IL TUFELLO

BUILDING A STRONG COMMUNITY DESPITE THE ODDS

Edna Samron - Ehab Ebeid - Graham Murphy - Lan Luo - Tishya Rao



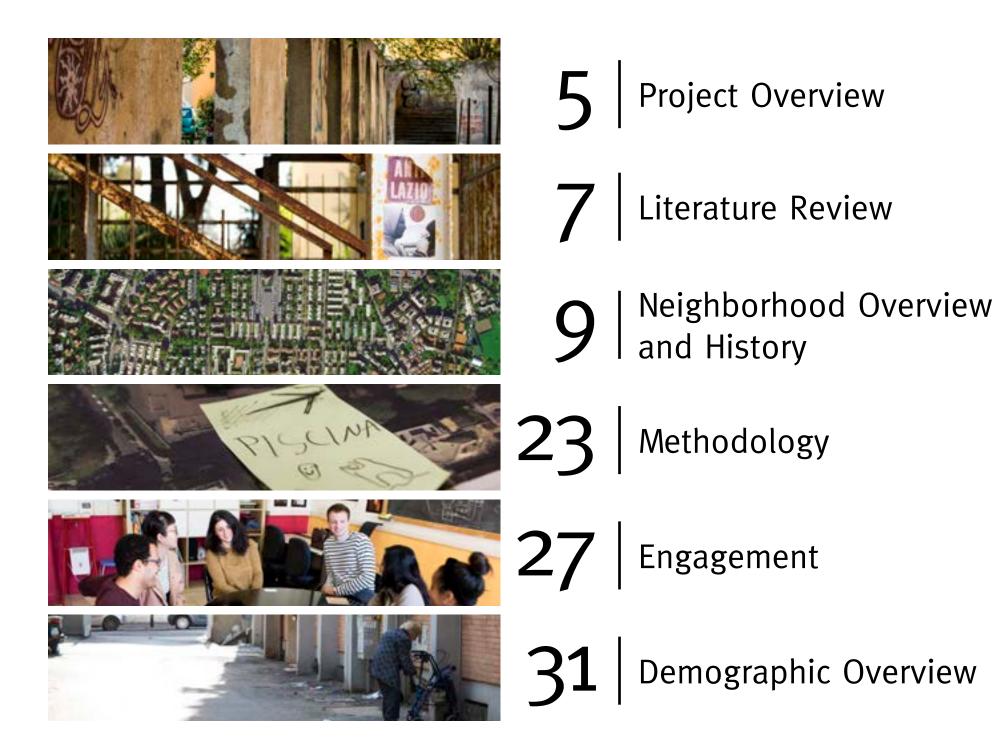
CRP 4160: Rome Workshop Spring 2017

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PROJECT OVERVIEW

TUTIO

This study employs different research and analysis methods to examine the built environment, politics, community and institutions of Tufello, a peripheral neighborhood of Rome. Through archival research, statistical analysis, formal and informal interviews, mapping activities, timed observations of selected spaces, workshops with children and teenagers, our team attempts to understand Tufello through the lens of child- and aged friendliness. More specifically, we pay attention to how the neighborhood's history and institutions respond to issues which disproportionately affect these age groups.

Our group, having encountered Tufello's rich political and social identity, and its active institutions, opted to focus more on these than on the built environment. The report will argue for the importance of the ways in which Tufello's institutions integrate functions and spaces, and build on the neighborhood's rich history and its built environment. They collaborate among themselves and with the municipal government to tackle social issues and create a more livable neighborhood for all generations. Through their conscious collaborative efforts, they help establish residents' RIGHT TO THE CITY.



Completing the puzzle through local efforts.

We argue that Tufello's urban design and infrastructure is wellcomplemented by active institutions, without whom the community would not have been able to cater to the needs of its children and the elderly. Despite social challenges and some issues with the built form, these institutions have been largely able to collaborate to make Tufello more livable for people of all ages.

LITERATURE REVIEW

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The '**RIGHT TO THE CITY'** is a concept that is frequently invoked and championed in urban policy circles today. Sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre coined the term to refer to the collective right to influence urban processes. The goal is often to encourage urban policies to promote justice, sustainability and inclusion at the city and the neighborhood levels by identifying and emphasizing the **"user of the urban space and its use value over and above its exchange value"** (Purcell, 2014). This idea is particularly important for the effective inclusion of disadvantaged groups such as low income families with children and the elderly, to build a stronger community for people of all demographics.

Claiming rights to the city is usually perceived as a bottom-up approach, which could take the form of "citizen practices that transcend legal civil citizenship" (Miraftab, 2004) to increase access to public resources and achieve socio-economic equality. This suggests a divide between the vision of the city's leaders and the needs of the community: **urban policy and design not aligning with the needs of the community can lead to fragmentation, discrimination and poor quality of life**. Therefore, community members and institutions find it necessary to actively participate to practice their right to reshaping their neighborhood, even without legal ground.

It is important to question whether the right to the city can be achieved without overstepping political authorities, and instead initiate "a cross boundary dialogue" (Miraftab, 2004) between the two groups of actors. Tufello has largely achieved this, where municipal governance and grassroots initiatives have in many cases simultaneously worked together to enhance the quality of life of a low income public housing neighborhood and of its residents, in hope of building a stronger community and overcoming threats of socio-economic problems like drug use, poverty and unemployment. Planners have attempted to provide socially inclusive public housing design and mixed land use distribution, while local institutions and services have striven to provide a vast array of services and cultural activities that cater to all ages. Actors in Tufello have met the demands of seniors and families with children, while avoiding competition for resources between the generations (Warner, 2015) through these efforts.

NEIGHBORHOOD OVERVIEW AND HISTORY



Tufello is characterized by sets of communal court spaces, which public housing apartment windows and balconies overlook. These act as intermediate, middle spaces, between the private realm and the street, and their typologies differ considerably from one housing complex to another. Photograph by Ehab Ebeid.

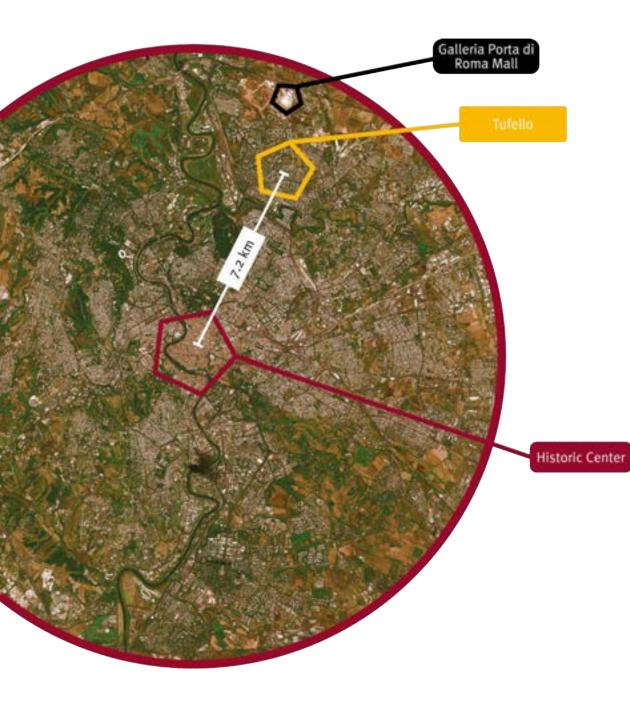
INTRODUCTION

IL TUFELLO is one of twelve designated, official BORGATE, planned during the fascist era. The BORGATE are twelve new towns in the periphery of Rome whose zoning was allocated in the 1931 PIANO REGOLATORE GENERALE (general regulatory plan). It was not until 1937, however, that the first settlements in Tufello were built, and not until 1940 that they were first populated. The neighborhood is named after the small hill on which it sits, which in turn is named after tuff, the type of volcanic rock which constitutes the hill.

Between the late 1930's and the 1970's, the neighborhood saw successive stages of public housing development, accompanied with the development of nearby service and institutional buildings, as well as public spaces and communal court spaces in the public housing complexes.

Since then—despite population loss, radical urban transformations, and drug and crime issues in the *quartiere*—Tufello has retained its character, informed by its public housing and court spaces and the communal interaction and identity they help foster.

It has complemented those with a notable leftist and antifascist identity, seen in the political orientation of local institutions and legible in the neighborhood's streets and the walls of its buildings.



LOCATION

Tufello is located approximately 7 kilometers northeast of Rome's historic center, at the edge of the city's 16th *quartiere* (Monte Sacro) in the Municipio III (formerly Municipio IV). The trip to Tufello, however, from the historic center can take anywhere between thirty minutes to an hour, depending on the mode of transportation and traffic.

Tufello's borders are relatively simple to define, due to a dramatic change in the urban fabric south of Viale Jonio: from mid-century modern public housing northwards, to the circuitous streets of the Monte Sacro garden city southwards; Tufello's southern border is well defined at Viale Jonio. (See study areas map.) Tufello's northern border is also defined with a brief break in the urban fabric, followed by the emergence of long, serpentine modern buildings, some of which extend for more than half a kilometer. (Seen near the top of pentagon on opposite page).

To the west and east, on the other hand, two other neighborhoods have slightly more obscure borders with Tufello. These borders take the form of streets which share the names of these neighborhoods: Val (or Valle) Melaina and Vigne Nuove, respectively. Buildings flanking both sides of these streets are often considered to belong to Val Melaina or Vigne Nuove, as opposed to Tufello.

In addition to showing Tufello's location in relation to the historic center of Rome and our study area, the map on the left also points out the location of *Galleria Porta di Roma*, a mall complex located 5 km north of Tufello, mentioned in our study.

Study Areas

Building on the natural borders to the north and south of Tufello, we defined two areas of study.

Our core study area includes Tufello's original public housing complexes, its post-war center, and some of its services such as its main market and library.

We noted, however, that most of the services are concentrated around Viale Jonio to the south and the area around Metro Jonio station to the west, and so we defined an adjacent study area which spills onto Val Melaina, and is most relevant in our study of commercial activity and services, as well as of infrastructure transformations such as the Metro station.

