

# PINETA SACCHETTI

*A village without a name.*

**CRP 4016: Rome Workshop  
Spring 2017  
Cornell University  
College of Architecture, Art, and Planning**

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We would like to thank the groups and individuals of Pineta Sacchetti who contributed to our research for their invaluable contributions to our report. Its completion is a result of their generosity and hospitality.

Library Casa Del Parco, Ennio De Risio, Pinacci Nostri, Pietro Lucari, Daniela Rinaldi, Scuola Primaria Andrea Baldi, Scuola Media Sisto II, Daniele Liberatore, Centro Anziani Pineta Sacchetti, All of the students and their families, who participated in our photovoice exercise, the members of the Centro Anziani who completed questionnaires, Gruppo Unica Real Estate Agency, Viviana Andriola, Serena Muccitelli, Gregory Smith, and Engaged Cornell.



## In Pineta Sacchetti, residents still harvest the fruits of the rich history that came before them.

On our first day as a research team in Pineta Sacchetti, we stumbled across a lemon tree. Perfectly placed in front of a pale, yellow house, it was hard not to notice. A skeptical woman came outside of her home to see what this strange group of American students were doing, meandering along her street.

After making introductions, we soon learned that this woman had inherited her house from her parents, who had inherited the home from her grandfather. Her grandfather was the one, in fact, who had planted the striking lemon tree. She took great joy each morning in seeing the lemon tree out of her bedroom window and feeling the connection to the generations that had come before her.

Pineta Sacchetti is a rare oasis in Rome where neighbors all know one another, elders still walk to the market for produce everyday, and residents still harvest the fruits of the rich history that came before them.

Photo: Gray Brakke

# PINETA SACCHETTI

*A village without a name.*

A Neighborhood Study  
Compiled in fulfillment of:

CRP 4160: Rome Workshop  
Cornell University in Rome  
College of Architecture, Art, and Planning

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**Parco Regionale Urbano del Pineto**  
*Pineto Regional Urban Park*

Officially protected by the region of Lazio in 1987, this park has served as a unifying landmark throughout the neighborhood's history. This 240 hectare park was once the site of the Sacchetti family villa. Today it boasts a mighty stand of Roman pines and a clear view of St. Peter's Basilica.

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# INTRODUCTION



## ABSTRACT

### Pineta Sacchetti: A village without a name.

Pineta Sacchetti, a prototypical Roman postwar community, highlights the promises and pitfalls of an unplanned neighborhood. Located three kilometers from the Vatican City, the neighborhood is situated alongside the Pineto Regional Park, a gathering place and symbol of identity for the neighborhood. The neighborhood was born when families began to settle the land near Primavalle, a fascist-era *borgata*, or public housing project. While initially a mere outgrowth of Primavalle, Pineta Sacchetti developed into its own neighborhood through self-building and development that exploded in the 1950s. Since the area was developed without any oversight on a family-by-family basis, services have had to be retrofitted to existing structures. Walking through the neighborhood's haphazard street network today, one notices shops and services wedged into ground floors, a frequent lack of sidewalks, and a mosaic of apartment blocks. Despite these design challenges, we have discovered a profound sense of community in Pineta Sacchetti fomented by critical institutions like its library and school.

Pineta Sacchetti's core is primarily residential and bounded by major roads providing transit services and commercial uses. The lack of sidewalks, hilly topography, and narrow roads in the core suggest inaccessibility for children and elders. Yet, our initial interviews have uncovered that this self-built form may have benefits for children and elders that are sometimes forgotten. Many citizens have described the benefits of a village-like neighborhood that comes with having a residential core. Moreover, we have found a distinct sense of community in a neighborhood that was until recently cast aside as a residual urban space. Through the use of quantitative and community engagement activities, including participatory photography with children and questionnaires for the elderly, we look to further our understanding of how this neighborhood is child and age friendly.

Essentially, we aim to answer the following research question. Pineta Sacchetti is an unplanned, imperfectly maintained neighborhood that does not align with the literature ideals of child or age friendliness. What can an organically grown neighborhood provide in terms of social framework that these design standards alone cannot?

Map I:  
Context Map





## LITERATURE REVIEW

### What is child and age friendliness?

A standard from which to measure child and age friendliness comes from literature presented by the World Health Organization, UNICEF, and various researchers. Widely accepted standards for child and age friendliness consider transit, housing, services, public spaces, maintenance, safety, accessibility, and other aspects of the built environment.

An age friendly city has affordable, well-maintained, easily accessed homes. Further, transit is clean, affordable, and can easily take people where they actually need to go. There should be many services that are nearby and are sufficient for all needs of the inhabitants of the neighborhood, including health services. A substantial amount of public spaces and places of refuge should be present within the neighborhood, including green spaces. The area should be safe, guarded by what Jane Jacobs describes as “eyes on the street.” The design of the neighborhood should enhance perceptions of safety as well. An area upheld as child and age friendly makes an effort to include the elderly and children in the community activities.

The majority of the emphasis in these standards is put on the physical aspects of a neighborhood. Yet, there are various layers, present in any community, that accepted literature on child and age friendliness does not account for. Through studying Pineta Sacchetti, we have challenged our initial perceptions that the neighborhood was not age friendly, because of design “flaws” and various impediments to accessibility. The literature pointed to this not being a child or age friendly area.

How does Pineta Sacchetti conform or deviate from international standards of child and age friendliness in cities?



Photo: Gray Brakke



For example, the neighborhood's hilly topography makes it even more difficult to reach the metro or bus stops, which are only located on the outer arterial streets that surround Pineta Sacchetti. Many streets have narrow sidewalks, sidewalks on only one side, or no sidewalks at all. There are few public spaces, and the majority of the ones that do exist are institutional buildings and not fully public.

In contrast, since the majority of the traffic is on the outer areas of the neighborhood where the primary roads are, there is less need for sidewalks in the area. Less flow in the core of the neighborhood allows pedestrians to feel safe and converse on street corners. This helps to maintain the strong village-like character described constantly by interviewees and community actors. The interviews we have conducted in the neighborhood have indicated that the neighborhood is in fact quite desirable for children and the elderly. Despite hilly topography, poor transit connectivity, inconsistent streets and side walks, and aging housing stock, almost all of Pineta Sacchetti's aging population decide to age in place. At the same time, there is an influx of increasingly wealthy and well-educated young families.

There is a strong sense of community in Pineta Sacchetti, and a still developing identity, which is being fostered through the help of various community groups and institutions. What makes Pineta Sacchetti child and age friendly, as confirmed by its citizens, has less to do with urban design features and standards described in dominant literature, and more to do with the values and social structures that exist in this close-knit community, that has a such a strong social-institutional framework supporting it.

In the following chapters, we will describe the unique challenges that this unplanned neighborhood faces, as well as the unique solutions and social fabrics that have grown to meet them.



Photo: Amelia Visnauskas

Figure 1: One of the neighborhood's interior streets, Via Urbano II, is open only to pedestrians at certain times of day, when it serves as the neighborhood's only open air market.

## HISTORY

### From agricultural village to peripheral neighborhood to urban core.

The concept of Pineta Sacchetti as a distinct neighborhood is relatively modern. Even today, depending on whom one asks, a distinct neighborhood described as “Pineta Sacchetti” might simply not exist. Much of the history of our prescribed Pineta Sacchetti neighborhood boundaries is a strictly oral tradition. As a result, any discussion of the history of the neighborhood will have occasionally conflicting chronologies and other frictions. The following historical overview is a compilation of these oral traditions, collected via dozens of resident interviews, with occasional editorial liberties taken for narrative cohesion.

Most accounts of the history of Pineta Sacchetti begin with the dominant religious presence within the area, specifically that of the Vatican, and its impact on the built environment. The oldest story told of the



Figure 2: The Villa Sacchetti, constructed in the 17th century. (Image source: *Verdi Delizie*, Campitelli)

neighborhood is actually of the adjacent valley, Valle Aurelia, which was home to a brick production facility that allegedly fired many of the bricks used for the construction of St. Peter’s Basilica. This production facility grew to be nicknamed La Valle dell’Inferno, or the “Valley of Hell” for its noxious fumes, red lights, and frenetic industrial activity.

Along the side of this valley, the first known residence was constructed in what is today the center of Pineto Regional Park. Gifted the land by Pope Urban XX, the Sacchetti family commissioned Pietro da Cortona, one of the leaders in 17th century villa design, to design and construct the Villa Sacchetti. The result was a quite extravagant *casino*, or pleasure house, meant to create a complex for wilderness and escape from the city. Despite the fame and attention this villa attracted, however, the changing fortunes of the Sacchetti family resulted in the rapid dilapidation of the property, with little current visual evidence of the villa’s existence. Perhaps the most prominent legacy of the Villa Sacchetti is the name Sacchetti itself, which has lingered on as the namesake of Pineta Sacchetti.

Following the collapse of the Villa Sacchetti, the land directly west of the park site continued to operate as agricultural and livestock production for the Vatican. Specifically, the Capitolo di San Pietro (an agricultural organization affiliated with the Vatican) cultivated the land to grow grains, medicinal plants, and grazing facilities for the bovine production located within the park area. Cows were raised both for dairy production and slaughter, housed primarily in the only other structure within the villa grounds, called the Vaccheria. The still-standing two story structure would also house farmers on the shorter, second story. These farmers were responsible for operating the agricultural operation for the church, while also maintaining the surrounding villa grounds. The sale of the villa site to the Torlonia family in 1861





Map 2: 1934 Map of Primavalle, Carta Marnio-Gigli (from Primavalle In Rete)

changed little for both the residents and use of modern day Pineta Sacchetti.

The Pineta Sacchetti seen today did not begin to take shape until the rise of fascism in Italy. To combat the mass displacement of low-income families from the city center in the 1930s, planned neighborhoods of public housing (borgate) were quickly erected on the periphery. Frequently, these formally planned borgate were accompanied by

less formal, self-built residential communities. The construction of one such borgata (Primavalle) near to the Pineto Regional Park suggests some of the first potential self-built residences in Pineta Sacchetti.

