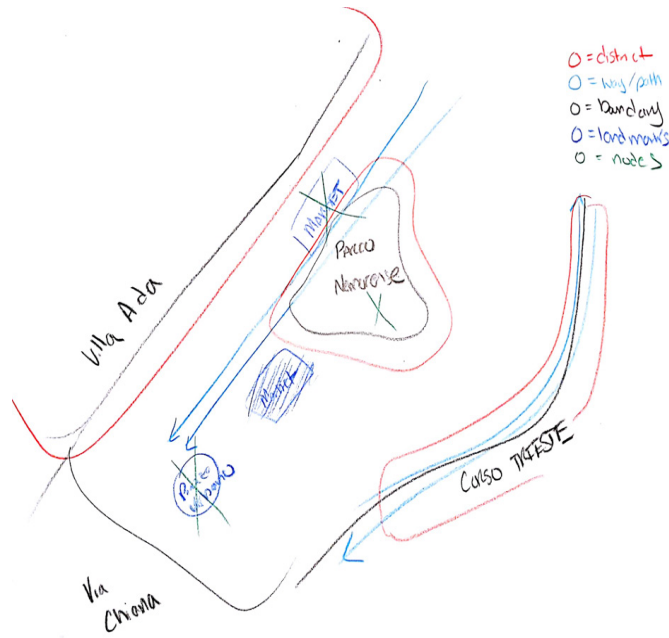
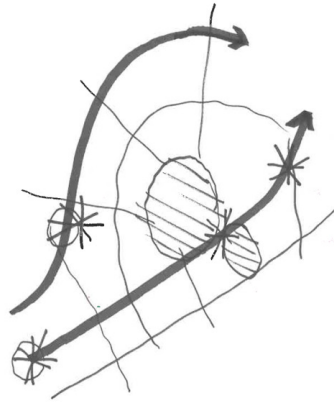
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# Cognitive Maps



- roads
- landmarks
- edges
- shops



- 🏠 - landmarks
- - nodes
- paths
- - - districts
- - edges



Methods for asking citizens to draw cognitive maps:

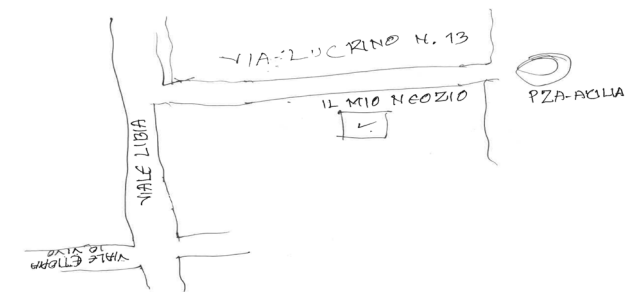
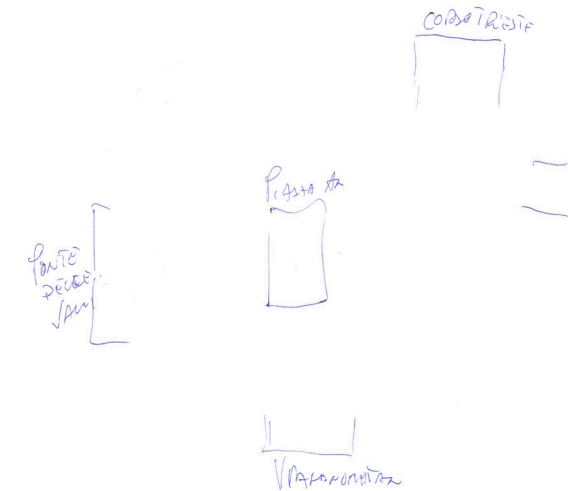
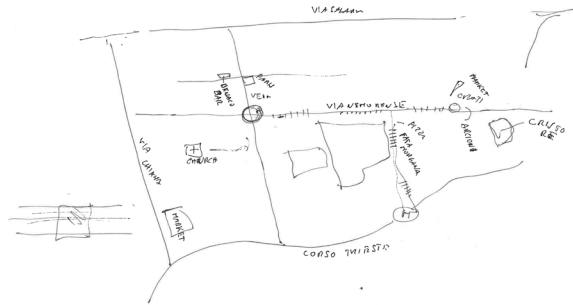
-We are urban planning students studying this neighborhood, can you draw a map showing us:

(Siamo studenti di urbanistica. Studiamo questo quartiere. Potrebbe disegnare una mappa che ci mostra:)

-the boundary of your neighborhood?  
(Il confine del tuo quartiere?)

-the landmarks of your neighborhood?  
(I punti riferimento del tuo quartiere?)

-the important places in your neighborhood?  
(I luoghi importante del tuo quartiere?)



# Sample Surveys

## Alcune Domande Sul Quartiere Trieste

1. Abita in Trieste?

- A. Sì.  
B. No.

2. Quanto spesso viene a Parco Virgiliano?

- A. Tutti giorni  
B. Più di una volta alla settimana  
C. Ogni tanto  
D. Una volta alla settimana  
E. La prima volta

3. Dov'è fa acquisti? Va al mercato di spesso?

4. Chi pensa che mantiene il parco? COMUNE

5. Da 1 a 10 come si sente sul immigrati nel quartiere? (1-mi piacciono; 10-per niente)

6. Quanti anni ha?

- A. 0-15 B. 16-30 C. 30-45 D. 46-60 E. 61-75 F. 76-85 G. 85+

Grazie infinite !

## Alcune Domande Sul Quartiere Trieste

1. Abita in Trieste?

- A. Sì.  
B. No.

