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A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE POPULATION GROWTH OF ROME FROM 1871 TO 1959.

University of Michigan, Ph.D., 1963
Geography

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A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE POPULATION GROWTH OF ROME FROM 1871 TO 1959

by
Edward Karabenick

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan
1962

Doctoral Committee:

Professor George Kish, Chairman
Professor Arthur E. R. Boak
Associate Professor Douglas Crary
Professor Ronald Freedman
Associate Professor Ross Pearson

PREFACE

To most people Rome symbolizes the papacy and the ancient Roman Empire. Casual conversations concerning modern Rome most frequently seem to consist of references to the Vatican and the more dramatic Roman ruins. Rarely, however, will the topic of the Roman people arise. This lack of interest is also reflected in the available literature, since books and articles dealing with the city's inhabitants are virtually non-existent. Why this situation exists is actually not too difficult to comprehend; there is such an enormous abundance of religious, historical, and archaeological material present in Rome that these aspects of the Roman scene have captured the interest and imagination of the world, while the city's inhabitants, as colorful and interesting as they are, have been largely overlooked.

The present population of about two million Romans must be considered something of a minor miracle. The city's rapid decline after the dismemberment of the empire seemed to indicate that Rome, like Sparta and Nineveh, was destined to become a depopulated, archaeological curiosity. Only the presence of the papacy saved the city from such a fate.

The purpose of this paper, then, is threefold: first, it will present and analyze the factors contributing to the resettlement of Rome; second, it will analyze the patterns of this resettlement, and third; it will analyze the major ramifications of the present-day population phenomenon. These ramifications are primarily: the distribution of the various socio-economic groups, population density, and population movement.

During the decade following Italy's unification, profound changes occurred in the patterns of Roman settlement and occupance. While it was unplanned, disjointed, and poverty-ridden in 1870, Rome has now become a well-planned and fairly prosperous city. These changing trends and patterns will be analyzed and the results used to formulate certain theories regarding future population expansion.

Because the mainstream of the repopulating of Rome has occurred since the unification of Italy in 1870, the principal emphasis of this paper will be upon those years following that historic event. The study will focus most strongly upon the two leading periods of the city's growth: the era of Mussolini's dictatorship, and the post-World War II years.

To appreciate fully the various ramifications of Rome's population problems, one must explore both the com-

mune's geographical setting and the historical factors contributing to its present population structure. These are, in many respects, the key to understanding the population phenomenon.

Because this dissertation is primarily a study of population, a major part of the source material will be derived from the various censuses taken over the past nine decades by both the Commune of Rome and the government of Italy. Since the censuses are based upon political administrative units, for reasons of accuracy, this study will also use these units as the several geographical subdivisions of the Commune of Rome.

Research for this dissertation was carried out in Rome from September, 1957 to June, 1958. During this time my admiration for the Roman people grew immensely as a result of their kindness, warmth, and cooperation.

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. George Kish, as well as to the other members of my doctoral committee, for the guidance I received in the preparation of this dissertation. I would also like to thank the many Romans, but especially Guglielmo Negri, Vittorio Boni, and Professor Ferdinando Milone, who so generously offered their time and assistance during my stay in their city.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Commune of Rome (Fig. 1), like many other Italian communes, is composed of a major urban nucleus (the City of Rome), several lesser nuclei, and a rural hinterland, the Agro Romano (Fig. 2). Neither of these has remained fixed in size, as indeed, the commune itself has not remained fixed in size. Since 1871 the commune has contracted somewhat, and the administrative subdivisions within it have undergone a profound change (Fig. 3).

The original commune, being a non-contiguous unit, was composed of one major fragment and 13 minor fragments (Fig. 3). The minor fragments have long been absorbed by other communes and the major fragment has undergone some streamlining reduction. Originally the commune was subdivided into the city, the suburbio, and the Agro Romano. The city, in turn, was subdivided into 14 rioni[1] (singular: rione) (Fig. 1), and the Agro Romano into 22 denominazioni.[2] The Aurelian Wall (Fig. 4), which had pro-

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[1]Based on the 14 regions of Augustus.

[2]Commune of Rome, Rapporto Preliminare sul Censimento di Roma, A Report Prepared by the Italian Census Bureau (Rome: Tipografia Salviucci, 1872), p. 36.

Fig. 1.--Boundaries of the City of Rome 1871-1958

The following numbers and letters correspond with the political subdivisions of the City of Rome:

1. Sant'Eustachio
2. Trevi
3. Colonna
4. Campo Marzio
5. Ponte
6. Parione
7. Regola
8. Monti
9. Pigna
10. Campitelli
11. Sant'Angelo
12. Ripa
13. Trastevere
14. Borgo
15. Esquilino
16. Ludovisi
17. Sallustiano
18. Castro Pretorio
19. Celio
20. Testaccio
21. San Saba
22. Prati

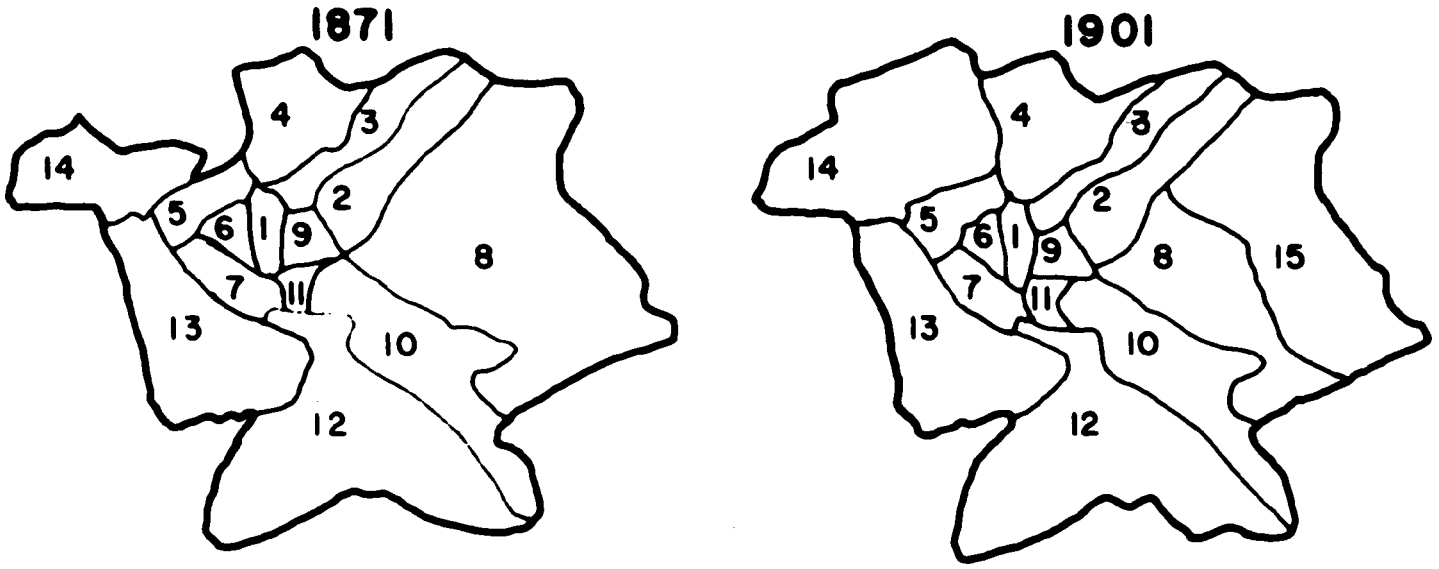
AL - Appio-Latino
AU - Aurelio
DV - Della Vittoria
FL - Flaminio
GI - Gianicolense
MI - Milvio
MS - Monte Sacro
NO - Nomentano
OS - Ostiense
PA - Parioli
PI - Pinciano
PL - Prenestino-Labicano
PO - Portuense
SA - Salario
SV - Savoia
TE - Trieste
TF - Trionfale
TI - Tiburtino
TQ - Tor di Quinto
TU - Tuscolano
VE - Vittorio Emanuele III

Source: Interview with Mario Figa-Talamanca, Director of the Bureau of Statistics of the Commune of Rome, Rome, February 11, 1958.