The map opposite shows our core and adjacent study areas, as well as some of their main landmarks.





ADJACENT

2.2 — Piazza Jonio

2.5 — Filming Location for "Bicycle Theives" (1948)

✓──Central Market 1.2 — Public High School

1.3 — Public Library

1.5 — Park and Bocce Club

REACHING TUFELLO

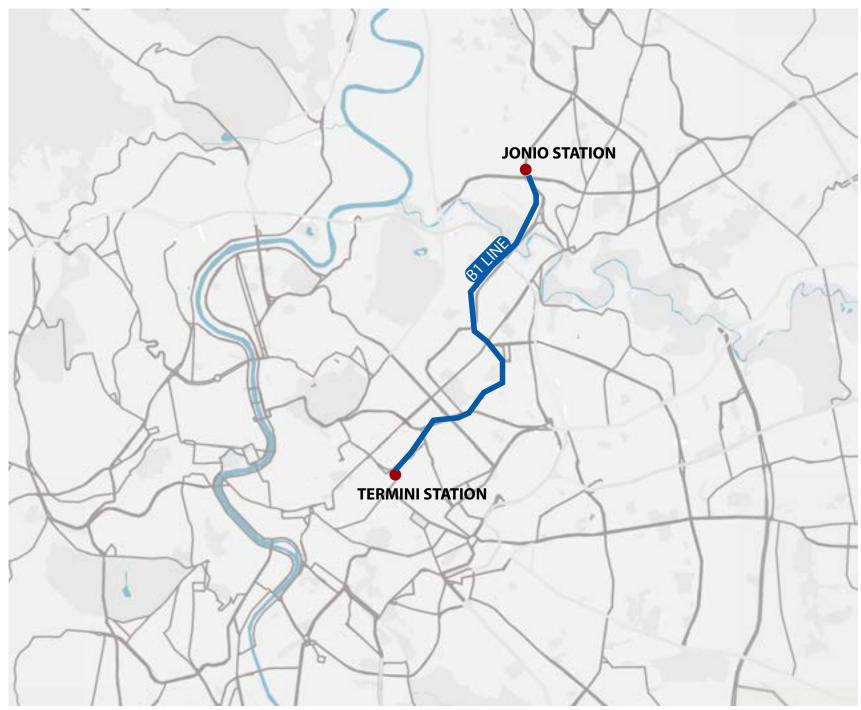
Tufello is a fairly accessible neighborhood as it can be reached by metro, bus, or car. The most efficient way to travel to the neighborhood would be by metro. This requires taking the B1 Line to its northern terminus—Jonio station. One must continue on foot for another 10 minutes before reaching the central market and Piazza degli Euganei. The entire journey typically takes thirty to forty-five minutes.

In addition to the Metro, Tufello is serviced by seven bus lines. Six of the seven provide service to the northern, western, and eastern areas of Rome. The 90 bus is the only one running through Tufello that goes south. Its last stop is Termini Station making the route nearly obsolete as the B1 metro line is a much faster alternative.

The seven bus lines and the metro connect Tufello to some regions of Rome to varying degrees. Neighborhoods west of the Tiber River and north of Villa Borghese are fairly challenging to reach from Tufello. Neighborhoods along the A, B lines in the peripheral areas of the city are closer to Tufello in terms of travel time. This is because these two lines connect with the B1 metro line at Termini. While the metro and bus lines provide the primary means of access to and from Tufello, the neighborhood is also accessible by car. That requires traveling through the center of Rome past Termini and up the Via Nomentana Nuova, toward Viale Jonio. The timing of the journey is often unpredictable as it can take up to an hour with heavy traffic. Thus, for a more reliable route to and from Tufello, the metro is the best option.

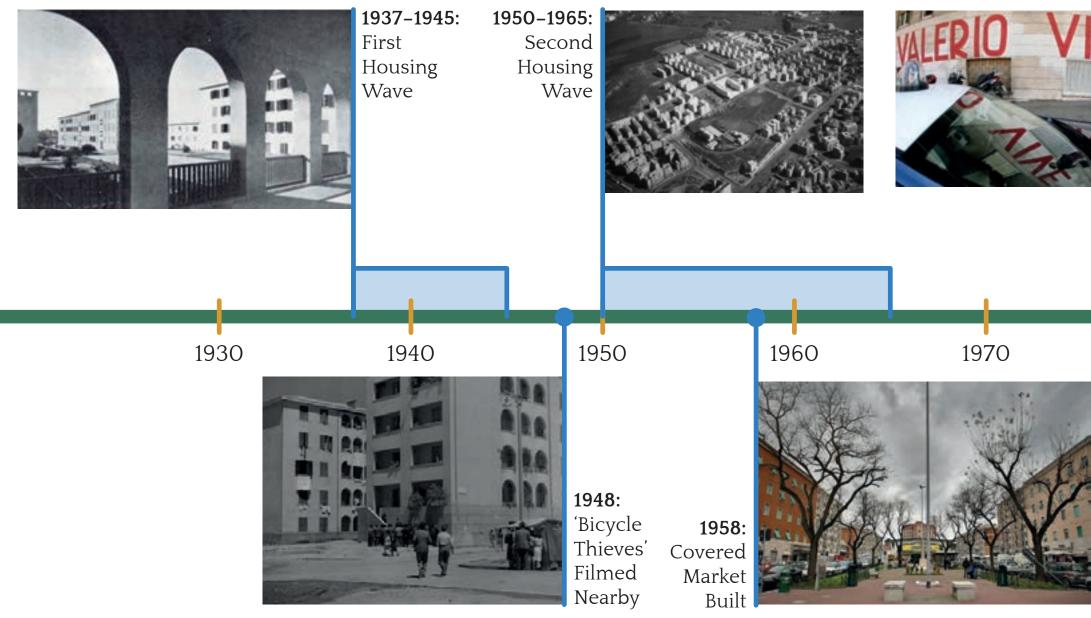


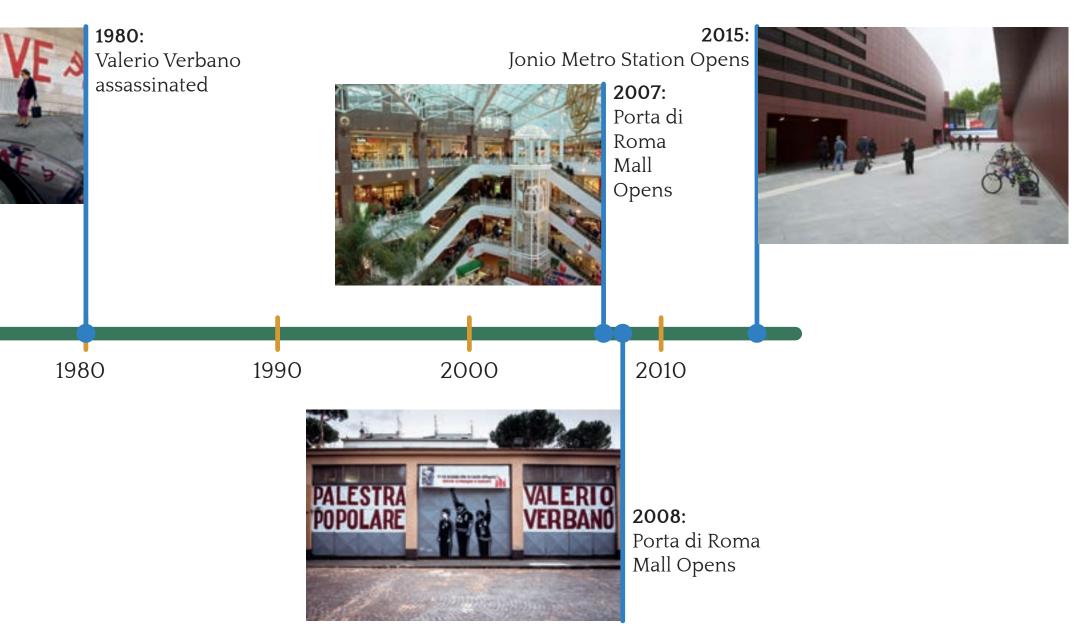
Tufello is reachable through Jonio, one of Rome's newest metro stations. Photograph by Ehab Ebeid.



HISTORICAL TIMELINE

An adapted version of this historical timeline of the neighborhood can be viewed in digital timeline format here: <u>ehabebeid.github.io/tufellotimeline</u>.





A PUBLIC HOUSING NEIGHBORHOOD

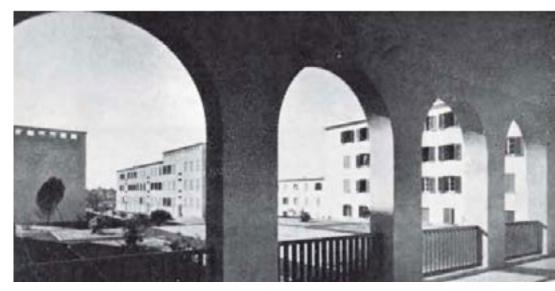
The first housing built in what is now Tufello occurred between 1938 and 1943. Within this period we can identify two smaller waves: the earlier one was carried out by the Istituto Case Popolari (ICP) to house people displaced by Fascist-era urban renewal projects in Rome's historic center, and were designed by Italian architect Pietro Sforza (Villani 2012, 202).

The second one meant to house Second World War veterans, especially those deployed in France, which gave the area the early nickname 'il quartiere dei francesi' and some of its houses 'case dei francesi' (Villani 2012, 202). Both ICP and WWII repatriation projects occurred first in the 'trapezoid' in the east of our study area (see study areas map), defined by Vie Capraia, delle Isole Curzolane, delle Vigne Nuove and Monte Massico.

The most characteristic housing typology in this wave are the two-floor flat blocks with external stairs and adjacent (as opposed to enclosed) courtyards, which constitute the seven western-most buildings in the trapezoid.