2. Quanto spesso viene a Parco Virgiliano?

- A. Tutti giorni  
B. Più di una volta alla settimana  
C. Ogni tanto  
D. Una volta alla settimana  
E. La prima volta

3. Dov'è fa acquisti? Va al mercato di spesso?

Super  
Discount  
e Altro

4. Chi pensa che mantiene il parco?

Non-Sì  
Don't know

5. Da 1 a 10 come si sente sul immigrati nel quartiere? (1-mi piacciono; 10-per niente)

Per niente della post  
comuni

6. Quanti anni ha?

- A. 0-15 B. 16-30 C. 30-45 D. 46-60 E. 61-75 F. 76-85 G. 85+

Grazie infinite !

# Journals

Journal Entry 1  
Jan 25th 2018 11:30 am  
Sunny  
Parco Virgiliano, via Nemorense

Nemorense is a upper-class neighborhood located at the northeast side of Rome metropolis. Upon entering the neighborhood by bus, I noticed the sidewalks were relatively clean and parked with cars on both sides of the street. Since it was a weekday that we visited the neighborhood, there was relatively little traffic. The walking around the streets, the neighborhood gave me a sense of peacefulness.

Nemorense has a large park, Parco Virgiliano, which is opened from 7am to 8pm. According to the professors, the park is opened by African immigrants every morning, who do not live in the vicinity. There is also a cafe inside the park, called Caffè Nemorense, which is also operated by African immigrants. Unfortunately, the cafe was closed when we went to the park. We intend to visit again when it opens on Sundays.



The park is paved with sand and equipped with entertainment facilities for children to enjoy. At the entry of the park over via Lago di Lesina, there is a small amusement-park-type of space that could be rent for private occasions. When we visited the park, there were a number of children enjoying that space. Since the time we went given the time we went, I observed that most users of the park were teenagers along with some elderly talking to each other. But I expect the main user group to change on Sundays, when adults get off work and have time to enjoy the park.

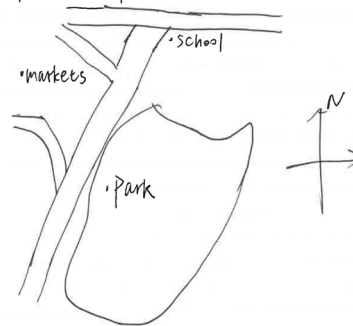
Also at the entry way over via Lago di Lesina, there is a memorial board remembering the victims of genocide in Rwanda. Although it was

made prior to the activities of African immigrants in this neighborhood, this board could be part of the tradition in Nemorense, in regards to its attitude towards the African community.

To the northwest of the park is a small-scale market that sells mainly fruits and vegetables. When we visited, only a few stands were open and most of the owners are Caucasian.

To the northeast side of the park, we found some residential complexes that were built during the Fascist era (1922-1943). One of the building has symbols: "XCM XXIX ANNO VI", which means the building was built in 1929, and Fascist calendar year 7. It is interesting to see the different ways that different communities have adopted to look at Fascism. In Italy, there seems to be a number of architects with Fascist elements remained on them.

Keep walking northeast, there is a school called Fondazione Crispa Re. The architecture of the school resembles church, as it has a side of wall dedicated to Jesus' sculpture. We suspected that the school was once a church.



While walking around Nemorense, I noticed two presidential campaign billboards. One is for Nicola Zingaretti, who is a left-wing candidate a member of the democratic party, and the President of the provincial Rome. The other is for Giorgia Meloni, who is the president of Brothers of Italy — the national conservative party. It is interesting to see that Nemorense is targeted by both left-wing and right-wing parties.

Fascist era - 1922-1943

Parco Virgiliano 25.01.18  
First observations!

- Small dogs <sup>babied</sup> - baby strollers
- Enclosed playground - no 'bracci' pines' but London planes + others - graffiti
- \* Cafe closed until 27m - clean, trash can
- Lots of kids playing (~5-10 yrs) - mostly white, some S. Asian
- \* Came on Sunday. Business after mass? i
- \* Imm. line in advertisement (up North?)
- wide, pebbled paths - lots of trees
- 'Ugo' - one black woman w/ stroller
- What looks like carpets on the ground. → Camera 1. 1st sun field
- mery-go-round! (working? open) - events place (semi-private)
- \* Park is gated, has 'orario di apertura

## Outside park

- Mixed use buildings - apts, cafes, clothes shops, glass shops,
- lost cat poster in (1st, 2nd floor)
- uneven, narrow road, separate from sidewalk (→ Las short trees, tiled, one repair)
- lots of cars
- Piazza of flowers! vegetables, (tomatoes) fruits
- Graffiti. Buildings beside market are gated off but have doors outside on front
- so clean! Lotsa old ladies (but also
- 13 12pm on a Thursday
- \* Residential property values map
- Nice outside seating

# Interview Summary and Selected Transcription

## Notes on Transcription:

When analyzing the interviews, we adopt John Forester's ideology of transcription.<sup>1</sup> This means that even though the interviews were conducted in the format of question-and-answer, we transcribed them as the interviewees are telling a story by themselves. In this way, we attempt to do justice to their stories by giving the voice and narratives back to the interviewees. Nevertheless, since the interviews were conducted in different languages, we acknowledge that our interpretations of the stories are inevitably embedded in the translation process.

## Feb.8th

Interviewer (s): Sam and Blanche

Notes: We approached our interviewees by saying that we are students trying to learn about the maintenance of the neighborhood. The interviews were conducted in English (mostly) and Italian.

Interview with Sondi (who was also cleaning the street)

I come here 2 times a week. (When being asked what other places I work), I questioned why they want to know about this. I live in Latina.

