Annex 4: Report on Ostiense, Italy.

Changing urban landscape and plural memories:

The Ostiense neighbourhood: the factory of Rome

Working Paper

By ETICity Association

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1. Introduction

This working paper presents the results of a two-years research conducted in Rome within the context of the project “Mapping controversial memories in the historical urban landscape: a multidisciplinary study of Beijing, Mexico City and Rome”. The project has been funded by the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS) and carried out under the umbrella of the College of Humanities, Swiss Institute of Technology (EPFL), Switzerland.

In line with the overall project research questions, the Rome local team developed an interdisciplinary and in depth analysis of the urban historical landscape of the urban area of Ostiense, close to the Aurelian Walls, and its current state of re-use. The first part of the report explains the criteria by which this urban area has been chosen as a case study (cfr. 1.1), primarily the will to ease international comparison while representing the site-specific complexity.

By focussing on one of the rare and most peculiar industrial landscape of Rome, the case study challenges preservation approaches on industrial heritage sites in a city and a country with long lasting tradition in the field of heritage protection. After tracing the main characteristics of preservation regulatory framework and heritage protection in Rome, with reference to the UNESCO Recommendations about urban historical landscape (cfr2; 2.1), the report deals with the history of Ostiense showing a coherent, even if short in time, vision for the industrial development of the area and the city as a whole (cfr 2.2).

As it emerges from the literature review, Ostiense was the result of a coherent industrial project at the beginning of 1900, while it is currently characterized by the evidence of the “failure” of a comprehensive planning vision. Moreover, today it is under a changing state characterised by a long-lasting material and immaterial transformation. Field work led a variegated set of practices of re-use, deletion, demolition and redevelopment emerge, resulting in a fragmented urban environment with high risk of losing historical characters and collective memories linked to them.

The main project questions challenge the relationship between memories and historical urban landscape and stress possible controversies among them. Coherently, the field work on Ostiense, based on the hypothesis that to a unique and unitary industrial landscape would correspond a dense collective memory, based on working class identity and collective struggles. The Roma local team hypothesized that the main controversies in terms of memories would have been identified among past and present labour experiences. Despite such premises, the research shows that Ostiense memories are multi-layered, complex, even if belong to the same social block in the same period. Official collective memories, such as those of the Labour movement, partially shadowed unofficial memories, coming from the everyday life of sub-proletarianand underground communities. This plurality of collective memories also enriches and stresses the understanding of the working class, being a social group, commonly perceived as unified and cohesive, but unexplored in terms of intersectionality with other aspects of identity.

In order to strengthen the transitory character of Ostiense, its changing nature and the plurality of local memories and identities, the research assumes an interdisciplinary approach and focusses on three interpretative lines: the objects, the histories and the representations (cfr 3.1). Such focuses
enabled to hold together different perspectives, considering the various dimensions of the memory and its sources (cfr. 4 and conclusions).
In this respect it is worth mentioning that the research draws from competences and experiences in critical urbanism, fieldwork observation, material and immaterial heritage in Rome and action research of a collective research group, the ETICity Association. Since the beginning of the project, ETICity is involved as the main operational component of the Roma local team, providing:
- the specific methodological and theoretical aspects of the local research;
- exploratory research in Rome for the selection of the case study;
- gathering of documents (archives, policy documents, maps and plans) relevant to the research;
- organization of regular seminars with Prof. Claudia Conforti e Prof. Francesca Romana Stabile;
- planning and design of in-depth interviews with experts (architects; researchers; political authorities);
- facilitation for contacting and meeting social actors during the fieldwork;
- supervision of contributions from Roma Tre University students (collection of data maps and interviews).

1.1 Historic Urban Landscape in Rome
The SNIS research, conducted in three urban different contexts, has been adjusted and adapted in different ways by each local team. The aim of the research project is also to explore the way in which every context approaches the contemporary urban transformation related to the issues promoted by UNESCO Recommendations (RHUL).
The case of Rome has been chosen as an example of recent social and spatial evolutions. Moreover, the uniqueness of Rome from an artistic, historical and archaeological point of view has been taken into account. The city is interesting also for the neoliberal practices that have impacted the historical urban landscape. These practices, in fact, have often been the result of random, predatory and violent urban initiatives. Nevertheless, the historical centre is entirely added in the World Heritage List in 1980, it has been impacted by a large number of social and urban transformations which are today mining vitality and liveability. For instance, the introduction of public heritage privatization started in early 2000 and consequent commodification of urban space have led to the displacement of residence and traditional business described as a city for sale process by Berdini (2008; see also Secchi 2013).
The UNESCO has for long time fostered and promoted the conservation of heritage based on single entities (monuments, groups of buildings and sites) spread all over the world. The cultural value conferred by the UNESCO to cities lies in the common sense and definition of what deserves protection, “outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science” (World Heritage Convention, Article 1). Afterward the UNESCO introduced the concept of urban landscape which proposed a complex and holistic notion of preservation, care and reproduction over time of cultural and social products (such as cities). In 2011 this conceptual urban landscape was questioned by the UNESCO itself and its policies. In fact, this international organization recognized that the conservation of single entities was insufficient in the face of the irreversible phenomena of urbanization and its contemporary forms. For this reason, UNESCO introduced in 2011 a new Recommendation, not mandatory, which introduced for the first time the notion of “historical urban landscape” as a matter of protection and conservation.
The object of the “historical urban landscape” deserving protection is not a single entity, but the urban palimpsest as a whole. The Recommendation assumes that a fast and uncontrolled urbanization will produce irreversible effects on the historical urban landscape, such as social and spatial fragmentation, decaying and quality deterioration of both new urbanized areas and urban environment in general.
Massive urbanization and demographic growth impact on urban areas is a global concern which is challenging urban governance in Asian, Latin-American and African megalopolis. Compared with the scale of megalopolis of the global south, Rome, as the majority of European cities, seems a small urban entity already well protected by National and Local policies. However, new phenomena of relative urbanization, such as gentrification and mass tourism pose serious treats and questions on survivability of its monuments and fragile urban fabric. Not always, in fact, preservation schemes in place have contributed to the maintenance of the social fabric which contributed to the production of that historical urban landscape as such.

To investigate all the above mentioned dimensions, the choice of a specific case study, expected to allow comparison among very different contexts (China, Mexico, Italy) was the first challenge of the project. During the kick-off meeting, the Rome local team presented potential areas for developing case studies (the historical city centre, San Lorenzo, Garbatella and the Garden of Rome-Malafede neighbourhoods). Such preliminary choices aimed to investigate different urban environments in order to question different collective memories, following the major project research questions. In light of exchanges and comparisons with the other local teams, the research paths have been modified. The group agreed to direct the research towards a single urban area, embodying the most significant aspects investigated by the project. The case has then been chosen considering the following aspects:

- to represent the complexity of Rome through urban, architectonic and social layering and overlapping;
- to be an urban space under transformation;
- to be keeper of significant official and historical memories;
- to gather political, social and economic instances, shaping a space of coexistence and negotiation;
- to embody diversities able to produce different memories and visions of the future, even if potentially controversial.

From those renewed research elements, the local team selected an urban area combining all of them: Ostiense.
Fig. 1- Map of the City of Rome, locating Ostiense, with reference to the historic centre and to the Municipio VIII.

The main questions addressed in the “Mapping controversial memories” project, were enriched³ in order to fit to the characteristics and answer the challenges that peculiar features in Rome, particularly in Ostiense, pose. According to the idea that memory is an evolving process including official history, but also “oral, visual, ritual and bodily practices through which a community’s collective remembrance of the past is produced or sustained” (Connerton 1989), at its beginning the research focused on the controversial dimensions, that is on the presence or absence of conflicts concerning what should be preserved and what could be transformed. However, the neighbourhood was unruly at this interpretation: even if apparently there are no explicit conflicts, Ostiense is the arena for strong urban powers acting and facing in changing functions, rhythms, ways of living. It is a neighbourhood in which inertia and action are in a complex relation, an urban node undergoing a fast transformation which inspires reflections concerning imaginaries, memories and planning.

Following the preservation will by the UNESCO recommendation, the central issue emerging from the research seems to be not (only) what should be preserved (buildings, functions, memories), but on the purposes, meanings and willingness of the ongoing transformations, as well as on their impact on the affected historical urban landscape in Ostiense. The exploration of memories and imaginaries, of official histories and artistic representations, gives back a frame where there are no resonant controversies, but multiple traces and voices, unattended shared visions for regeneration and development as well as economic and exclusive exploitation of memorial values are evident. Wider or smaller stories of resistance and opposition to current changes have been recorded, rarely affecting “official memories”.

³ By adding two specific sets of questions, namely:

• How is this area Ostiense defined? What are its limits? What are its components?
• What is the role of the industrial or working-class memory in the discourses, practices and representations of the various actors of the zone? Who does refer to it and for what purpose?
In brief, the exploration through an interdisciplinary approach convinced us to focus more on processes than on specific places, more on dynamics and connections, including memories, between the past and the future than on the limits of the current situation.

2. State of the art

Rome: from dominants to alternative narratives

The unique status of Rome in the western imaginary is linked to its – supposedly – privileged relationship to the past (Vidotto, 2006). The richness of Rome’s architectural heritage, its antique, medieval, renascent and baroque monuments and remains have been at the centre of national and international scholars and artist’s attention for centuries. The way the city has been told and represented in this perspective has given rise to a “dominant narrative” (Holdaway & Trentin, 2013) of the city which relies on the classical image of Rome as the Eternal City. This narrative refers – even for the analysis of the contemporary city – to Rome’s glorious past and is, spatially, focused on the historic centre.

Since the middle of the twentieth century however, the violent transformations of the city induced by a series of major events (first the Italian unification and the shift from a status of Capital City of the Papal State to the one of Capital of Italy, then the end of World War II and the adoption of a neoliberal capitalist model) led to the emergence of an alternative narrative, as described by Holdaway and Trentin. This counter-history has been developed by pioneering urbanists such as Antonio Cederna (1956) and Italo Insolera (1962), who focused on the modern face of the city and proposed a critical reading of its uncontrolled urbanization outside of the antique Aurelian Walls. In line with this intellectual and political current, the national association Italia Nostra started to firmly denounce the museification of the historical city and its use as a stenographic scenery by the tourist industry (Italia Nostra, 1974). Simultaneously to this esthetization of some parts of the city, such analysis revealed that entire areas of the historical centre had been left in a state of sever decline or abandonment, leading to the fragmentation of the social fabric and the multiplication of physical interventions without any social or political control (Martegani P.et al, 1980). Another contribution of this alternative narrative is that it has unveiled the “foundational role played by estate speculation and political corruption in the post-war reconstruction of the city” (Holdaway & Trentin, op.cit., p.2), offering a powerful grid of interpretation of Rome’s contemporary evolution.

Over the past fifteen years, these two main and opposed visions of the city have been nuanced and enriched by important contributions. On the one hand, Vittorio Vidotto’s Roma Moderna (2001,2006) has offered a new, multifactorial and complex vision of the recent city history. His work highlighted the fact that, despite the powerful and well-defined image Rome seems to have from an external point of view, the fascist collapse, together with the end of the illusion of a new Italian primacy, have been followed by a situation of “symbolic emptiness and a loss of identity which are not compensated by the weak rituals of the republican Rome” (2006, p. IX). In other words, there is a space for uncertainty and therefore, for creativity and negotiation about the symbolic function of the city, a space that grassroots movements have been actively claiming over the past few years and that has constituted the backdrop of our reflection.