This modern photograph shows the two-floor flats characteristic of the western end of Tufello's older housing core, the 'trapezoid'. Apartments occupy only a single floor and so the staircases and the public balconies they lead to are the only entrances to the upper floor apartments. Photograph by Simona Mizzoni.



Because of their occupants, these early complexes are referred to as 'case dei francesi', meaning 'Houses of the French people'. Photograph in Villani's 'Le borgate del fascismo'.



This 1960 aerial photograph of Tufello highlights the vast spaces defined by 30's, early 40's and post-war housing developments. Note how Piazza degli Euganei emerges out of the symmetrical building complex in the top of the photograph. Unknown author; added by Sandro Silvetti, via Roma Sparita.



This 1951 photograph shows a portion of the piazza before the market was built in 1958. Photograph in *i* Rioni *e i* quartieri di Roma, 1989.

More Housing Shifts Tufello's Center

More housing projects were built westwards during the post-war period. These had a much larger scale and were more automobile-oriented than their predecessors.

Out of their large scale and symmetry, a new neighborhood center emerged in what is now Piazza degli Euganei.

Elena Luzzatto, Italy's first certified female architect, redefined the space in 1958 with the design of Tufello's covered market. The market is organized through a cooperative, which in 1997 renovated it with no public funding and continues to operate it seven days a week to this day.



This 1954 plan by the ICP shows both what it labels as the 'old trapezoidal historic housing nucleus' and subsequent additions to the west. Note Piazza degli Euganei's large scale and elongated north-south plan. Plan courtesy of ICP/ATER, in Villani's 'Le borgate del fascismo'.



Piazza degli Euganei as it stands today. The covered market is in the background. Photograph by Mattia Salvi.



A mural dedicated to Valerio Verbano, near his home and site of assassination in Monte Sacro, directly south of our study area. Photograph courtesy of Avanti! Online.



This leftist mural in Tufello identifies the leftist militants targets through the symbols on the skulls: capitalism, fascism and Nazism. It reads 'They called us bandits. They [now] call us hooligans. Yesterday [we were] Partisans. Today Anti-Fascists.' On top the artist wrote his dedication: 'With Carla and Valerio in the heart'. Photograph by Ehab Ebeid.

Valerio is Killed, Tufello Remembers

Valerio Verbano was an anti-fascist activist who was assassinated at the age of 19 in February 1980, in his home in nearby Monte Sacro, directly south of our study area. The memory of this unresolved murder is alive in Tufello, where institutions, protests, and places bear his name. They also bear that of his mother, Carla, who dedicated her life to combating neofascism and bringing his murderers to justice, until she passed away in 2012.

References to Valerio Verbano are one of the most ubiquitous markers of Tufello's anti-fascist pride and the presence of leftist institutions in the area. His images can be found on the streets in the form of graffiti and posters, and the local gym bears his name.



Carla Verbano, Valerio's mother, poses next to a mural dedicated to her son's memory at Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano in Tufello. Courtesy of RomaToday.

Palestra Popolare Takes Root

In 2008 Tufello residents occupied an abandoned building that housed boilers for nearby public housing buildings, with no public funding or help transformed it into a gym, and dedicated to the memory of Valerio Verbano. It functions not just a gym, but as a space for communist and anti-fascist organizing, and the high school students we've conducted workshops with cite it as an important neighborhood community space.



Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano. The gym's logo is a representation of the 1968 Olympics Black Power salute, a tribute to leftist statements in sport. In the center of the image, the poster reads 'In a world that seeks to drown us, Nunzio [swimming instructor] teaches us how to swim.' Courtesy of Oltremedia.



The Palestra's stickers can be found throughout the neighborhood. Photograph by Ehab Ebeid.



Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano's Facebook page is emblematic of the fact that the institution is as much about leftist activism as it is about sports. Facebook screenshot.

Great Transformations: Mall and Metro

The *Galleria Commerciale Porta di Roma* was inaugurated in July 2007 about five kilometers north of Tufello. With 220 shops, it is Italy's largest mall, and is one of Europe's largest. The Mall is naturally a favorite place for recreation among the younger population, but is also increasingly an option for families not only for shopping but as a place of general recreation.

Jonio Station opened to the public in April 2015 in the south-west corner of Tufello, to become Rome's Metro Line B1's new terminus. Jonio has made it much easier to travel to Rome's commercial and historic centers. Through Jonio, it is now possible to reach the center of Rome in about 30 minutes. On the other hand, this means that areas like Tufello are now also easier to reach from the center of Rome.



The entrance to Galleria Commerciale Porta di Roma, north of Tufello. Photograph by Tishya Rao.



Jonio's entrance from Via Scarpanto, near Viale Jonio. Photograph by Matthijs Borghgraef via Flickr.

SUMMARY

Tufello's history as a public housing neighborhood is rife with moments signaling its strong institutions and active citizenry. There is also the question of recent developments and infrastructure projects, which are viewed as an opportunity by some and as a threat by others.

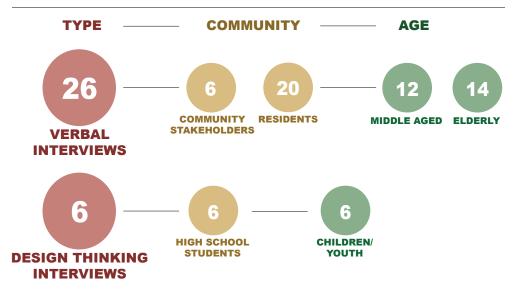
METHODOLOGY



OVERVIEW

Our research incorporates different types of methodologies to create an accurate and holistic representation of the child and age friendliness of Tufello and the strength of its community. These include interviews, statistical data, mapping activities and space-time comparisons to guide us in an attempt to answer all possible questions on the issue at hand. The methodologies relate to and support one another to initiate an indepth analysis of Tufello.

INTERVIEWS



The interviews conducted were targeted toward understanding how the community of Tufello perceived their neighborhood to be child and age friendly. This was done using two main strategies: **verbal interviews and design thinking principles**. We interviewed both men and women from different age groups ranging from 16 years to 75+, and occupational backgrounds including retired residents, the director of the local municipal library, and a pizzeria owner, to obtain the best possible holistic representation of Tufello.

Our questions for the verbal interviews mainly revolved around four central themes: public space use, transit oriented development, community initiatives and public housing. A teaching assistant assisted us in conducting the interviews with many of the interviewees who could only speak Italian.

The design thinking strategy (DTS) was used to elicit high school students on their perception of child and age friendly spaces. Design thinking is a method used by designers to solve complex problems and find desirable solutions to create a preferred future. It follows three steps: inspiration, ideation and implementation (Brown, 2013). The inspiration for this workshop was identifying characteristics of good and bad spaces in Tufello, and the ideation involved choosing the top 3 most important positive and negative factors that a child and age friendly space should or should not have. This holistic approach engages children in problem solving methods and educates them on features of their community in a fun and simple way.



Interviews with elderly residents. Photograph by Prof. Mildred Warner.

STATISTICAL DATA

We used ISTAT data on GIS to gather information from Italy's 1991, 2001 and 2011 census tracts data survey. The different data categories were translated from Italian to English and categories that best suited our needs of study were selected. We obtained information on population demographics including age, employment and education, and on building density, height and family sizes. A limitation of using ISTAT census tracts data was the inadequate amount of data available beyond 2011. This made it difficult to analyze the impacts of metro development on demographic changes in Tufello. All data found was plotted on graphs using excel, or mapped using ArcGIS to show visual representations of Tufello's characteristics.

SPACE-TIME COMPARISON

A space-time comparison study was conducted to analyze the rates of pedestrian activity and types of pedestrians using Tufello's public spaces at different times of the week. Three times were chosen: 9am and 5pm on a weekday, and 2pm on a weekend. Three locations were selected: Kennedy Park, the courtyard of Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano and Piazza degli Euganei. Observations were recorded through pictures and by headcount to distinguish the pedestrians by age and gender.

MAPPING ACTIVITIES

We conducted a mapping activity to involve the community in identifying positive and negative elements of Tufello, and suggest improvements that could be made. A large empty map of the Tufello area was placed along with a smaller reference map locating places of interest in the neighborhood. We provided post- its for people to write on as asked them to identify themselves by their age and gender. This was made possible through a collaboration with Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano, a local municipal library in Tufello.



Activity setup at the library reception. Photograph by Ehab Ebeid.

ENGAGEMENT

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Our group was welcomed into Tufello with open arms. The ability to engage so candidly with the neighborhood was a direct result of the rapport we built with the *Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano*. During one of our first visits to Tufello we wandered into the public library. There we discovered that the library was helping high schoolers with similar projects exploring the municipio as a whole: one of the programs supported by the library was the *alternanza scuola-lavoro* (lit. 'school-work alternation') for a local high school where the students conducted fieldwork in Monte Sacro. The staff members at library were incredibly supportive of our collaborating with their students and suggested we exchange research findings and processes, to which we gladly agreed.

Many of the methodologies outlined in the previous section were done as part of our engagement work and are outlined in more detail in this section. In early April we conducted a workshop with the high-schoolers in the library. This experience was extremely insightful as we learned a lot about the region adjacent to our neighborhood. The exchange also allowed us to gain a better understanding of the impact that Jonio Station and the Porta di Roma mall had on the area because the students conducted surveys with local residents on the subject.

Aside from the workshop, our group conducted a series of formal and informal interviews. We also participated in a cultural roundtable about the neighborhood and organized a crowdsourced mapping activity in the library. These engagement activities were helpful to our project as they provided us with information about Tufello we could not have obtained through simple observation. Findings from engagement work can be found throughout the report.

INTERVIEWS

Our interviews took place at three critical institutions in Tufello area. The first institution was the Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano. The second was Defrag—a cultural center, concert venue, and community arts center in the neighborhood. The third was the Palestra Popolare Gym located in a building that had been reclaimed by the neighborhood and turned into an athletic club for contact sports. The interviews that took place at these institutions were extremely interesting because they shed light on the type of work they sponsored in order to support residents and improve the neighborhood. They also gave us a better understanding of the context of their work, constituted in different social issues they were attempting to tackle, such as drug use.