It was not until after the war, however, that modern Pineta Sacchetti truly developed. The few homes that did exist were sporadically located throughout the neighborhood, with rural dirt roads occasionally connecting the neighborhood. A plan from 1934 (Map 2) indicates well just how rural the area was. Additionally, the areas with more difficult topography to the west of Pineta Sacchetti are seemingly completely undeveloped, a further indication of how readily available land was and how disconnected this village was from the city center of Rome.

After the conclusion of World War II, the modern Pineta Sacchetti rapidly began to take form. In this critical period (1945-1970), the continued emergence of self-built urban fabric began to dominate the built environment. This first wave of “urban” residents was deeply

invested in constructing both the social and physical structures that still make up much of modern day Pineta Sacchetti. This commitment toward building community, paired with a concentration of individuals with professional experience in the building trade, led to the construction of community-built homes of near-professional developer grade architectural sophistication and construction quality.

The legacy of these homes can still be seen today, and many are still occupied by descendants of their original occupants. Many of today’s single family and multi-family residences are renovated and retrofitted iterations of the original post-war structures. The residents of Pineta Sacchetti not only shaped the form of private residences, but also contributed to the development of public space in the area. There have been several critical moments in history where the residents have created new services and institutions, in addition to collectively fighting for existing services. This survival speaks to the residents’ commitment to their community.



Figure 3: A lifelong resident of Pineta Sacchetti in front of the home that her forebearers built. It is one of the oldest remaining *villini*.

## METHODOLOGIES

### Statistical Analysis

As a basis for our statistical analysis of the neighborhood, we utilized two key repositories of data: ISTAT's 2001 and 2011 censuses. Incorporating the 25 census tracts found within our neighborhood boundaries, we compared data between the two sources to find changing shifts in demographics, education level, employment status, and other relevant categories. Additionally, we used this data, alongside Excel modeling software, to generate population pyramids within 5 year increments of both genders, normalizing them as a percent of total population to accurately compare 2001 to 2011.

### Use and Typology Study

In order to understand the uses and characteristics of structures in Pineta Sacchetti, we designed a building census that was conducted on each structure within our neighborhood boundaries.

Building lots were numbered and then divided amongst team members. Each building was assessed according to a series of criteria. These included number of stories, projected building height, exterior facade materials, construction type (distinguishing between self-built and developer constructed), state of building repair, and building use. During this building census, a service inventory of the neighborhood was also taken.

The data obtained from the building census was used both for statistical analysis of the neighborhood as well as mapping. The census process also allowed us to create ground-truth maps obtained from external sources, and compare current conditions against ISTAT data.



Photo: Pinacci Nostri

Figure 4, above: Meeting with artist collective Pinacci Nostri.  
Figure 5, below: Surveying while compiling a building typology.



Photo: Gray Brakke



## Children's Voices: Photovoice

Our photovoice research is inspired by Dr. Yucel Can Severcan's participatory photography work in Ankara, Turkey and the Bodrum Peninsula and our methodology is resultingly similar to his. After initially contacting the Casa del Parco library, as they provide various services for children, our team was referred to the Scuola Media Sisto IV, where administration and staff were readily willing to help us in our research.

Twenty disposable cameras, with 27 photos each, were distributed to children at Scuola Media Sisto IV by an instructor. Twenty students across two classes, who all live within Pineta Sacchetti, were asked to participate. Students ranged from age 11 to age 13. The cameras were accompanied by a worksheet that provided children with structured requirements for the first ten photos on the film roll, which are used in our analysis. The worksheet, which was matched to each camera, provided further prompts for children to identify the locations and subject matter of their photographs.

Providing structured photo prompts to participants gives more guidance to the students and produces an outcome that is easier to analyze and compare. These photo prompts draw directly from the participatory photography exercises of Dr. Yucel Can Severcan, as well as international frameworks for child friendly cities.

We accompanied the return of the photographs with a workshop with the students, with conversations to further elicit perceptions of place attachment in the neighborhood. This exercise, accompanied with the workshop, attempts to better illuminate children's territorial ranges, perceptions of historical and cultural sites of significance, and where the children feel safe.



Figures 7 and 8: Students from two classes in Scuola Media Sisto IV participating in a feedback workshop.



# Photovoice: Example Responses



Figure 9, above: These photos, taken by student participants, represent common subjects: the school, piazza, park, sports fields, and public art.

Figure 10: A student takes a photo of St. Peter's Basilica from Pineto Regional Park.

Figure 11: A sample (completed) worksheet.



Photo: Giorgio Gibertini Jolly

Figure 10

Questionario per l'esercizio di fotografia partecipata a Pineta Sacchetti

Nome: \_\_\_\_\_

Ti chiediamo di fare 10 foto seguendo le indicazioni riportate nella tabella. Le altre foto potrai farle a qualsiasi cosa tu desideri e saranno tue. Con questo lavoro vorremmo capire sia gli aspetti positivi che quelli negativi di Pineta Sacchetti.

Prima di iniziare accertati di aver scritto il tuo nome sulla macchina fotografica e ricordati di prendere nota dei posti in cui scatti le foto e dell'ordine in cui le fai.

Ti ringraziamo tantissimo per l'aiuto che ci stai dando!

Fai una foto a...	Foto Numero	Dove e perchè hai scattato la foto?
Un posto in cui ti senti sicuro	1	Casa nuova perché mi piace viverci
Un posto in cui ti piace giocare	11	Parco del Pineto attorniato dagli alberi perché mi divertono

Figure 11



## Questionnaires

A similar worksheet to that which accompanied the cameras as part of our photovoice exercise was utilized to elicit elders' perceptions of their neighborhood. Created specifically for the members of the local Centro Anziani (Senior Center), we collected 12 responses following a Friday afternoon dance program. Utilizing both on site translation and retroactive translation, these responses were used to further qualitatively inform our engagement with the elderly.



Photo: Amelia Visnauskas

Figure 12, above: Meeting with the president of the Pineta Sacchetti Centro Anziani.

Figure 13, right: Explaining our research and requesting participation at an open dance event at Centro Anziani.



Photo: Amelia Visnauskas

## Community Interviews

Throughout our time in the neighborhood we conducted many interviews. The interviews were often informal or unplanned. For the planned interviews we prepared a set of questions that we wanted to ask the citizens. The questions helped us to gain knowledge on how the citizens saw the neighborhood and what they believed needed to change. We had the help of a teaching aid to translate these questions, and converse with different citizens. Two of these interviews included citizens drawing Lynch maps. Lynch maps involve having the citizen draw their neighborhood from memory. This was very useful for our study because the citizens would draw areas that they find most important. The creation and use of these maps was inspired by Kevin Lynch from his book *The Image of the City*. These interviews gave us a lot of historical background on Pineta Sacchetti and information on the positive and negative aspects of the neighborhood from the eyes of the citizens.



Photo: Ennio De Risio

Figure 14: Interviewing a long time resident. Casa del Parco Library and Pineto Regional Park appear in the background.



# PINETA SACCHETTI TODAY





# STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

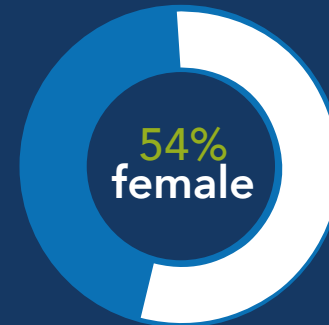
## Residents

Our focus area of Pineta Sacchetti has a population of 7,783 people. In 2001, the population was 8,120, reflecting a decrease of 4.2 percent. Women are a majority of the population: men comprise 44.6 percent of the population, while women comprise 55.4 percent. At 10.3 percent, the proportion of Pineta Sacchetti's population under age 15 is lower than Rome as a whole (at 13 percent). Meanwhile, the proportion of population over age 65, at 26.4 percent, is higher than Rome as a whole (at 22 percent). Pineta Sacchetti is thus a particularly graying neighborhood.

Furthermore, as demonstrated by our population pyramids, there exists a significant cohort of baby boomers who will soon become senior citizens. Another interesting note from these pyramids is that, with a 2011 population of 770, or 9.9 percent of total population, a plurality of Pineta Sacchetti inhabitants are women over the age of 74. In 2001, this was also the case, suggesting a long-term neighborhood demographic orientation toward elderly women. This demographic orientation thus highlights the importance of catering to their needs in urban design and policy.

The average household size, as of 2011, is 2.1, down from 2.3 in 2001 and notably less than that of Rome as a whole (at 2.4). A plurality of households, 41.8 percent, have only one resident. Pineta Sacchetti's families are thus quite small, and a remarkable number of people live alone. Taken together with the previous information, it can be said that the prototypical Pineta Sacchetti inhabitant is a woman over age 74 living alone. Further complicating this picture is Pineta Sacchetti's age-dependency ratio of 59 percent.

An examination of Pineta Sacchetti's workforce, meanwhile, also reveals interesting trends. Since 2001, Pineta Sacchetti's work-



**9.9% of residents are women over the age of 74.**

### % UNDER 15

Pineta Sacchetti 10%



Rome 13%



### % OVER 65

Pineta Sacchetti 26%



Rome 22%



**41.8%**  
one person households

**59%**  
age-dependency ratio

force participation rate has increased from 41.6 percent to 44.6 percent. In real terms, the size of the labor force rose from 3,375 to 3,471, increasing at a rate of 2.8 percent. At the same time, unemployment decreased from 7.2 percent to 6.4 percent, on par with Rome as a whole. This suggests that even as it grays, the neighborhood is retaining its workforce, and it is even growing.