On the other hand, the work of Alessandro Portelli, with his foundational book The order has already been carried out (1999), on the memories of the Ardeatine Caves massacre, has open a new path for apprehending a less publicized history of Rome (De Pieri, 2010): “a history not made of stones but of people, a history still recent, still in movement, still alive.” (Mordenti & Co, 2013, p.9). Working on the memory-history-materiality interface, Portelli has chosen the urban space as his starting point:

5See in particular the federative movement “Decide Roma” (www.decideroma.com)
“Space is a metaphor of memory. In memory, all moments of the past exist at the same time – we remember our childhood and at the same time we remember the events of the previous day; and in the space of Rome they are all next to one another, the signs of all times of its long history” (Idem).

Heritage management in the city of Rome: the potential of a “historic urban landscape” approach

“In comprehending the history of preservation of architecture in cities, first there is Rome”. For Anthony Tung (2001, p.30), who has compared preservation systems and cultures in eighteen of the “world’s greatest historical cities”, Rome is the most emblematic example of a paradoxical dynamic of creation and destruction. About the Antiquity masterpieces left by the Roman Empire – palaces, markets, temples, baths, marble arches, amphitheaters –and the way the immense majority of these structures have progressively been dismantled and used for constructing minor, ephemeral building over the centuries, he states that “never again would such a vast artistic and architectural legacy be purposely demolished by a city’s own inhabitants” (Ibid, p.35). Beside this long process of destruction however, it is still in this city that, ten centuries after the fall of the Empire, the Papacy would return, build the new Capital of Christianity and, by involving the greatest artists, architects and engineers of the time, make Rome the most important laboratory of the Western world for developing and experimenting a radically new conception of the city-making. It is there indeed that the city would be recognized, intellectually, as “an object that could be designed” (Ibid, p.41). Moreover, what characterized the process of Renaissance and deeply influenced the way Rome would be conceived from that point is the fact that “the new culture would consciously take part of its identity from the older culture” (Ibid, p.31).

At the end of the Nineteenth century, Rome will go through a new radical transformation phase, switching from the status of Capital of the Papacy to the one of Capital of the newly unified Italian State. At the time, the new political authorities’ ambition is to build a modern European Capital (Travaglini 2004, 2007; Czarniawska, 2002). In this perspective, the work of Gustavo Giovannoni – who is engineer, architect, urbanist and architecture critic among other things – will have a major impact on the on the transformation of the urban fabric and on the preservation culture in Rome and in Italy. His approach is based on thoughtful thinning-out of buildings (diradamento edilizio) conceived as a way to confer value to the medieval urban fabric and modest architecture while at the same time restoring greatest historical buildings (Giovannoni, 1931). This logic is at opposite ends of the brutal surgical clearance, or disembowelling (sventramento), that will occur during the Fascism (Cederna 2006). In synthesis, Giovannoni’s approach sought to modernize Rome while preserving it (Tung, 2001).

Nowadays, the heritage conservation system in Rome can be described as both extensive and visionary on a theoretical level. One of the innovations that can be underlined is the differentiation, within the framework of the latest city Master Plan (2008) between the historic centre – which protection was until now subject to a traditional approach of conservation based on functional zoning and on a definition of the historical centre as defined by the Chart of Gubbio (1960) – and the historic city. The new approach objective is to extend the conservation ethics and instruments beyond the historic centre. It aims at “enhancing the historic memory of the entire body of the city. This allows to take the maximal advantage of one of the most peculiar resource of Rome, namely the dissemination of the historical values. In this way, the meaning of the term “history” gets extended in order to include the modern and contemporary architecture as well as places that are recognized of being of symbolic importance for the city”6. In this regard, the closeness to the vision promoted by the HUL Recommendation is striking.

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6 Source: http://www.urbanistica.comune.roma.it/prg-racconto/prg-racconto-cittastorica.html
However, many concrete examples, from which the local team has direct knowledge and experience⁷, suggest a partial and incoherent implementation of this policy framework. One the one hand, the historic centre has been subject to a massive merchandizing process over the past forty years. Rome seems to have already been going through some of the treats identified by the Recommendation such as the loss of “functionality, traditional role and populations” of the cities historical cores. Paraphrasing Seronde Babonaux (1983), while planners and urban historians were engaged in the preservation of the historic and architectural fabric of the city, Rome was losing its inhabitants and social fabric in an irreversible process of abandonment of the city centre. For this author indeed, the tourist economy is taking advantage, through speculation, of the intrinsic value of the urban heritage. Today, living in the city centre is only affordable for a small privileged class of city owners. The progressive sale of many public residential buildings belonging to the City Council has benefited real estate intermediaries and upper classes, reducing the social heterogeneity for which Roma had been well known for many decades (Insolera, 2003; Herzfeld, 2009).

As the gentrification process occurring in the city centre has already been studies extensively, it seems promising, today, to explore other neighbourhoods, particularly those situated outside of the Aurelian Walls, which are not directly protected by UNESCO preservation schemes and in which a relation between the urban landscape and the social fabric is still observable. Many of these historical and recent peripheries are, nowadays, struggling with a drastic decrease of their urban environment quality, a dynamic that has been exacerbated by the so-called austerity policies. This situation represents a major challenge for urban policies, at a moment of political uncertainty at the local level⁸. The case of Ostiense, which will be presented below, appeared to be a powerful reflector of such issues. Moreover, the plurality of architectural and urban forms concentrated in Ostiense, as well as the various actors that interact with its territory makes it an “extraordinary laboratory of urban transformation, a strategic area for the development and modernization of Rome in the XXI century and a particularly demanding field for thinking cultural and urban design” (Travaglini, 2006, p.343). Because of this richness and complexity, the area represents a fertile ground for the understanding of diverse memories and the analysis of how they coexist, reinforce and oppose one another.

2.1 The historical urban landscape of Ostiense

The main production of knowledge concerning Ostiense focuses on its physical transformation. In fact, despite its importance for the industrial development of the whole city (most factories were concentrated in this area) studies of social history refer to and are located in the neighbourhoods around the area, such as Testaccio and Garbatella, where Ostiense workers mainly lived. The area of Ostiense, instead, has been studied from the perspective of planning and architecture. Many studies have been produced by the University of Roma Tre which, since the 1990s, occupies part of the former industrial buildings and which has become one of the major actors in the regeneration of the area. Roma Tre has also been a major contributor in producing knowledge regarding the historical, architectural and planning history of Ostiense. It embodied and affirmed in the recent past a broad mandate about the public use of the relevant industrial building heritage, main part of the historical urban landscape of Ostiense.

Two main strands of research can be distinguished on Ostiense. The first assumes a historical perspective, with the goal to recognize the value of industrial archaeology. A major contribute to this

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⁷ For instance, ETICity has been organizing a workshop of one week at the Architecture Biennale in Venice in September 2014 on the heritage issue, which conceptual entry points were “disaffection, destruction and abandonment” and that was based on many examples situated in Rome and elsewhere in Italy.

⁸These issues have been at the core of a conference entitled “Rome in transition. Governance, strategies, metabolisms and life environment of a Capital city” in April 2017 in which ETICity has presented the result of the research (http://www.gssi.infn.it/seminars/seminars-and-events-2017/item/1093-roma-in-transizione).
approach has been the research projects and publications of the CROMA⁹ (Centro per lo Studio di Roma) and authors - among all Chiariini (1989), Torelli Landini (2001, 2007), Bertelli (2004), Furnari (2006). Within this approach, there are many studies which related the surrounding neighbourhoods ways of life to the industrial history of Ostiense (for instance the work of Carlo Travaglini, see 2004 and 2007); Stabile (2012) and Sinatra (2006) on Garbatella; the Testaccio archive AUT¹⁰ (Archivio Urbano Testaccio) held by the Department of Architecture of Roma Tre.

A further great contribution to the analysis of the changes occurring to the urban environment of Ostiense and the urban configuration of the interlinked, adjacent neighbourhoods was developed by Valter Vanelli (1975).

From this body of work, we can appreciate the way in which Ostiense has been explored as an industrial historical urban landscape.

Between the nineteenth and twentieth century, Ostiense infrastructure has been dedicated to the production of energy, city logistic and slaughterhouse-related industrial production (e.g. leather, soap and meat-related production). This function as main industrial area of the city lasted only some decades. For this reason, and also because the industrial area was not allowed to grow further, the urban fabric and the materiality of the environment from industrial past remained unchanged for decades and are still well recognizable in several buildings maintaining original shapes. They are the most recognizable elements in Ostiense, drawing a unique industrial urban landscape in the city. This uniqueness questions urban policies not only from the perspective of preservation of the industrial archaeology but also in terms of management and reuse (see ch. 2.2 for more details).

Fig. 2 - The urban landscape of Ostiense marked by the presence of industrial buildings and structures

The second strand of research deals with urban projects and hypothesis of transformation formulated for the area. Mainly planners and architects fed the production of this strand of knowledge. From this body of work emerges how, since the beginning of the deindustrialization, which started after WWII, the most important building areas are still waiting for proper rehabilitation and re-use. Since the 90’s they have been seen as a laboratory where to experiment and prefigure new urban configuration.

One of the most fertile research in this respect was sponsored by the Municipality of Rome during the elaboration phase of the Urban Plan currently in force. In that period (90’s, early 2000’s) the City Council commissioned to a group of expert belonging to the Department of Architecture of Roma Tre the proposal for the Urban Regeneration Project of the Area –Progetto Urbano Ostiense Marconi (Canciani 2004).

⁹ Web site: http://croma.uniroma3.it/
¹⁰ Web site: http://aut.uniroma3.it/
It aimed to define a coherent vision for the area as a whole, resulting in a strategic urban regeneration plan which was embodied in the new Urban Plan of Rome (Comune di Roma, 2000). The latter recognizes the contemporary values of industrial architecture and extends the notion of conservation from the city centre to the historical city, enlarging the conservation boundaries and encompassing Ostiense (Madgin, 2010). Shortly, the New Urban Plan fosters the idea that heritage has moved out of the centre and that the historic quality of the city should be seen in a larger area rather than just within its historical core. In this way it anticipates the main principle of the UNESCO Recommendation. To address the challenging needs coming from such enlargement of the heritage principle, according with the Recommendation, it would be also necessary to strengthen the role of the public in governing complex transformations as well as to reconnect elements from disconnected urban space. However, at present, urban regeneration policy has not been capable of strategically re-functionalize the former industrial area which lays in state of abandonment. In the absence of a strong strategic and coherent vision, some interventions of rehabilitation have been completed; they assume different approaches in order to finalize projects of re-use, introducing new functions in the area such as residential, advanced tertiary oriented to leisure and night economy. Consequently, while the original urban fabric was the result of a unified coherent vision, the contemporary layout is the result of a set of variegated and fragmented actions. From a physical and material perspective Ostiense reflects a variety of approaches to safeguard: restoration, conservation, rehabilitation and re-funzionalization (Martegani, 1980).

To summarize, the literature review about Ostiense shows how the main work on the area relates the historical configuration and its development from an physical perspective, in terms of urban and architectural points of view. On the other side, studies concerning social and anthropological issues focussed more on the surrounding neighbourhoods.

2.2 Brief history of the neighbourhood

Ostiense is a very recognizable area in terms of urban development, for some highly connotated elements, namely:
- the presence and density of “industrial archaeology”;
- the closeness to the city centre (1 kilometre far from Aurelian wall);
- the massive intervention of public and private actors in terms of building infrastructures, housing, factories.