(An old man that seems like a local resident came over to give me bananas) Some people (local residents) pay me in small amount or pay me in bananas.

I am from Ghana. I have been here for six months.

## Feb.10th

Interviewer (s): Isaiah and Blanche

With the owner of a little shop at the corner near Piazza Crati (the shop does not have a name); interview was conducted in Mandarin Chinese [The owner has two kids, both of whom are around 5 years old]

I am from Wenzhou, Zhejiang. We have been here for about 6 years. We don't live in this neighborhood. (When being asked where we live), I questioned why they want to know about this. We come here every morning by car, and it is very close. Not a lot of people come to this shop because Italian do not like Chinese products (the products in the shop seem to be a combination of regular supermarket goods and street vendor goods). I do not know much about this neighborhood because we have to work every day and we don't have time to walk around. We chose to open a shop in Nemorense because there was a shop available for renting here.

## Feb. 15th

Interviewer(s): Greg, Yabe, and Blanche

1. With a family taking daughter to play at the park; interview was conducted in Italian and Mandarin Chinese

Yes, I have heard of Cornell University.

We live in this neighborhood. We have been here for 2 months. We are from Beijing...We always hang out in this park...Feel free to talk to us whenever you see us here.

[Greg suspects that the family works for the Chinese embassy, which is 0.6 miles away from Parco Virgiliano]

2. With a local architect, Cinzia, who is involved in the movement--Let's Take Rome Back, whose members are mostly expats and "sophisticated" Italians (in Greg's terms); interview was conducted in Italian

Hi sorry to interrupt. I just overheard that you are from Cornell. My husband went to the 30-year Cornell in Rome celebration last year. I am part of the movement called "take the park back", which is part of the bigger organization called Retake Roma. I have lots of projects in Ponte Sisto, which mainly serves upper-middle class people. About the cafe in the park, it was closed off last year, due to the lack of license. But after several months, it is open again...They used to give brooms to the maintenance people but were worried about liability issues, like injury, or employment status...I am not sure about the interface [between the maintenance people and the park], it's probably the central left municipio.

3. Interview with Saydou and 'Muhammad Ali' at the cafe, both of whom are part of the social coop called Barikamà; interview was conducted in Italian -Muhammad Ali: I have been in Rome for 1 year and 5 months. I'm from Somalia. I live in Velletri, which is about 20 km by train. I help Saydou do maintenance work here in the park. I come here 4 days a week.

-Saydou: I came to Rome in 2008. I am one of the founders of Barikamà'. I am from Ghana. I live in Pigneto. I used to work as a farm labor. I also worked in shopping mall. I come here every morning. I also do yogurt delivery by bike.

[While in the interview, Saydou said that he's from Ghana, on the official website of Barikamà', however, it indicates that Saydou is from Gambia. There is also a different spelling of Saydou's name as "Seydou" on their homepage.]

[Greg mentioned that they produce yogurt at a farm called Casale di Martignano, which is 34 km away from Nemorense. They have a big issue of illegal farm labors.]

## Mar.29th

Interviewers: Greg, Tom, Yabe, and Blanche

With Rebecca Spitzmiller, the founder of Retake Roma and professor at Università di Roma Tre.

[Retake Roma is a non-partisan and non-profit movement, started by some upper-middle class Americans living in Rome. It engages in the fight against urban degradation. It is now an extensive network of about 85 groups across cities in Italy that involves in a range of projects, such as taking off stickers and cleaning up graffiti.]

Nemorense?! That's my neighborhood! I have lived there for 30 years. [About this neighborhood's relatively welcoming attitude towards the immigrant population], I think this reflects the general trend of neighborhoods in Rome. Actually, Trieste is historically a Fascist neighborhood...I think this [i.e. the acceptance of immigrants] is also because most of the immigrants working here do not live in Nemorense, so the residents feel less strongly about their presence. My guess is that most residents don't usually notice them.

I do notice the people cleaning the streets, with their little baskets upfront... [About local residents' reception of those cleaning the streets, most of whom are refugees], I cannot speak for other people living in my community. There's a guy in charge of Retake in Monteverde that absolutely hates them. He thinks they are replacing Retake. He thinks that those people all have the same sign with their little basket, there must an organization behind all of this. I don't understand why Retake should have exclusive on this. We have the same goal—make Rome more clean and beautiful. I don't see why they can't work on this. I think what it comes down to, honestly, is racism, and this paranoia. So, you know, one person posts in the groups that the immigrants cleaning the streets is a bad thing and all the paranoid people in the group jump on...

I think this [immigrants cleaning the streets] is a good thing—we get clean sidewalks and they [i.e. the immigrants] get some money...I think this [i.e. people cleaning the street] started about a year ago, when there was a spike in the immigration.

<sup>1</sup> John Forester "Learning to Improve Practice: Lessons from Practice Stories and Practitioners' Own Discourse Analyses (Or Why Only the Loons show Up)." *Planning Theory & Practice* 13, no. 1 (2012): 11-26.

[Why do immigrants, and refugees, in particular, want to volunteer], I think because they want social integration. There is financial incentive too. When they are volunteering, they are no longer invisible. One we were having this Retake event in a park, and I saw two guys cleaning the street. I approached them and asked them if they wanted to help us with event. They put up their brooms on a tree and came with me... At the end of the day, we had a successful event and they got 10 euros. They got my phone number and texted me: Madam, wish you have a nice day. Where are we doing this tomorrow? When can we do this again...