The census of 2001 provides the most recent statistics for labor sector. In Pineta Sacchetti, 0.9 percent of the labor force worked in agriculture; 0.9 percent worked in energy; 8.2 percent worked in manufacturing; 4.3 percent worked in construction; 16.5 percent worked in stores, hotels, and restaurants; 9.0 percent worked in transport and communication; 4.5 percent worked in brokerage; 8.9 percent worked in real estate; 11.5 percent worked in public administration; 7.0 percent worked in education; 9.3 percent worked in social services; and 8.6 percent worked in domestic services. The preponderance of service and public work reflects a typical middle-class neighborhood.

Alongside labor data, education rates can be used as proxies to assess class. As of 2011, 33.4 percent of residents completed secondary education, roughly the same as Rome as a whole. This figure also represents an increase from 2001, when it was 31.1 percent. More dramatically, tertiary education levels have also increased, from 10.7 percent in 2001 to 16.2 percent in 2011. These statistics point to some possible gentrifying forces that have been identified in intercept interviews.

Another prevalent force in the neighborhood is that of immigrants. Many immigrants have been moving into Pineta Sacchetti to fill in the demographic space left behind by decreasing fertility rates. From 2001 to 2011, the share of immigrants in population increased from 5.1 percent to 11.1 percent. Of these immigrants, 45.6 percent came from Asia; 30.4 percent came from Europe; 16.2 percent came from the Americas; and 7.8 percent came from Africa. The primary immigrant groups as identified in interviews are Bangladeshi, Filipino, and Romanian.



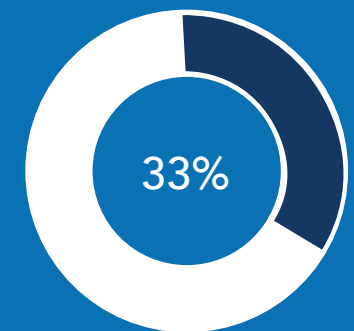
**44.6% WORKFORCE PARTICIPATION**

▲ increase from 41.6% in 2001

**3,471 LABOR FORCE**

**6.4% UNEMPLOYMENT**

**RESIDENTS WITH A SECONDARY EDUCATION**



(31.1% in 2001)

*“The preponderance of service and public work reflects a typical middle-class neighborhood.”*

**5.1** in 2001 ——— % OF IMMIGRANTS ———→ **11.1** in 2011

**74.6% HOMEOWNERSHIP**

**52.6% OF RESIDENCES BUILT 1945-1960**



**4+ STORIES**  
in 63% of residential buildings



# Housing

Our focus area in Pineta Sacchetti has 3,737 households, the average size of which is 2.1 people and 77.8 square meters. According to a local real estate agent, the typical dwelling in Pineta Sacchetti has 2 bedrooms and a living room and sells for €170,000 to €300,000. Real estate prices, it should be noted, have been going down recently much as they have across all of Italy. Of these households, 74.6 percent are owned, 17.4 percent are rented, and 7.9 percent are otherwise occupied.

The physical characteristics of the buildings also warrant statistical examination. During the initial phases of growth near Prima Valle, or 1919 to 1945, 12.3 percent of Pineta Sacchetti's residential buildings were constructed. None were built before 1919. From 1945 to 1960, Pineta Sacchetti's building boom, 52.6 percent of residential buildings were constructed. From 1961 to 1970, 30.7 percent were built. Only a remaining handful of residential buildings have been constructed since 1970. It should also be noted that the typical residential building is more than four floors (with a plurality of 63.3 percent) and has 9-15 apartments (with a plurality of 35.9 percent).



Photo: Amelia Visnauskas

Figure 15: A *villino* characteristic of pre-1950s construction in Pineta Sacchetti.



Photo: Gray Brakke

Figure 16: Typical 3-5 story residential buildings in the residential core.



Photo: Gray Brakke

Figure 17: Larger, newer, mixed-use buildings along Via Boccea.

## LAND USE AND BUILDINGS



Map 3: Building Use



Map 4: Maintenance

### Building Use

Being self built and developed, Pineta Sacchetti's land use is homogeneously residential. The area of study consists of 0.55 square kilometers, containing 525 lots with over 95 percent of the neighborhood made up of residential or mixed-use housing. Commercial and institutional uses are generally relegated to the periphery represented by pink and orange, with the majority added to the southeast, mid-west regions alongside the retrofitted metro stops. This makes a very visible residential core represented in both dark and light blue within the boundaries. In terms of child and age friendliness, these mixed use facilities consist of hairdressers, underground grocery stores, pharmacists, and few cafes and restaurants, meaning most of the amenities necessary to daily life are well within walking range of citizens.

### Maintenance

Despite a lack of a formal planning, Pineta Sacchetti has 75 percent of its lots deemed well maintained by the 2011 census. Our own methods and analysis confirmed this figure and mapped our observations. Our very well maintained area accounts for roughly 60 percent of the lots within the neighborhood (represented in green). These well maintained lots are primarily concentrated in the eastern half of the neighborhood, most notably around Cornelia and along Via di Pineta Sacchetti.

With over 83 percent of structures predating the 1970s, special care has been taken to continuously maintain these structures by the residents themselves. However, renovation and better maintenance are needed in the areas colored yellow and especially those in red in order for this middle class community to age in place and be welcoming to new families and generations. When conducting our building typology study, we categorized each structure in the neighborhood based on maintenance. Buildings were assigned a score between one and three, three being the best, based on their state of repair.



## Public Space



Map 5: Public Spaces



Figures 18 and 19: Piazza Pio IX

As a self built and developed neighborhood, public green space was not given priority within the dense residential core. Other than the large Pineto Regional park shown in green in the far right outside of our research area, the only true public space open continually within our boundaries is the small Piazza Pio IX shown in yellow. It is a small concrete piazza at the heart of a seven road intersection that is regularly occupied by all ages.

The institutions in this neighborhood make up for the lack of internal space by having both late closing times and regular activities such as concerts and parties open to all residents. The implications of this lack of internal public space would be the inaccessibility of institutions or green space to people living on the far west or south of the boundaries as the park or piazza would require a lot of travel which is not child or age friendly. But with transportation hubs on the periphery and organic blocks, Pineta Sacchetti has minimal traffic flow that mitigates this inaccessibility by making the sidewalks and streets safe and easy to walk on to access these peripheral public or semi-public spaces.

## Building Height

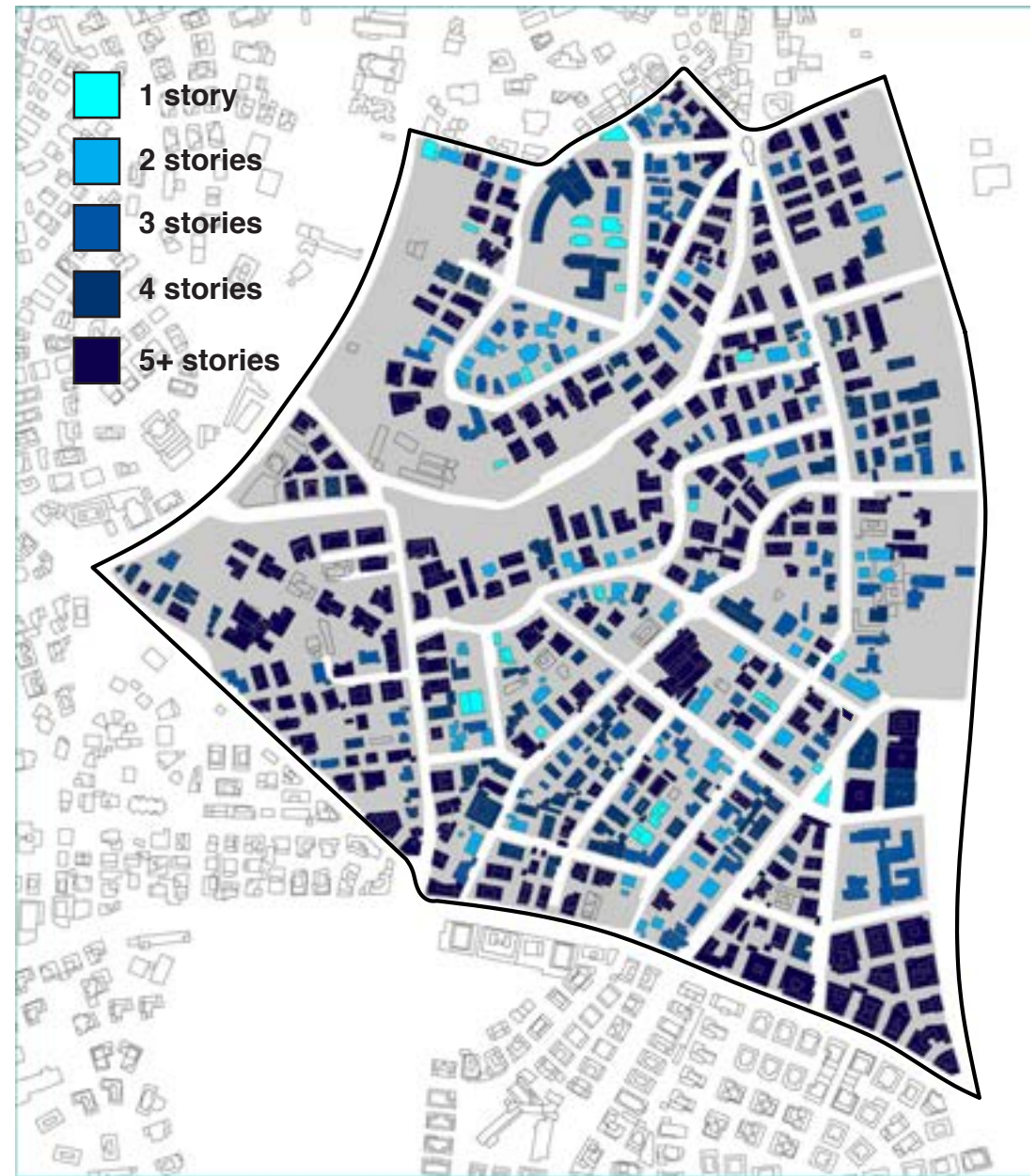
With a rate of 74.6 percent homeownership and 26.4 percent of the population over 65, building height is usually an impediment to aging in place. 63.3 percent of homes in Pineta Sacchetti have more than 4 floors, yet lifts are not commonplace or rarely even present according to our research. The implications of this structure height is the inaccessibility this would suggest for the elderly and handicapped.