BOUNDARIES

OF THE

CITY OF ROME

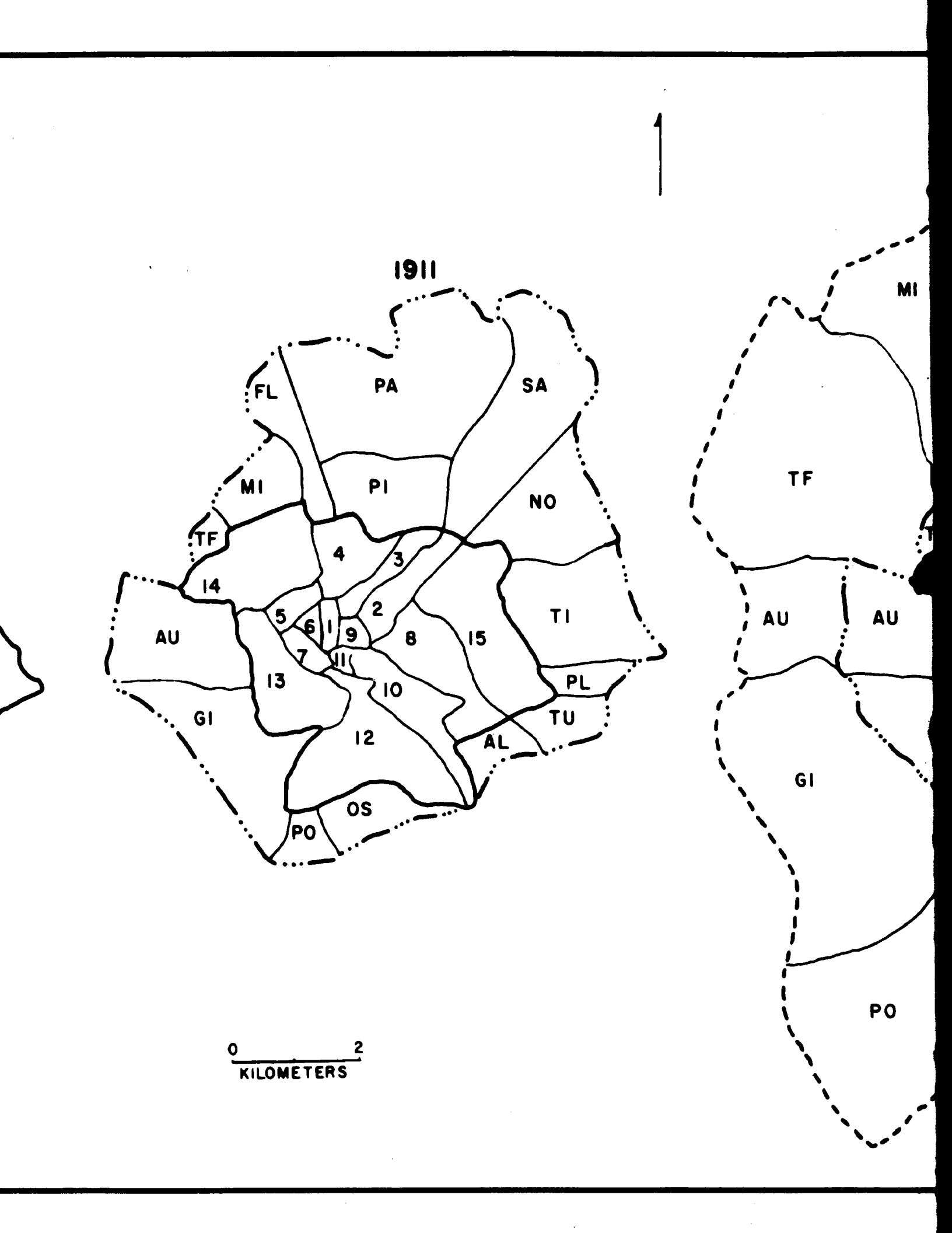


RIONI LIMIT

QUARTIERI LIMIT

SUBURBI LIMIT

VATICAN CITY


1911
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MI
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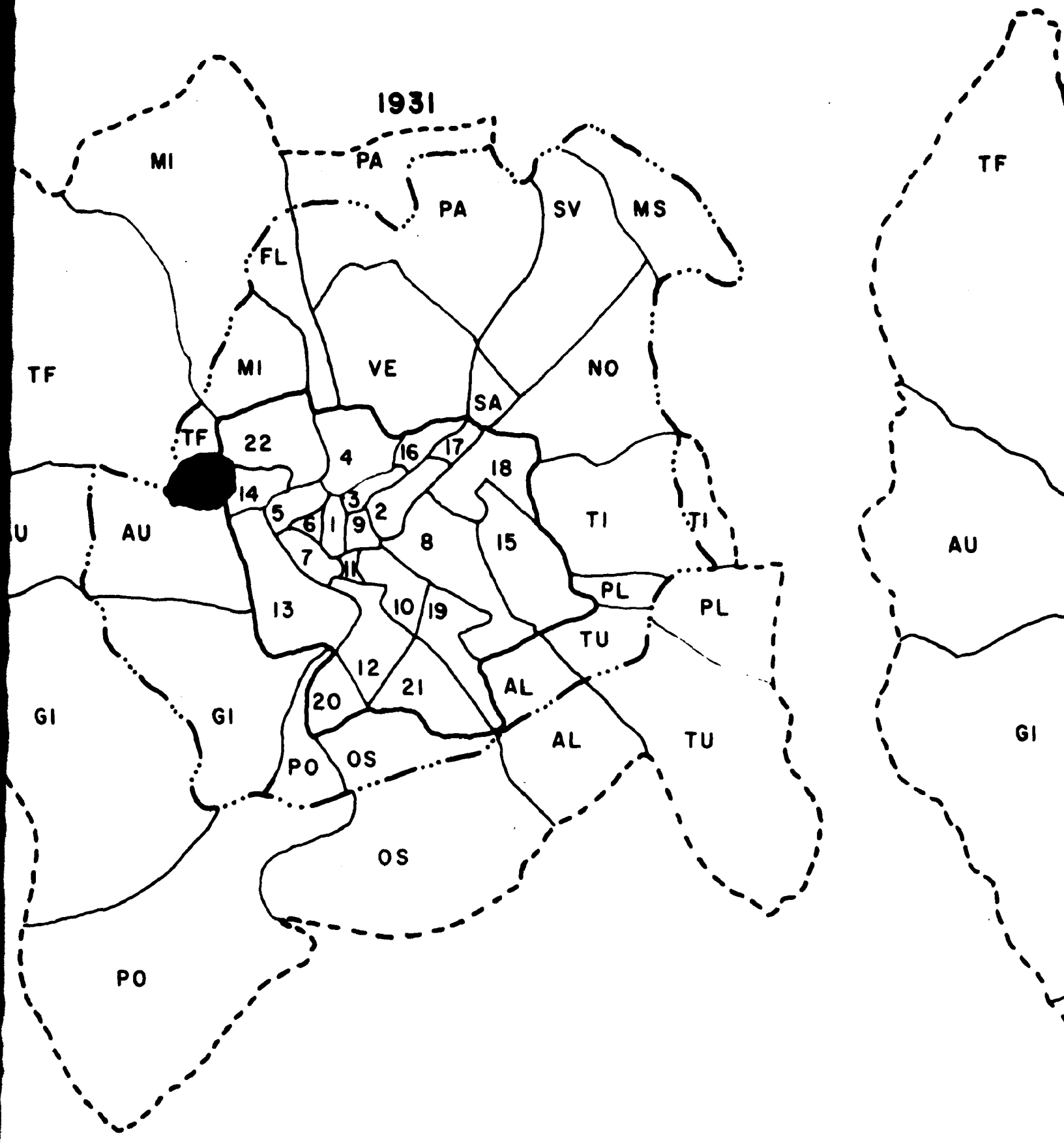
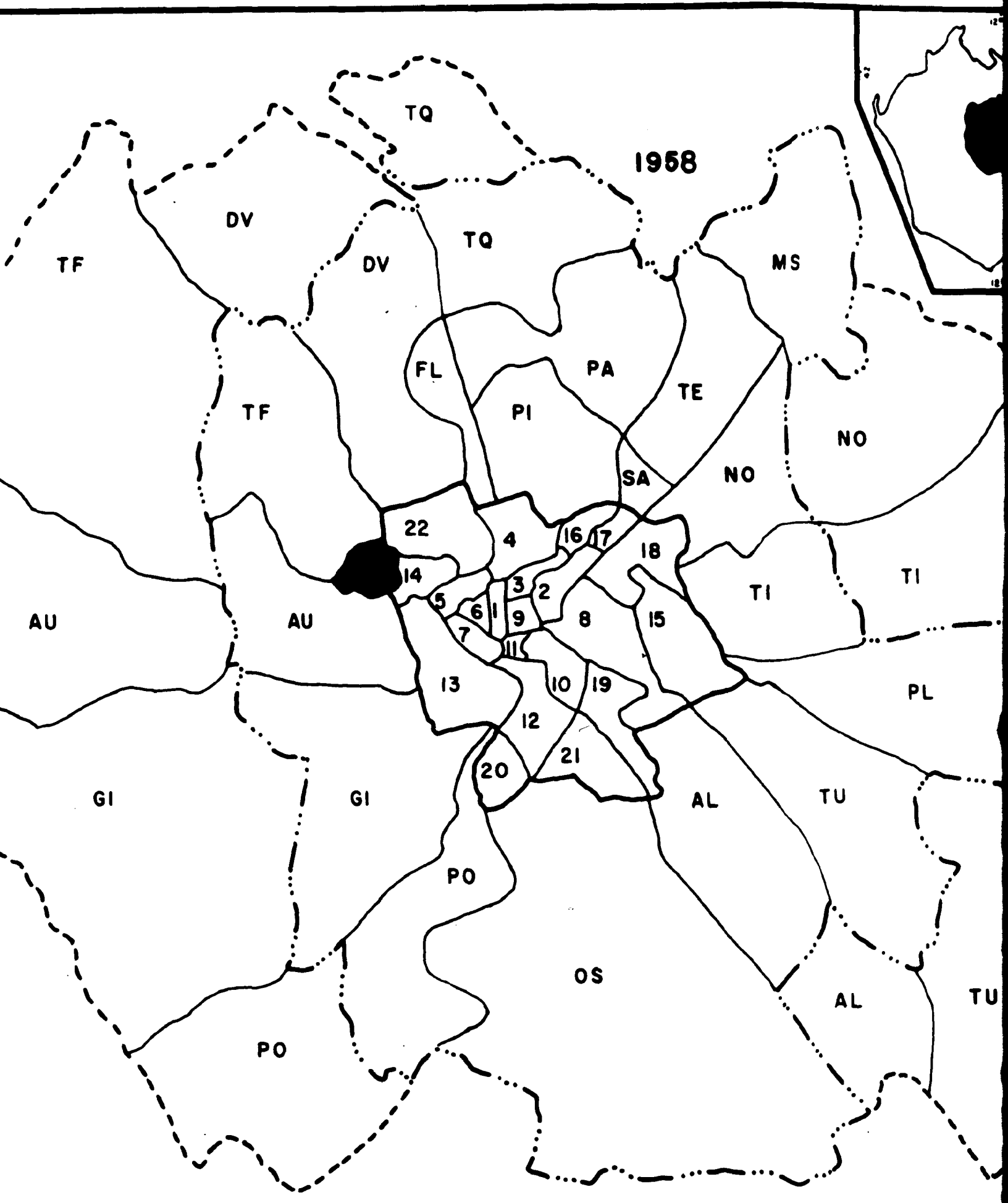