Yes Barikamà people are taking care of the park [i.e. Parco Virgiliano]. I don't know if they are getting paid. But in general, the maintenance of green space in the city is very poor. Municipalities usually contract out maintenance work but it is not the case here. No one is actually taking care of the green spaces. There are jurisdiction problems. We do have a parks department in Rome but they have no staff. Yes, the parks department is essentially a skeleton... Of course it is also due to the lack of public funding. Also [I think] no one actually cares about public spaces. It is different from the States, where people are very passionate of public space. Here in Rome, there is a lack of civic will—no one wants to contribute to the public spaces.

### Tuesday April 3, 2018

Interviewer: Isaiah Murray  
Visit to Parco Nemorense  
11:00am

#### General Observations

People wanted to know where we were from and why we were doing the research  
Some people asked what religion we were

#### Woman Sweeper

From nigeria  
Been here for 2 months  
Cleans the streets to make money  
Says good morning to people  
She goes to church on Sunday

#### 1st Encounter:

We had just exited the bus and we saw a female street sweeper directly across from the entrance to the park. She had already swept up the sidewalk and as each person walked past her she said "Buongiorno". We were next to pass her up and she smiled to us, "Buongiorno", she said. We returned a smile and kindly asked if we could ask her a few questions. In the time of the interview we learned she had only been in Rome for two months and wakes up very early - 6am to sweep the streets so she can catch the people who go to work in the morning. She selects different locations every morning depending on where she finds something to clean. She does not work on Sunday; she goes to church. As a token of appreciation, we dropped a few coins in her bucket and wished her wonderful day.

a few questions. In the time of the interview we learned she had only been in Rome for two months and wakes up very early - 6am to sweep the streets so she can catch the people who go to work in the morning. She selects different locations every morning depending on where she finds something to clean. She does not work on Sunday; she goes to church. As a token of appreciation, we dropped a few coins in her bucket and wished her wonderful day.

#### 2nd Encounter:

One day, we were conducting street surveys and we walked through Piazza Verbano to see the same woman. This time she had cleaned up the entire side of a block and sat on the step of a building greeting everyone who passed. She had recognized us and waved. We sat down with her for a few hours and asked if she had a good day. She said so-so and she proceeded to tell us she had made a friend had given her makeup. She had on massacre. We continued to speak, but we often misunderstood one another. Her English may have been limited and her Italian was not so good either. To help start a positive practice, we wrote a few Italian greetings on a sheet of paper for her with English translations. We role played with these phrases imagining different times of day and whether or not a person was a friend. She asked us to translate, "Have a blessed day". She has faith her life will improve.

#### Visiting Lady on Bench

She does not live here she came to visit her friend

#### Angry Old Man

Has lived in the area for seven years  
Meglio di niente  
The immigrants are not liked  
They bother the neighborhood  
Talked about the Mosque  
Better that they do something than nothing  
There is going to be a bombing in Rome if they keep letting people in  
Said I can do journalism in Italy because I won't get murdered like the Italian in Egypt  
He said Jewish people don't know how to share  
What is mine is mine and what's yours is mine  
Always in war  
Does Not like the world  
He doesn't think I can do anything to change it  
Does not like the mosque  
The world is mixing, not sure if he likes that  
He said Mussolini did well in Italy even though he was a dictator  
Does not like the immigrants, because they are taking up space and do nothing for the neighborhood

Does not like the immigrants, because they are taking up space and do nothing for the neighborhood

#### Drunk Man

Kids don't want to do anything  
No one studies  
No one wants to do anything  
He asked me for a beer  
If kids want money, they don't work their dad gives them the money  
Alcoholic man, but I didn't realize it till I smelt his breath

#### Pregnant Young Couple

They have lived here for 30 years  
Did not want me to take notes  
Wanted me to leave

#### Old Couple

Do not love in the area  
They say they come here to relax  
The immigrants can come but there is nothing here for them  
There is really nothing for us so they can come but we have nothing for them  
We have nothing for ourselves  
People from the left say they can come but they are hypocritical  
They invite them into the country but then they are the most racist  
People from the right are just realists  
Africa has resources they need to use them and organize their people  
Said that the Chinese people of the area are the only ones who can afford the homes in the area  
She claims that they are a mafia  
The man said that France is supposedly Italy's friend but they sent their own immigrants to Italy  
Trieste is a getaway neighborhood, people don't live there  
It is transitioning  
The immigrants disturb  
Someone approached us and they turned him away and then he looked to me and said "and you brother"  
The young people do not want to do anything  
The periphery is dangerous

Women Friends with Kids

Upon asking if I could ask question one lady said yes another said no and left

There is a nemorense gang

There is bullying in the schools

She is happy that there is socioeconomic variation in the schools

She said being around elite students is not good for kids

The immigrants do not violate the security of the neighborhood

Great place to raise kids

Family with Kid

They said we would love to answer questions but not now, because the baby was falling asleep

Bangladeshi Man Manning the Amusement Area

Very busy

Why is he working there

Caretaker and Old Woman

Spanish speaking women saying I could not ask any questions because the woman gets scared/nervous

She spoke in spanish

Colombian Woman

Been in Italy for 12 years

Has taken care of the kids for 6 years since they were children

Their parents work

The kids go to school and soccer practice

She doesn't want to do work with elderly because it is difficult and her back is not working well

She makes lunch for the kids

She has been fortunate to find work

Lady Inside Business

She does not like them to be outside the store

Better to be a politician asking questions

Says people know that man outside

Sweeper Outside the Business

Has been there for a while

Mentioned that he saw me asking questions

He asks for money not always sweeping

April 5th

Interviewers: Blanche and Yabe

With a panhandler in front of Bar Torrefazione Arcioni, interview conducted in English.