However, we have yet to hear a complaint, and there is a clear intergenerational continuity here. Very pointedly, an interviewee at the Centro Anziani told us that “no one complains here,” and when asking whether structural changes were necessary to accommodate the aging population, we were told that he “wouldn’t change a thing.”

## Service Provision

Though Pineta Sacchetti is generally a self-sufficient neighborhood in terms of retail and service provision, its make-up is quite different than other parts of Rome, and a far cry from new urbanist standards of walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods, which are standard recommendations for children and aging populations.

As with many services in Pineta Sacchetti, shops, restaurants, pharmacies, etc. all tend to be located around the ring of the neighborhood, in close proximity to the metro and bus stops. There are some neighborhood bars and shops within the residential core, but they are not as wide ranging and large scale as the commercial districts that surround the neighborhood’s residential core.



Map 6: Building Height



## Social Nodes

While Pineta Sacchetti does not provide for its elders in the way that academics describe as an ideal physical environment for children and elders. There are various elements to the social and community frameworks of the neighborhood that replace or supersede its physical drawbacks.

The four main social hubs of the neighborhood are the Scuola Primaria Andrea Baldi, the Centro Anziani, Piazza Pio IX and the Casa Del Parco Library within the Pineto Regional Park.

Not only do these places serve as gathering places today, but they have had important historic functions in solidifying or contributing to the evolution of the identity of the neighborhood. For example, the residents of Pineta Sacchetti and surrounding communities formed a coalition to stop private development on the site of the former Sacchetti Villa, and instead had it designated as a Lazio regional park. Similarly, residents rallied to rename their piazza Pio IX, from Prima-valle, a name that had begotten a stigma thanks to the nearby borgata.

Both of these moments served as crucial points in solidifying both a strong sense of community (that can evolve with the modern age) and an important exercise in placemaking.

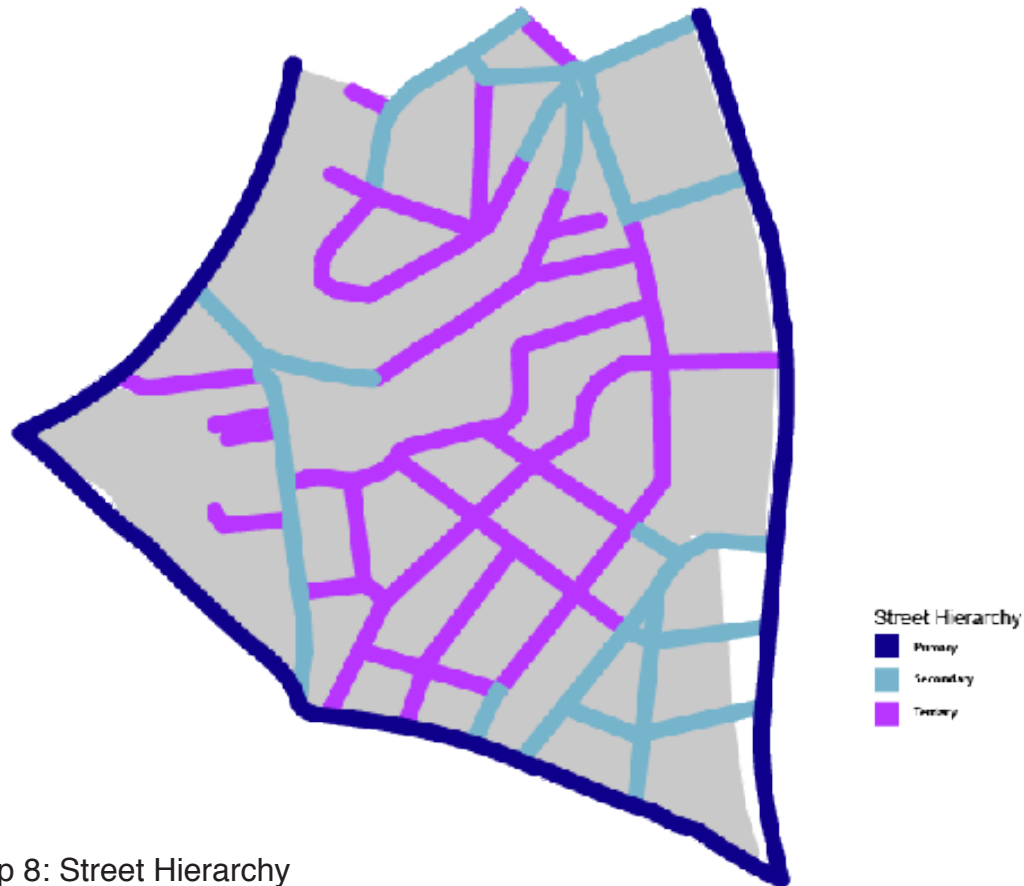


Map 7: Social Nodes

# STREETS AND MOBILITY

## Street Hierarchy

Generally, traffic in Pineta Sacchetti is very slow. The neighborhood is encircled by three major arterial routes, which provide residents with fantastic connectivity to other parts of Rome and Lazio and provide space and infrastructure for the neighborhood to support two Metro stops. The inner streets of the neighborhood are narrower and promote slower flow.



Map 8: Street Hierarchy



Figure 20: Via Boccea, an example of a primary street.



Figure 21: Via Calisto II, an example of a secondary street.



Figure 22: Via Cardinale Caprara, an example of a tertiary street



## PRIMARY STREETS

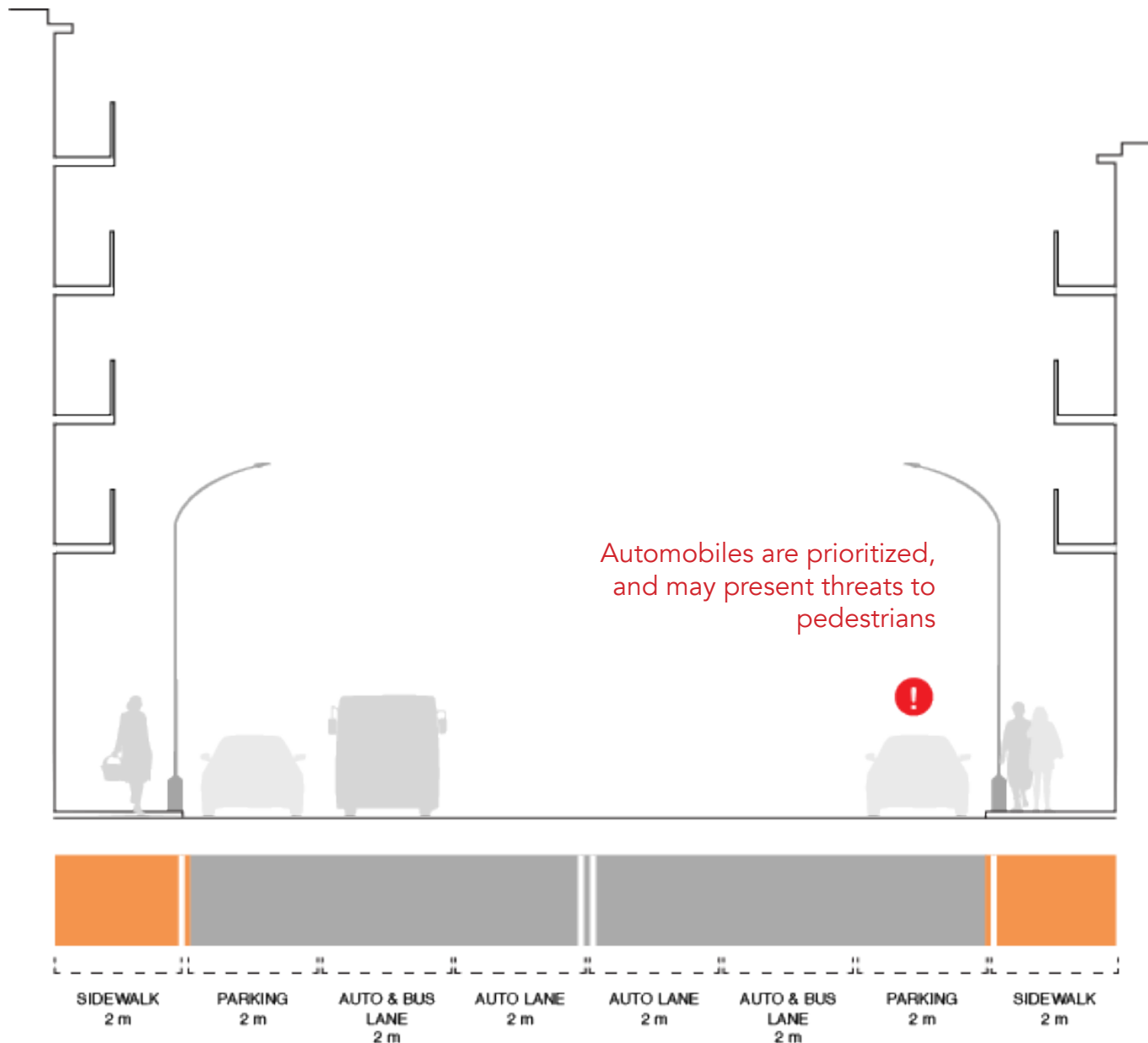


Figure 23: Cross section (Via Boccea)

Three main arterial streets, Via della Pineta Sacchetti, Via Boccea, and Via Mattia Battistini surround our study area, and connect Pineta Sacchetti to other neighborhoods in Rome. These large streets look much like other central Roman roads: they are wide with 2 to four lanes, and have typical modern amenities, including street lighting, on-street parking, bus routes, metro stations, and a mix of shops, services, and residences.