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Fig. 1


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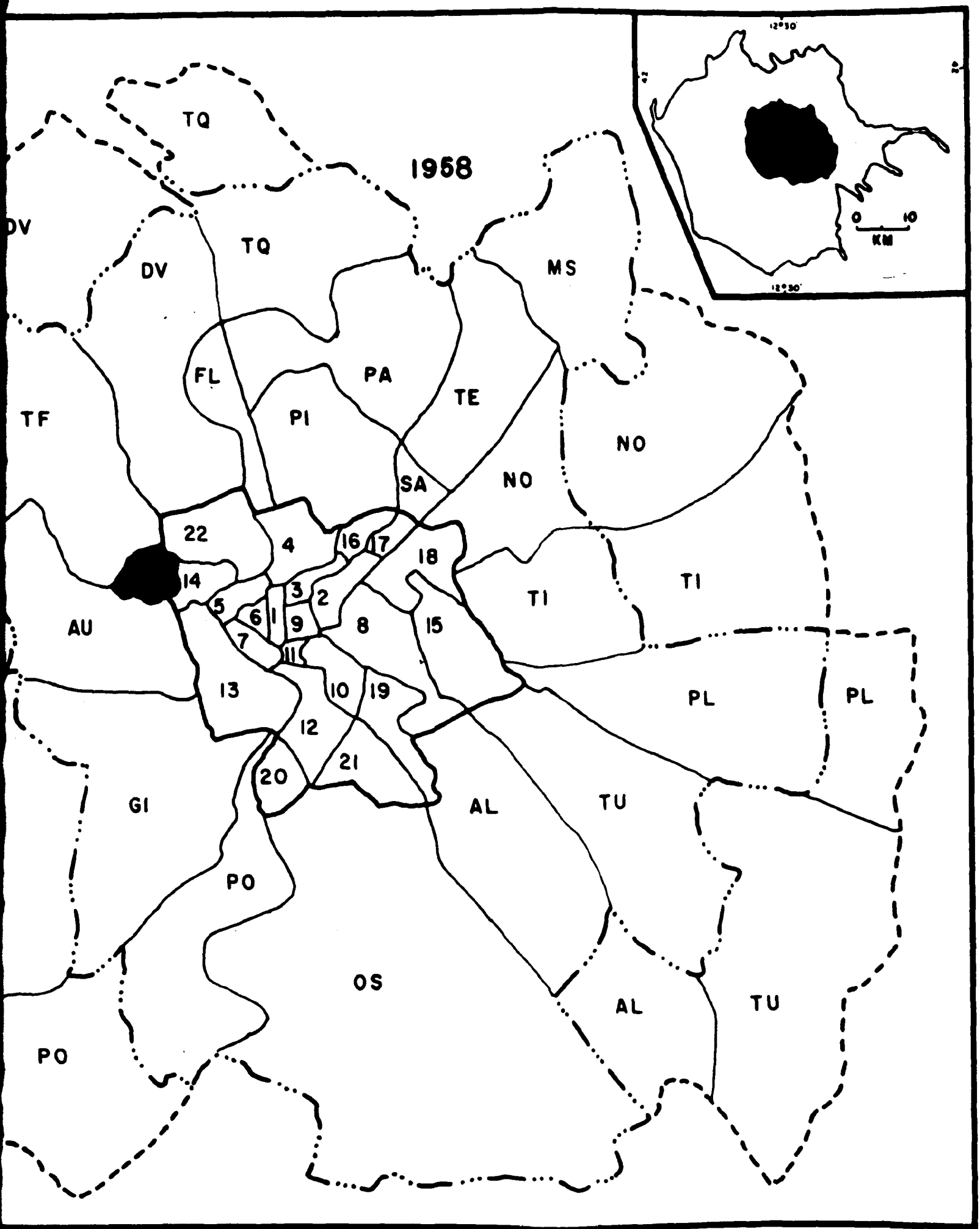

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Fig. 2.--A Political Map of the Commune of Rome-1958

Source: Interview with Mario Figa-Talamanca, Director of the Bureau of Statistics of the Commune of Rome, Rome, February 11, 1958.

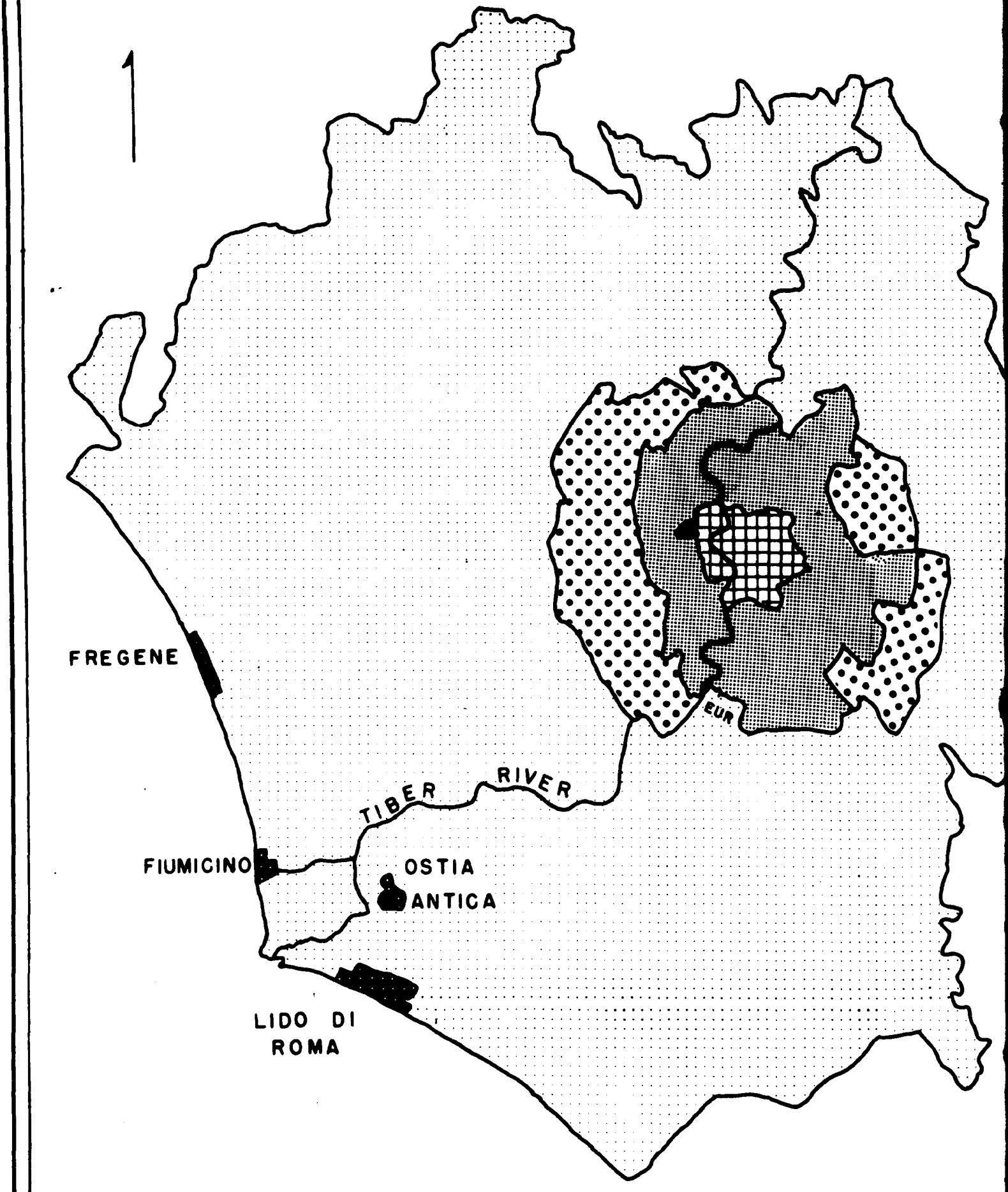

1
FREGENE
EUR
TIBER RIVER
FIUMICINO
OSTIA
ANTICA
LIDO DI
ROMA

Fig.

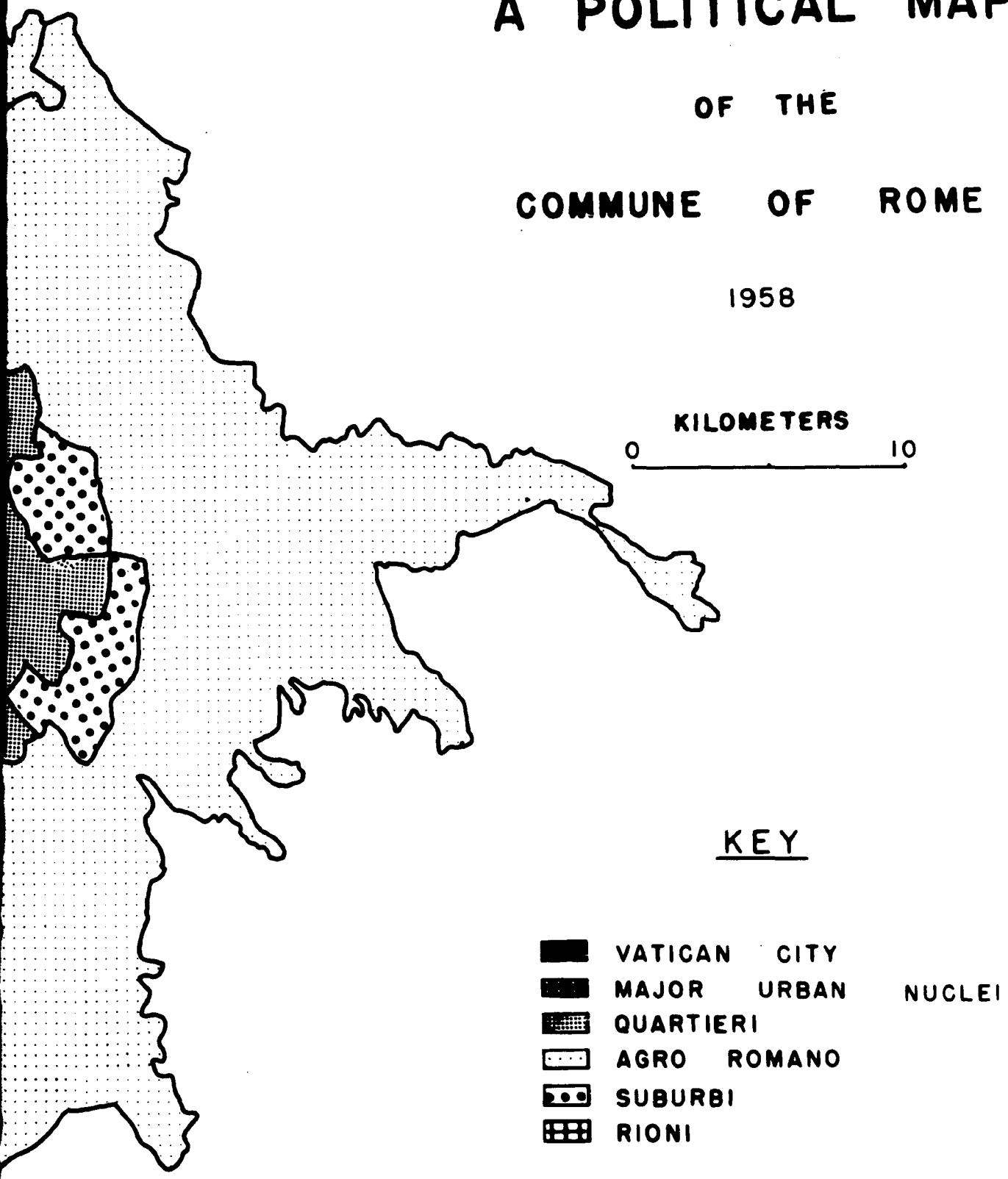

A POLITICAL MAP
OF THE
COMMUNE OF ROME
1958
KILOMETERS
0
10
KEY
VATICAN CITY
MAJOR URBAN NUCLEI
QUARTIERI
AGRO ROMANO
SUBURBI
RIONI

Fig. 2

Fig. 3.--The Changing Shape of the Commune of Rome

Source: Commune of Rome, Rapporto Preliminare sul Censimento di Roma-1872; and Commune of Rome, Una Legge per la Capitale, 1956.