I am from Nigeria, I got to Italy by the sea, you know, I didn't fly here I came here through the "line", through the Mediterranean Sea. I've been here for a year. I have two jobs - one is construction, which is what I did in Nigeria, and I also open the store gates. But, you know, sometimes I have to ask for money to pay for rent; one time I was living in Termini - I slept in tents there and they said I have to find a place to stay. So I found another black [African] man like me, and we got one room, my boyfriend and me.

I come here some mornings asking for money to pay for rent, but it's not easy, I don't like doing this but I have no choice. I studied construction in university, I graduated in 2008, but you know finding a job in Nigeria was hard. I came here looking for a job - a lot of people back home think of Europe as the land of opportunity, so I came here and it was not what I thought it would be. Now I want to go to another country - maybe Germany, Germany would be nice. I'm just waiting for my documents, I've applied. My lawyer said it could take up to 3 months to get a document for five years.

You know the government, SPRAR, they did try in the beginning, but there are too many of us. There are a lot of refugees and they don't have enough jobs to give. Living here is good and bad, it's sweet and bitter. Do I like Italy? It's not what I expected - the things that are good are actually bad.

Sometimes I take language classes in Termini, I'm in night school. I've been here for a year but don't really speak Italian. But once I go to the next country I will make sure to learn that language. By the grace of God, it will work out and I will go to another country, only by God.

People's attitude towards me in the neighborhood are mixed - some good, some bad, but it's not their fault, it's not my fault. They're trying their best... no, it's not their fault.

April 6th

Interviewers: Blanche and Yabe

With Giorgio Martocchia and Emmanuella Martocchia  
Sitting in Bar Benaco, 9:30am, 6th April 2018

[Emmanuella brings us cappuccinos and cornettos]

Our kids come home at four, and then they have a lot of activities usually - they got to the swimming pool, sometimes they pay cello, or do chorus - singing, or sometimes they go to the park, play a little bit with the children... because the park is just here outside. The school has a lot of activities for the kids after school, but not much in the park. If you go there in the park during the spring time, on Saturday morning, or Saturday afternoon about 4 o'clock, or better Friday after the school it would be really crowded with children - also because the district is quite attractive in a way, so there are also children from the other districts that come here to play.

Have you been in Villa Ada? If you went on Sunday, in the morning, there are people having a lot of "activities" there, and eh, smoking joints [laughs] - the legal one you know, the one that is possible to buy legally. On Saturday night they go there even if it's closed - the Barikamà people close the park. It was nice [for them] during the winter because when Barikamà came, the park was completely dark but we could see the little lights of Barikamà bar and people were walking towards the bar and staying at the bar for a sort of aperitifs ('aperitivos', with snacks). It's very nice, the bar made a lot of good changes in the area. And then if you go on Sunday morning you see a lot of people going there for buying their goods, they sell 'biological' (natural) stuff, and it's quite trendy.

In the park, there is also a very secret and interesting place that's closed now, "circolo bocciofilo", it's impossible to translate. When we came in this area, it was crowded, full of old people playing bocce, but now I don't know - I guess there are no other elderly poor people to play bocce. All the [old] people, they don't play bocce or spend time there, because that kind of activity - there are a lot of activities like that all around Italy, it's called "centro anziani" - elderly people association. So they go there, they play cards or they play bocce or they play tango and many other activities, but when there is a certain amount of elderly people with a changing situation - first of all because they now are much younger than me for instance...they are really very active. There are many 80 year old people spending their time traveling - that [demographic] is not the target of bocce. Like this lady for example [points to a well dressed elderly woman, perhaps in her 80s or 90s reading a newspaper at the cafe alone].

You know, there is a facebook group called 'Quelli che il Parco' [started 8 years ago] and it's a bunch of people that have a personal attachment to the park - maybe they grew up in this area, and they take care of the park. They are very very nice, and every time we have some problems at the park, they write, they check - for example we had a lot of problems with the park - the gates were broken, and so they call the manutenzione giardini (garden maintenance).

There are also fights - there are different parties of the park, because these guys are allied with the Barikamà association, and there is a fighting between the Barikamà association and the guy that owns the private playground - have you seen that there is a private playground? [points to a map and points out private area to the West of the park] The problem is that this private one is kind of illegal - so it's a guy that maybe took the license for placing the playground, then the license expired and nobody cared to renovate the license and they've been there for 30 years without any license.

The park is also a landscape and cultural inference because it was designed by the famous architect [Raffaele de Vico], who was the director of the city of Rome park department, and was really good as a designer. He designed a lot of parks in Rome - so due to the fact that this park has historical value, these guys from Quelli che il Parco they kind of have an eye [for the historical value], they want to remove him, saying that he does not have any right to be there. But he's still there, he's quite old, then he started to chain himself against a tree. I don't think he's part of the neighborhood, but he's also very active in the Web - saying that the guys from the Barikamà are not properly maintaining the park - which is not true. And so he is always fighting with these guys from Quelli che il Parco...it's a strong issue.

You know Italy is very - you can imagine that Siena was fighting with Firenze, Firenze was fighting with Pisa, Pisa was fighting with Livorno, Siena was fighting with Volterra, Volterra was fighting with Livorno. Italy is called the 'country of campanilli' - the country of trouble, in the sense that each family is fighting against the other one, so we have this long tradition of fighting.

The park group is civilians organized by themselves, few of them are actually also Retake people, so they always propose cleaning of the park, a day of cleaning, but the people of Quelli che il Parco also propose many initiatives, for example for Epiphany, you can have a little fair for children with games, or for example during the summer also, they organize some meetings, but very few in the year. Sometimes during the summer, the city of Rome holds an outdoor cinema, but it didn't work well, because they say "oh this is [our] cultural heritage, you cannot use this for your personal business".