Ennio Flaiano Library director

At the library we spoke with, amongst others, the director of the library, Marisa Spasiano, who has worked there for twelve years. According to her, many students come to the library are not from Tufello, but study in the neighborhood. She confirmed our hypothesis that the general impression was that many small shops in the area are closing recently, and she posited that was due to the mall attracting customers and a new commercial district around the Jonio Metro station. A positive effect of the metro, however, is that now young people can commute to the historic center more easily, for employment or recreation.

Defrag codirector

Defrag is an association which was founded with an initial focus on psychological and family counseling in Tufello. It has since expanded on its goals, hosting workshops and concerts, and providing a recording studio, all in the basement of a local school. We interviewed Federica Di Ruzza, a psychologist and one of the leaders of the institution. She explained the activities they host, and that the activities are held in Tufello to lift its assets and encourage the presence of people from different socioeconomic classes, hence its name: defragmentation.

Palestra Popolare cofounder

The Palestra Popolare was founded in 2008 as an homage to Valerio Verbano. At the gym, we spoke to Giulio, one of the founders of the gym, and from him we learned about the history of the palestra popolare, its site, its aims and their relation to social issues in the neighborhood, and its future with ATER, the agency which owns the public housing units in Rome.

CULTURAL ROUNDTABLE

In the course of our partnership with the library, we were invited to attend CRE-ACTION II, a cultural roundtable organized by Culture Action Europe, who aimed to move the discussion of cultural development from Rome's historic center to the periphery by holding it in different municipi. Through this event we had a chance to listen to about a dozen cultural groups in Tufello and in the quartiere, to meet them for the first time. We also had a chance to learn from Cristina da Milano, professor and board member of CAE, about the organization's conception of culture as a vessel for development in the periphery. As mentioned in the overview of this section, a workshop was conducted with high schoolers working on a study of the area. The workshop was collaborative and beneficial for both parties as we were looking at similar and nearby neighborhoods. Part of the high schooler's study was conducting interviews around Jonio Station and in other places around the area on the impact of the metro and mall in the area. We were given the results of the data, which was helpful in our analysis of these infrastructure projects.

The high schoolers were also very interested in the data and analysis we had gathered in Tufello. By showing them components of our report draft, we were able to engage in an open dialogue about good and bad places in the quartiere.

This was followed by a design thinking activity where we divided the high-schoolers into groups and asked them to draw or write about as many "good" places in their neighborhood in 3 minutes. Following "good" places, the students were asked to do the same for "bad" places with a 3-minute time limit.

Following this activity, each of the groups compared and contrasted their results. Although many of the responses to this activity were conceptual and non-specific, the workshop was overall a success. The whole workshop was an enlightening experience not just because we were able exchange information so candidly, but also because we were able to use design thinking methodologies.

MAPPING ACTIVITY

We decided to host a map activity at the Ennio Flaiano library in hopes of getting feedback on what residents who frequented the library thought about Tufello. We decided to make the map activity simple and quick to engage with. The activity consisted of a large map of Tufello taped to a table, a smaller map, instructions on how to participate, pencils, and post it notes.

In the instructions, participants were directed to pick a place on the map that they think positively or negatively about and then stick a post-it note on the specified place that detailed their opinion about it. Green post-it notes were for positive opinions and pink post-it notes were for negative ones. We requested that participants include the name of the place, and their age and gender. The map activity was left at the library for the duration of two weeks to give enough time in hopes of more results.

After the two-week period, we were able to collect a total of twentyfive post-it notes on the map. Most of them were fairly positive opinions about specific places in Tufello while a few were complaints mostly concerning the physical conditions of the neighborhood. A significant number of participants did not detail their age and gender on their post-it note, but overall we were content with the results.

SUMMARY

The ability to engage with Tufello residents and institutional leaders was invaluable to our study. We were fortunate to have been able to conduct a wide variety of interviews and activities in the neighborhood due to our relationship with the public library in the area. Our findings and impressions gained from these hours of interaction and activities are present throughout the report, complementing the observational portions.



Workshop with high school students.

GOOD PLACES

pushers here"



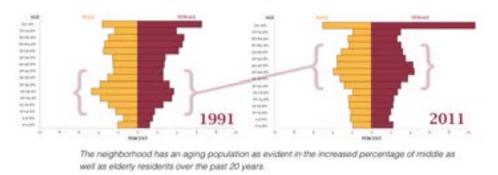
DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

NEL PARADICU

OVERVIEW

Tufello is aging. This is evident in the population pyramid of the neighborhood, and the shift in the age of residents between 1991 and 2011. It is also aging more than the rest of Rome. In 2011, the percentages of Tufello residents under 15, over 65, and over 75 are 12.8%, 25.8%, and 15.8%, respectively. In the city of Rome, these percentages are 12.7%, 19.0%, and 8.2%, respectively. This has a profound impact on the character and level of community involvement in the neighborhood.

An Upward Shift in Age Across Two Decades



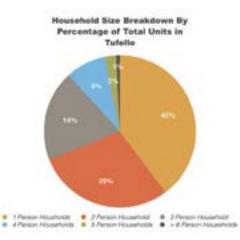
Generally, households in Rome are found to be larger than those in Tufello. Currently Roman households average just under two and a half residents per unit. Tufello's rate is lower. Furthermore, the average household size in Tufello has decreased from 2.2 to 2.0 residents per unit between 2001 and 2011. That reduction is a reflection of the neighborhood's aging population.

There is a Shift in Household Size



2.2 people per household in 2001 to 2.0 in 2011

By looking at the breakdown of household size by percentage in 2011, forming a visible trend. We note the **high percentage of single and two-resident households, which when combined consist of 69% of the total households**. Those living alone or only with a partner are presumed to mostly consist of Tufello's aging population.



Tufello's high elderly population defines the neighborhood and is important to consider throughout the report. The demographic analysis that follows includes subsections on Immigrant Composition, Education Level, Unemployment, and Housing Titles. While the statistics analyzed in these subsections are significant, they cannot be fully understood without context: a bearing on what drives Tufello's demographic breakdown to be the way it is today.

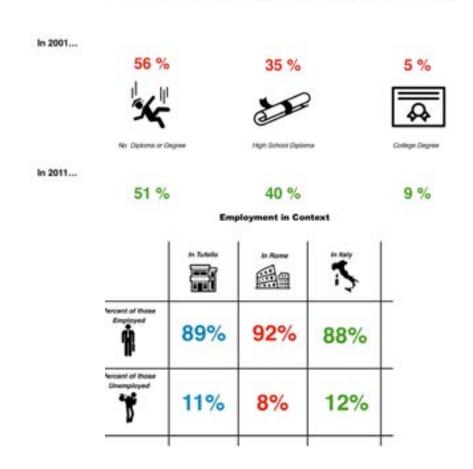
Immigrant Makeup

The immigrant population in Tufello is low. The number of documented foreign residents living in the area is 6%. This is lower than that of the Roma Capitale and Italian state which are 10% and 8%, respectively. The low rate of foreigners is historic or informed by the inheritance of its public housing units. Tufello was founded as a neighborhood for the Italian working class. Most of that working class has not left the neighborhood—they have aged in place. Most public housing units thus stay within the same family, and as such immigrants cannot easily establish a foothold in a neighborhood primarily characterized by public housing. The neighborhood may also be difficult to integrate into due to its preexisting homogeneity and community.

Education Level vs. Unemployment

The neighborhood has varying levels of education that reflect its working-class roots. As of 2011, **51% of Tufello residents lack a high-school diploma**. Although this is a high rate, it has decreased by 5% as compared to 2011. We initially interpreted this decrease to be suggesting that Tufello may be gentrifying, but upon learning more concluded that it is not significant and may simply be a result of new generations being better educated. Tufello has a higher unemployment rate in comparison to the unemployment rate of Rome, as illustrated in the table below.

Tufelio has Varying Levels of Education Changing Across Decades...



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Tufello has Few Immigrants

94 % of Tufello residents are Italian born and Italian citizens.



Of the Small Immigrant Population...



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Come from Europe

Come from Asia

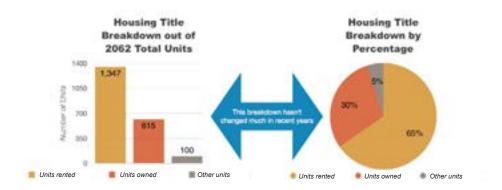
Come from Africa

Housing Titles

Tufello was originally developed to provide public housing to World War II veterans as well those displaced by public works projects in the city center of Rome. Consequently there is a high concentration of affordable housing units in the neighborhood. While some of the historically affordable units were converted into privately owned homes, **65% of the total housing units in the neighborhood are still public. In comparison, throughout the Rome Municipality only 28% of occupied units are rented.**

According to some studies mostly situated in the United States, neighborhoods with high home ownership also have a facility at building collective identity and creating community (Kremer 2010). Tufello's low home ownership and the difference of 37% between Rome's and Tufello home ownership rate may then suggest a weak sense of community in the neighborhood. However, our findings suggest otherwise, as the neighborhood's collective political identity and its strong institutions contribute to building a strong sense community.

The lack of change in this percentage figure in the last 20 years suggests that many of the current residents of Tufello public housing



complexes are members of the same families of the historical community of the neighborhood. Inheriting rent-controlled apartments from their parents or other family members, those residents have not left the neighborhood. This provides yet another narrative justifying Tufello's high elderly population.

SUMMARY

The different demographic indicators, including age and household size, are largely a reflection of Tufello's aging population. Although census data shows Tufello having a high concentration of elderly residents, the neighborhood's age breakdown is less noticeable during the day. Due to the high number of schools in a relatively small area, children and teenagers commute into the area throughout the week. The number of people commuting has likely increased in recent years through the opening of Jonio Metro Station, a short ten-minute walk from the Tufello Central Market.