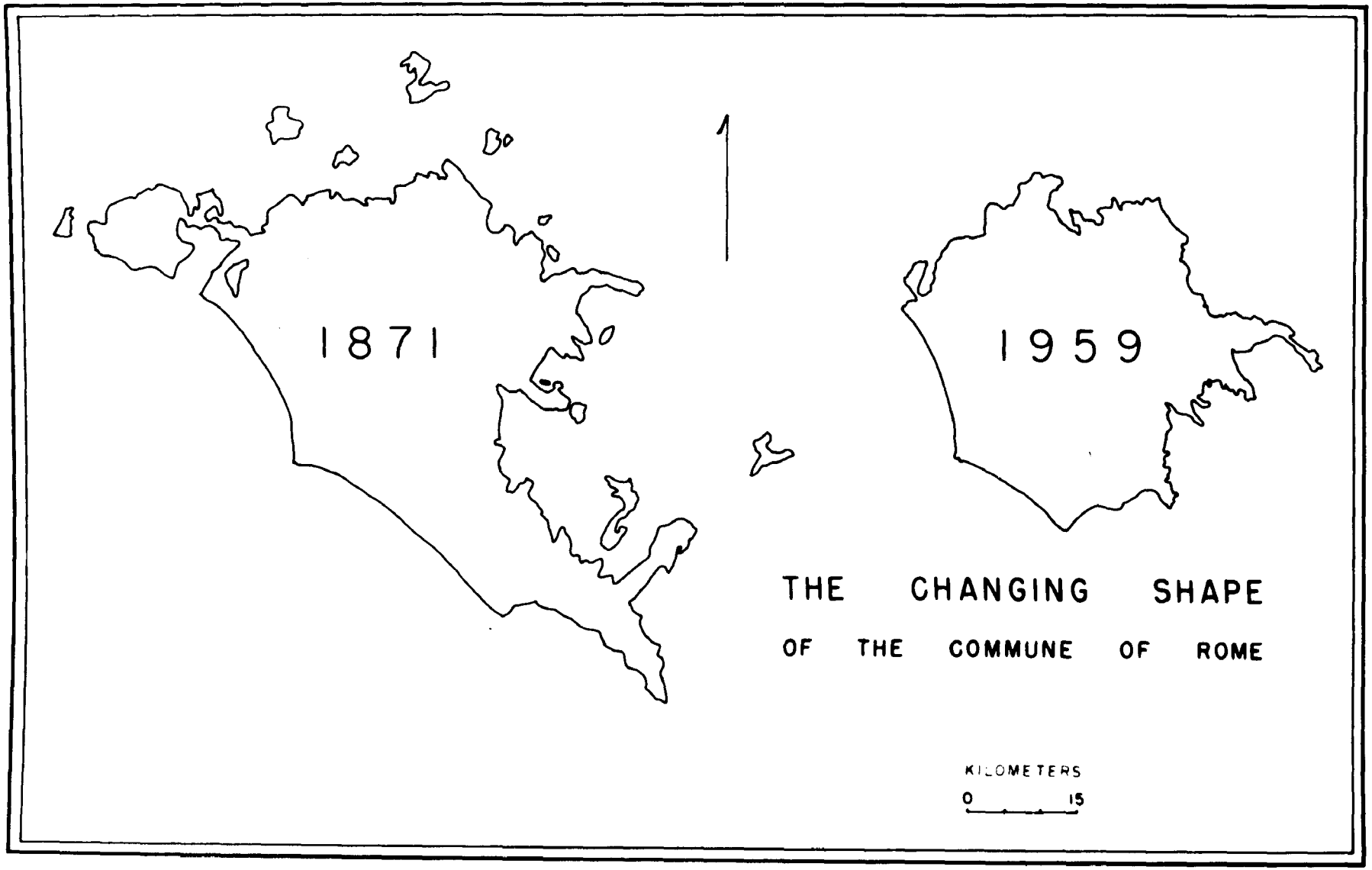

1871
1959
THE CHANGING SHAPE
OF THE COMMUNE OF ROME
KILOMETERS
0 15

Fig. 3

Fig. 4.--The Walls of Modern Rome

Source: Burn, Robert, Old Rome (London: Bell & Sons), 1880.

THE WALLS OF MODERN ROME

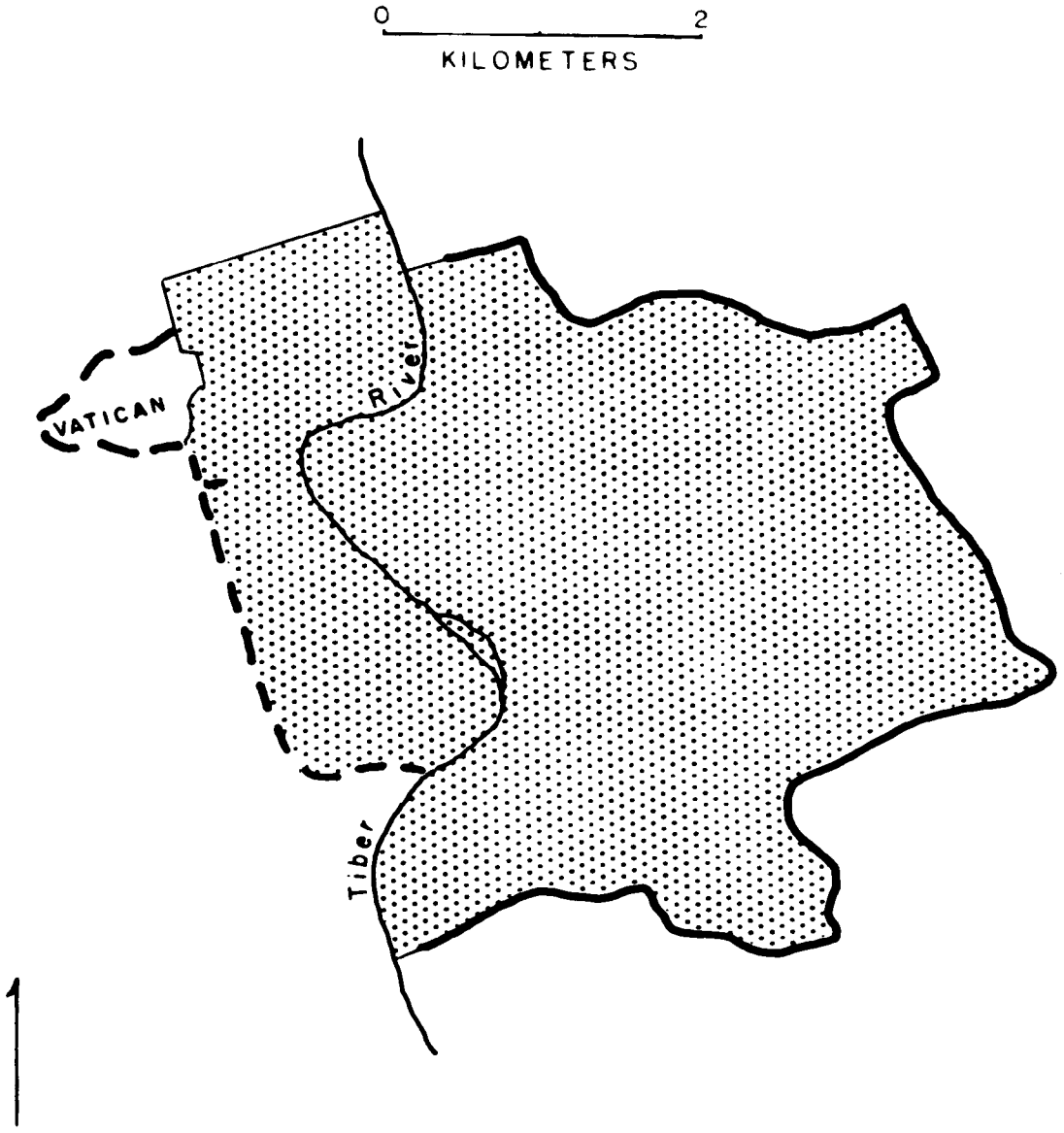


Fig. 4

tected ancient Rome, came into service once again as the city limit of modern Rome. Much of the wall, begun by the Emperor Aurelian in 271 A.D., is in extremely good condition today, despite numerous breaches throughout the centuries. Although the wall still encloses the rioni, the city has grown far beyond it since 1871.

As agricultural land gave way to an expanding urban nucleus, it became necessary to create new administrative units (Fig. 1). In 1911 the area of the city was extended, enlarging the urban nucleus threefold and creating for the area new administrative subdivisions, the quartieri (singular: quartiere).[1] In 1921 the area was again extended by creating the suburbi (singular: suburbio), thereby almost doubling the land area of the city.[2] Prior to 1921 the suburbio had existed as a single unit and was not considered part of the city. Through various annexations and other changes since 1921 the land area of the quartieri has almost trebled, and the suburbi have increased their land area by 50 percent (Fig. 1).

Today (1959), in addition to the Agro Romano, there are 22 rioni covering 1,567 hectares (6 square miles), 18 quartieri covering 10,334 hectares (40 square miles), and

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[1]Italy, Censimento della Popolazione del Regno--1881, I (Rome: Tipografia Eredi Bolla, 1885), p. 443.

[2]Letter from Dr. Mario Figa-Talamanca, Director of the Bureau of Statistics of the Commune of Rome, Rome, Italy, January 10, 1959.

11 *suburbi* covering 8,970 hectares (35 square miles). The entire commune, the largest in Italy, covers an area of 150,760 hectares (582 square miles)[1] (Figs. 1 and 2).

Probably the most dramatic change within the commune was the creation of the Vatican City in 1929. With the signing of the Lateran Treaty an accord was finally reached between the Italian government and the Roman Catholic Church after an impasse of 59 years. By surrendering 48 hectares (119 acres) of the *Rione* Borgo to the Church, the world's smallest state was created. The population of the Vatican City in 1929 was approximately 1,000. As closely as can be determined, there has been very little change in the population since that year.