The area was devoted to host industrial and housing functions since the Italian Unification and the consequent decision to locate in Rome the capital of the new country, in 1870-1871. The industrial vocation was already present in the previous government of the city: Pope Pius IX, in 1863, inaugurated the “Ponte dell’Industria”, an iron bridge on the Tiber river dedicated to the industry. Later, a Committee of Architects and Engineers selected this area during the provisional government of the new-born Capital. In 1873, the General Plan identified the Testaccio plain, as the area for industrial development. It was located inside the walls - close to Ostiense - and already hosted the big Slaughterhouse of the city, “Mattatoio”. The development of Testaccio neighbourhood took place since the end of XIX Century until the 30s. The Testaccio industrial development can be considered as the first step in Ostiense character definition and construction, due to their proximity. The reasons to develop industrial functions in Testaccio, in fact, are the same that led to choose Ostiense in the next years. The two areas closed to crucial connections, such as:
- the historical city center;
- the Tiber river, which was used for transportation and for the connection with Ostia harbour;
- via Ostiense, the road connecting Rome with the sea;
- the railroad, reinforced in 1904 with the construction of Trastevere train station.
Ernesto Nathan, the first Mayor of Rome who was not related with the traditional land lords of the city, put efforts in the construction of the big industrial area in Ostiense since 1909, opening it also to private factories. In few years, several infrastructures and buildings were realised:

- the River Harbour, the Customs buildings, the City Warehouses (1915, architect: Passarelli)
- the Thermo-electrical power station “Montemartini” (1912, arch: Puccioni) and the Gas Power Station, with the Gasometer;
- the City Market (1912-1922, arch: Saffi), and the Agrarian Consortium;
- the public housing neighbourhoods of Testaccio and Garbatella (the latter, surrounding Ostiense).
- several private factories (Molini Biondi, Mira Lanza, Specchi e cristalli, Olea romana, Vetreria Faiella).

Fig. 3 - A view of the Tiber River with the former Magazzini Generali (city warehouses).

Despite the efforts, the industrial production in this area will not last long. In 1931, a new General Plan established that industrial development was not appropriate for the city of Rome. On the other hand, economic development would be achieved through real estate growth, opening to a phase called “housing boom” and producing an incessant real estate speculation. In this way, the Government wanted also to avoid the creation of a strong working-class movement in Rome. According to this new orientation, in 1931, residential buildings were built also in Ostiense area. These choices marked the eccentric development of Rome as European capital city and, in Ostiense, produced a peculiar urban environment: planned by the public actor, open to private initiative and orientated to provide services and jobs for all the city. Quite an interesting exception in Roman area, which is often struggling with real estate speculation.

As explained by one of the main historians of the city, Italo Insolera: “It is not industry to be born in Rome in 1870, similarly to England in XVIII century, France and Germany in the XIX century; it is not a new nation rising together with its cities and its Capital city, similarly to United States. It is the sudden assumption of the nineteenth century right of the city as a place of economic investment, of production, of residence for the bourgeoisie, new executive class of the society” (pg. 368, Insolera, 1980)

In spite of the relative short span of time for the realisation of Ostiense, during the beginning of Twentieth century the landscape of this huge part of the city changed dramatically. The simultaneous, thoughtful erection of several infrastructures and industrial buildings is still a key-element to understand this peculiar historic urban landscape.
3. Research activities

The research was developed adopting an interdisciplinary approach and mixing different methods mainly related to a combination of socio-anthropological analysis with a specific focus on spatial issues. The research project was implemented through the following phases:

1. First exploration of Roman context and literature review concerning: urban landscapes; urban heritage; urban historical evolution in Rome;
2. Selection of the case study;
3. Desk activities including: literature and grey literature review concerning the urban evolution of the selected area; collection of available Census data;
4. Fieldwork activities, including: semi-structured and in-depth interviews with citizens, experts, local stakeholders (see Appendix: Interviews); activities of mental mapping with RomaTre students; photo ethnography/thematic observation; video archival research;
5. One seminar held for the Master of Environmental Humanities, RomaTre University (15 April 2016) and one intensive workshop entitled “Changing urban landscape and collective memories: a century of work in Ostiense” held in the Department of Architecture, RomaTre University (17-21 October 2016).

In particular, the workshop allowed the research team to organize research results and to discuss them with experts in planning, urban history and architecture. Workshop activities included itineraries and guided explorations, interviews, public debates and screenings of movies and documentaries (see Appendix: Workshop programme). It was hosted by two institutions: the Department of Architecture of Roma Tre University and the audiovisual archive AAMOD (Archivio Audiovisivo del Movimento Operaio e Democratico).

3.1. Methodology: approaches

An implicit hypothesis of the research on Ostiense is that the historical urban landscape is a palimpsest (Corboz, 2001) in continuous transformation and re-semantization. To let such transitory character as well as the changing nature of the case emerge, the research was developed along three different interpretative lines: the objects, the histories and the representations. Such focuses enabled to hold together different perspectives on the same part of the city, considering the various dimensions of the memory and its sources. The neighbourhood was analysed not only in respect to how it is built (its physical dimension) but also in respect to how it is seen, lived and represented by its inhabitants and users.

The first focus is on objects, meaning the architectural artefacts that compose the built environment of Ostiense, and the urban projects and programmes aimed at the transformation of such environment. The focus on objects was instrumental in understanding how public and private actors built and transformed the urban landscape over time. Another objective of the focus was to understand the relationship existing between the planning environment and the historic preservation of the industrial past of the area, to see what traces (Boyer, 1994) of memory were left in the urban transformation process. From a methodological viewpoint, the objects were analysed through:
- a literature review on the industrial development of Ostiense;
- a thematic walk unravelling the history of the main projects of reuse of architectonic artefacts;
- in-depth interviews with experts and protagonists of the latest season of urban planning.

The thematic walk was done during the collaborative workshop held in Roma Tre University in October 2016 with the participation of students. The aim was to explore Ostiense from the point of view of the transformations of the urban landscape. The thematic walk was also aimed at collecting oral testimonies and photographic images, building a heterogeneous collection of materials, called "the sampler of the objects and practices of reuse". In fact, the Ostiense’s industrial decline was faced through a variety of responses ranging from the re-functionalization of brownfields and derelict buildings into public amenities and services, to their transformation into private residential or
commercial premises, up to the controversial and persistent neglect. The sampler of the objects and practices of reuse is the starting point for a reflection on the urban plans and projects that followed one another in Ostiense.

The second focus was on the (plural) histories of the neighbourhood, with the aim of understanding if the traces of the epic industrial period were still contained in the memories of people, or if they were existing only from an aesthetic-formal point of view. Focusing on plural histories of people (inhabitants, experts, workers) considering them as important authoritative sources, means to adopt a micro-approach that questions consolidated and official historical accounts (Portelli, 2007).

In this sense, the histories constitute a narrative representation (De Pieri et al., 2014) that serves as a counterpoint for the built landscape dimension of memory. The aim is to understand what is left of those histories, how single and collective memory is built and how memory itself is re-worked under the influence of urban phenomena that characterizes the neighbourhood.

For the scope of the research, histories are both public memories (Huyssen, 2003), with a focus on the history of social movements, and the individual histories of single inhabitants. To enquire the histories of collective movements the research used a method of archival analysis. In particular, some materials of the audio-visual archive of the “working-class and democratic movement” AAMOD were selected. AAMOD is a precious observatory of the history of the proletarian and sub-proletarian workers’ movement, which has strongly affected the development of Ostiense, both in terms of its physical construction, and in terms of its identity.

For what concerns individual histories, the research used different kinds of interviews. Furthermore, histories were enquired not only through a sociological approach, but also through methods of spatial analysis, developed in particular within the framework of the collaborative workshop done with students. The idea was that of letting arise the spatial dimension of the personal histories of inhabitants and users, trying to identify the past and present mental image of the neighbourhood that they have in mind. In order to do that, students conducted a series of short interviews in the field, from which they subsumed cognitive maps based on the perception that inhabitants and users have of their neighbourhood and of its transformation.

The method used was the one developed by K. Lynch in “The image of the city” (1960) which was originally conceived with the objective of drawing the collective image of a city, through the individuation of its basic elements (paths, edges, districts, nodes, landmarks). Such method was adapted to the finality of the research, identifying other elements (such as places of memory) able to reflect a diachronic perspective. The ultimate objective of Lynch was to improve urban design, and his research was pivoting around the concept of “imageability”, a feature of cities extremely important according to him for the life and wellbeing of inhabitants. Lynch was fascinated about the power and the role of aesthetic on human psychology:

“This book is about the look of cities and whether this look is of any importance, and whether it can be changed. The urban landscape, among its many roles, is also something to be seen, to be remembered, and to delight in” (preface of “The image of the City”)

The third focus was on the representations of the neighbourhood, with particular reference to fiction films. The research moved from the principle that the precondition for a landscape to exist is to be seen and told. For this reason, representation is essential, because it constitutes the cultural perception of a place. Even more, it influences and biases individual perceptions, giving to a place a universal value, in which one can identifies himself.

In the case of Ostiense, the neighbourhood was at the centre of representations that transformed its image in front of the city: it moved from being seen as a lost space (Trancik, 1986) subject to partial

11 Students come from three different courses: “Laboratorio di progettazione architettonica III M” canale A and B I semester and “Il Progetto dello spazio urbano”, Department of Architecture, Roma Tre University
abandonment, to being seen as a desirable place from a commercial perspective, strongly mediatised, a hub for the nightlife (Djament-Tran, 2014).

The representations, in particular those emerging in films, had a role in the construction of collective imageries, and consequently in the construction of the landscape, considered as the object and the product of the action of looking. In other words, the landscape is intended as a place that is seen and thought, the result of the intertwining of physical elements, representations, and collective interpretations (Staszak, 2014). In the case of Ostiense, its transformation in the urban imagery led (or could lead) to processes of social transformation and displacement, which the research tried to decrypt and understand.

From a methodological viewpoint, the research adopted an approach typical of Film Studies, analysing how Ostiense appears in films of the last ’60 years, and how films produced meaning on Ostiense. To this aim, the local research team was assisted by Giacomo Ravesi, an external expert in Film Studies. Moreover, the research encompassed field work and direct observation of the “drawings” found in Ostiense, in terms of all the logos, graffiti, posters, symbols that currently constitutes the spatial grammar of the neighbourhoods.

\[12\] See below Filmography
4. Analysis and interpretation of results

4.1. Objects
The first interpretative line is on Objects. Its main aim is to study the practices of re-use of the industrial heritage of Ostiensre. The history characterizing each selected building has been explored, for its important role in the creation of the industrial identity of the area. The research has gone in depth of every building history to trace each transformation along time. At the same time, it investigated the means that governed or allowed such transformations, producing voluntary or unwilling effects displaying on urban landscape and collective memories. The analysis led to identify three periods in the transformation process, starting after the initial stage of the industrialization at the beginning of the Twentieth century:

i) Ade-industrialization phase with the persistence of a long period of abandonment and waiting (abandonment period)

ii) A phase of some regeneration strategies, taking proper care of the heritage as well as of the urban historic landscape and oriented towards the re-use, namely the restoration and functional adaptation of the Objects. The phase started at the end of the Nineties with the Urban Project Ostiense Marconi (PUOM), with a relevant role played by some public actors (such as the University and the City Council during a long lasting left government) (re-use period)

iii) A more recent and contradictory period, where private stakes gradually took the place of public interest, by renegotiating agreements and exploiting private-led initiatives (renegotiation period).

With this interpretative line, the research has traced the modalities, forms of re-use and times that characterize the different phases of the transformation process for each Object. This complex mosaic has been rendered by a set of re-use samples, synthesized in tables 1 and 2. For each Object, the tables traces the main phases of the transformation, organizing them on a temporal axis (rows) and a different analytic categories (columns).