A large elderly population combined with a high presence of children contributes to the character of the neighborhood. In the report it is shown that Tufello is a neighborhood characterized by its institutions, community involvement, and strong political spirit. These institutions are supported and the activism is perpetuated in part, due to Tufello's demographic makeup.

LAND USE



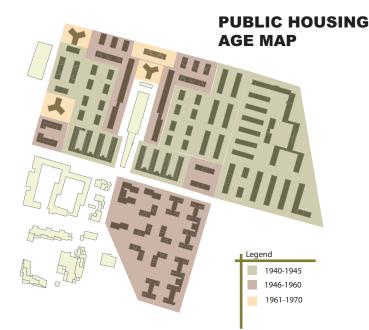
The land use map is meant to give visual context for the urban fabric of our primary area in Tufello. The large majority of this area consists of residential buildings, in public housing complexes. We have categorized the residential buildings into ten different public housing typologies that will be discussed in detail later. Almost all the commercial establishments such as the restaurants, bars, and convenience stores are in mixed use spaces adjacent to residential buildings.

These establishments are mainly concentrated around the market, piazza degli Eugenei, and along Via delle Isole Curzolane. The two open public spaces in our primary study area of Tufello are Piazza Eugenei and Kennedy Park. Most of the institutions found in our primary area such as schools, public library, indoor pool, and gym are concentrated south-west of the market, within a short walking distance. The market is very accessible to residents with walking distances ranging from a short one-minute walk to at most seven minutes from anywhere in our focus area.

PUBLIC HOUSING

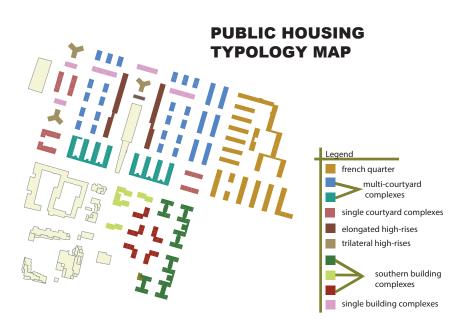
OVERVIEW

The oldest section of public housing in Tufello, as explained earlier in the history section, is the trapezoid in the east of our study area. The ICP (Istituto Case Popolari) first constructed two-four story buildings here in the late 1930's. The purpose of this public housing project was to house injured servicemen that had served Italy during the Second World War in France, hence the nickname "French Quarter". The construction and design of some of these buildings were inspired by the garden city movement, so there was an abundance of green space between all the buildings that were meant to be gathering spaces for the residents. Then more residential buildings were built between 1940-1945 that were similar in design. All had stucco facades, buildings facing each other with courtvards in between them. Yellow paint was popular among the public housing buildings because it was the most affordable paint to purchase. Between 1945-1960, Tufello's residential area began to expand south of Via delle Isole Curzolane and around the vicinity of where the market is now. The final period residential buildings were being built in Tufello was



between 1961-1970. The design of most of these buildings strayed away from the usual rectangular structural form frequently found in Tufello. These new buildings added more architectural variety to the makeup of Tufello.

The diverse public housing typologies found in Tufello is what makes it unique as a predominantly residential area. What is special about some of these public housing buildings is that their complexes include usable green spaces that act as gathering spaces for the residents. As the only open public spaces in Tufello are Kennedy Park and Piazza degli Eugenei, which have not been maintained well, and the area itself has had drug issues, **these well-maintained green spaces or courtyards in the public housing complexes become safe havens for the children to play and elderly residents to spend their leisurely time**.



The 'French Quarter'

These group of two and four-story buildings that are all concentrated on the same plot of land along the north-east side of our primary area are the oldest public housing buildings in Tufello. They all have eggshell white facades, dark green shades, rectangular structural form, and none have balconies. Some have staircases along the exterior sides of the buildings. There are several green spaces between the buildings. The physical layout is characteristic of garden city design. Although these public housings structures have the most green spaces surrounding them when compared to the other public housing structures in Tufello, these green spaces are not as well-maintained as others.

Multiple Courtyard Complexes

On the north side of Via Isole Curzolane, there are two groups of similar public housing typology that are situated symmetrically on the outer blocks of both sides of the covered-market. They were all built sometime between the 1940s and 1950s. These buildings are similar in structural form and comprise of three different courtyard typologies. These public housing edifices are all characterized by a pale yellow concrete facade and teal shutters. The edifices are 4-6 stories tall and some of them include balconies while one includes an outdoor elevator shaft. Most of the courtyards are easily accessible to the public while a couple of them were inaccessible due to locked gates. The accessible courtyards will be analyzed further in terms of child and age friendliness.





These five-story buildings stand between Via Isole Curzolane and Via Tonale. They are grouped in two sets of four on either side of Piazza degli Euganei. They typically have an eggshell white or burnt brown facade, teal shades, and have balconies. They have storefronts lining up along Via delle Curzolane and storefronts facing the piazza. Each complex is set up so that two buildings are facing one common green space or a courtyard, similar to the organization of the bright yellow buildings. The entrances of these courtyards, however, are bordered by high white walls with barred glass doors. The courtyards appeared very well-maintained with healthy looking landscaping features. Due to the close proximity of these mixed-use buildings to the stores, the piazza, and the market as well as the good-conditioned green spaces they surround, this public housing typology seems to maintain a good standard of child and age friendliness.



Single Courtyard Complexes

These four to five-story buildings were constructed in the 1950s through the 1960s. Their general layout comprises of three individual sets of two buildings with a common courtyard in between. Two sets of buildings are situated along Via delle Isole Curzolane while one is situated across the street from Kennedy Park. They all have nicely-painted, tan or brown stucco facades with turquoise and brown shades. One of the sets has storefronts on the first level and has a very symmetrical exterior design that is characteristic of fascist architecture. All of three courtyards seem inaccessible to the public due to the gates that are locked at all times.



Extended High Rises

These six to eight story buildings line along the entire length of the market on either side of it. They are made of stucco and brick with a grid pattern on their facades. These edifices have teal shutters and trapezoid shaped balconies. A section of the first level of the buildings have storefronts facing the market that mostly include bars and convenience stores. The other section of the first level is garage space for cars. Each complex has green space on the right side of the buildings. We noticed they were poorly-maintained, and the entry way resembled more of a driveway with multiple vespas parked on it. Although there were nice trees, the grass looked unkempt. There was a tiled path transecting the green space along with a wooden table and a concrete bench. As a result, the green spaces of these buildings did not host a welcoming environment. For this reason, we ranked it as one of the least child and age friendly.



Trilateral High-Rises

These three five-story buildings were built in the 1960s and all have a triangular structural form. Two of them have dull concrete facades that have not been painted while one has a brick and concrete gridded facade. All have balconies as well as teal and white shutters. There have small green spaces surrounding the edifices with an unlocked gate surrounding the perimeter.



These five to six story buildings are all located south of Via delle Isole Curzolane and are characteristic of early twentieth century architecture. They have pockets of gated green spaces between them that seem inaccessible to the public, but are also significantly surrounded by parking space. They were constructed in the 1950s and have three distinctive structural forms:

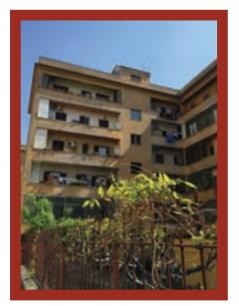
These five story buildings are shaped in the capital letter "I" form that sit along Via delle Isole Curzolane and Via Capraia. Some of the first-levels of the buildings have storefronts. They have peach stucco facades, wide balconies, and white shutters. There are small areas of green space sitting on each side of every building. These six story buildings have a staggered structural form and sit along Via delle Isole Curzolane and wrap around Via Monte Rocchetta. They also have peach stucco facades, less-widerbalconies, and white shutters. Some of the first-levels also house storefronts. These have the least amount of green space surrounding the buildings. These five story "L" shaped buildings are concentrated around the intersection of Via Monte Ruggero and Via Monte Soprano. They have blotchy yellow concrete facades with brown shades. Some have balconies and all have gated green spaces.

Single Building Complexes

These six story buildings are similar in rectangular structural form. While the rest of the residential area in Tufello is composed of a group of buildings that share outdoor communal space, these are the only rectangular buildings that each stand alone. They have nicely painted, coral facades with beige or teal shutters. Some include balconies. They have limited amount of green space surrounding the building with narrow paths.









COURTYARDS

From bold experimentation with modern architectural elements in the 30s and 40s, to car- oriented development in the 60s and 70s, Tufello's social housing complexes vary vastly in building typology and community space design. These influence a mixed range of opinions from current residents on how successful each complex is. A deeper assessment of **accessibility, maintenance and use** of social spaces explores the extent to which children and the elderly interact and feel comfortable in their community.

Oftentimes, we noticed that the job of maintaining these green spaces has been left to the residents of the complexes when local agencies fail to routinely maintain them. We believe that more well-maintained green spaces signify a higher sense of community ownership and level of cooperation among the residents of a given complex to work together to help preserve these spaces. We have identified a few unique courtyards according to the transect opposite and we evaluated them in terms of child- and age-friendliness. The transect was chosen as it showed examples of diverse housing typologies close to each other. The following pages will show elevations of each building complex, images of the each court space according to accessibility, maintenance and use, as well as a quote or two from residents of the complex.