The Roman commune, which borders the Tyrrhenian Sea in Central Italy (Fig. 5), has a varied physical composition (Fig. 6). The Tiber River, running almost north-south at this point, divides the commune into two parts. A second major river, the Aniene, joins the Tiber from the east near the center of the commune. Numerous minor tributaries meet the Tiber and Aniene throughout the commune. With the exception of the valleys and the Tiber delta, the commune is largely covered with volcanic

---

[1]Commune of Rome, *Annuario Statistico della Citta di Roma, Anni 1952-1954* (Rome: Tipografia Carlo Colombo, 1956), p. 43.

Fig. 5.--The Setting of the Commune of Rome in Italy

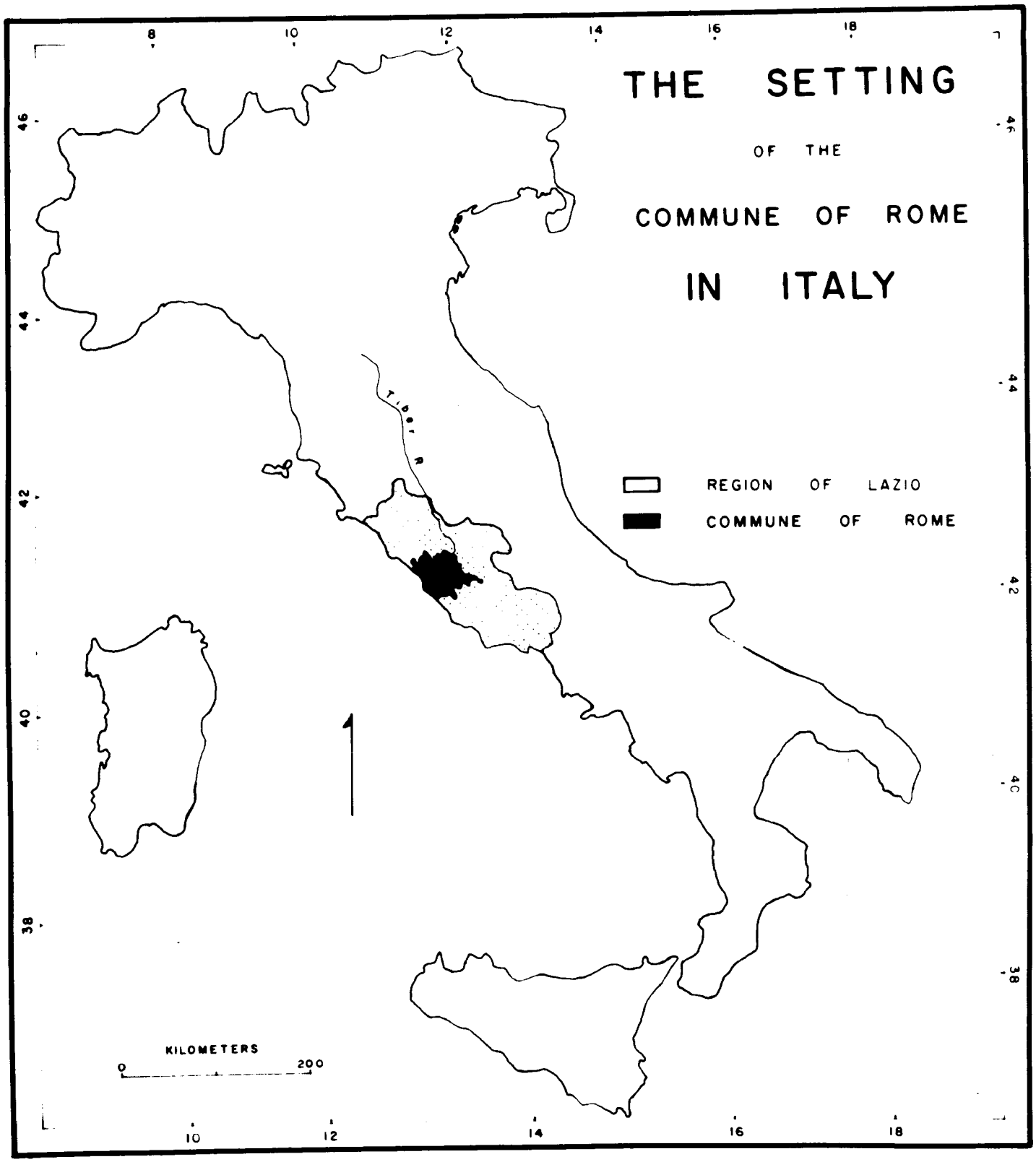
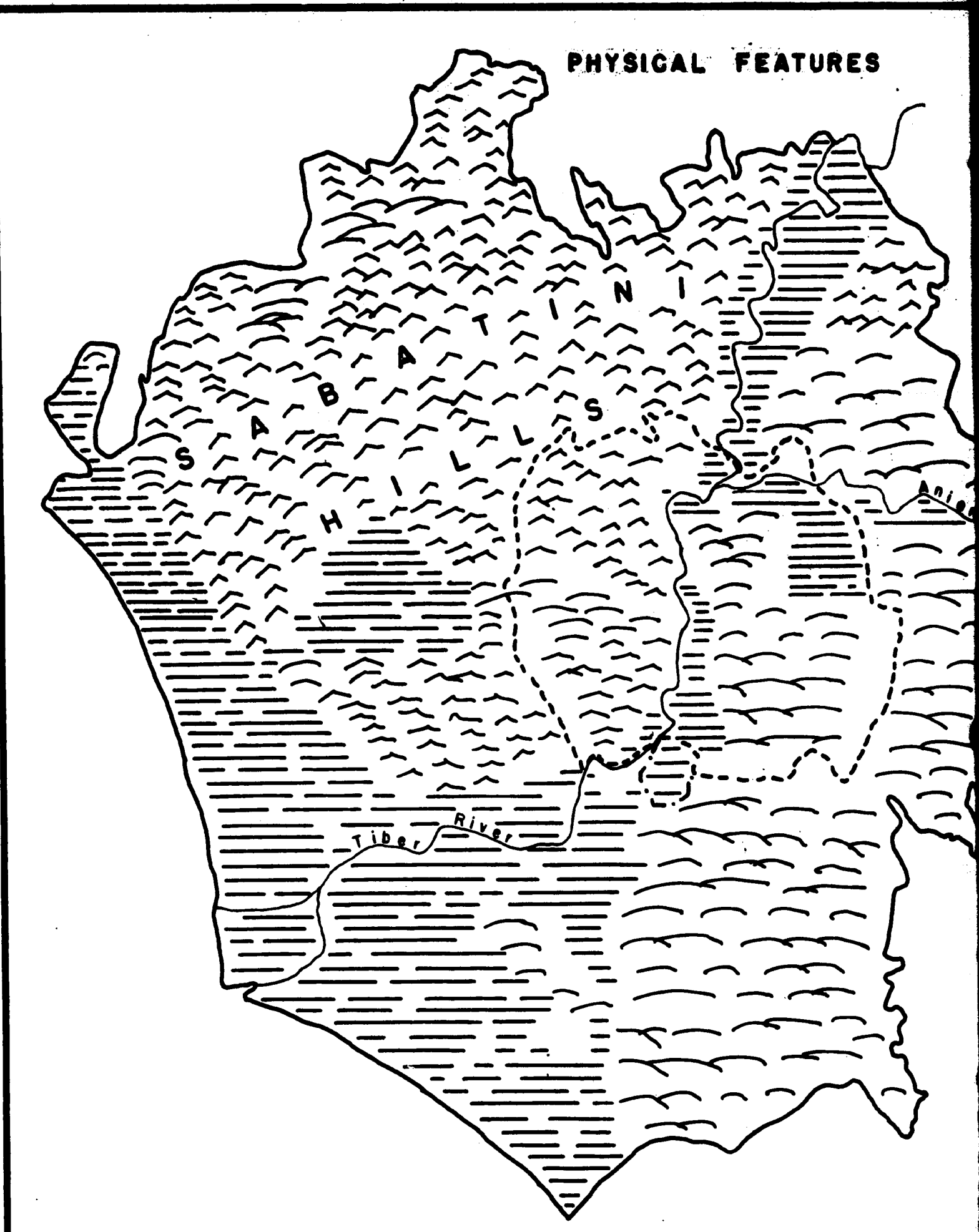

THE SETTING
OF THE
COMMUNE OF ROME
IN ITALY
REGION OF LAZIO
COMMUNE OF ROME
TIBER R.
KILOMETERS
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42
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38

Fig. 5

Fig. 6.--Physical Features and Land Use of the Commune of Rome.

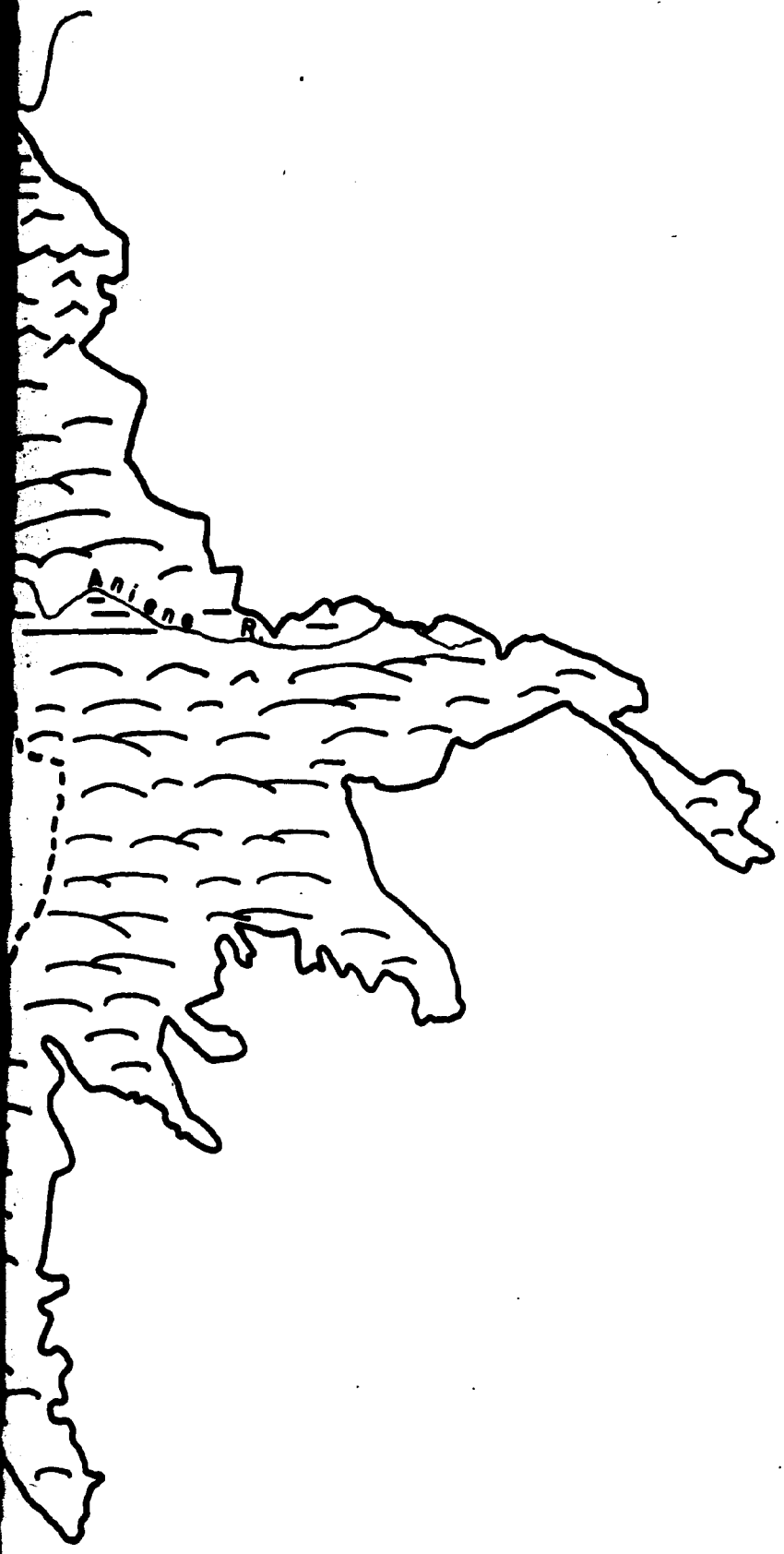
Source: Istituto Geografico Militare, "Roma e Dintorni," 1956.