Table 1 focuses on the construction period and related subjects, on the original function duration, on the abandonment period length, on eventual formal or informal uses after the withdrawal of the original function.

Table 2 concentrates on current uses and properties, on further previsions, on planning means and regulations that governed the transformation, on the forms and the state of the interventions (completed or uncompleted). The last column proposes an interpretation of the current publicness of uses that each objects admits (public, private or state of abandonment).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Original property</th>
<th>Time for construction</th>
<th>Original functions</th>
<th>Year of withdrawal</th>
<th>Waiting time: abandonment</th>
<th>Formal and informal uses during abandonment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Former Mercati Generali</td>
<td>Public Municipality of Rome</td>
<td>1910-1922 (public office - Ing. Saffi)</td>
<td>LOGISTICS: Food storage and distribution</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2000/today 17 years</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Barracks</td>
<td>Public Military Air Force</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>LOGISTICS: Barracks</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Residential squatting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Air Terminal</td>
<td>Public FS Italiane (now private company with100% public capital)</td>
<td>1981-90 building costs: 350 billions liras (public funding) (Arch. La Fuente)</td>
<td>INFRASTRUCTURE: Airport Railway Terminal</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1993/2009 16 years</td>
<td>Temporary cultural events, concerts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Consorzi Agrari</td>
<td>Public Consorzio Agrario Cooperativo di Roma</td>
<td>1920 - 1947 (Ing. T. Passarelli) 1930 - 1940 (enlargement) 1947 (further enlargement)</td>
<td>INFRASTRUCTURE: Storage (known as the &quot;Granary of Rome&quot;)</td>
<td>End of 60's</td>
<td>60's/2010 Around 40 years Transformation time: 2010/ongoing</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Dogana</td>
<td>Public Ministry of Finance</td>
<td>1917 - 1919 (together with Consorzi Agrari) (Ing. T. Passarelli)</td>
<td>LOGISTICS: Customs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Federation Consorzi Agrari</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Consortio Agrario Cooperativo di Roma</td>
<td>1919 (together with Costoms) (Ing. T. Passarelli)</td>
<td>INFRASTRUCTURE: Storage</td>
<td>End of 60's</td>
<td>60's/2000 Around 30 years II Transformation 2014/ongoing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Mira Lanza</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Società Prodotti chimici, colle e concimi then Società Mira Lanza (1918) (private company)</td>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>INDUSTRIAL: Stearin Candles Factory</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1955/1994 39 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Mulini Biondi</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Società Italiana Molini e Panifici Antonio Biondi (Mills and bakeries) (private company)</td>
<td>1907 (enlargement of existing Mulino Städlin - 1885)</td>
<td>INDUSTRIAL: Flours Factory</td>
<td>End of 50's</td>
<td>1960/2002 42 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Centrale Montemartini</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Municipality of Rome</td>
<td>1911-1912</td>
<td>LOGISTICS: Electricity production and distribution</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1960/1989 29 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Italgas</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Società Anglo-Romana per l'illuminazione di Roma, then Società romana gas (private company)</td>
<td>1908-1912 1936 (Big Gazometer)</td>
<td>INDUSTRIAL: Electric factory (ACEA); Gas factory (ITALGAS)</td>
<td>Phasing out since 60's</td>
<td>60's - 70's/today Around 40 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Magazzini Generali</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Municipality of Rome</td>
<td>1909 - 1912 (Ing. T. Passarelli)</td>
<td>LOGISTICS: Storage</td>
<td>End of 70's</td>
<td>End of 70's/1985 Around 15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vetrerie Riunite Angelo Bordoni di S. Paolo</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Ditta Angelo Bordoni (private company)</td>
<td>Early '900</td>
<td>INDUSTRIAL: Glass factory</td>
<td>Demolished in the 80's</td>
<td>1980/1998 18 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 - Transformation and re-use of the former industrial objects in Ostiense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Current Property</th>
<th>Current activity</th>
<th>Further previsions</th>
<th>State of transformation</th>
<th>Means of transformation</th>
<th>Forms of transformation</th>
<th>Current uses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Former Mattatoio</td>
<td>Roma Tre University, Municipality of Rome and other public properties (public)</td>
<td>Educational: Roma Tre Cultural: Città dell'Altra Economia + Macro Abandoned areas</td>
<td>Educational (Academy of fine arts)</td>
<td>Uncompleted partial crisis of existing activities</td>
<td>Ostiense-Marconi Urban Project Use Plan for the Ex-Mattatoio</td>
<td>Restoration Functional renovation</td>
<td>Public Abandonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Mercati Generali</td>
<td>Municipality of Rome –“Sviluppo Centro Ostiense Srl” (concession holder) (public)</td>
<td>Public offices in the &quot;fence&quot; Abandoned areas (university + local services in the Urban Project)</td>
<td>Commercial (&gt;70%) Cultural, Public and Private Services, Food and beverage, Tourist accommodation</td>
<td>Uncompleted Abandoned after demolition</td>
<td>Ostiense-Marconi Urban Project Design competition</td>
<td>Partial renovation (Recinto) Partial demolition</td>
<td>Public (decreasing) Abandonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Barracks</td>
<td>State (public)</td>
<td>Residential squattering</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Renovation – urban Art (Blu’s mural)</td>
<td>Collective (Squatted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Air Terminal</td>
<td>NTV - private railway company and EATaly Selling price: 10,8Me (private)</td>
<td>Commercial: EATaly food and beverage mall</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>Ostiense-Marconi Urban Project Programme Agreement</td>
<td>Functional renovation</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Former Dogana</strong></td>
<td><strong>Logistics: Customs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Maintained public service</strong></td>
<td><strong>Restoration and functional renovation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Public</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Former Federazione Consorzi Agrari</strong></td>
<td><strong>Commercial: &quot;City of Taste&quot; Gambero Rosso</strong></td>
<td><strong>Completed and revised (Piano casa - further demolition and renovation)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Demolition and rebuilding (in both transformations)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Private</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Former Mira Lanza</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cultural: India Theatre</strong></td>
<td><strong>Uncompleted</strong></td>
<td><strong>Restoration (Theatre) Demolition and re-building for further interventions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Public</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Former Mulini Biondi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Residential Commerce</strong></td>
<td><strong>Completed</strong></td>
<td><strong>Private investments Restoration (volumes and facades) functional adaptation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Private</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Former Centrale Montemartini</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cultural: Montemartini museum; AAMOD - audiovisual archive of</strong></td>
<td><strong>Completed</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ostienese - Marconi Urban Project Restoration Functional adaptation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Public</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Italgas</td>
<td>ITALGAS, ENEL (private companies) ACEA (public Company)</td>
<td>Private Services (ITALGAS offices) most area is abandoned</td>
<td><strong>Cultural</strong>: Science museum <strong>Educational</strong>: Roma Tre University library</td>
<td><strong>Uncompleted</strong></td>
<td>Ostiense - Marconi Urban Project (lack of implementing tool)</td>
<td>Restoration Partial Demolition and re-building</td>
<td>Private Abandonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Magazzini Generali</td>
<td>Ministry of the Interior</td>
<td><strong>Public Services</strong> (fire service) <strong>Educational</strong> (La Sapienza University)</td>
<td><strong>Completed</strong></td>
<td>Public purchase</td>
<td>Restoration Functional renovation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vetrerie Riunite Angelo Bordoni di S. Paolo</td>
<td>Roma Tre University</td>
<td><strong>Educational</strong> (University: law faculty and Rectorate)</td>
<td><strong>Completed</strong></td>
<td>Ostiense-Marconi Urban Project Programme Agreements</td>
<td>Re-building</td>
<td></td>
<td>Public</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The tables allow a comparative reading of the transformation of all objects. They also allow to explore the relationship among the different processes and to develop some analytical aspects relating to re-use, conservation and transformation of the Ostiense industrial landscape.

One of the emerging issue is the **widenss and length of the abandonment process.** The analysis and comparison of the trajectory of the single buildings discloses how short the industrial and productive destiny of the area has been as well as how shortly-lasted the public interest which governed its industrial development. As described in chapter 2.2, Ostiense was developed to become the industrial and logistics node of the Capital City at the beginning of the Twentieth century. Most of the industrial sites were built within the first twenty years of the ’900. In the second half of the century, a relevant de-industrialization and delocalization process started: the area lost its historical functions without assuming new characters. In most cases, the de-industrialization rapidly spread at the half of the century between the 50’s and the 60’s. At the end of 70’s the Italgas (the gas district), the Magazzini Generali (the general warehouses), the Mattatoio (the city slaughterhouse) and the Mira Lanza (a soap factory), the Centrale Montemartini (the electricity district), the Consorzi Agrari (Agrarian Consortia and their Federation) were all dismantled. The Mercati Generali (General Markets) remained active until 2000, when they were definitively moved outside the city, within the “Agro-Food Centre of Rome” located in the municipality of Guidonia. Moreover, the football world cup in 1990 was the occasion to build a new railway node with the scope to link Ostiense station to the Fiumicino Airport (Air Terminal Ostiense). It operated for three years, then it turned abandoned, waiting for new functions.

As confirmed by the interviews, these dynamics produced a **large abandoned territory which turned to be** at the same time a huge opportunity for the **development of a public discourse about the regeneration and re-use** of the area and an attractive occasion for private investments. Since the de-industrialization, Ostiense has become the stage for different re-use practices, regeneration planning, reshaping of meanings and testing of design approaches and urban spaces reinventions. In order to face the challenge of re-producing and re-creating meanings for Ostiense and its Objects, the Municipality of Rome produced a very ambitious vision for the future of the whole area based on collective bargaining. The Regulatory Plan and the PUOM (developed in 1999 and revised in 2003) clearly defines the boundaries and modalities of a regeneration process based on public interests and the inclusion of the key players, providing a regulatory framework to lead the expected transformation process.

The PUOM vision on regeneration, indeed, reflects the political season of 2000’s in Rome, which was focused on cultural policies as a mean to regenerate peripheries. In this period, project of re-use such as the India Theatre, the Centrale Montemartini, the MACRO Museum have been completed. Besides, the direct intervention of few public key players led to the re-use and functional adaptation of the Former Magazzini Generali (by the Ministry of the Interior), now hosting the fire training services and of the Dogana (by the National Customs Agency), maintaining its function after renovation. Moreover, into this vision the University of Roma Tre became the main public driver the renovation and re-use of many former factories along via Ostiense. The localization of Roma Tre stimulated a huge research on the area and produced relevant documents on the conversion of industrial sites and heritage issues.

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13 For the public and planning discourses we refer to the interview with experts: Giorgio Piccinato, Francesco Cellini and Michele Furnari; while for the private interests we refer to the interview with the architect Angelo Palloni.

Despite this public effort, the ambition of the PUOM seemed to lack the proper means of implementation. Rules and criteria for transformations have been often revised with growing protection of the private stakes and breaking the balance of foreseen intended uses. Although a comprehensive regeneration strategy has been produced, with strong public lead, the analysis of public administrative documents unveils the weakness of public management during the implementation of most transformations and of the regeneration process as a whole. The consequences are visible in terms of fragmented and isolated functional renovations, demolitions of buildings of archaeological value. Moreover, several areas are still abandoned and inaccessible.

As the interview with Francesco Cellini, Architect and Professor at Roma Tre University, points out, the vision for the area changed over time. The PUOM was oriented to the re-use of the former industrial heritage with core in the Mattatoio and Mercati Generali, which were supposed to host public functions: “for us who thought it, the PUOM was university and culture. The most updated version of the project was anyhow oriented to young generation, together with some commercial function. Now, the project foresees a pure shopping mall”. (Cellini, interview date 18-10-2017).