These streets are relatively well maintained, especially when compared to roads inside the study area. Challenges to pedestrians arise largely from automobile traffic. High traffic volumes and speeding cars can make for unsafe crossings or a noisy pedestrian experience. Sidewalks are also relatively narrow, and do not provide plantings or other buffers to vehicular traffic. Though parking on these streets is better regulated, illegal parking is still common.

These arterial streets that encompass the neighborhood make Pineta Sacchetti attractive as a well connected neighborhood. These roads connect to Cornelia and Battistini metro stops (which connect to Line A), the Grande Raccordo Anulare (GRA) highway, Vatican City, and the Centro Storico.

## SECONDARY STREETS

On entering the neighborhood, streets become winding and irregular. Streets often do not connect with others nearby, and the few gridded streets are confined to the newer, southeastern corner of the study area.

Some interior streets see more traffic, and accommodate higher volumes of traffic than others. We have classified these as secondary streets. Via Pio IX, for example, connects Piazza Pio IX to the area near the Urbano II market and is used heavily.

Though pedestrians use these streets readily, there are still significant threats to safety, accessibility and pedestrian experience. Sidewalks are narrow and poorly maintained, if they even exist at all. Many sidewalks are blocked by garbage containers or illegally parked cars and scooters. There is again no buffer between pedestrians and traffic, and many pedestrians choose to share the street with automobiles.

Since public space does not exist in the neighborhood beyond the piazza and park, private shops, and restaurants serve pedestrians who need to stop and rest. Bar, shop and restaurant patios serve as social spaces, as well as places of rest and refuge for pedestrians with mobility challenges.

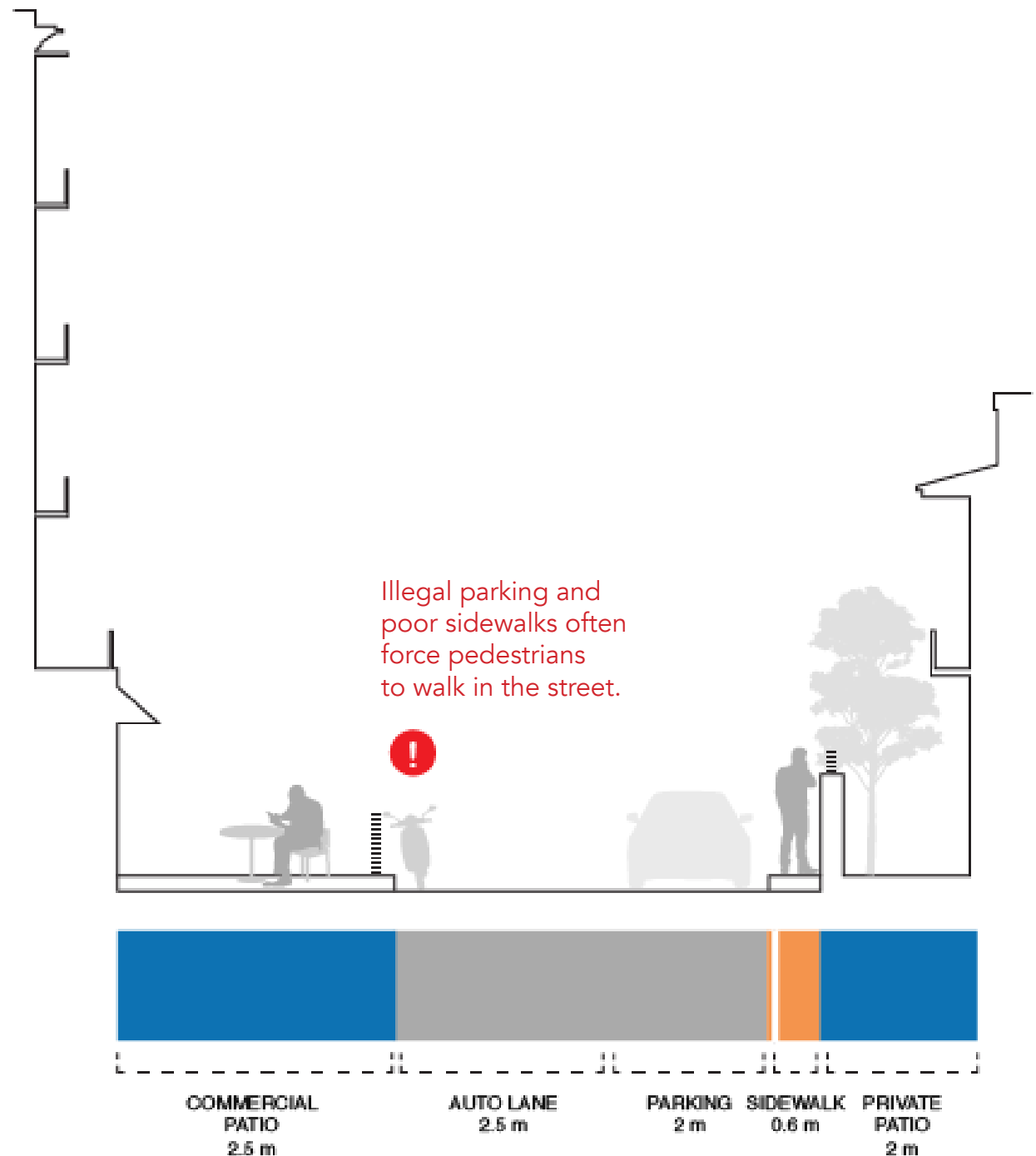


Figure 24: Cross section (via Pio IX)



## TERTIARY STREETS

These streets are extremely narrow, and accommodate more uses than they are designed to. Tertiary streets in Pineta Sacchetti accommodate pedestrians, automobiles, scooters, and garbage containers, in the space of what otherwise might be a one way road.

Many of these streets do not have sidewalks, again forcing pedestrians to walk in the street. This is especially risky for the elderly, children, and parents with strollers. Blockages to pedestrians also come from poorly placed and maintained garbage containers. Topography also plays an important role here and can further hinder accessibility. Pineta Sacchetti is hilly, and the location of transit and services around the outside of the neighborhood often necessitates longer travel distances for pedestrians.

Despite these limitations and safety concerns, these streets are well used by pedestrians and automobiles alike.

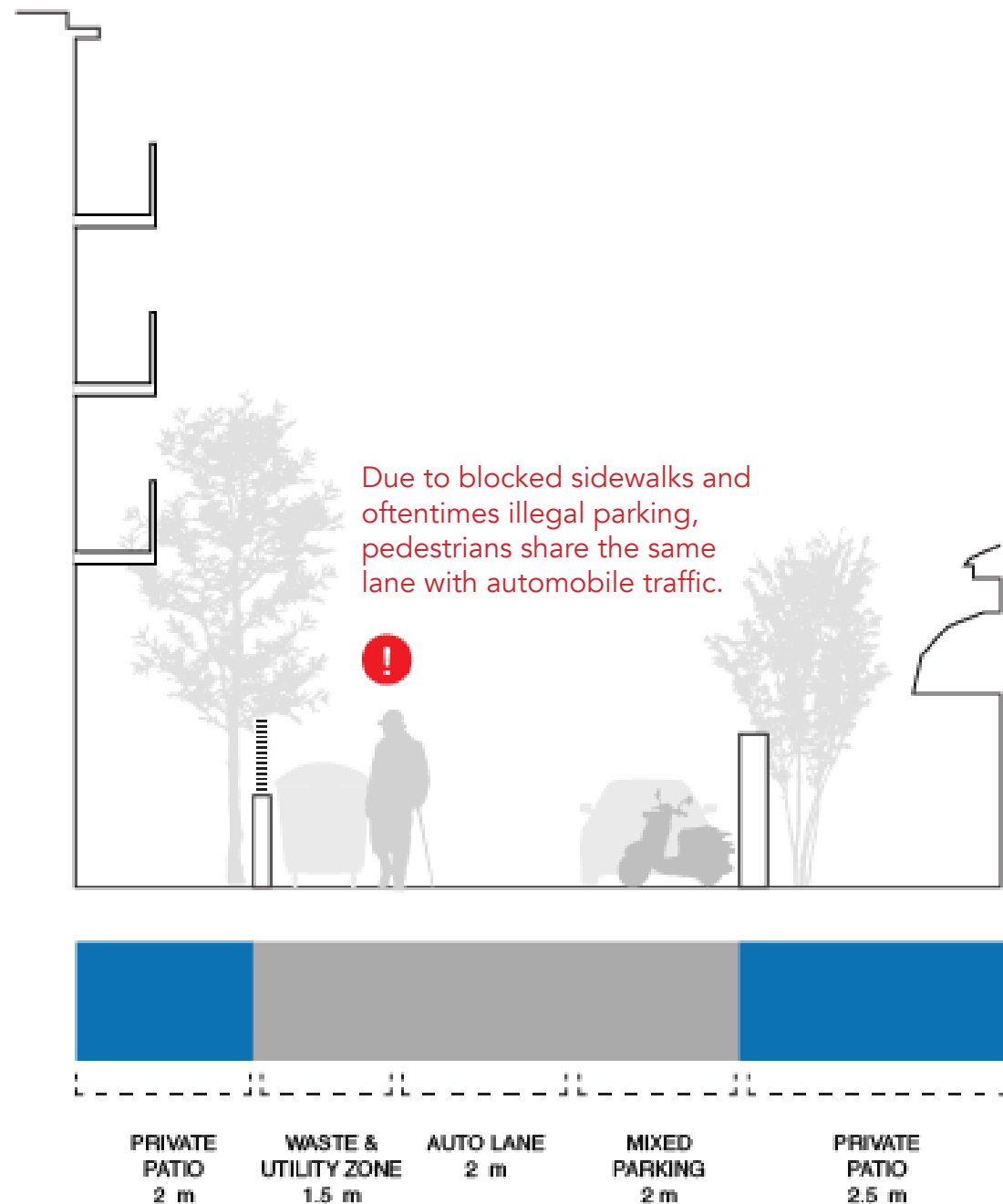
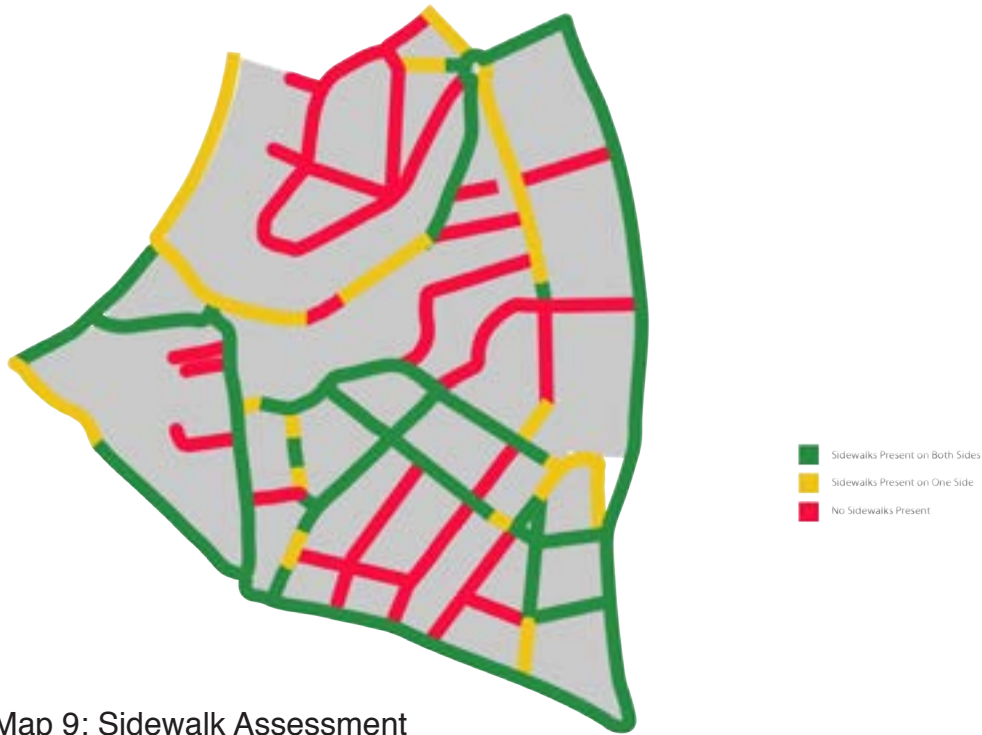