PHYSICAL FEATURES
SABATINI
HILLS
Tiber River

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND LAND

OF THE

COMMUNE OF ROME



CULTURAL

FINANCE & COMMERCE

COMMERCE

ADMINISTRATION

RECREATION

RUINS

AIRPORTS AND RAIL TERMI

RESIDENTIAL

AGRICULTURE

OTHER

LEVEL LAND

GENTLY ROLLING HILLS

RUGGED HILLS

E.U.R.

CITY LIMIT

KILOMETERS

0 10

Fig. 6

AND LAND USE

F ROME

& COMMERCE

CE

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S AND RAIL TERMINALS

TIAL

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LAND

ROLLING HILLS

HILLS

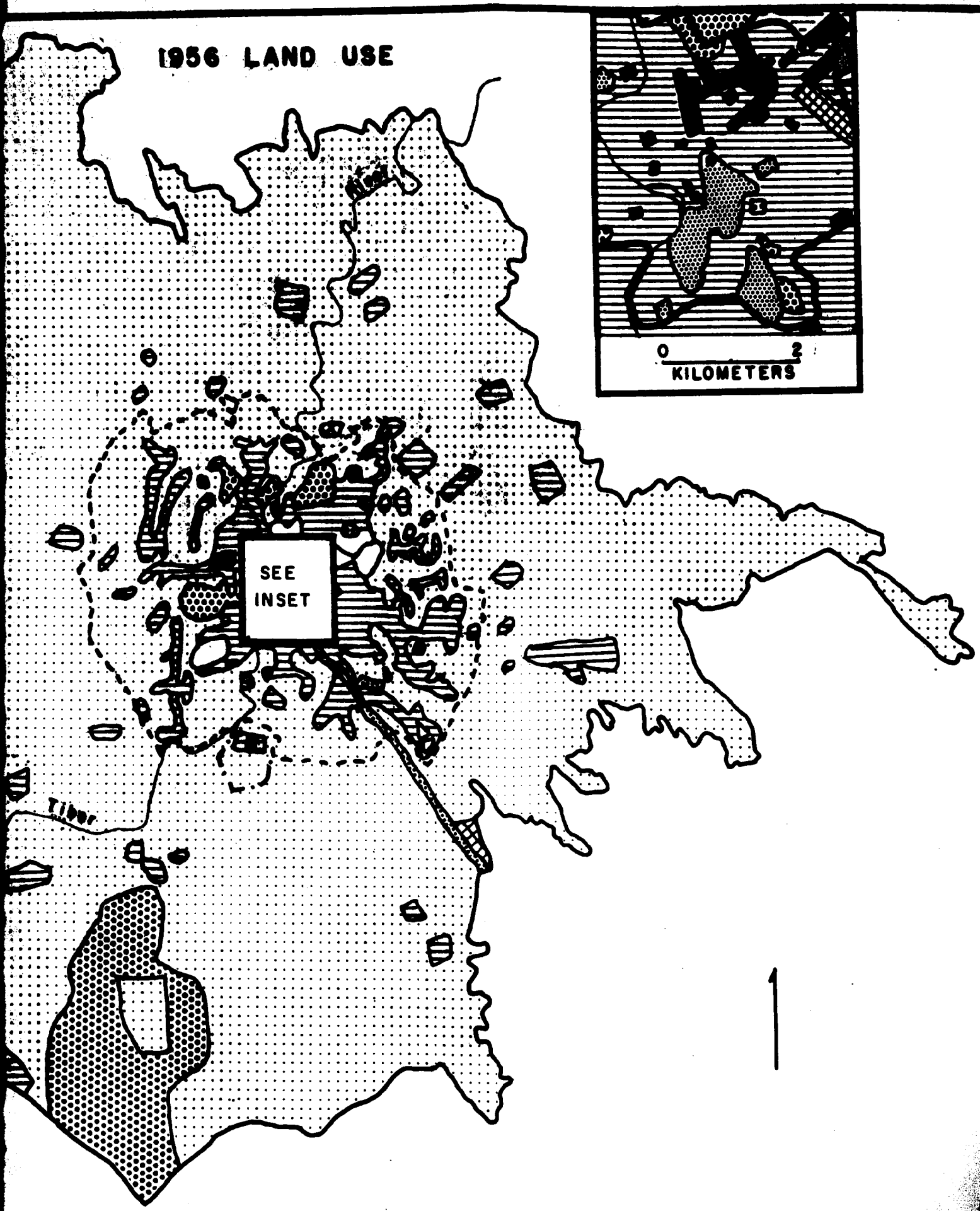
IMIT

ETERS

10



Fig. 6


1956 LAND USE
SEE
INSET
Tiber
0
2
KILOMETERS
1

material.[1] The Tiber and Aniene valleys are quite narrow, varying from a half to two and a half miles at several points. The delta and the coastal plain, which cover approximately a fifth of the commune's territory, represent the only truly flat lands in the commune. They are also highly productive agriculturally and yield some of the finest vegetables in Italy.

To the west of the Tiber lie the Sabatini Hills (Fig. 6). Beginning almost at the bank of the river, they run beyond the western limit of the commune. Varying from 150 to 450 feet in elevation, these hills have been highly dissected by the many streams that run through them. Because of the greater difficulty and expense of constructing roads and buildings here, this region has resisted large-scale settlement until the present decade. The eastern half of the commune, while not entirely flat, is gently rolling in nature and much less dissected than the western half. Reaching heights of 400 feet in only a few peripheral locations, the major part of the eastern area varies in elevation from 150 to 200 feet. Because of its more favorable relief, the principal population expansion has occurred in the commune's eastern half since 1871.

---

[1]Roberto Almagia, "The Repopulation of the Roman Campagna," Geographical Review, XIX (October, 1929), 530.

Inside the ancient Aurelian Wall beats the heart of the commune. The commercial, financial, administrative, and cultural centers of Rome are, and always have been, limited to a relatively small area within the wall. Beyond the wall lies first a ring of urban settlements, and then grazing and agricultural land.

The center of ancient Rome was the area grouped around three of Rome's famous hills, the Capitoline, Aventine, and Palatine (Fig. 7). The remnants of the ancient urban core now constitute the extensive district of ruins (Fig. 6, inset) within the city. Medieval Rome arose on level land opposite the Vatican and just north of the ruins.

Along papal Rome's principal thoroughfare, the Via del Corso (Fig. 8) is found the most important district of today's commune and city. It is modern Rome's financial and commercial core. Located in what was originally the center of the populated area, the Via del Corso (Street of the Race) gained special popularity from the horse races held on it from time to time. Banks and shops gradually arose along the street. Following the unification of Italy in 1870, the stock exchange was added to the growing financial and commercial district. Today most of Rome's leading department stores and the head offices of most of Rome's banks are located here.

Keeping pace with the modern city's growing popula-

Fig. 7.--Selected Important Features in the City of Rome.