There is always in Italy this kind of fight about whether you are making business in a public space, you are not making the interest of all the citizens. So in a way you don't have to use public properties for, well, private purposes. That's why for instance, we have a lot of strong fights in the university - we don't get any donors from private companies, because then it's a mess - people go crazy. They say "no, no, absolutely no!" Because if you get money from a private guy, then this guy has some kind of interest, and he wants to move the research in a certain way - so it's kind of a mess. Whatever you do in a public area, with a private - also with a public tender - in private, then there is always someone that is complaining. It's better to stay like we are. I think people in the neighborhood interact with Barikamà in a very good way, maybe you saw videos of the opening of the bar - it was a big happening. But I also saw very nasty comments on the web towards the new people... but now it's a very good relationship I think. They had a very good press release when they opened, and now I think that the stranger thing is that they do a sort of a little lunch on Saturday and Sunday for families, with very popular prices-

[we then run into Emmanuella's parents, they come over and chat for a while. Her mother works for a cooperative that helps immigrants; she and says "Welcome, you are all welcome"]

I think that not many people know Barikamà. They have understood that something has changed because the bar is open now, it's very frequented, but I don't know if they know the story. Maybe the old people see the new people like this, but they say "ah, they are polite, ah they are nice it's okay". Barikamà chose - I was very surprised - but they have chosen to select very expensive, high quality products. For example, they don't have gelati confezionati (packaged ice cream), they have i gelati di fassi, high quality, not standard. If I go there with my kids, they ask for an ice cream, we have to pay 4 euros for one. I don't know why, but it's a very particular choice to make...I guess because in this district you can do these kinds of things, because the people, they like quality and so you can pay more.

In a way, the guys that you saw [referring to Emmanuella's parents], they have the capability to spend more also in the idea to help other people. There is this kind of the possibility [here], which is not [really present in other areas] . I mean, you know that there are a lot of conflicts about migrants, and you know, why? Because they place the migrants in very poor districts. And when you start with this kind of, - there is already problems in the district, and then you place other people there, who have their own personal problems in terms of how they get there. So they start having a kind of conflict which is, in a way, natural. So it's like adding a problem with another problem.

But if they bring people in a more homogeneous (i think he meant heterogeneous) system, then you get less conflict in a way. This is the point - this is why, these guys, in my opinion, they are seen as friends in this district. They are well received, because the [people of the neighborhood] are people - they can help, they can do something, they are - let's say left-wing oriented. They make you feel a little bit guilty because they are lacking in the job that they have, in the salary they get, so they in some way, are able to contribute, this is mainly the point.

There are also other immigrants in the neighborhood - there are a lot of people volunteering and sweeping the streets. There are a lot, but they are very appreciated, because we are desperate in this situation. They clean - for instance, you didn't see but I noticed that the walkway in front of the school was cleaned. Yesterday I met one of the immigrants and I said "this is 1 euro, please do a good job".

It's impossible that this job was done by the municipality. So like this, the [immigrants] get some money, and then after this there is a kind of distribution-like if you clean here, you can stay here but you are to give me a percentage of what you earn. There is a kind of a well studied situation in terms of where this guy stays, what time they go clean, and I heard that also in that situation there is a kind of a boss that runs everything. They are always changing, you know - there is always something that you see and something that you don't see - and you never know what you don't see. I think in my opinion you have to give some money to someone to be able to stay. You know, you always have to see what's behind, it's not always so easy.

The Barikamà people taking care of the park, cleaning the streets - this problem of the public areas, it happened because the municipality does not provide certain services, and when there is a gap and there is a possibility to get some money out of that, then there are other people that can provide. But there are two different ways [to do so] - Barikamà comes from a public vendor, they are legal. The guys cleaning the streets are not legal, it's not even illegal I believe.

The municipality, however, doesn't do this, because the municipality have an incredible amount of debt, and they have an incredible amount of employees. These employees are very well protected by the unions, but these unions do not protect the labor. I'm talking about the public companies, but they wanna protect the privilege. So what happens is that a person who used to work as a [street] cleaner, I don't know like 70% of these guys went to the doctor saying that they have allergy problems, and so now they are in the offices doing nothing. Or, gardeners, instead of working hard, 95% go to the doctor and say they have allergies to the [plants] then they [don't do their job].

So there is something between a lack of people and the protection of privileges... also lack of control, because you can see the cleaning guys on the street with their mobiles... It is a kind of situation that is the main problem of this country. It's a general problem across- if you go in the south, it's worse. People have incredible strategies [to get out of doing work], they are really geniuses- and you know here in Parco Virgiliano there is a small office of the Cleaning Department, if you see the park, here is AMA [points to map]- AMA is the public company for cleaning. Here [pointing to map] is the Servizio Giardini - it's always closed. There should be someone here providing for the garden, but I believe that there's someone there in the nighttime - I believe there's someone there who is [squatting].

The park is central for families with children as well as old people. Also because it's not easy to get to Villa Ada - we have to cross a very dangerous street. It is very hard to perceive it as part of the neighborhood because of the lack of accessibility, there's that major road that separates us. And the main problem of the district is the traffic jam. Due to the fact that Via Salaria is the only street that goes from the city center to a lot of villages around Rome, there is a lot of traffic along Via Nemorensis because of people detouring from Via Salaria. [So after crossing this road,] then you have to walk a little bit to get somewhere [in the park] to stay -for example there is a playground here, but it takes like 10 minutes to get there. So for people living here I guess this is the most comfortable way to enjoy a park. But for people coming from outside, they choose Villa Ada. If you go on Sunday, for instance, the whole area is crowded, you cannot find parking because there are a lot of people going there - it's very beautiful. So it's kind of a very important place. Then you have Piazza Verbanò, so during Sunday you get a lot of people there - or Piazza Crati - but I would say that this park is quite central.