Figure 25: Cross section (Via dei Sampietrini)

# Sidewalk Assessment



Map 9: Sidewalk Assessment

An important feature in Pineta Sacchetti is the lack of consistent sidewalks. Not only are the sidewalks poorly maintained, but in many places they simply do not exist. This is in large part due to the self-built, self-developed, and unplanned nature of the neighborhood.

The lack of sidewalks can make the streets dangerous for children and elders. However, in Pineta Sacchetti, this has not been seen to limit the motion of citizens, especially in these age brackets. The low flow of the traffic and the strong community and the “eyes on the street” contribute to that.

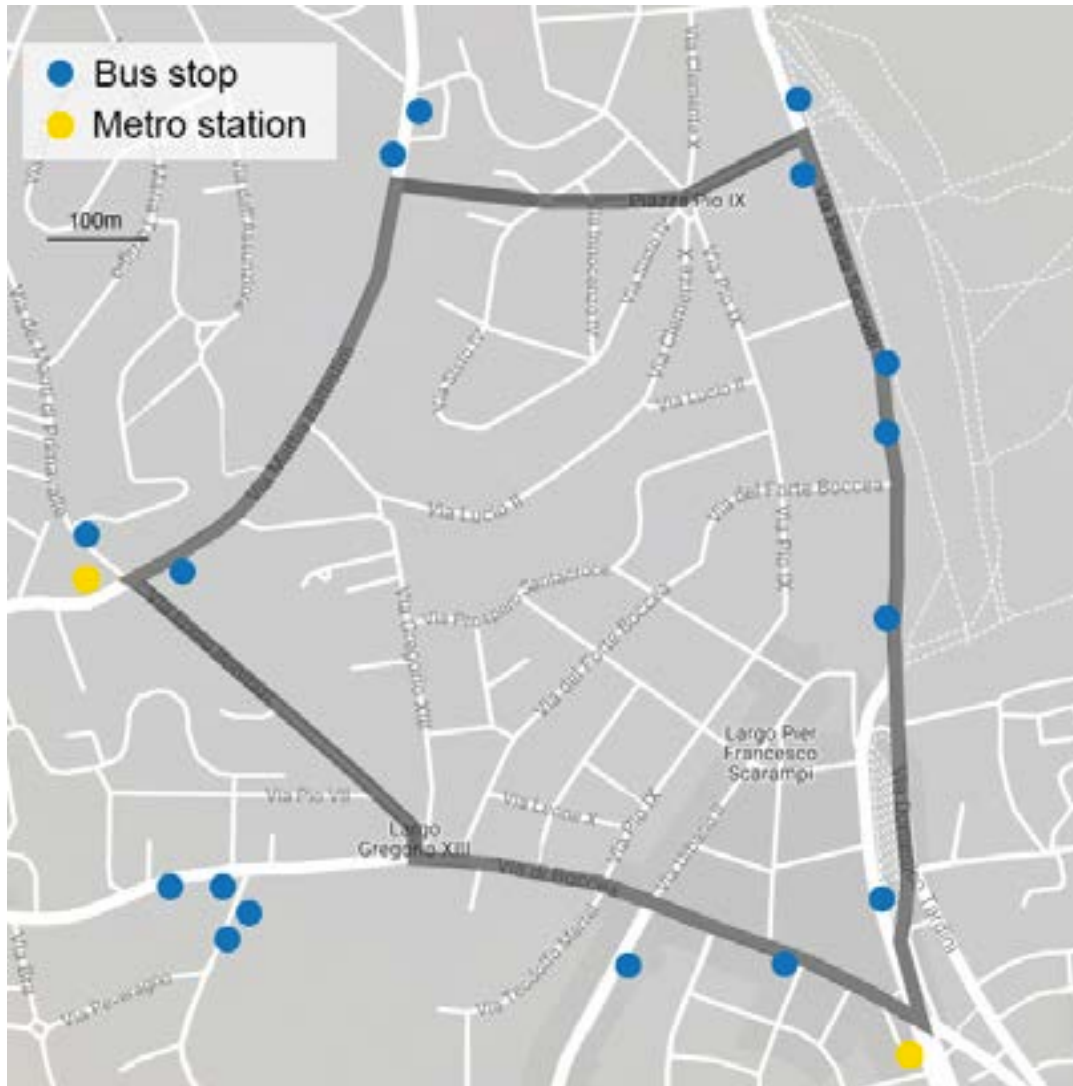


Figure 26: Pedestrians using the road in the absence of sidewalks



The neighborhood's high level of connectivity to various ATAC transit services make it increasingly more desirable for residents seeking access to the greater metropolis.

This was not always the case however. The metro stations and bus stops that surround the residential core of the neighborhood have been there since the large boom of construction that gave the neighborhood its character.



Map 10: Bus stops located around Pineta Sacchetti, along arterial roads.



Photo: Gray Brakke

Figure 27: A bus shelter along Via Boccea

## INSTITUTIONS

Bringing the community together and providing critical services for children and the elderly, public institutions anchor Pineta Sacchetti's identity. Among these institutions are the public school, library, Pinacci Nostri, and Centro Anziani—each offering unique programming and possibilities for the neighborhood and our research.

As the local senior center, the Centro Anziani provides critical services for the elderly of Pineta Sacchetti, acting as a meeting point and recreational center. As far as our research goes, the center is an exceptionally important site for engaging the elder community. As such, we conducted a survey of attendees as well as interviews with senior organization members. The center opens every day from 15:30 to 19:30, but there are some morning activities. Scheduled programming includes dance, yoga, gymnastics, and day trips. It only costs €2 per year to become a member. The municipio pays the bills, but the center collects money through organizing activities. 480 people are registered, but fewer than that come regularly—there are usually 30-40 people playing cards each afternoon. Almost everyone walks there, so sidewalk accessibility must be important in order for seniors to access the center and other services. Related to intergenerationality, the center regularly hosts a grandparents' party. Though located next to the school, the center conducts little programming with it.

The local school, Scuola Primaria Andrea Baldi and Scuola Media Sisto IV, similarly provides crucial services but does so for a much broader audience. Opened in 1936 and constructed with fascist imagery on its walls, the school became a military hospital during World War II. Once the war ended, the community worked together to reconvert it into a school. Today, the school is known for its music program, which brings in community members for regular concerts by the students. Amazingly, it stays open until midnight for community use. One of its hallmark community events is the “meetnic,” which is a portmanteau of meeting, ethnic, and picnic. These meetnics bring



Photo: Amelia Visnauskas

Figure 28: A garden created in marginal space at the Centro Anziani.

together students and community members of different ethnic backgrounds for cultural exchange. Another community initiative undertaken by the school was a recent effort to replant trees in Pineto Regional Park that had been destroyed in an arson incident. Given these community outreach activities, the school served as an important node in our research: we collaborated with one of its teachers to conduct our photovoice exercise.