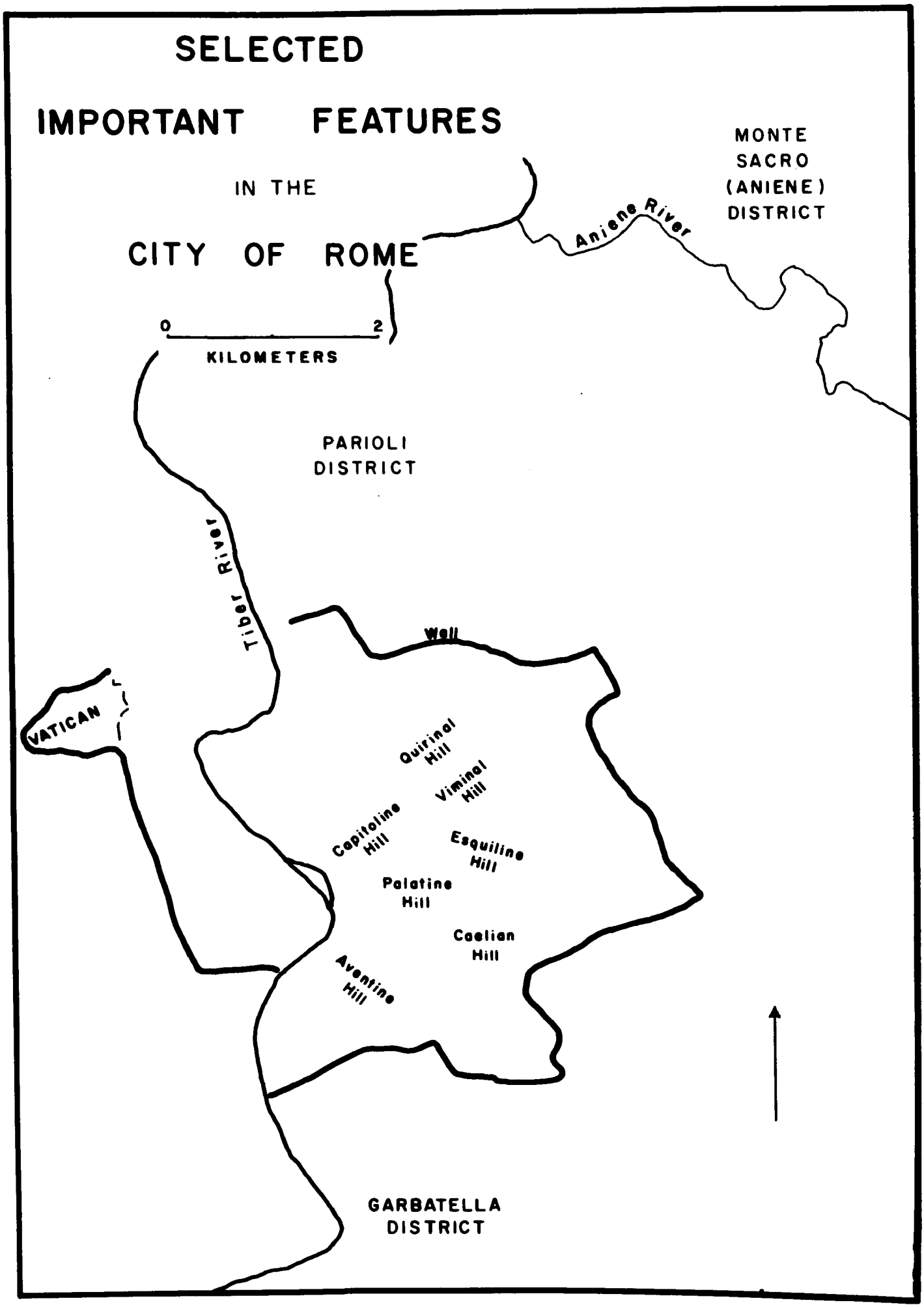

SELECTED
IMPORTANT FEATURES
IN THE
CITY OF ROME
0
2
KILOMETERS
MONTE SACRO (ANIENE) DISTRICT
Aniene River
PARIOLI DISTRICT
Tiber River
Wall
VATICAN
Quirinal Hill
Viminal Hill
Capitoline Hill
Esquiline Hill
Palatine Hill
Caelian Hill
Aventine Hill
GARBATELLA DISTRICT

Fig. 7

Fig. 8.--Central Rome

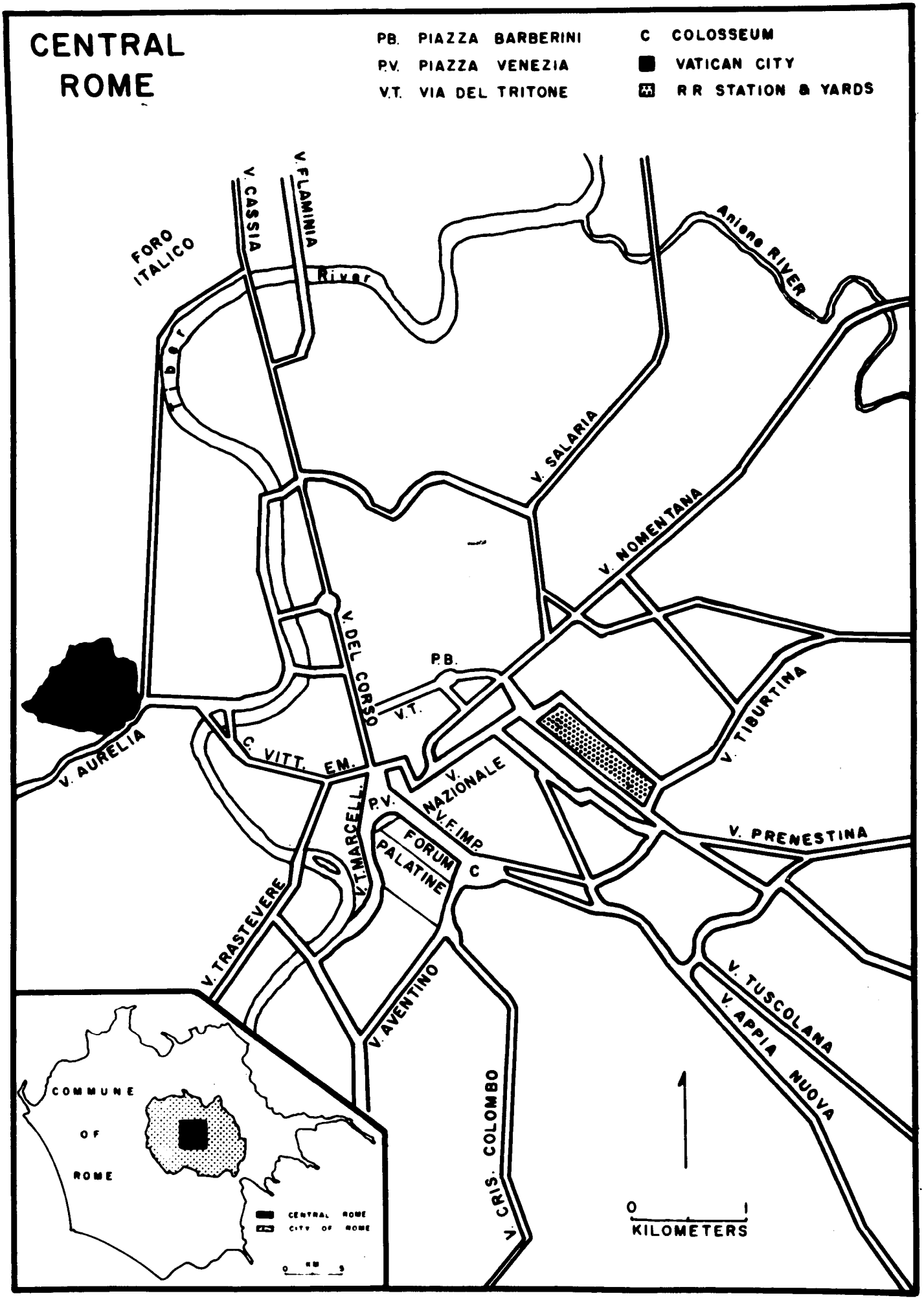

CENTRAL ROME
PB. PIAZZA BARBERINI
P.V. PIAZZA VENEZIA
V.T. VIA DEL TRITONE
C COLOSSEUM
VATICAN CITY
RR STATION & YARDS
FORO ITALICO
V. CASSIA
V. FLAMINIA
Tiber River
Aniene River
V. SALARIA
V. NOMENTANA
V. DEL CORSO
P.B.
V.T.
V. AURELIA
C. VITT. EM.
V. NAZIONALE
V. TIBURTINA
P.V.
V.F.IMP.
V. PRENESTINA
V. MARCELL.
FORUM
PALATINE
C
V. TRASTEVERE
V. AVENTINO
V. TUSCOLANA
V. APPIA NUOVA
V. CRIS. COLOMBO
COMMUNE OF ROME
CENTRAL ROME
CITY OF ROME
0
1
KILOMETERS

Fig. 8

tion, the central business district gradually extended north-eastward, following the general population movement in that direction. The extensions were along two major axes, both terminating near the central railroad station (Fig. 8). The lower axis follows the Via Nazionale (Fig. 8). Along this broad avenue are numerous specialty and luxury shops. The extension shifts northward at the eastern terminus of the Via Nazionale, following a short northern axis to the Aurelian Wall. Along this axis are located many of Rome's leading hotels and luxury shops.

The upper, generally east-west axis follows the Via del Tritone (Fig. 8) from the Via del Corso to the Piazza Barberini (Fig. 8). Along this narrow street are many specialty shops, including the commune's most important fabric establishments, frequented by Rome's many tailors and seamstresses. Just east of the central railroad station is another small commercial district centered about a large department store.

Neither the national nor the communal administrative offices are grouped solidly together, as the commercial establishments are. The various governmental bureaus are scattered loosely throughout a broad belt in the northern tier of the rioni. The principal bureaus of the commune are somewhat compactly located around the Capitoline Hill, offering some evidence of a separate governmental district. The national bureaus, however, show no

particular locational pattern, with the exception of those in the north-eastern rioni and adjacent quartieri. In this area some attempt was made to locate the offices along wide, easily-traveled avenues, such as the Via Nomentana (Fig. 8). The advantage of the central location of most of the governmental bureaus within the city and commune has gradually been lost by the growing traffic congestion in the urban core.

Rome's most important cultural institutions--churches, theatres, museums, and the university--are also scattered throughout or adjacent to the area enclosed by the Aurelian Wall. The commune's leading theatres are found in various parts of the central business district, but the other cultural institutions are found in all parts of the area. The main campus of the University of Rome was established just outside the eastern Aurelian Wall during the early years of Mussolini's dictatorship when it became apparent that the older buildings were no longer large enough to accommodate the growing student population.

As the foregoing discussion indicates, a very large proportion, about one-half, of the rioni's land is devoted to non-residential uses. The residences which occupy the balance of the rioni's surface are, to a large degree, the remnants of papal Rome. With almost no exception the permanent urban residences within and without the wall

are apartment buildings. The oldest and poorest districts of papal Rome were along the banks of the Tiber on both sides of the tiny island (Fig. 6, inset) in the river. These districts were often flooded and therefore shunned by the more affluent residents of the city. On the left bank was the Ghetto, the ancient quarter in which the Jews were required to live. Although such laws no longer exist, many of Rome's poorer Jews continue to live in this crowded, dingy neighborhood. A number of the quarter's worst buildings were razed by Mussolini as part of a slum clearance program. Opposite the former Ghetto, on the right bank of the river, is the Trastevere, a larger but equally dingy and crowded district. These two areas housed a large proportion of Rome's poorer residents in 1871.

The region of the city along the Via del Corso housed most of Rome's middle and upper class families until the early 1920's. Subsequent to that period, these people began to drift northward and eastward to newer neighborhoods beyond the wall, leaving the older neighborhoods to less prosperous families. Continual out-movement of the middle and upper class families, so similar to the suburban drift in American cities, has allowed the major proportion of residential areas within the Aurelian Wall to deteriorate. With only a few exceptions, the rioni today house only lower income group families.