[We asked him to draw a Lynch map, shown under Citizen Lynch maps]

[while drawing his map] The market in Piazza Crati is not really used much, because it's very expensive. I think people go to the market on Via Chiana more. They sell vegetables, fruits - they also started having night activities to keep the market alive - they have Friday dinner, there is a little sort of public library where you can exchange books. There's also the church up there, which is also very active in this area (a little too much). And also that gelato place, Fatamorgana - if you go there at 4:30-5:00 pm, it's full of people, kids go there after the school. If you need other information, make sure to come here during the weekend, like Saturday morning!

#### April 9th, Mercato Trieste

Sample interview questions:

-For market vendors

How long has your stall been open?

Do you live in the neighborhood? How do you come here every day?

Who usually buy from you? What are people looking for when they purchase from you?

What do you think are the advantages and challenges of the market?

Where do you get your products?

-For customers

How far do you travel to reach this sales point? How do you travel?

How often do you shop here?

What do you buy at this location?

What is more important, price or quality?

What are advantages/disadvantages of markets and supermarkets?

What would you do to improve your market?

Interviewers: Viviana, Sam, Yabe, and Blanche

Interviews were conducted in Italian and then translated into English by Viviana

##### 1. At the Butcher's stall

I do not live here. I live in Centocelle.

My stall was opened in 1991 [i.e. 28 years]...Markets are generally in crisis. Because of the competition with the supermarkets; and people's change in the attitude of food prices--especially because of the economic crisis, people are not willing to spend that much money on food as they would before. There is also the problem of the aging population. This is not an affordable neighborhood and only high professionals live here. Because there are fewer customers now, [the market is not as vibrant as before].

Customers choose to come here because of the trust they have with vendors. Also because their parents used to come to this market and now they come to this market too...

[In regards to the problems of this market], this market starts to make changes to attract more customers. We have some cultural events. 500 people come to events but they only come once and do not come back to do grocery shopping. Also children of families that grow up in this neighborhood left to live in neighborhoods that are closer to their working places. If that person is a doctor, he may want to live closer to the hospital; if he is a lawyer, he may want to live closer to his office. [Moreover], this market is not accessible by car, so only locals come here to buy stuff...

[In regards to the type of people coming to the market, especially the immigrants], they are mostly caretakers. Yes there are a lot of embassies nearby. But people working in the embassies do not come here to buy stuff. They have a different shopping pattern... There were some booths that were owned by the immigrants. But they are closed, because of language barriers and they cannot understand the needs of the customers very well. There is also the certificate problem, the woman who is talking to the President of the market right now, she used to have a stall but she does not have the certificate from the municipality. Now she does not have the shop anymore.

##### 2. Vegetable and fruit stall

We live in Torre Gaia. We come here 5am in the morning by car.

This stall has been open in 1967 [i.e. 53 years]... Yes the market has changed over the years in terms of customers and products sold--from mostly fruits and vegetables in general to more exclusive products catering high quality and fresh products... [About the shopping pattern of people in this neighborhood], there are a lot of wealthy people in this neighborhood and they are willing to spend more money on food. But people have problem with high expenses. There is ambivalence in food prices in the markets--although there is competition from supermarkets, sometimes, fruits and vegetables are cheaper in markets... But supermarkets are more convenient, especially we have parking problem in this market... Yes the market is developing strategies to attract more customers. But [I don't think] they are not very successful.

We usually spend about 1500 euros a month on living expenses. This includes rent, taxes, our necessities... everything...

##### 3. Clothing stall

I live in Torrevicchia. Me and two of my friends own this place. I am a part-time graphic designer. When the stall is not open, I work as a graphic designer. I also design the purses in this stall. And my friends are in the publishing industry.

This stall opened about 1 year ago. We sell new and second-hand clothes. Me and two of my friends applied in 2013, and 4 years later we heard from the municipality that it was approved.

[About the challenges of opening a clothing stall in the market] It is difficult. It is conventional to have a clothing stall in the market... When we opened this stall, the market started to open in the afternoon and early evenings, when people coming to the market are more willing to shop for clothes.. As you see, I sell women's clothes. I sell clothes catering to the aging demographic in this neighborhood. It is difficult to find the right fashion style for this particular population.



Most customers are very rich, but they are also very picky--they have very particular fashion styles...Market is risky business as supermarkets and malls are taking over. Yet opening here is a lot cheaper. The stores on the street costs about 40,000-50,000 euros, but the booth here only costs about 10,000 euros...I pay less tax here as well. Here it is more like a grey area. We can survive in this market.

#### 4. The only stall owned by immigrants

We have been in Italy for 12 years. We are from San Salvador. I worked in the same booth for 8 years for my boss. He opened this booth about 40 years ago. And when he retired, I bought this booth from him...

The main problems of the market are parking and price. People used to spend 50 euros on groceries but now they are only willing to spend about maybe 20 euros...

Mostly local Italians buy from my place. I sell avocado, ginger, papaya, etc. Today I don't have papayas because they are really large and people do not want to spend that much money to buy papayas. I only get small papayas. Yes Italians buy these products. They are starting to learn to incorporate these products into their cooking...Customers used to come here early in the morning but now they come a lot later...

[About the improvements in the markets], [I think] they are not very successful.

#### 5. Cheese shop owner and President of Mercato Trieste (Background info: the cheese shop is very famous and people from other neighborhoods come to this place to get cheese.)