As years passed by, the strength of the public discourse and the active control and engagement of local associations and citizens weakened. Today, the overarching strategy of the PUOM and its vision has been left behind. A long-lasting abandonment provide justification for anew phase of renegotiation: a process of ad hoc variants and agreements based on private interest and single interventions. This phase of renegotiation opens the path to potential erasure of memories, with practices of demolitions that neglect the historical value of the urban environment. In this respect, the example of Mercati Generali is particularly interesting. These big markets, which were supposed to be transformed and reused since 2002, are still abandoned and have been partially demolished. While the initial regeneration process, designed by the archistar Rem Koolhaas, which was oriented towards the creation of a big shopping mall, had been criticized for envisaging “a sort of voluntary obliviousness of the spirit of the place “based on Koolhaas’ vision of the “generic city” standing “outside of time and history” (Preite, 2012, p.189), the site is now subject of another process of memory erasure, caused by long-term abandonment. Alessandro, a young man who was interviewed in the street expressed it this way:
Here in Ostiense it is all stationary, like elsewhere in Italy. There would be the need of a change for young people (...). I don’t know what will happen there, I always see these areas abandoned and with nothing happening (Alessandro, interview date 19-10-2017)

The interviews testified that as soon as the public discourse regarding the re-use of the historical urban landscape weakened, the capacity of some buildings to contribute to a collective memory was gradually lost. However, in this respect, Cellini points out how memory endures in the materiality of the buildings while it tends to disappear in social representations. In his opinion, it is important to avoid demolition, which constitutes the end of the memory’s materiality, and to practice re-use as a matter of responsibility toward collective memory.

Fig. 5 - The current status of abandonment of Mercati Generali (October 2016)

The current histories of objects and of re-use practices narrate a delicate balance among maintenance, conservation, protection of the public interest and the growing risk of land speculation. The latter, occurring throughout the area, exploits the emptiness left by a long-lasting abandonment that produced a potential ground rent and facilitates a general acceptance of any transformation, independently from their qualities and abilities to deal with urban memories.

The renegotiation phase also leads, in several cases, to a new abandonment caused by implementation failures and continuous revision of actors and functions to be hosted.

The means of implementation based on a public/private partnership degenerated into a very particular dynamic, that is possible to recognize also in other parts of the city, and that we can summarize as a ‘never ending revision of agreements’. For instance, concession holders requested, and in most cases obtained, changes in functions and increases in volumes to be built. Such requests were accounted for the economic crisis and were accompanied by the menace of abandonment of the already existing building sites. At the same time, as a result of the crisis and land management, the transfer of volumes due to equalization mechanism\textsuperscript{15}, stimulated the return of real estate capitals in central areas, looking for safe investments. Equalization mechanisms also produce cases like the Former Mira Lanza, where the Public Park has to be built by the same concession holder of the Former Consorzi Agrari. To guarantee the creation of the Park, it asked and obtained increased volumes (from five to nine floors) in the Consorzi and the demolition of the original buildings, except for the main entrance, to be kept

\textsuperscript{15} The equalization mechanism (“perequazione”) is a method adopted by the New General Plan of Rome to enforce buildings rights and move them from one location to another in the city.
as the logo of the new building, PortoFluviale71. The Park will hopefully be built when the Former Consortia transformation will be completed, but this attitude is to be intended as a misleading and deviated form of public-private partnership, where the public completely lost the ability of managing transformations.

![Image of PortoFluviale71]

**Fig. 6 - The Consorzi Agrari: works of demolition and reconstruction with the original main entrance.**

In the current renegotiation period, the private real estate companies become the main actors in re-use and transformation practices in some of the most representative areas of Ostiense. The peculiar and unusual historical urban landscape which made Ostiense “special” compared to the most common image of the city, recently turned it to be very appealing. With the weakening of the urban project as an organic mean of transformation, the industrial landscape is used as an ‘appealing mask’ for selling an urban brand depicted in the iconic iron bridge and the gasometer logos.

However, the mask is indifferent to contradictions of local and social histories and memories. It produces an un-historical landscape, attracting private investments and deleting all those memories which can’t be converted into commodities. Current functions show a complete delocalization and outsourcing of production from the area, leaving the place to tertiarization and leisure industry, particularly food and beverage. Such changes affect the everyday life and the rhythm of old and new inhabitants and city users. They also impact on how this former industrial territory is perceived and narrated.

*When the general markets were functioning, there was a sound movement of people going to work; a positive movement. A vital traffic, the traffic of work! Now the neighbourhood is used by people coming just to eat and drink.* (Alessandro, newspaper seller, interview of the 20-10-2016).
Moreover, this current changing phase unveils the gradual disappearance of affordable apartments in Ostiense. Not randomly, in the heart of the neighbourhood still stand and resist some residential squatting proposing an alternative discourse on regeneration as self-construction issues (Former Barracks at Porto Fluviale and Alexis along Via Ostiense). They aim at counterbalancing the increase of rents, to which also the University localization contributed, and the eviction of the most vulnerables from the area, particularly lonely elderly people, unemployed and migrants. (Interview with Sportello Diritti del VIII Municipio 01-02-2017).
4.2. Histories
The second interpretative line is about histories. Its aim is to explore the main official and unofficial histories mobilized to confer identity to the neighbourhood. Ostiense evokes two fundamental narratives of Italian and Roman contemporary history: the Resistance against nazi-fascism and the role of working class and Labour Movement in the making of Italian social history. In this respect, it is important to stress that the story of the Labour Movement, such as the story of Resistance, is not part of the traditional image of the city of Rome (see the introduction in Mordenti & Co, 2013). It is also important to underline the fact that these memories are still very much controversial at the national level. For John Foot, “public bodies have rarely been able to build agreed memory narratives and practices” regarding these specific topics. As a result, “there has been no closure, no “truth”, and little reconciliation” (Foot, 2009, p.1).

Since the Fascism, the national government decided to avoid the industrial development in Rome, considering the Labour movement and the communist part as a potential threat to the existence of the Italian national identity. Instead of industrial production, the city of Rome would be developed along the trajectories of building and tertiary sector. This approach was substantially unchallenged during the Twentieth century and it was reinforced by the image of the city prompted by the national government (Pagnotta, 2009). In Ostiense, this decision produced the peculiar urban space described above (see Palazzo, in D'Errico, Travaglini, 2012, pp.363).

Both the Resistance and the Labour Movement history, are translated into peculiar ways through the material and immaterial experience of the city of Rome. Firstly, Rome had a peculiar destiny during the Second World War: it was declared "città aperta" (open city), on August 14th 1943 by the Italian government. The decision followed the official cessation of Allied bombing, in order to avoid other destructions. At the same time, it declared the impossibility of a proper defence. Few weeks later, the city was primly occupied by Nazis soldiers, since the liberation by Anglo-American Army at the beginning of June 1944.

Roman resistance during Nazis occupation was characterised by collective and individuals acts of civil disobedience, with high percentage of draft evaders and by few military actions organised by partisan groups: an everyday story of surviving and sabotage, more than a monumental piece of "History". In Rome, the visibility and the rhetoric of this part of the story of the city is partially hidden. Other memories, as we already said, are exploited and monumentalized to represent the past of the city. One of the few existing and monumental examples in the city is the big Mausoleum of Ardeatine Caves, were the Nazis killed 335 people, then mining the cliffs to make the cave collapsing, in March 1944 (for a description of those days, see for example Morelli, 2012).

Another important example is situated in Ostiense, at the main historical access to the area, Porta San Paolo (St. Paul Gate). Here, in September 1943, a fight took place among Nazis, troops which were invading the city, and the last Italian troops attempting to protect the city, even if conscious to fight against an incredibly bigger Army. Every year, ANPI (National Association of Italian Partisans) organises the national celebration of Italian Liberation Day on 25th of April here in the area of Porta San Paolo. This is one of the main ritual events taking place in the Capital city, associated with the memory of Second World War and Resistance. No other ritual events linked to collective memories take place in Ostiense, only a few in Rome in general. Despite its importance, no trace of this event emerged by the interviews.
A second aspect is related to the history of the Labour Movement, which is crucial in the history of contemporary Italy. The image of Ostiense as "factory neighbourhood" is quite evident: the legacy of its past industrial is still enormously marking the urban landscape (see ch. 2.2 and 4.1). Looking at Ostiense from above, it is clear that its residential part is structured to be secondary and interstitial compared to the space occupied by industrial, infrastructural, logistic areas. As observed by Falcioni (in D'Errico, Travaglini, 2012, p.171):

"Whereas rione (Testaccio, editor’s note), closed by its surrounding walls, reaches building completeness and firmness together with demographic/housing capacity very early at the beginning of the century, Ostiense’s transformation from suburban rural strip into urban neighbourhood takes place in different times and stages. Thus confirming the nature and projection of the industrial role for this portion of Rome’s periphery”.

Moreover, together with the main industrial infrastructures (see ch. 3.1.), it is important to consider the presence of a dense fabric of small enterprises, artisan laboratories, mechanics, small shops, all of them contributing in making Ostiense the “factory neighbourhood” of Rome. According to Falcioni, the population dynamic of Ostiense can be divided in two: a first phase, from the end of XIX Century to the end of the WWII, in which the rare inhabitants were mainly part of the working class, proletarian or sub-proletarian, operating in the big industrial sites as well as in all the satellite activities. A second phase, in which the city expresses more clearly its tertiary trajectories and in which also the population of Ostiense, as well as the population of Viale Marconi (West side) and Viale Cristoforo Colombo (East side), experienced the increase of the middle class, even if mainly lower middle class. Secondary data analysis also shows that the trend of demographic growth slows down during Seventies and Eighties, together with the disappearance of the fabric of small enterprises, damaged by the closures of the big productive infrastructures. According with the interviews in this phase, the production of abandonment results in a sense of "absence" which started to prevail over the permanence and presence of industrial and logistic activities. The emptiness of spaces prevails over the crowd and noisiness of work’s rhythms, with the significant exception of Mercati Generali.

The image of Ostiense as "factory neighbourhood" is told and represented also by the presence of the "Archivio Audiovisivo del Movimento Operaio e Democratico" (AAMOD16, Audio-visual Archive of the Worker and Democratic Movement), which is a public access audio-visual archive born in 1979 to collect all the materials hold by the Italian Communist Party and then developing activities in the field of audiovisual research, collection, preservation and promotion, focusing on historical and social changes of the contemporary world. For our purposes, it is important to say that this archive is

16 See AAMOD website: http://www.aamod.it/
one of the richest custodian of the industrial and working past of the area. The archive gives access to several documentaries showing Ostiense in full activity in the span of Thirties and Fifties, mainly with the purpose to show the energy characterising a city in full bloom, at the pick of its demographic growth.

Through its documentaries and its commitment to social movements, the archive testifies the importance of some places of Ostiense, and in particular the square in front of Pyramid Metro Station. The area was, and it still is, the core place for social protests and collective claims for rights, especially, during Sixties and Seventies, concerning working class conditions (interviews to Letizia Cortini and Paola Scarnati, AAMOD archive).

A special episode, in which, for the first time, Italian police used the cavalry against its own citizens, is narrated in the short documentary "Memoria di carica" (memory of the attack), realised by Paolo Palermo (2012, see bibliography and filmography). People in the documentary described the sense of violence, astonishment and fear, but also the pride to be part of those movements, claiming for more fair working and living condition.

Fig. 10 - The police, attacking people with cavalry in a frame of the documentary “Memoria di carica”.