Located in Pineto Regional Park, the local library, meanwhile, was a crucial research node in understanding the history of the community. One of our initial points of contact in Pineta Sacchetti, the library and its staff provided consistent access to information and assistance. The library was opened in 2006 in an abandoned building in the park and features programming for all ages. In particular, children ages 3 to 6 have their own room at the library, and there is more children's programming every Saturday afternoon. Staff also told us that there are a variety of immigrants who come with their children to read





Photo: Gray Brakke

Figure 29: Historic records in the public school building.

in Italian. In addition, every Thursday they have movies for elders. The library is particularly important since it is a meeting point for children of all ages—from zero to university age—as well as elders.

A final institution that connects the neighborhood and assisted in our research is Pinacci Nostri, a street art organization. The collective, whose name roughly translates to “our bad pines,” aims to connect the neighborhood with its history. They were started from a movement called Muracci Nostri, which is a street art group in nearby Primavalle. Their primary goals are to use murals to create a strong sense of identity in the neighborhood and to prevent degradation. One of their largest murals in Pineta Sacchetti was created with the participation of the community and outlines the entire history of the neighborhood.

Interestingly, most of the artists come from outside of Pineta Sacchetti, suggesting that the organization is not as grassroots as one might expect. Nonetheless, it fulfills a crucial role in placemaking and giving Pineta Sacchetti a concrete identity. Furthermore, its murals



Photo: Gray Brakke

Figure 30: An art and poetry Installation near the Vaccheria, an abandoned cowshed near the Library.

are widely loved by Pineta Sacchetti’s inhabitants and were one of the most commonly photographed subjects in our photovoice exercise.

Collaborating with these institutions—the Centro Anziani, the school, the library, and Pinacci Nostri—has endowed us with indispensable insights into Pineta Sacchetti. Furthermore, they reflect the strong institutional character that upholds the neighborhood’s social structure. It is this structure that is responsible for Pineta Sacchetti’s child and age friendliness in spite of its design flaws.

# COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT





## PHOTO ESSAY

### *Tu sei qui: Identity and Accessibility in a Self-Built Neighborhood*

Through an original photo essay, we seek to visually explore Pineta Sacchetti's identity and accessibility across generations. There is a substantial literature on visual anthropology, whose primary aim is to qualitatively catalog bodily expressions, space in human behavior, and the choreography of culture. (Collier 2003) Our research primarily hinges on the second of these, as we investigate the nature of space and neighborhood identity. Alongside intergenerational place-making and place attachment, neighborhood identity forms the crux of our visual, qualitative research. When conducting a community study, "photographs showing spatial relationships and the visual character of homes offer sociometric understandings, qualifications of affluence and poverty, older areas and new development, and often social subdivisions within a community." (Collier 2003) In our case, we seek to assess neighborhood identity formation in public spaces. With this medium, we can depict Pineta Sacchetti's intangibles as experienced by its inhabitants.

Photography also has the power to make research accessible to laypeople across generations and backgrounds: "Whether it be ethnographic film or a file of still photographs of a community, the value of the camera record is its literacy which allows diverse people to extract a significant level of information from photograph or film." (Collier 2003) When conducting community studies, photography thus can provide a critical link to the community. We further integrated community engagement into this format through our children's photovoice project. After receiving disposable cameras back from the photovoice project, directly compared those photos to our initial impressions of the neighborhood, in turn allowing us to reflect upon both our positionality as researchers and the research questions themselves. Essentially, we analyzed our own initial assessments against the views of Pineta Sacchetti's children.

What follows is our photo essay, which touches upon the themes that we have identified in Pineta Sacchetti. It allows the viewer to move through the neighborhood and reflect upon it as a discrete place with a unique, intergenerational identity. This visual exploration complements the social-institutional framework we have been developing elsewhere by adding the dimensions of identity and placemaking.

All photos: Gray Brakke

# *Tu Sei Qui*: Identity and Accessibility In A Self-Built Neighborhood



Looking down a lane off of one of Pineta Sacchetti's main arteries provides a view of the neighborhood's diverse mosaic of apartment blocks.

Shops and services, like this hardware store, are frequently shoehorned into the lower levels of apartment blocks, given a lack of central planning during the neighborhood's construction.





Planted by the current homeowner's grandfather, this lemon tree similarly connects the Pineta Sacchetti of the present to its builders.



With a history rooted in self-construction, numerous hardware and building supplies stores provide links to both the neighborhood's past and its present.



# *Tu Sei Qui*: Identity and Accessibility In A Self-Built Neighborhood



With much of the Pineta Sacchetti's population aging in place, access to shops and services like this grocery store, built in an apartment block basement, is critical.



Services in Pineta Sacchetti have been provided by many actors, public and private—the latter exemplified by this para-pharmacy paying homage to a former pope.





The Catholic Church makes its presence felt throughout the neighborhood through institutional outposts like this convent of Franciscan sisters.

An image of Jesus looming above its center, Piazza Pio IX serves as the primary public space for the northern reaches of Pineta Sacchetti.



# *Tu Sei Qui*: Identity and Accessibility In A Self-Built Neighborhood



St. Peter's Basilica towering in the distance, the Parco della Pineta Sacchetti not only provides residents with invaluable green space but gives the neighborhood its name.



Street art, sanctioned and unsanctioned, is a constant of Pineta Sacchetti's aesthetic character, here imploring the viewer to remember, "You are here."



## What Came Next: Participatory Photography

This photo essay assesses the infrastructure and physical condition of Pineta Sacchetti in a qualitative way. Sidewalk quality, maintenance, street patterns, topography, etc., informed our initial impression that Pineta Sacchetti was not a neighborhood well suited for children and the elderly. The neighborhood is characterized by winding, unplanned streets with sparse sidewalks and almost no public open space. Services have been retrofitted around the perimeter of the neighborhood, so very few shops and no public transit permeate the dense residential core. Our photo essay and initial building typology and service inventory work confirmed these results.

Our initial interviews with residents, however, contradicted these assumptions and suggested that the neighborhood's child and age friendliness may come from strong social structures. Some of these themes had begun to emerge in the photo essay as well, but it was necessary to explore them more deeply. To better understand this social layer, we employed interviews and participatory photography. Photovoice is generally used to understand the challenges and assets that community members perceive in their neighborhood and to engage them in dialogue about these issues.

Most importantly, photovoice captures a social element of a community that is ignored by traditional research methods. We found this to be an appropriate tool to use to assess a neighborhood that did not seem to be well served by traditional planning methods.

The following section details the results of our various engaged research methods, which generally contrast with our initial findings. These methods allowed us to access a layer of the neighborhood that was not visible to us as outside researchers and helped to dismantle some of our biases and fill in gaps in our understanding of the neighborhood.



Figure 31: Team members posing with the famous pine stand in Pineto Regional Park

## FINDINGS

### A Child's Voice: Participatory Photography

The social layer of the neighborhood that we uncovered through photovoice largely consists of several nodes of activity. Among these:

- The Pineto regional park
- Scuola Primaria Andrea Baldi
- San Lino church
- Piazza Pio IX
- A series of murals

Together these places comprise the points of child-friendliness in the social fabric that supersede complaints about maintenance and accessibility in the physical fabric.

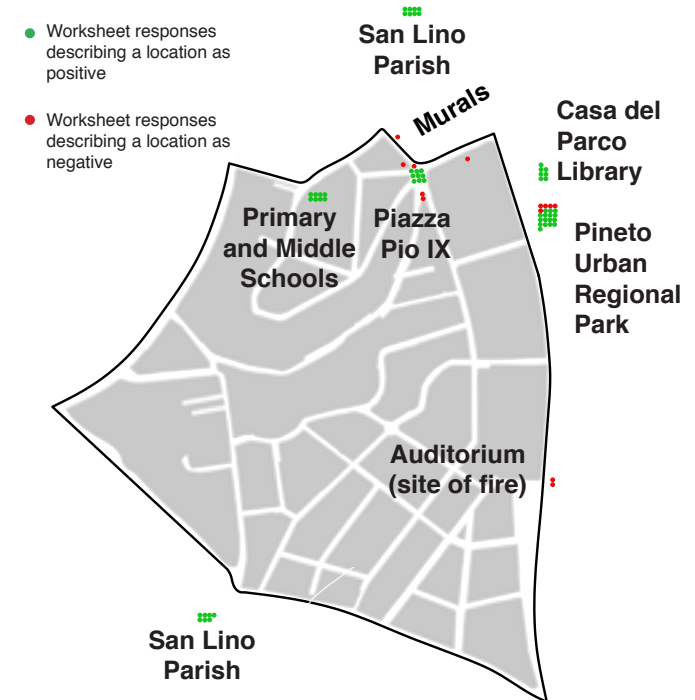
### An Elder's Memory: Interviews and Questionnaires

Interviews and questionnaires with elders further revealed the social layer of Pineta Sacchetti. Positive community features for the elderly included:

- The community
- Centro Anziani
- Supermarkets
- San Lino church

Overall, elders felt that Pineta Sacchetti was age-friendly for these reasons despite complaints surrounding safety, walkability, and a lack of good public space.

Map 11: Photovoice study responses



Map 12: Elderly Questionnaire responses



## Seeing Invisible Assets

The literature suggests that child and age friendly cities are places where transit, housing, work, and play are all located within close proximity and with physical accessibility. Pineta Sacchetti does not fit these physical standards. Our institutional engagement with photovoice presented alternative visions. The people of Pineta Sacchetti reveal assets invisible to planners:

- Slow Flow reduces conflict
- Strong Local Control creates robust sense of place
- Deeply Rooted Institutions reinforce neighborhood norms

These assets allow Pineta Sacchetti to be a child and age-friendly neighborhood *overall*, despite a physical character that poses significant challenges to children and the elderly.



Figure 32: Sanctioned graffiti at the public school is attractive to children, and aims to serve a culturally unifying function.



Figure 33: Hotel Giotto, a distinctive architectural landmark in the neighborhood, was captured frequently in Photovoice pictures.