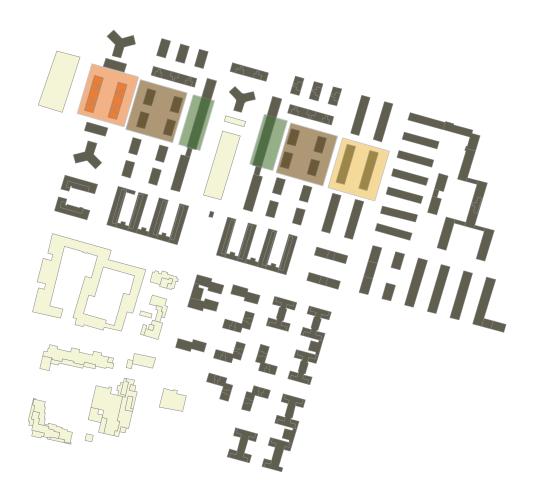
Accessibility





Maintenance

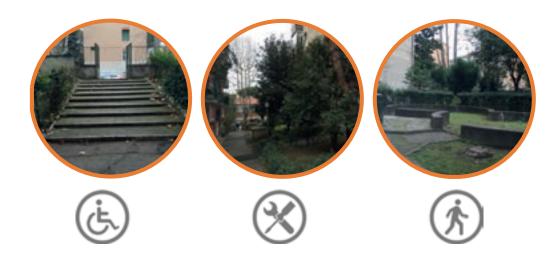
Use



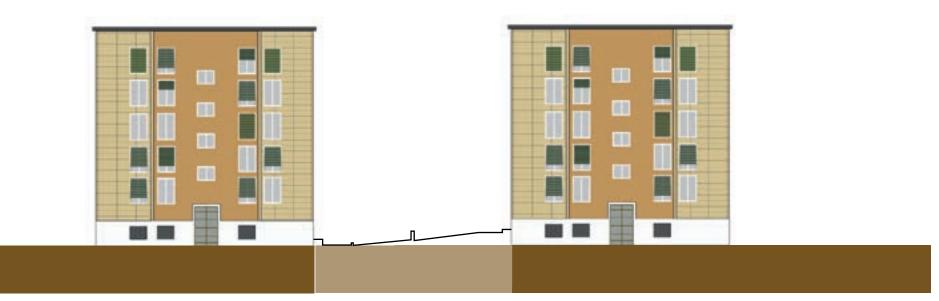
Planners have designed public housing complexes with green spaces, in an effort to provide designated spaces for congregation and achieve an inclusive environment for the residents of Tufello. This type of design adds social value and increases local social interaction in the neighborhood. The positive social impact that the design of green spaces has on the residents challenges the common notion that a neighborhood with a low homeownership rate will experience low levels of social interaction (Rohe and Basolo, 1997).



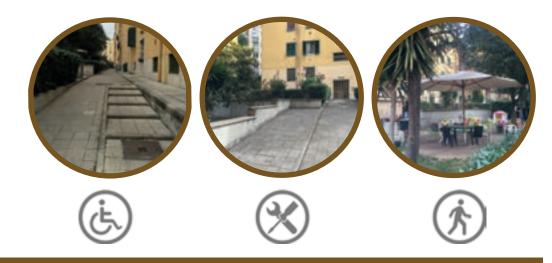
These buildings have small green spaces surrounding the edifices with an unlocked gate surrounding the perimeter. There are lowered stairs that lead from the entryway that make it easier for immobile elderly residents to go in and out with ease. The paths are quite wide, but have uneven surfaces which can make it difficult for immobile elderly residents to smoothly pass by. There is an abundance of greenery such as bushes and trees that provides an aesthetic appeal to the concrete space. However, despite being slightly unkempt, it is important to note that the majority of maintenance is initiated by the residents and not the public authorities. Given these factors, we classified this courtyard to be somewhat child- and agefriendly.



"We feelvery unsafe in this neighborhood because there is too much drug dealing happening. We only go out in the morning for that reason."



This courtyard encompasses a well-maintained green space comprised of large green trees, manicured bushes and lamp posts. The green space is divided into four sections with three wide ramps sloping up between six of the buildings facing the courtyard. The ramps align with six of the entrances. There are wide paths that border the courtyard between the ramps. The large canopies of the trees emanate a sense of security and shelter for the courtyard, along with the walled barrier between the street and the courtyard. The center of the courtyard includes a green space that is designated as a play area for children, established by the residents of the complex. This courtyard seems to be private, given the walled barrier between the street and the courtyard, but the entryway is always open to the public which makes it feel more inviting. The space feels both secure and welcoming. Given these factors, we ranked this courtyard to be the most child- and age-friendly.

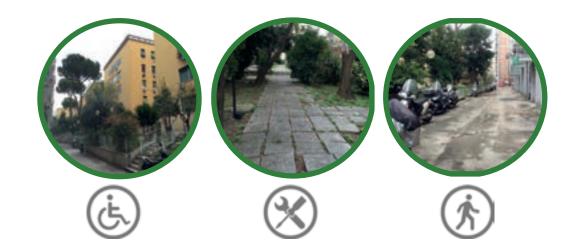


"We have three elderly residents in wheelchairs... the ramps make it easier for them to access all the spaces within the complex."

"Mothers feel safe leaving their children in the playground, where they can watch them from the windows."



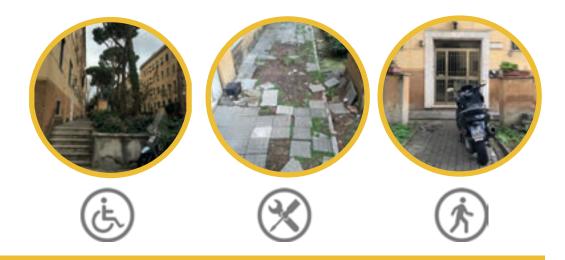
The complex has a green space on the right side of the buildings. We noticed they were poorly-maintained, and the entry way resembled a driveway with multiple vespas parked along it. Although there were nice trees, the grass looked unkempt. There was a loosely tiled path transecting the green space, and a wooden table and a concrete bench was provided for community use. As a result, while the green spaces of these buildings were welcoming, pathways were misused for informal vehicular parking and community spaces as smoking spots. For this reason, we ranked it as one of the least child- and agefriendly.



"The public housing agency is responsible for maintaining this complex, but they don't do anything. So my son and other residents hire a private gardener to maintain the area."



This courtyard has a very inviting entryway because of its low walled barriers and wide entrance. Within the complex, the path is lined with lamp posts and large trees that provide shade with their wide canopies. While this may create an appealing environment for children and elderly, the poor condition of brick pathways negates the use of the facilities and landscaping. Tiles are uneven and out of place, with tree roots further breaking through the cement. This affects walkability for people of all ages. It also makes it difficult for children to safely play or elderly residents who are not physically able to even pass through. There were also several vespas scattered along the paths, blocking entryways to buildings. Given these characteristics of poor accessibility, maintenance and use, these courtyards are the least child- and age-friendly.



"The community is very friendly."

"My mother finds it very difficult to walk here. Even I do too! It is also sad because children don't have a safe space to play freely without getting hurt."

INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS

M B1

Jonio

B1: Jonie

OVERVIEW

In the past ten years, Tufello has seen two large infrastructure projects nearby. In July 2007, Italy's largest mall, Galleria Porta di Roma, opened about five kilometers north of Tufello. In April 2015, Jonio metro station was opened to serve as the northern terminus of Metro B1 Line.

From our engagement work with the high school students, we learned that it was indeed a popular recreational space and that it has come to replace parks and piazzas in the view of young people. It thus acts as a sort of 'public space'. Carlo Cellamare considers this label 'public space' as applied to Porta di Roma but ultimately rejects it, citing that it is a private property continuously surveilled and does not act as a "place of intersection of routes and stories in residents' lives". This is due to its sprawling form as a space of meeting and due to its "non-local character": it witnesses a "large number of visitors who do not live nearby" (152).

The two projects seem to have an effect on Tufello's services, according to institutional leaders and neighbors, though we have struggled to form a causal narrative. Neighbors lament the 'closing of the shops' and a cultural organization leader at Cre-Action roundtable was regretting that **"for cinema, theater, any cultural resources... one now has to go the Mall."** Meanwhile, the area near Jonio station on Viale Jonio and Via di Valle Melaina has become an important center for services (*see services section*). It is difficult to quantitatively trace the Metro's effect on services in the area, since census data is not available more recently than 2011.

Regardless, neighbors, organization leaders and business owners seem to all recognize how transformative the two infrastructure projects are to the neighborhood. However, the Mall and the Metro station's capacity to gentrify or affect the neighborhood negatively is certainly undercut by the public housing status of most of the neighborhood.

The high school students of Liceo Scientifico Amedeo Avogadro conducted a survey of a hundred residents to solicit their views of the Metro and the Mall. Some of their findings are summarized in the next pages.

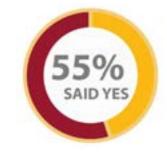


Galleria Commerciale Porta di Roma. Photograph by Michele de Punzio via pagina99.



Tufello residents often lament closed shops in the neighborhood, such as this stationery shop on Via Capraia. Photograph by Ehab Ebeid.

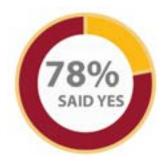
Survey Findings



...when asked about whether they prefer to frequent **the mall as opposed to local shops** in Tufello.

Only a slight majority of the respondents prefer to shop at the Mall as opposed to locally, though a larger majority agree that Porta di Roma has caused the closing of local small businesses in the area.

When asked about whether the opening of the mall **caused the closing** of small services in Tufello...

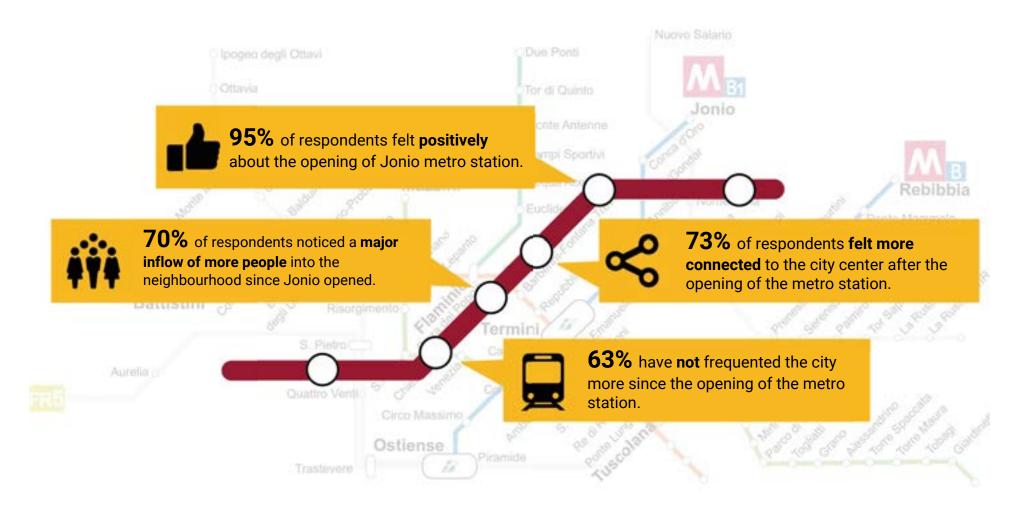


Judging by the survey findings, even with the internal courtyards of the public housing complexes, Tufello residents still feel an inadequacy in green spaces. Most would prefer local parks, however, if they were better cared for. When asked if there are enough **green spaces** in Tufello and surroundings...