Together with these official narratives, which are at the same time fascinating and unusual for Rome, there are other views of the neighbourhood deserving attention (interviews to Letizia Cortini and Paola Scarnati, AAMOD archive). They are not in contrast with the official ones, but they allow a more nuanced view of the social imaginaries of Ostiense. A clear manifesto of this more nuanced view is provided by Pier Paolo Pasolini, who filmed in 1970 the strike of scopini (waste collectors), in its audiovisual work "Appunti per un romanzo sull'immondezza" (Notes for a novel on the waste). Pasolini wanted to show the relevance of a sub-proletarian work and world, partially invisible even at the eyes of the labour movement and totally unacknowledged by the Romans (a clear and poetic example is in "Il pianto della Scavatrice, by Pier Paolo Pasolini, published in "Le ceneri di Gramsci" - "Gramsci's Ashes", in 1957). Same destiny of invisibility for the workers of the Officine Gas San Paolo (Gas factories San Paolo), who often were people serving a life sentence and sharing the huge risks of illnesses and accidents with other workers. In some of the movie representations of Ostiense (see ch. 3.3), we had some confirmations of this suggestion. This sub-proletarian nature of the neighbourhood - much less organised and less represented than the working class one - has also emerged in the description of the neighbourhood of some of the experts we interviewed, such as Francesco Cellini:
During the Sixties, I had not the understanding that this was a working-class’s neighbourhood, but it was a quarter populated by workers from two industries (o plants?), one of which was the slaughterhouse. The slaughterhouse was working well; there were many taverns connected to its resources, in which its left-overs were cooked as typical “frattaglie”. Many people were employed there. The second plant was the General Market, a very interesting structure, operating only at night. From 8am onwards they would clean it up, from the 8pm the market was fully functional. There were goods arriving, then the nocturnal bargaining would take place finally the market sellers would arrive. It was a very important urban device, very popular. It was not a manufacturing place, it was more a food space. Both the railway and water infrastructures were used to those two urban service industries, that are now completely disappeared, they do not exist anymore.

The neighbourhood had primarily a logistic function, made of white coated workers in charge of loading and unloading goods and meat.

Perhaps, and according to Cellini, the activity of Mercati Generali marked the memories of people and the social landscape of the neighbourhood more significantly than the industrial past - it last much longer and it was highly impacting the local everyday life.

There is a gap between the official memories telling of a working class and of a proud factory neighbourhood and those emerging from the interviews with the inhabitants. The latter tell about a more nuanced and complex environment, reframing that: “This is not a beautiful neighbourhood... What difference with Garbatella? An enormous one, an abyss more than a difference, I would say. Garbatella: the sky; Ostiense: the earth. Garbatella is old fashioned, built for well – living, infact all people know each other; Ostiense is rather new, it is not a neighbourhood. (A group of residents, interview date 10-10-2016)

Indeed, several interviewed, when asked to describe their everyday life experience in Ostiense, underlined this difference, considering Ostiense more as an area, an interstitial part of the city in the middle of something else, than as a "real neighbourhood". Moreover, the neighbourhood has changed so rapidly that is it not recognizable as such:

At a certain point factories disappeared, I cannot tell when that happened, maybe in the Sixties... they destroyed everything. Then life changes, nowadays we do not know each other among us. Nowadays is not a neighbourhood anymore. (pharmacist Marchetti, interview date 16-10-2016)

It is interesting to note that the origins of the negative features assigned to Ostiense have often been linked, in the interviews, to a very distant past that predated the industrial period. These original elements include the presence of an old, sacred but somehow sinister arm of the river, now almost invisible (l’Almone) or the presence of a necropolis on the underground, near the Basilica San Paolo. Such memorial references, that sometimes completely overlay more recent historical events, recall the notion of mémoire longue (long memory) proposed by Françoise Zonabed (1999). It would be interesting to further analyzes such phenomenon, which is not rare when looking at popular narratives, in order to understand how it is transmitted and if we can formulate an hypothesis about its social function.

4.2.1 Mental maps

The interpretative line on Histories has been enriched using mental maps methods. In order to explore neighbourhood’s histories, the research adopted a spatial perspective and highlighted the relationship between perception and memory and the physical elements that constitutes the neighbourhood.

The mental maps allow an exploration of the mental image that citizens have of the city: how inhabitants perceive the city; how can the image of a city be represented; what are the basic elements that constitute the urban structure in its mental representation? Mental maps are especially important because they contribute to the development of a perspective on the city starting from the inhabitants, considering them as key interlocutors when analysing and transforming the city. In this way, the
viewpoint of inhabitants is considered as repository of a specific and important knowledge of the city. Furthermore, this method contributes to disentangling the relationship between the form of the physical environment and the social and economic structures. According to Lynch (1960), such relationship is not direct and linear, but on the contrary, it is much more complex, indirect and contradictory, because the link between space and social behaviour is mediated by perception.

The research in Rome used mental mapping in order to explore the historical urban landscape of Ostiense, how it emerges from the perception of inhabitants and city users. To do that, the research was developed through collaborative workshops with students with the aim of building original and collaborative knowledge. The method used by students consisted in collecting three different kinds of mental maps. The first type were mental maps produced directly by themselves, based on their personal observation of the neighbourhood (Figure 2). The second were collective mental maps subsumed from the results of a series of short interviews done in the field with inhabitants and city users (Figure 3). The third type consists of maps directly drawn by inhabitants (Figure 4).

Fig. 11 - Examples of mental maps drawn by students. Andrea Tomasinio, Fabiola Lippi, Gaia Guiducci, Federico Marchetti, Maria Paola Marciano, Claudia Espiérrez, Clara Vila

17 Participants were nearly 50 students of Architecture, of Roma Tre University (except one of La Sapienza University and some Erasmus students), who participated to the Workshop held in October 2016, and to the Course of Urban Design (Progetto dello Spazio Urbano) of the Master Degree in Urban Design
Fig. 12 - Examples of collective mental maps based on the sum of a series of interviews to inhabitants and city users. The one on the left was drawn by Giuseppe Pepe, Leonardo Cannizzo, Daniele Sandri, Luca Conte, Dor Cohen, Anna Major, Maria Saiz and BerinErgi.

Fig. 13 - Mental maps drawn by inhabitants and city users. Collected by Flavia Rizzuto, Lorenzo Lecce, Karim Dimashki, Marco di Flavio, Philippe Audemard D’Alancon, Rita Nocita, Debora D’Attilio, Francesca Luciani.

In its research, Lynch discovered that the mental map of a city can be structured in a few basic elements which are: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. In their work, students, who were familiar with Lynch approach, used his elements in a flexible way, stretching their meaning (for example district were more generally intended as homogeneous areas) and adding new categories (for example places of memory).

During fieldwork, students tried to intercept a variety of people covering a diverse sample in terms of age, gender, place of residency, profession. The questions were partially derived from the research protocol of the local research team and partially focusing on Lynch’s method (for example, where do you gather in the neighbourhood, can you indicate a place/building which is significant for you).

The results tried to understand how strong the image of Ostiense’s urban landscape is today, what elements are composing it, and how do such images change according to different categories of people.
It emerged that the neighbourhood is strongly defined by Via Ostiense. This, in fact, is its main path, which was clearly present in almost all the maps and interviews. The perception of Via Ostiense is however varying, depending on the localization of the viewpoint: in some cases, it is perceived as a main commercial axis, in other cases as a barrier due to the traffic and the inadequacy of safe pedestrian corridors. The description of other minor paths depends on the daily life habits of those living and working in the area. The more cited streets were especially those around the old industrial core of the neighbourhood, linked today with commerce and food industry: Via del Porto Fluviale, Via Pellegrino Matteucci, Via del Gazometro, Via Libetta, Via Francesco Negri. Other mentioned streets were Viale Marconi or Via Baldelli, which connects Ostiense with other relevant districts.

So, if the neighbourhood is clearly defined by Via Ostiense, less clear are its effective boundaries. In the majority of cases, the elements that defines Ostiense are landmarks, such as the Pyramid to the north and the Basilica di San Paolo to the south. In some cases, the main mobility infrastructures (the railways, Via Ostiense) were perceived as edges. Nevertheless, the major edge in all maps is the Tiber River, not only because it constitutes a visible edge, but also because it is perceived as unsafe. The River appears clearly in proximity of Porto Fluviale, where it is crossed by the bridge, but it disappears from people’s descriptions in the southern part, towards San Paolo. Moreover, it is interesting to notice how many inhabitants looked at the river and its banks as a resource not well exploited, potential green space that should be object of rehabilitation.

In maps both nodes and districts were weak categories, which don’t strongly contribute to the imageability of Ostiense. Nodes should be places of meeting and encounter, but the lack of such places, like veritable squares, made crossroads the only perceived nodes, such as the one between Via Ostiense and Via del Porto Fluviale. Besides that, the bigger nodes coincide with the metro stations (Piramide to the north, and San Paolo to the south). Furthermore, Ostiense is not considered a veritable neighbourhood: it is a fragmented area, that does not have a homogeneous fabric. In other words, it lacks of identifiable districts. When pushed to talk about districts, inhabitants quoted other neighbourhoods that are located at the boundaries of Ostiense: Testaccio, Garbatella, San Paolo and Marconi. The only parts that have stronger identity, and that were identified as homogeneous areas, are the residential areas along Via del Gazometro and Via Negri.
Fig. 14 - The former neighbourhood of workers of the Italgas

This does not mean that Ostiense completely lack of imageability. On the contrary, interviewees were able to describe it in a consistent manner, and to orient themselves easily. It seems that such imageability is built mainly upon single points and focal views, upon landmarks. Some landmarks were extremely recurrent, clearly identified, and used as reference points also from the distance. Examples of those are the Gasometer, the Pyramid Caestia, the San Paolo cathedral, the Settimia Spizzichino bridge. Other were minor landmarks, linked with everyday life practices, and for this reason much more different according to the interviewees such as pubs and clubs of via Libetta, Eataly, Roma Tre University, Testaccio market.

Some landmarks were also places of memory which today have lost their function, such as Mercati Generali, or that completely disappeared such as the fountain in Piazzale dei Partigiani. What is interesting in this sense, is that all interviewees were able to describe places of change, but the range of such places was extremely different according to the age and role (inhabitant/user) of the interviewees. Young people and students tended to describe a recent (short term) process of transformation, while older inhabitants talked about a more distant past (long term), linked with the industrial vocation and the social and political movements. In order to represent the last category in the maps some students identify them as “places of memory”.

Concluding, it is interesting to notice how another category emerged from the interviews that was not included in the maps, but that we could call: places of desire or of opportunity. That is to say, all those places which are potential resources for citizens - as services or social and gathering spaces - but that today are not accessible, because of abandonment or lack of rehabilitation.

4.3. Representations

The third interpretative line is about Representations. Its aim is to explore the way in which Ostiense has been represented by intellectuals and movie makers. For them, the condition of permanent
dynamic between use and abandonment, full and empty, planned and undefined makes Ostiense a special set.

The reason to explore this perspective on Ostiense is related to the role of artistic production in the construction of contemporary urban landscapes. According to the idea that there is no landscape without a human eye and human interpretation, artistic production is able to produce connections between the physical aspects of the living environment and the feelings, histories and memories of human collectivities and also to give them new meanings and interpretations. In the case of Ostiense, this transformation of the urban imaginaries was in the last years also functional to processes of social transformations and changes in the general use of the neighbourhood, its image and its rhythms. Contemporary representations portrait Ostiense as a new, “cool” neighbourhood where multiple lives style and identities coexist and overlap with the traditional working class identity.

For this part, we refer and interact with the outcomes of the seminar led by Dr. Giacomo Ravesi, film critic, that took place during the workshop (see ch.3.3).