## The Importance of the Social Layer

One critical invisible asset of Pineta Sacchetti's child and age-friendly social layer was shared history among its inhabitants. Such history endows Pineta Sacchetti with a supportive community and strong institutional structures. These processes have largely occurred as a result of historical path dependence: as Mahoney (2000) notes, path dependence occurs when "an institutional pattern—once adopted—delivers increasing benefits with its continued adoption, and thus over time it becomes more and more difficult to transform the pattern or select previously available options." Here the process of path dependence has developed through the aforementioned shared history, which in turn produces place attachment. The place attachment then results in communal and institutional norms of reciprocity. For Pineta Sacchetti, this pattern means that the increasing benefits of retelling a shared history translate into a community and institutions that support the social needs of children and elders. By sharing history, reciprocal interactions are strengthened across social groups and institutions.

This local history gave residents a strong sense of pride and ownership over the neighborhood; two anecdotes from Pineta Sacchetti highlight this point. First, we once encountered a house with a lemon tree in front, and the owner came out to tell us that the tree was planted by her grandfather when he built their house. This story reinforces an intergenerational attachment to the neighborhood and its history, to which many residents are palpably connected as a result of its self-built nature. Second, to protect their regional park, the community had to unite against private developers through the 1970s and 1980s and successfully staved off the threat of development. This shared sense of history provides the neighborhood with strong social reciprocity. This history is even being imparted upon new generations and new inhabitants in the neighborhood, as we found in our photo-voice workshop that almost every child was excited to share anecdotes from Pineta Sacchetti's history.



Photo: Gray Brakke



Related to its shared history, another strong invisible asset of Pineta Sacchetti's social layer is a strong sense of place. Placemaking greatly informs Pineta Sacchetti's success through its ability to create place attachment, similarly engendering a strong sense of ownership over the neighborhood. Again, path dependency can be held responsible. As Pineta Sacchetti and its institutions develop as discrete places with discrete identities, residents buy into their ideological power. Mahoney (2000) writes that in this framework, "once a given institution is contingently selected, the institution will be reinforced through processes of increasing legitimation." In Pineta Sacchetti, the residents collectively selected an institutionalized identity through history and sense of place. This identity is institutionalized through community hubs like the local school and through placemaking initiatives. As revealed by the nodes of activity chosen by children and elders in our research, these institutions and their relationship with sense of place are crucial for the children and elders of Pineta Sacchetti.

Sense of place in Pineta Sacchetti has been reinforced throughout its history and by its institutions. Some important incidences of this sense of place revealing itself have been the renaming of the neighborhood's piazza and the work of a local street art group. The main piazza in Pineta Sacchetti, Piazza Pio IX, only recently acquired its name. Formerly, it was called Piazza di Primavalle, referencing the nearby borgata out of which Pineta Sacchetti grew. Collective resident efforts led to its renaming, which attempts to reclaim for Pineta Sacchetti an identity independent of neighboring Primavalle. This new name represents the institutionalization of Pineta Sacchetti's independence and thus the strengthening of its ideological power for its inhabitants, particularly given the importance of the physical space that the name represents. Other elements of the neighborhood that our research uncovered as important were the murals created by local street art group Pinacci Nostri. They were one of the most frequent subjects of the photovoice



Photo: Gray Brakke

Figure 34: Casa del Parco Library provides programming for citizens of all ages, and as young as 6 months old.

exercise. Pinacci Nostri attempts to connect the neighborhood with its history through street art, empowering its independent identity and sense of place. In turn, these efforts legitimate the power of Pineta Sacchetti and thus its social cohesion as well.

A final element of Pineta Sacchetti's social layer that we uncovered was its norms of reciprocity. Tying together shared history and sense of place, the social layer of Pineta Sacchetti creates norms of reciprocity among its inhabitants through path dependence. Norms of reciprocity exhibit a moral code that bind together communities regardless of background, allowing for the initiation of social interactions (Gouldner 1960). Eventually, these norms of reciprocity create iterative behaviors that encourage common property

regimes among the inhabitants of Pineta Sacchetti. As a result, they form social bonds that cohere across generations and provide social supports. These social supports are what contribute to the child and age friendliness of Pineta Sacchetti's social layer. Furthermore, they characterize what many in the neighborhood described as a village-like atmosphere. The fact that Pineta Sacchetti has been able to retain this atmosphere is largely path dependent in that it is based on its founding as a peripheral village of the city.

One of the most common impressions of Pineta Sacchetti that we found was that it was like a small village within the larger city of Rome. Many residents expressed comfort in the neighborhood for precisely this reason. Through its history, Pineta Sacchetti

has shifted from a village, to a peripheral area, to being a full part of Rome's urban fabric. Had it not been for these beginnings, the neighborhood would not have developed the strong social layer that it has today. Furthermore, without this strong social layer, it would not be able to develop the institutions and norms of reciprocity that allow it to compensate for poor physical design vis-à-vis child and age friendliness. Indeed, our photovoice workshop with children and questionnaires with elders were a testament to this fact, with most respondents citing it as one of Pineta Sacchetti's most important invisible assets. Essentially, given the neighborhood's poor physical design, Pineta Sacchetti's vulnerable child and elderly populations rely upon its invisible assets created by path dependency and social reciprocity.



Photo: Pinacci Nostri

Figure 35: This mural, titled *Going to Rome*, is one created by Pinacci Nostri. It depicts a couple traveling along via Torvechia from Pineta Sacchetti to Rome, asserting that Pineta Sacchetti is a place of its own within the context of Rome.



## CONCLUSION

### Accessibility and Identity in Pineta Sacchetti

As articulated in the introduction, Pineta Sacchetti is an unplanned, imperfectly maintained neighborhood that does not align with the literature ideals of child or age friendliness. What can an organically grown neighborhood provide in terms of social framework that design standards alone cannot? At this stage of our research, we have identified three main answers to this question.

First, strong social-institutional structures compensate for Pineta Sacchetti's inaccessible physical features. According to contemporary planning sensibilities and literature, the physical features contribute to an inaccessible neighborhood with regard to walkability and services. Walkability is affected by a haphazard and knotted street network as well as hilly topology. Furthermore, it is hindered by sidewalks that are frequently sub-par or even nonexistent, as assessed by our sidewalk typology and inventory. Services, meanwhile, are consigned to the edges of the neighborhood and not distributed equitably, meaning that physical proximity to services can be a common issue for inhabitants.

Strong social-institutional structures, however, create an environment of child and age friendliness. Essentially, the neighborhood houses strong social and cultural institutions with self-created programs that build community and provide intergenerational interaction. These institutions include Pineta Sacchetti's school, Centro Anziani, and library, each of which offers considerable programming. In addition, social and cultural bonds have been formed around "landmark" events in the neighborhood's history. These events include restoring a military hospital to being a school after the end of World War II, the struggle to fight developers in Pineto Regional Park in 1987, and recent community efforts to replant trees after an incidence of arson in the park. Beyond all of these social and institutional features, there are

even some potential, nuanced upsides to Pineta Sacchetti's physical features. For example, a lack of major traffic through the residential core leads to occasional increase in accessibility for residents. This concentration of residential use further leads to multi-generational familial consistency and a greater sense of community that pervades Pineta Sacchetti.

Second, in spite of hazy physical boundaries, a strong sense of community identity remains attached to the area. With little public space and centralization, the neighborhood has been somewhat anonymous throughout its history. Our impressions and multiple interviews indicate that there is widespread confusion over the boundaries and name of the area: it is not quite Primavalle and not quite Aurelia. Only recently has the neighborhood been considered a part of Rome; most people now would identify as Romans first. Nonetheless, there exists remarkably strong community identity in the neighborhood. Many of these same interviews indicate a village-like community. A typical interview response we received was roughly "Pineta Sacchetti doesn't exist, but let me tell you about it for two hours." We have found a number of factors contributing to this community cohesion.

Neighborhood identity has been solidified through the Pineto Regional Park, particularly given the aforementioned fight over the park in 1987 to prevent it from being privately developed. This has been cited in interviews as the first moment that Pineta Sacchetti became its own place. Another placemaking initiative is that of Pinacci Nostri, a local association committed to creating street art around the neighborhood. Its street art connects the neighborhood to its history: one mural in particular outlines the entire history of the neighborhood. Another key element in the history of its identity was the renaming of the piazza. To distinguish Pineta Sacchetti from Primavalle, the

neighborhood's main piazza was renamed from Piazza di Primavalle to Piazza Pio IX as a result of citizen-led efforts. Finally, there is a strong intergenerational component to this cohesion. Many in the neighborhood feel connected to homes that their ancestors built and developed, as exemplified by the story of the lemon tree.

Third, we examined how place attachment changes throughout time and across generations. Some of the most pressing themes we have found in our research relate to place attachment and identity. Inhabitants of Pineta Sacchetti are palpably connected to the construction of the neighborhood, but somewhat paradoxically, it lacks a strong sense of identity and definition. There are substantial feelings of intergenerational connection to the builders of the neighborhood, and many citizens have described a village-like atmosphere. The physical and social boundaries of the neighborhood have fluctuated throughout time.

The area has seen three distinct phases: first, as a small village near the Primavalle borgata; second, as the Roman periphery during the mid-century housing boom; and third, as a fully connected neighborhood in the central city. A series of key events in the neighborhood's history have further allowed it to maintain its sense of place. For example, the origins of the neighborhood lie in claiming land that was formerly owned by the papacy and its agents and then using it to create a village for working class Romans in the building trades. As already mentioned, the occupation and struggle to claim Pineto Regional Park and the renaming of Piazza Pio IX from Piazza Primavalle both exemplify citizen-led placemaking that gave Pineta Sacchetti identity. Though we have uncovered these numerous facets of Pineta Sacchetti and its identity, we endeavor to include the voices of the children and elderly who call it home. We have elicited the perceptions of children through photovoice and the elderly through questionnaires to fully understand how place attachment differs across generations in Pineta Sacchetti.





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