80% İİİİ

...of respondents, **given better-equipped local parks**, would rather their family spend more of their time in **Tufello** as opposed to the **Mall**.



Even though the majority of respondents now feel more connected to the city center and virtually all see Jonio as a positive development, a sizeable majority has not actually made use of the Metro to more frequently visit the city center. Most respondents have noticed a major inflow of people into the areas served by Jonio stations since it opened. Whereas we thought it likely that this was a sign of gentrification, in reality it is more likely a sign that people from more peripheral neighborhoods are making use of the metro, as our conversation with a local business owner suggested.

PUBLIC SPACE

4 + +

FARMACIA

OVERVIEW

Tufello has a unique composition of public spaces that fall into a hierarchy of public open space, public indoor space and semi- public areas. This challenges the definition of public spaces as merely including parks and piazzas, as well as affects the way in which the population, particularly children and the elderly engages with them. This section explores characteristics of these public spaces in our primary area, and studies its use based on visitor composition and accessibility.

HIERARCHY OF PUBLIC SPACES

Outdoor public spaces in Tufello are areas that are generally open and accessible to people. It usually comprises of vegetation or other elements of nature. Public squares, parks and gardens are typically considered outdoor public spaces. Tufello comprises of only two public outdoor spaces, Kennedy Park and Piazza degli Euganei.

Indoor public spaces are areas that are also open and accessible to the public, but situated indoors. It also includes government buildings. They usually have a specific function and provide free or easily accessible services to the public. This may include indoor markets, cultural centers and libraries. Tufello has 4 spaces that are public but indoors. These include Ennio Flaiano Library, the Tufello Market, Crawl 2000 swimming pool and Defrag.

A **semi - public space** is a transitional area that extends from the edge of a building to the public sidewalk. Semi - public spaces are often designed with attractive elements like vegetation, stone- laid pathways, clearly marked pathways and with certain amenities like a children's playground. Tufello's public housing complexes have been designed to include semi- public spaces that serve the residential community and visitors. However, accessibility varies based on whether it is a gated community or not.

Secured gate-

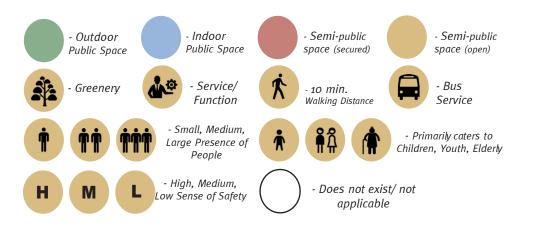
for residents only

Open / no gatefor residents and visitors



COMPARING BY CHARACTERISTICS

Each type of public space in Tufello has its own set of unique characteristics that distinguish its accessibility, safety and use. By using examples from the neighborhood that form outdoor public spaces, indoor public spaces and semi-public spaces, we assess the most effective type for the Tufello community using the characteristics listed below. This will help us understand whether the needs of the community for social and cultural experiences are adequately satisfied by public spaces that exist today.



1. Kennedy Park



Kennedy Park is lush green and acts as one of the two outdoor public spaces in Tufello. However, the greenery and children's play equipment is not maintained. It also comprises of a dog park, the only one of its kind in the neighborhood. There is a bus stop right outside of the park and is easily accessible by housing complexes nearby. The mapping activity suggests the park is also a

popular place for drug pushers. Therefore, despite high accessibility, lack of maintenance and misuse makes it unusable.



2. Piazza degli Euganei



This is the only designated piazza in the primary area of our study. Situated outside the Tufello market, it lies in the center of the Tufello area. There are 3 bus stops in close proximity, and its central location allows people from all parts of Tufello to access the space in less than 10 minutes. As a result, there is a large presence of people of all ages, increasing the sense of

pedestrian safety despite being located on a main road.



3. Crawl 2000 swimming pool



The Crawl 2000 swimming pool is one of its kind in Municipio III and attracts people living in all parts of the municipality. It provides activities for people of all ages, ranging from children's beginning swimming classes to master level classes. This indoor space is easily walkable and accessible by bus. As a result it has created a large friendly community connected by a particular interest.



4. Ennio Flaiano Library



This local municipal library caters to a wide range of people from different age groups, ethnic backgrounds and income levels. Its close proximity to residential areas makes it easy to access by walk and also has 2 bus stops outside its door. There are many people using the library at different times of the day and is perceived as a safe space because of its gated compound and friendly staff. safe space because of its gated compound, wide range of resources and friendly staff.



5. Defrag



Defrag's special services in providing spaces for music concerts and cultural activities for the youth makes it a popular space in Tufello. It is easily accessible by walk and by bus from residential areas as well as from outside the neighborhood. While the space lacks greenery, it makes up with its warm interiors, wall murals and concert posters. This creates a welcoming

environment within the social cooperative for all of Tufello's residents.



6. The Tufello Market



As a strong influence of concentrated service development in the area, the market attracts many residents from the neighborhood. It is walkable distance from all residential complexes in Tufello, and shares the three bus stops with Piazza degli Euganei. This also makes it accessible by all modes of public transportation. Its wide variety of services attract people to visit the place for their daily tasks.



7. Semi Public Space (Secured)



Secured semi- public spaces of public housing complexes in Tufello are less accessible because of locked gated entrances. This restricts entry for the general public unless they gain access through residents of the complex. However, the strict monitoring initiates a high sense of safety within the space. These spaces are also very green with planted vegetation. Walking distance and bus stops

are not considered because of its interior location.



8. Semi Public Space (Open)



Open semi-public spaces of public housing complexes are more accessible in Tufello because of locked gated entrances. This allows the general public access to these spaces. However, it is important to note that some complexes practice informal monitoring of the space by community residents keeping an eye on who enters and leaves the complex. These spaces are also very green and

have a wide range of functions.



TIME SPACE COMPARISON OF PUBLIC SPACE USE

PIAZZA DEGLI EUGANEI





KENNEDY PARK











ENNIO FLAIANO LIBRARY

A study of three different public spaces was conducted to analyze rates of pedestrian activity and types of residents visiting the spaces, at different times of the day and the week. The three locations chosen for the study are Kennedy Park, Piazza degli Euganei and the courtyard space of Ennio Flaiano Library. The locations were studied at three different times during the week: 11am and 4pm on a weekday, and 2pm on a weekend. A headcount was conducted to compare the number of elderly and children using the space at different times.

HEADCOUNT	PIAZZA DEGLI EUGANEI		KENNEDY PARK		LIBRARY	
	CHILDREN	ELDERLY	CHILDREN	ELDERLY	CHILDREN	ELDERLY
WEEKDAY MORNING	0	12	0	0	8	0
WEEKDAY EVENING	2	1	0	0	1	0
WEEKEND AFTERNOON	1	3	10	0	0	о

The results show that elderly liked to congregate at the Piazza the most. The most popular time was during weekday mornings when the market is open. This was perceived as an opportunity to socialize with other elderly residents from Tufello while conducting daily tasks at the Market. Kennedy Park saw little to no people using the space as a result of low maintenance and aesthetic quality of the park. However, it is important to note the park attracted large groups of young teenagers to smoke and 'hang out' with one another. On a week day evening, children were found playing within the gated and supervised courtyards of the library. The gates enhanced the safety of the space, allowing parents to let their children play without worrying about their safety.

SUMMARY

There are some characteristics that are common between outdoor public spaces, indoor public spaces and semi - public spaces that make them successful public areas for children and the elderly. These include easy accessibility by walk and by bus. Another unique characteristic that defines a successful public space is the number of people present. This not only shows that the space is popular amongst residents, but also ensures 'eyes on the street', and as a result increases the perception of safety of the space. Piazza degli Euganei, the swimming pool, and the semi public spaces, are some examples where an increase in people present results in an increase in safety. This suggests a direct relationship between number of people present and safety, where the presence of people is essential for children and the elderly to feel comfortable in a public space.

The result also shows that some characteristics like greenery, which although usually associated with public spaces, are not a necessary component to make a successful public space. Instead, providing services or specific functions can enhance and bring the community together. This is seen mainly with the indoor public spaces that, despite the lack of greenery, are able to attract and integrate children and the elderly through their multi-generational programs.

SERVICES AND INSTITUTIONS

TT.

OVERVIEW

Low-income neighborhoods are often faced with the stigma of related stereotypes about built form and social character. Although Tufello has suffered from issues related to drugs and petty crime, it seems to be breaking the stereotypes associated with low-income neighborhoods and is much more vibrant than one would imagine. After spending weeks researching on the neighborhood, collecting data, and interviewing stakeholders, we find that services and institutions play a particularly important role in uniting the neighborhood, making it an almost self-sufficient micro-ecosystem and even attracting outsiders. In Tufello both private and public sectors have contributed to its lively environment.



Informal market near Tufello's covered market.



As shown on the map, there are two concentrations of services: around Jonio station and around the Tufello Market. Services are mostly located in the adjacent area, close to the Jonio metro station. The Metro seems to draw businesses to its surroundings, and Porta di Roma Mall is cited as a strong threat to small businesses.