From a methodological viewpoint, Ravesi adopted an approach typical of Film Studies, analysing how Ostiense appears in films of the last ‘60 years, and how films produced meanings on Ostiense. In particular, this relation has been explored observing the connections between communities, their myths and the setting; how the social classes are represented in a state of continuous change and how they are inhabiting Ostiense. More generally, we discuss the reason why a movie-maker decides to set a movie in Ostiense, which were the most important landmarks and which emotional connections are established between them and the characters.

According to Ravesi, a first, unavoidable, starting point is Pier Paolo Pasolini. In one of his most famous movies set in Rome, “Accattone”, the main character died exactly on one of the bridges crossing the Tiber in the area of Ostiense-Testaccio. For Pasolini, the dichotomy centre-periphery is crucial and socially relevant. He stresses it, as Ravesi said, up to its idealization. In Pasolini’s view, this dichotomy acquires a secular mystic for which the “poorest die in city centre” where they challenge death. The city centre is the place where to earn some money illegally, taking very high risks. Despite its relevance, this dichotomous view can be considered also as overpassed, especially if we look at Ostiense and the ways in which has been represented, especially from the Nineties. More than a static dichotomy, Ostiense has been used as a set for the permanent change: the most common element of the setting is the crane, which symbolize the undergoing transformation.

The movies Ravesi selected for analyzing Ostiense are:
- “Io la conoscevo bene”, Antonio Pietrangeli, 1956
- “Storia d’amore”, Citto Maselli, 1986
- “Troppo forte”, Carlo Verdone, 1986
- “Le fate ignoranti”, Fernand Ozpetek, 2001
- “Scialla”, Francesco Bruni, 2011

Both “Io la conoscevo bene” and “Storia d’amore” are centred on a woman as main character, a woman in search for her own identity, both personal and sexual. Ostiense appeared to be the ideal option for this personal awareness, the conquer of autonomy and the personal freedom chased by the protagonist.
The Gasometer is explicitly used by Citto Maselli as a sort of additional actor, establishing a physical and sensual connection with the human bodies performing in the movie. The characters are members of that sub-proletarian class mentioned above (ch. 4.2.) and they are engaged in a mutual friendship and fight for their own survival and liberation.

These issues are reinforced in “Le fate ignoranti”, by F. Ozpetek. This movie is the most famous and quoted in referring to Ostiense: the area, with its uncompleted and abandoned spaces, the river and the gasometer, is the setting of a story based on the importance of bodies, sexuality and homosexuality, in which characters are in search of a lifestyle free from bourgeois constraints and hypocrisies. They create a small but strong community, based on mutual support and friendship, but also crossed by tensions and difficulties, not only related to their gender identity. So, is not by chance that the film maker concluded the movie with references to the Gay Pride Parade. Ostiense has been chosen by this community since the Eighties as the epicentre of the gender movements, as testify by the interview with the activists of the Mario Mieli cultural and social centre, located in Ostiense.

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18 Nastrod’argento 2001
The issue of community emerged also in the comedies, “Troppo forte” and “Scialla”. In the first one, the main character is often telling his experiences in the *bar*, the place where the local community plays the role of the Greek chorus, interpreted in a Pasolinian way. The *bar* is the place in which the events of the human experience are narrated, commented and connected one to another through a process of endless story-telling.

In “Scialla”, another Italian comedy produced in 2011, the communitarian dimension seems to be expired. In this movie *bar* and locals businesses are just another place of anonymity, loneliness and economic transactions. The only communitarian opportunity is related to the football match between A.S. Roma and Lazio team, the “derby” between the two team of the city. In this movie it become clear a generational gap where the young culture is represented to have lost connection with the social and historical dimension of the neighbourhood.
5. Conclusions

The research on Ostiense reveals as the historical urban landscape is a palimpsest in continuous transformation and re-semantization. The analysis of the three interpretative lines allows to strengthen this transitory character and the changing nature of the urban landscape concerned. It also leads to identify some transversal themes as reported in table 3, to be considered as mainly intended to support the elaboration of further and comparative reflections in an international perspective. More in details, the table aims at clarifying and synthesizing for each interpretative line the connections between:
- the issues regarding the conceptualization of the historical urban landscape in Ostiense (column 1)
- the types of policies, actions and practices taking place in the area, considering them as crucial in order to understand the dynamic dimensions of landscapes (column 2);
- shared and transversal analytical categories concerning historical urban landscape, to be particularly considered for comparison purposes (column 3)\(^\text{19}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objects</th>
<th>Ostiense HUL</th>
<th>Practice/Policies/action</th>
<th>Transversal categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abandonment</td>
<td>Await and non-action, justification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-use</td>
<td>Public re-use, informal appropriation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renegotiation</td>
<td>Demolition and deleting, redevelopment: exploitation of ground rent and commodification of urban heritage, attraction of new users</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Histories | Official histories | Rituals and celebrations of Resistance WWII, recognition and valorisation of working class identity (for example through the AAMOD activities), lack of recognition of sub-proletarian history |
| Unofficial histories | Image ability and special analysis |

\(^{19}\) The transversal themes presented in table 3 also take into account the collective discussion during the final meeting in Sierre (April 2017).

Table 3 - Transversal analytical categories concerning HUL.
Importance of infrastructural elements (path, landmarks)  
Commodification of materiality and immateriality of memories (brandization)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representations</th>
<th>Permanent change</th>
<th>Ostiense as a set for movies that deal with individual transition and as symbol of an alternative culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Underground communities</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexual freedom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Permanence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Underground</td>
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<td>Communities</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexual freedom</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| As highlighted in the table, the exploration through an interdisciplinary approach, together with the dimension of the area involved by the research, convinced us to focus more on processes than on specific places, more on dynamics and connections between the past and the future than on the limits of the present state. Memories and territories are not static, but they are the result of processes of selection and struggle between official and unofficial histories, planned and unplanned actions. Four transversal themes clearly emerged from the analysis: the temporality, the spatiality of the historical urban landscape, the sociability and collective values related to a place. All of these themes intersect with memories and heritage, particularly in the way they contribute to shaping local identities. 

**Temporality**

If we consider the analytical category of "time", in Ostiense we observed the different rhythms of change of its physical elements. By an exploration of different temporalities, the research shows the slowness of the processes of transformation. The time of official planning is uncertain and lacks of control over the transformation. Moreover, a condition of "suspension between past and future" was revealed as evident: huge and important parts of the area (the most manifest and relevant case are the Former Mercati Generali) are immobilized, waiting for planned - but never starting or interrupted - interventions.

While the crane is a recurring symbol of Ostiense in the films we analyzed above, the ones we discovered during the fieldwork were – with some exceptions – immobile. Here, the fascination one can feel in front of a building site, linked to the “intrinsic knowledge that something real and new is happening (…), that something is being undressed, undressed, undisguised” (Bürkle, 2009, p.181) is mixed with the impression of contemplating the sleeping castle of the fairytale. In other cases, the planned interventions are so incredibly slow that they produce a sort of detachment in people: the remembrance of the past is often lost while the image of the future is never coming. This produce a “sense of absence”, in a very concrete way: absence of functions, absence of actions, absence of places. Area of transformation which are fenced for decades are consequently excluded from everyday life of inhabitants, in some case for generations. This absence seems to be in some ways functional to processes of urban speculation: once memories are erased, it is easier to accelerate urban transformation in the direction of demolition and speculative development.
The emptiness of activities, in which so many parts of Ostiense are, also embodies important potentialities of imagination and freedom that could find forms of expressions in these areas (such as the gender movement).

In this sense, for the sake of Recommendations, it is very important to take into consideration the temporal dimension of interventions in historical urban contexts, both in terms of accountability of the public action and in terms of changing in urban landscapes. Ostiense case study showed that the timing of actions and, in particular, the slowness in producing urban changes can decrease the collective capability to take care of landscapes and consequently, it can increase processes of deterioration of heritage and even total destruction. Nor the Italian strong heritage protection regulatory framework seems to be sufficient in avoiding destruction. The research also suggests a double interpretation of temporality and abandonment, one that should consider: on one hand the risk of private speculation on land and of commercial exploitation of the historical values of the area; on the other hand the interpretation of the abandonment as an opportunity of expression for counter culture and self-organized practices.

**Spatiality and materiality**

In terms of spatiality, the analysis recognizes the relevance of space and materiality in Ostiense neighbourhood. Several architectural elements became integral part of the city skyline and proper landmarks in the imageability of the city. They materialize the strength of the contemporary Rome in the face of its antique myth.

The remaining industrial archaeology clearly testifies how memories endure in the materiality of the buildings while they tend to disappear in social representations and histories. The trajectory of objects and practices of re-use narrate a delicate balance among maintenance, conservation, protection of the public interest and the growing risk of land speculation. Land speculation, occurring throughout the area, exploits the emptiness left by a long-lasting abandonment. Abandonment produces a potential ground rent and facilitates a general acceptation of any transformation, independently from their qualities and abilities to deal with urban memories.

For this reason, in term of Recommendation is important to avoid demolition, which constitutes the end of the materiality of memories, and to practice re-use as a matter of responsibility toward collective memory. Moreover, the active and flexible re-use of building is a strategic mean for enhancing the publicness, namely public uses and accessibility, of the historical urban landscape.

**Social arena and collective memories**

The research points out also the importance of social fabric, social values and collective memories in the area. It is the site of important official historical memories such as the Resistance against nazi-fascism during the WWII and the role of working class and Labour Movement. Both of them are translated in peculiar ways into the material and immaterial experience of Ostiense neighbourhood for instance by rituals, celebration and restoration of buildings. However, the memory of a “factory neighbourhood” characterized by strong social ties and collective actions is partially contradicted by unofficial histories and less known representations which depict the neighbourhood as a site of sub proletarians, who suffer much precarious conditions, exploitation and invisibility within the working class. This neglected memory partially explains a lack of sense of belongings and pride, which is testified by the common phrase that Ostiense is something else than as a “real neighbourhood”. Indeed, Ostiense memories are more multi-layered, complex, partially denied and obscured and they are not limited to a single collective body - such as the working class - neither are reducible to a classic approach to antiquity and archaeology.
At the same time, practices of informal re-uses (such as the housing squat in former barracks) are strengthening collective responsibility over the maintenance of heritage and are carries of a collective and social value of heritage.

The social dimension of the area and the social value of heritage are mined by a trend toward commodification of both materiality and immateriality of heritage. The Gasometer and the Iron Bridge have become icons of a leisure district highly dependent on night economy. They are used as symbol of an alternative lifestyle to sell new luxurious apartments in the area. This processes of brandisation gives room to practices of exploitation of ground rent and the commodification of the historical urban heritage. In the name of profits, exploitation also produces heritage demolition and deleting practices. This partial and discreetional use of symbols and memories, well described by Huyssen as new features of the contemporary “culture of consumption and obsolescence” (Huyssen, 2003, p. 20), also have indirect effect on the expulsion and exclusion of traditional business and lower social classes.

In this sense, Recommendations are crucial: the preservation of historical urban landscape should consider the social and intrinsic value of historical buildings, opening them to new possibility of expression and desire that are open, inclusive and regard the collectivity as a whole, not partial, not selective and not exclusive. The official memories, reinforced by rituals and celebration might open up for unofficial memories and include also those groups which contributed/are contributing to the social history of the area (such as the old and new sub-proletarian experience).