The cheese shop opened in 2016 [i.e. 2 years]. Before opening this place, I was a cheese producer. For this shop, only one type of cheese was made by me. I purchased other types of cheese... My strategy to attract customers is to focus on high quality cheese, and learn background story of each type of cheese I sell--where is cheese is from, how is cheese made, how to prepare the cheese, like cheese producers would know about their own cheese.

[About the advantage of markets], each stall only costs about 1000 euros to rent per year, with 100 euros fee for maintenance. It is cheaper compared to the individual stores along the streets. Also we are not the victim of supermarkets. A market is a public space owned by the municipality, where people not only come to buy stuff but also socialize and participate in cultural events. We are different from supermarkets and we need to have different strategies. The most important strategies are: we sell on quality and the story behind each product.

In this market, we are lucky. Because we have local products every Tuesday, Friday, and Saturday. Not every market in Rome have this advantage. Yes there is a market crisis in general, as supermarkets took over; and there are administrative issues--they are very weak and they cannot support the market. The municipality has been very inefficient to give out permits for market vendors. As our most recent stall was open a year ago but they applied for the booth 4 years ago.

[About the concerns that other vendors have for the customer population for this market], Although we have an aging population, by focusing on quality and attracting customers from other neighborhoods, I think we can survive. It is the ideologies of some of the vendors here. That's the problem.

#### A couple buying vegetables (around 30-40 years old)

We come here to buy food once a week. We have lived here for 10 years. We live about 100 meters away from here, in Piazza Verbano.

We come here for the quality of the products--for local and seasonal products. And sometimes, market has cheaper products... And we think that people come here to buy for the same reasons... Of course supermarkets are more convenient in terms of the time spent doing grocery shopping...

[We think that this market could be improved by] opening for longer hours. Like the markets in Florence, it can also include places to eat.

Country of Origin	Residence	Modes of commute	Occupation	Years in Rome	Gender	Other info
/	Termini	/	Street Sweeper	/	M	come here every morning at 6:30am and leave around 11:00am
Ghana	Latina	/	Street Sweeper	6 months	M	come here twice a week
Ghana	Casalina	/	Parhandler	2 yrs	M	/
Somalia	Velletri	by train	Barkama	1 yr 5 months	M	help with maintenance in the park
Ghana	Pignone	/	Barkama	10 yrs	M	/
China	(vicino)	by car	convenience store owner	6 yrs	F & M	family of four; not a lot of people buy from them
Nigeria	Levanna	by train	Street Sweeper	2 months	F	come here at 6:30am, Mon-Sat
Bangladesh	Viale Etiopia	/	Mini-market owner	5 yrs	M	get his products from mercato generali, usually Italians come here to buy but also Americans and philippinos buy non-Italian products
Bangladesh	Ribbia	by car	Outdoor clothing stall	17 yrs	M	moved to Rome in 2001, sells "all over Rome"
Bangladesh	Ribbia	by car	Outdoor clothing stall	22 yrs	M	works with this guy "and moves their stand to numerous places around Rome; showed us their permits for stalls, which were at least 150 euros!"
Nigeria	Oroto	/	Street sweeper	2 yrs	M	comes to remember most mornings to clean up the streets; he is looking for a job and is volunteering to clean
Bangladesh	Via Valabado	/	Mini-market owner	6 yrs	M	store has been open for 2 years, "all Italians buy from here"
Bangladesh	Viale Etiopia	/	Mini-market owner	13 yrs	M	lived in Monteverde before, working at an internet point
Nigeria	Merlato	bus, metro, train	Assists Italian fruit stand owner	3 yrs	M	seemed to have a good friendship with the Italian owner. Store has been open since 1993!
Bangladesh	/	/	Mini-market owner	4 years	/	/
Nigeria	/	/	Parhandler	About 1 year	M	/
Philippines	(vicino)	/	caretaker (domestic)	10 years	F	/
Philippines	(vicino)	/	caretaker (domestic)	/	F	/
Nigeria	Casalina	by bus	Street Sweeper	2 yrs	M	Come here twice a week and other things in other neighborhoods; People are nice here but he cannot find a job
China	(vicino)	/	Restaurant owner (Sushi)	4 yrs	F & M	Don't really hang out around the neighborhood

# About the Authors

## **Blanche Shao**

Blanche is a junior in urban and regional studies. She also minors in FGSS, International Relations, and Anthropology. As a local of Hangzhou, China, she has observed many urban issues that initiated her interests in urban planning. She is particularly interested in equity planning and urban informality. Her favorite thing to do in Rome is walking by River Tiber at sunset; and her go-to cafe is Roscioli which is one-minute away from the Palazzo.

## **Isaiah Murray**

Isaiah is a junior pursuing a concurrent degree in urban & regional studies and information science with a minor in inequality studies. He is from the Southside of San Antonio, Texas where tacos do not come in a hard shell. Getting to know what it is like to live as a local was his goal when traveling. In Rome he befriended many of the African immigrants who swept the streets and one in particular took him to the ethnic enclave by Termini Station.

## **Sam May**

Sam is a junior in AAP majoring in Urban & Regional Studies with a minor in Architecture. He is from honky tonkin' Nashville, Tennessee where he loves to eat hot chicken. He has not found an equal to that in Rome, but the panini from Florence have come close!

## **Yabework Abebe Kifetew**

Yabe is a third year Urban and Regional Studies student with a minor in International Relations. She is Ethiopian, but was born and raised in Nairobi, Kenya. She is interested in the impact of urban policy on global issues like migration and the politics of space, and as such, was very excited to conduct this study. Her favorite food in Rome - other than gelato - is millefoglie, a multilayered pastry and cream cake that also happens to be the most popular cake in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.