SERVICES

The services of Tufello provide a firm basis to its relative selfsufficiency. From the results of the questionnaire conducted by the high school students that we worked with, we know that while 73% of the respondents feel more connected to the city center after the opening of Jonio metro station in 2015, 63% have not frequented the city center more, which means that there is a relatively small proportion of the residents in the neighborhood whose relationship to the city center has changed with the opening of the Metro. One possible explanation to this result is that the large proportion of the elderly population in the neighborhood is not mobilized by the metro, and the other is that the abundant varieties of services available in the neighborhood, especially in our secondary study area, can satisfy the basic needs of people so that there is no need of traveling great distances.

Moreover, the services provide more than physical support—they are a part of the social life of the locals. The Tufello Market, for instance, has an intimate relationship especially with elderly residents. **Franco**, an owner of a grocery stall in the market, says:

"My customers are mainly elders, we deliver their shopping at home. ... Once we used to sell kilograms, now hectograms, but we still try to take care of our clients, we exchange a few words. [...] For us meeting with people and talking is important... MANY ELDERS JUST NEED SOME COMPANY AND THEY CAN FIND IT HERE AT THE MARKET." (Mercato del Tufello, 2015) This degree of companionship is difficult to replicate in modern supermarkets, but the stalls in the Tufello Market offer it to their customers. Unlike many other traditional Italian markets that do not open on Sundays, the Tufello Market opens seven days a week to keep up with modern commercial competition. Though the Porta di Roma Mall and the Metro may pose pressure on small local businesses, many of them are still able to sustain and thrive because they are more convenient for many and offer personal service and support.

Specialized public services are also present in Tufello, and they attract outsiders into the neighborhood. There is an art school and football school in the neighborhood, and one of the few indoor swimming pools of Rome. They bring in many students and other people from outside, and the Metro has made it possible for them to reach these services more conveniently.



A produce stall in Tufello's covered market. Photograph by Ehab Ebeid.

INSTITUTIONS

Three formal institutions are analyzed here in detail: Defrag_, Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano, and Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano. They are selected because these three represent three distinctive categories, and each of them displays a conscious effort to bring about change in the neighborhood through tailored service provision.

Defrag_

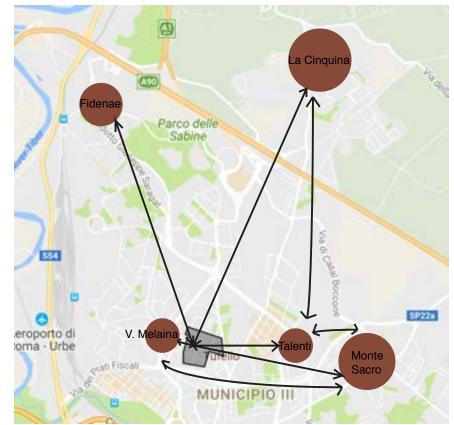
Defrag_ is a nonprofit institution that was founded in 2002. We interviewed Federica di Ruzza, one of the association's directors, as part of our engagement work. Defrag_ was established to combat drug problems in the neighborhood. Since then, however, the number of people coming in for drug problems has decreased and the focus has given way to other activities. Namely, it hosts concerts, exhibits and workshops like painting and sewing for young people, and people also gather there to discuss neighborhood issues.



Band practice room

Artwork of participants

The name comes from "defragmentation", because the institution seeks to break the separation between neighborhoods of the Quartiere and Municipio and bring them closer together. Its location in a more historically low-income neighborhood of this part of Rome, attracts people from surrounding neighborhoods to Tufello, thereby facilitating the exchange of knowledge and resources, and lifting up Tufello as a destination. Defrag_ is significant in that it not only brings the people of the neighborhood together, but also attracts people from outside and seeks to combat socioeconomic spatial segregation.



Reproduction of diagram showing Defrag's goal of 'defragmenting' the area, and bringing people to Tufello.

Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano

Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano is a place that engages children, young people, and many others that come to study. Apart from the regular books and videotapes offered at the library, they also provide study rooms and computers available to the public. Activities for children and career preparation programs for high school students are held at the library to facilitate involvement. The library also provides a space especially for newspaper reading, which the director said has helped attract elderly residents.

Some literature, primarily focused on case studies in the United States, show that "facility sharing and joint programming with schools are lowest in suburbs" and that libraries are the most likely actors to share facilities and join programming efforts (Choi and Warner). Tufello counters this trend through facility sharing and joint programming across the board, but especially with its library. Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano exhibits a strong connection to local schools and prioritizes children with special needs by providing tactile books.

We were told at the library that on Saturdays more people from the neighborhood would come, and parents would bring their kids. The library also provides a space for newspaper reading, which the library director has said helps attract more elderly residents to it.



Workshop with high school students at the library.



Kids' corner



Tactile book



Library hall



Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano

Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano sits in the block northwest of the library. It was founded in 2008, and occupies a former boiler building that had been abandoned for over twenty years. The gym has a strong leftist orientation much like the rest of the neighborhood.

For our engagement work, we interviewed one of the founders of the palestra, Giulio. "Popolare" in Italian means "people's", and the institution's name honors the young anti-fascist Valerio Verbano who was killed at the age of 19. The founders of this club were friends of Valerio's mother and promised to honor the legacy of her son by naming the gym after him. The palestra was founded with the purpose of instilling discipline in its primarily young-male constituency, keeping local boys from dropping out of high school and turning to drugs or crime.

Unconventional for a gym, the palestra articulates its theoretical framework through which its work is conducted: it seeks to establish sports as a human right, and ensure that people have access to exercise, health and well-being without being "subjected to the cruel logic of the free market". To this end, they offer inexpensive services and follow a policy of trial periods for all of their sports activities.

We were struck with the intentionality of this institution, their ambitious goals, and their considerable success at achieving them. Throughout conversations with neighbors we learned that the gym both employs as instructors and regularly produces Italian and regional champions in martial arts.



The palestra popolare believes in the right to exercise and well-being outside capitalist frameworks. Photograph by Ehab Ebeid.

The gym is run by volunteers who teach a wide variety of classes for all ages and skill levels. The disciplines taught in the gym are various forms of contact sports, including karate, kickboxing, martial arts; and artistic gymnastics. It has special programming for children. All members of the organization are asked to pay a monthly fee to access classes in these disciplines. The gym, however, honors the financial situations of some local residents and makes this amount a donation rather than an obligation.

Centro di Cultura Popolare del Tufello

The centro di cultura popolare (CCP) was established in 1975, intending to stimulate civic engagement in the cultural field. Setting a precedent for the palestra popolare, the cultural center also took an abandoned space for its use.

The organization has also been fighting social issues, such as those related to drug addiction, in the neighborhood, and in 1984 it reached an agreement with the Region of Lazio to assume this role, until later in 1987 Associazione Parsec was created specifically for combating drug issues (Storia, Centro di Cultura Popolare del Tufello).

SUMMARY

Services and institutions in Tufello are strong examples of striving to ensure citizens' right to the city through grassroots efforts. They successfully contribute towards building a strong and inclusive community, a task often difficult to achieve in a historically low-income, public housing neighborhood. The various services and institutions satisfy both physical and social needs of the local residents, contribute towards making Tufello a destination for outsiders, and integrating it with its surrounding neighborhoods. There is a high level of community engagement in the neighborhood, and the residents can gain a sense of belonging by participating in the activities together. As a result, Tufello's local institutions provide successful urban spaces that emphasize the user and the value of the space itself.

Notably, Tufello's institutions, though largely born out of grassroots efforts and are thus 'invented', are not particularly antagonistic towards *municipio*, *comune*, *or regione* governments, or representatives thereof. For example,



the *Palestra Popolare*, though occupying their site, is negotiating a formalization arrangement with ATER (azienda territoriale per l'edilizia residenziale del Comune di Rome), the public housing agency. This undermines the 'invented'/"invited' dichotomy and provides an example where grassroots efforts can be reconciled a large extent with governmental initiatives.

The mural outside the Centro di Cultura Popolare del Tufello. Courtesy of Miccia Corta.

CONCLUSION



There is certainly more to Tufello than meets the eye. As we delve deeper and learn about the neighborhood's history, built form and institutions, we are struck by how it forms a strong community and a strong sense of identity despite the odds. Tufello has faced many challenges: it is a primarily public housing, relatively low income, and aging neighborhood in the periphery of Rome. Much of its infrastructure and spaces is not well maintained, and for many years in recent times it has struggled with drug issues.

Tufello's institutions, in particular, are to credit for much of the neighborhood's success at creating a livable environment for people of all ages. They strive to include and prioritize the residents and at times attract outsiders. Their efforts are deliberate and collaborative. The Tufello Market, for example, is aware of its role as a social gathering space for the neighborhood's elderly, as much as it is aware of its commercial role. There is a great degree of collaboration between the different sectors in Tufello that planners should look to emulate.

Planners often emphasize urban design and infrastructure interventions for creating more child- and aged-friendly communities. Tufello was carefully planned as a public housing neighborhood, with attention to courtyards that would constitute important community gathering spaces. As we learn from Tufello, the built form is not sufficient, and should be complemented by constant efforts directed towards the social realm, to create communities in which people of all ages and abilities are enabled to lead fulfilling lives.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would firstly like to thank Biblioteca Ennio Flaiano, its director Dr. Marisa Spasiano, and Dr. Elda Merenda for their enthusiasm in collaborating with our group and for all their assistance. This project would not have been possible without them.

We would further like to thank other staff members at the library, and the staff of other institutions and establishments in Tufello: Associazione Defrag_, the Palestra Popolare Valerio Verbano, and to Pizza e Sfizi on Via delle Isole Curzolane.

We are grateful to the residents of Tufello for their time, generosity and for they way they have warmly welcomed us.

Finally, we would like to thank our professors, Mildred Warner and Gregory Smith, as well as our course's teaching assistants, Viviana Andriola and Serena Muccitelli, for many hours in the field and for their generous guidance and support.

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