In conclusion, Rome and the case study of Ostiense have proven to be a good context where the notion of historical urban landscape can be investigated and problematized. In particular, the industrial urban landscape in Rome represents a significant cultural heritage with interesting potential in terms of transformation. Starting from the potentials and weaknesses of Ostiense case, the research shows the tension between transformation and permanence, the juxtaposition of different uses and the continuous adjustment of the meanings and uses of a historical urban landscape. More in detail, Ostiense suggests that comprehensive planning visions are hard to achieve; on the contrary public administration might consider tactical urbanism and small interventions as a way to pursue a principle of incrementalism capable to confer accessibility, publicness and openness to the area, although maintaining a comprehensive and holistic vision for the development of the area.

According to the idea that memory is an evolving process, the research initially focused on the controversial dimensions, that is on the presence or absence of conflicts concerning what should be preserved and what could be transformed. However, the neighbourhood was unruly at this interpretation: even if apparently there are no explicit conflicts, Ostiense is the arena for strong urban powers, a neighbourhood in which inertia and action are in a complex relation, an urban node inspiring reflections concerning imaginaries, memories and planning. Thus, the central issue appeared to be not (only) what should be preserved, but on the purposes and the meanings of preservation in the face of changing landscape. In parallel, the exploration of memories and imaginaries, of official histories and artistic representations, produced a frame in which the absence of resonant controversies does not imply the absence of multiple traces, unattended visions and economic and exclusive exploitation of memorial values.
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SNIS Project - Roma local team workshop
17/21 October 2016

Ciclo di seminari – Workshop
Paesaggio urbano in trasformazione e memorie collettive:
un secolo di lavoro a Ostiense

Roma 17-21 Ottobre 2016

A cura di ETICity – Exploring Territories Imagining the City

Con la collaborazione del “Dipartimento di Architettura di Roma Tre” e
l”Archivio Audiovisivo del Movimento Operaio e Democratico”

Con la partecipazione del “Master in Studi del Territorio dell’Università degli Studi Roma Tre”

All’interno delle attività di ricerca del team su Roma del progetto SNIS (Swiss Network for International Studies):
“Mapping controversial memories in the historic urban landscapes:
a multidisciplinary study of Beijing, Mexico City and Rome”,
Coordinator: Florence Graezer Bideau, Collège des humanités - Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne,
Principal Member: Lucia Bordone, Collège des humanités - Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne,
Associated Member: ETICity Association – Exploring Territories Imagining the City

PROGRAMMA

Lunedì 17 ottobre
Itinerario nelle trasformazioni del quartiere Ostiense

Dalle ore 14 alle ore 18, nel quartiere. Appuntamento ore 14 a Largo Giovanni Battista Marzi 10, di fronte al ponte Testaccio
L’itinerario esplora il quartiere Ostiense dal punto di vista delle trasformazioni urbane del paesaggio. L’obiettivo della prima giornata è quello di raccogliere testimonianze e immagini per costruire una collezione di materiali, che chiameremo “campionario del riuso”. A Ostiense infatti la dismissione industriale ha prodotto una varietà di risposte che vanno dalla riconversione con funzioni pubbliche, alla destinazione privata residenziale o commerciale, fino al controverso, prolungato, abbandono. Il campionario visivo del riuso costituirà la base per la riflessione sui progetti urbani che si sono avvicendati sul territorio del quartiere.
L’itinerario toccherà, tra gli altri, i seguenti luoghi - ognuno dei quali nello specifico verrà presentato e commentato: Teatro India, Ex Mulini Biondi, Ex Consorzi Agrari (oggi Porto Fluviale 71), Ex Caserma, Ex Mercati Generali, Eataly, Università di RomaTre.

+++ Martedì 18 ottobre
Ostiense: oggetti e progetti
Changing urban landscape and plural memories.
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ANNEX 1

Dalle ore 14 alle ore 20, all’Ex Mattatoio, Dipartimento di Architettura dell’Università di RomaTre, Largo Giovanni Battista Marzi 10
Dalle 14 alle 16, aula Labò: organizzazione dei materiali fotografici e testuali – letteratura e appunti; discussione sugli esiti dell’itinerario. Un piccolo gruppo si dedicherà ad altre due collezioni visive: il “campionario dei segni” (loghi, insegne, simboli, tracce) e il “campionario dei disegni” (graffiti e murales).
Dalle 16 alle 18, aula Musumeci: seminario “Ostiense: oggetti e progetti”.
Il seminario tratterà dei progetti di trasformazione urbana che hanno interessato Ostiense. L’obiettivo è quello di capire come il paesaggio urbano sia stato interpretato e trasformato dagli attori pubblici e privati. Ci interessa capire come la tutela, in particolare quella legata alla storia industriale del quartiere, abbia dialogato con i processi di pianificazione; e se la memoria storica abbia lasciato tracce nella trasformazione urbana.
Gli ospiti del seminario saranno il professor Francesco Cellini, il professor Giorgio Piccinato e la dottoranda Marta Rabazo.

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Mercoledì 19 ottobre
Ostiense: rappresentazioni e trasformazioni

Dalle ore 14 alle ore 20, all’Ex Mattatoio, Dipartimento di Architettura
Dalle 14 alle 16, aula Labò: organizzazione dei materiali fotografici e testuali, discussione sugli esiti dei materiali raccolti. Se necessario, un gruppo continuerà le raccolte di immagini nel quartiere.
Dalle 16 alle 18, aula Pirani: seminario “Ostiense: rappresentazioni e trasformazioni”
Il quartiere è stato oggetto di narrazioni che ne hanno trasformato l’immagine agli occhi del resto della città: da spazio di risulta e di relativo abbandono, a luogo commercialmente appetibile, fortemente mediatizzato e centro della movida. Ci interessa capire come le narrazioni, in particolare cinematografiche, possano avere un ruolo nella costruzione degli immaginari collettivi e dunque nella costruzione del paesaggio, come prodotto dell’azione di uno sguardo. In altre parole, il paesaggio è qui inteso come il luogo guardato e pensato, un intreccio sedimentato di elementi fisici, rappresentazioni e interpretazioni collettive. Nel caso di Ostiense, il cambiamento nell’immaginario urbano ha condotto o può condurre a processi di trasformazione e sostituzione sociale, che cercheremo di comprendere.
Gli ospiti del seminario saranno: Claudia Faraone, Giacomo Ravesi, Sandra Annunziata
Dalle 18 alle 20, aula Pirani: proiezione del film “Le fate ignoranti” di Ferzan Özpetek (2001, durata 105 minuti)

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Giovedì 20 ottobre
Ostiense: storie e memorie
Changing urban landscape and plural memories.
The Ostiense neighbourhood: the factory of Rome
Working paper Rome

ANNEX 1

Dalle ore 15 alle ore 19, nella sede dell’Archivio Audiovisivo del Movimento Operaio e Democratico (AAMOD), via Ostiense 106
Il pomeriggio sarà dedicato alle storie dei gruppi sociali che hanno attraversato, negli anni, il quartiere Ostiense. Da questo punto di vista, l’archivio rappresenta un osservatorio prezioso sulla storia del movimento operaio, che ha fortemente inciso sia nella costruzione fisica del quartiere sia nelle memorie che lo riguardano. Ci interessa capire cosa è rimasto di quelle storie, se ne esiste ancora memoria e come viene rielaborata attraverso i fenomeni urbani osservati, anche alla luce delle interviste e del lavoro di campo prodotto nell’ambito del progetto SNIS “Mapping Controversial Memories” da Lucia Bordone. Si tratta di capire dunque, a partire dalle storie che il quartiere racconta, se questa epica stagione industriale sia contenuta ancora e fortemente nelle memorie delle persone, o se ne sia rimasta traccia solo dal punto di vista della struttura estetico formale.
Gli ospiti del seminario saranno: la professoressa Francesca Romana Stabile e lo storico Bruno Bonomo.
Saranno proiettati materiali documentari d’epoca e i due cortometraggi:

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Venerdì 21 ottobre
Rielaborazione e post-produzione

Dalle ore 14 alle ore 20, all’Ex Mattatoio, Dipartimento di Architettura, aula Pirani
La giornata sarà dedicata alla analisi e alla messa a sistema sulla base degli obiettivi di ricerca del progetto SNIS delle interviste sul campo nel quartiere Ostiense e alla rielaborazione dei materiali raccolti. Un gruppo si occuperà nello specifico di definire operativamente i campionari (campionario del riuso, del segno, del disegno) e di sistematizzare i materiali cartacei raccolti, sia relativi alle mappe psicogeografiche ottenute come risultato grafico delle interviste, che le planimetrie storiche esito del lavoro sulla letteratura e sui progetti architettonici. Questo lavoro di post-produzione sarà infine orientato alla definizione di alcune cronache specifiche su edifici e situazioni che verranno stabilite in corso d’opera. Queste cronache collocheranno gli eventi, le trasformazioni urbane, gli accadimenti e le storie sulla base di una gerarchia temporale che permetterà una eventuale e interessante comparazione.
Dalle 18 alle 20, aula Pirani: valutazione generale delle giornate e discussione finale sui prodotti ottenuti e sulle tematiche da approfondire ulteriormente.

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Note

Ogni seminario verrà introdotto e animato dal gruppo di ricerca romano, impegnato ad orientare la discussione e il dibattito sugli obiettivi di ricerca del progetto SNIS.
Durante l’intera settimana, il workshop dedicherà le mattinate all’esplorazione urbana del quartiere con l’obiettivo di raccogliere dati, materiali e testimonianze sul campo. Questa parte del workshop si svolgerà direttamente nel quartiere Ostiense, e sarà aperta agli studenti e alle studentesse che avranno espresso il proprio interesse alla partecipazione scrivendo all’indirizzo di posta elettronica info@eticity.it. Per questioni logistiche, i dettagli degli appuntamenti mattutini verranno inviati di giorno in giorno dallo stesso indirizzo.
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### ANNEX 2

#### LIST OF INTERVIEWS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>INHABITANTS AND CITY USERS (made by workshop students¹)</th>
<th>EXPERTS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Caregiver</td>
<td>Francesco Cellini</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alessandro</td>
<td>University student</td>
<td>Michele Furnari</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annamaria</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Giorgio Piccinato</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rosa</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Angelo Palloni</td>
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<td>Farmacista Marchetti</td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>Giacomo Ravesi</td>
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<td>Mauro</td>
<td>Freelance</td>
<td>Francesca R. Stabile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Antonino</td>
<td>Freelance</td>
<td>Claudia Conforti</td>
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<td>Talaat (Mario)</td>
<td>Fruit seller</td>
<td>Paola Scarnati</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alessandro</td>
<td>Newsagent</td>
<td>Bruno Bonomo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massimo</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Letizia Cortini</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giuseppina</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Roberto Pallottini</td>
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¹ The selected interviews were collected by the students: Alessandra Galletta, Alessia Romano, Giuliano Pinzari e Sonia Penna.
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<tr>
<th><strong>LOCAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION</strong></th>
<th>Roma Capitale</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Andrea Borghi</strong></td>
<td>Historical City Office</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sandra Giuliani</strong></td>
<td>Council Member of School and Culture (Former)</td>
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<td><strong>Marco Di Pietro</strong></td>
<td>Sport and Culture Office</td>
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<th><strong>LOCAL INSTITUTIONS</strong></th>
<th>Roma Capitale</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Alexis</strong></td>
<td>Students and precarious workers</td>
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<td><strong>Porto Fluviale</strong></td>
<td>Families</td>
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<td><strong>Comunità di base di San Paolo</strong></td>
<td>Secular Associations</td>
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<td><strong>Circolo Mario Mieli</strong></td>
<td>Activists</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Squatting and social space</strong></td>
<td><strong>Social and cultural space</strong></td>
<td><strong>Social and cultural spaces</strong></td>
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