Surrounding the wall are two residential rings which gradually give way to agricultural land (Fig. 6). The inner ring represents the new city of Rome, the majority of the buildings being less than 25 years old. All income groups, limited to easily-defined neighborhoods, can be found within this circular area. The only major interruptions of the predominantly residential land use of the zone are several parks to the north and west of the wall, the Vatican to the west, and the University and the main cemetery of Rome to the east. As will be seen later, most of these have played important roles in determining the nature of the adjacent residential area.

The outer residential ring varies sharply from the inner ring. Separated, for the most part, from the inner ring by agricultural or idle land, the outer zone, composed of a series of unconnected rural slums, is the scene of abject poverty (Fig. 17). Absent from the scene are the apartment buildings normally found in Rome's residential areas. In their stead are makeshift huts.

The remaining important residential zones of the commune are limited to the coastal plain. The most important of these is Lido di Roma, which is rapidly growing under government supervision. The three zones north of the Lido are largely dependent upon fishing, agriculture, and summer tourists, while the Lido functions as a suburb of the central city (Figs. 2 and 6).

Surrounding all four areas along the coastal plain is a zone of truck farming. Formerly a vast marshland, the region now grows some of Italy's best vegetables. The only important remnant of the pre-1900 coastal plain is the large recreational area east of Lido di Roma, once a royal hunting reserve. Farming, interspersed with grazing, is found throughout much of the remainder of the commune.

Of the remaining significant land use in the commune, only the airports have not been discussed. Of these, two are of importance in the city's transportation pattern: the older Ciampino in the southeastern part of the commune, and the new Fiumicino in the southwest, near the coast.

When seeing such structures as the new international airport, there is often a tendency to take modern Rome for granted. To best appreciate the revival of Rome with its teeming population of over two million, it is necessary to trace the highlights of Roman history preceding this revival. Only in this manner can the significance of Rome's regeneration be fully realized.

The city of Rome, which was to nurture one day the mighty Roman Empire, arose on the left bank of the Tiber River, one of the few navigable rivers on the Italian Peninsula. This excellent location, as well as Rome's central situation on the Italian Peninsula, made the city

a focal point for trade and commerce. The advantage of central location on the peninsula was greatly strengthened by the city being situated on the best bridging point of the lower Tiber.[1] The union of Roman organizational genius and commerce saw the city prosper and grow until it became the greatest urban marvel the Western world had yet seen. This was the Golden Age of Rome when it served as the nerve center of an empire that dominated the entire Mediterranean Basin.

Rome remained a thriving, prosperous city of more than a million inhabitants until the emperor Constantine's decision in 330 A.D. to transfer the capital to Byzantium.[2] This decision threw Rome into a state of shock from which it was long to suffer. No longer the seat of the empire, the city's commerce began to decline and its population along with it. In 410 A.D. the former capital received a second severe shock when the Goth, Alaric, in evidence of the empire's declining power, entered and sacked the city. A dying city in a dying empire, Rome became an easy and frequent victim of enemy attacks after the sack of Alaric, and by the sixth century, the city's popula-

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[1]D. S. Walker, A Geography of Italy (London: Methuen and Company, 1958), p. 21.

[2]Pietro Castiglioni, Monografia della Citta di Roma e della Campagna Romana, Vol. II (Rome: Tipografia Elzevir-iana, 1879), p. 325.

tion had shrunk to less than 100,000.[1]

Due to the city's instability and its shift to a peripheral trade position, Rome would have undoubtedly continued to decline to nothing more than a village had it not been for the popes. The growing strength of Christendom that coincided with the decline of the Roman Empire increased the influence of the pope. The presence of the Holy See in Rome saved the city from oblivion. As Grant Showerman has so ably said: "The Rome of modern times without the popes would have gone far toward becoming a desert, as the Rome of the Dark Ages without the accident of their lodgement in her, would have remained a desert."[2]

Pope Gregory the First (Gregory the Great, 589-593) restored order and calm to the city after more than a century and a half of repeated invasions and attacks. When Gregory's reign began, the city was but a shadow of its former grandeur, and its population had dwindled to about 50,000.[3] From the reign of Gregory the First until the transfer of the Holy See to Avignon in 1309, Rome's population remained fairly stable at 50,000.

The period of the Avignon Papacy (1309-1377) was the era of Rome's nadir. Without the papal presence, the city

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[1] Ibid., p. 350.

[2] Grant Showerman, Eternal Rome, Vol. I (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), p. 4.

[3] Castiglione, II, p. 350.

fell into a state of total decay. It was completely without an economic base, and the population rapidly fell with each succeeding year. By 1377, when the Holy See returned to Rome, only 17,000[1] inhabitants were there to greet Gregory XI. The return of the popes, however, marked the beginning of a continuous growth of Rome's population that has yet to abate.

Papal rule of Rome came to an end in 1870 when General Cadorna's troops occupied the city. On July 2, 1871, the formal transfer of the capital of the United Kingdom of Italy and Sicily from Florence to Rome took place. The rebirth of the modern capital began with the transfer.

The Rome of the popes had bogged down in a mire of corruption and inefficient government. Although the population of the city had reached 225,000[2] by 1870, a large proportion were priests and nuns.[3] Papal laws sharply limited commerce and trade, thus good agricultural land near the city went unused, business was poor, and the economy in general suffered greatly. In evidence of the poor economic state of the commune in 1870 were the 70,000 unemployed adults.[4] When Rome assumed its role as the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Italy, Censimento Generale della Popolazione del Regno--1871, I (Rome: Stamperia Reale, 1874), p. 312.

[3] Showerman, p. 496.

[4] Ibid., p. 545.

capital of a united Italy, it shed most of the economic shackles of restricted trade. Commerce sprang to life as funds poured into the capital to house the new government employees. Over the past eight decades the city's population spread from its Tibertine cradle to areas deep into the surrounding countryside as the number of inhabitants reached 1,900,000 in 1959.

The character and direction of Rome's population growth since 1871, rather than being uniform, have gone through two periods of change and are presently entering a third. The first period, from 1871 to 1922, was one of haphazard growth. During these years the city's population expansion was sporadic, unplanned, and undirected. Housing standards remained poor, congested neighborhoods continued to spread, and the commune's transportation facilities remained undeveloped. During these 51 years the population growth was almost exclusively in a northward and eastward direction, avoiding the rugged hills to the west and the marshes to the southwest (Fig. 9).

With Mussolini's rise to power in 1922, Rome entered its second phase of growth. The Mussolini years were years of almost feverish activity in the capital, and thousands upon thousands of people arrived annually to enter the booming construction trades, expanding civil service, and thriving commerce.

Fig. 9.--Former Marsh Area of the Commune of Rome

Source: Almagia, Roberto, "The Repopulation of the Roman Campagna," Geographical Review, Vol. XIX, October, 1929.

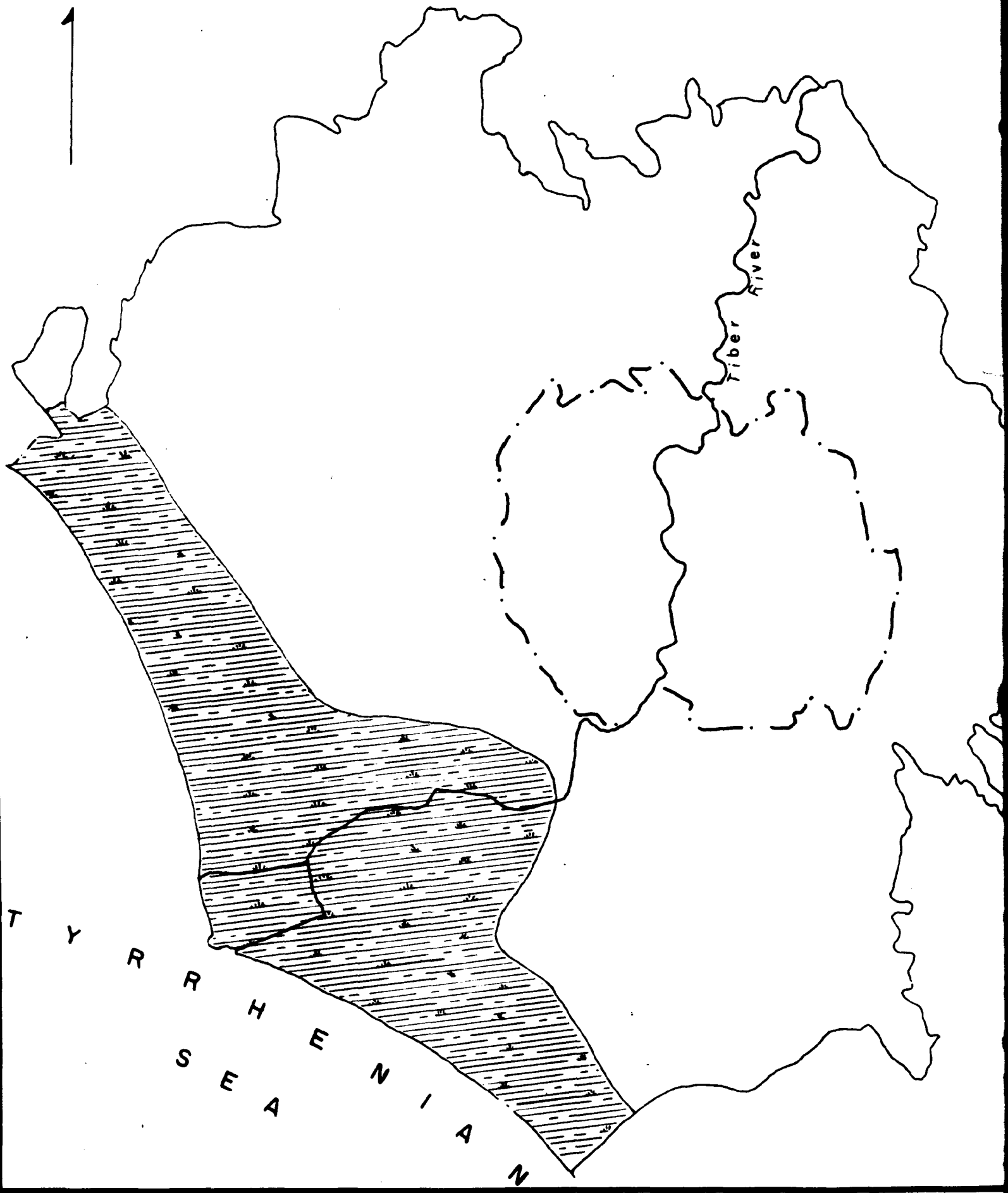


Fig. 9

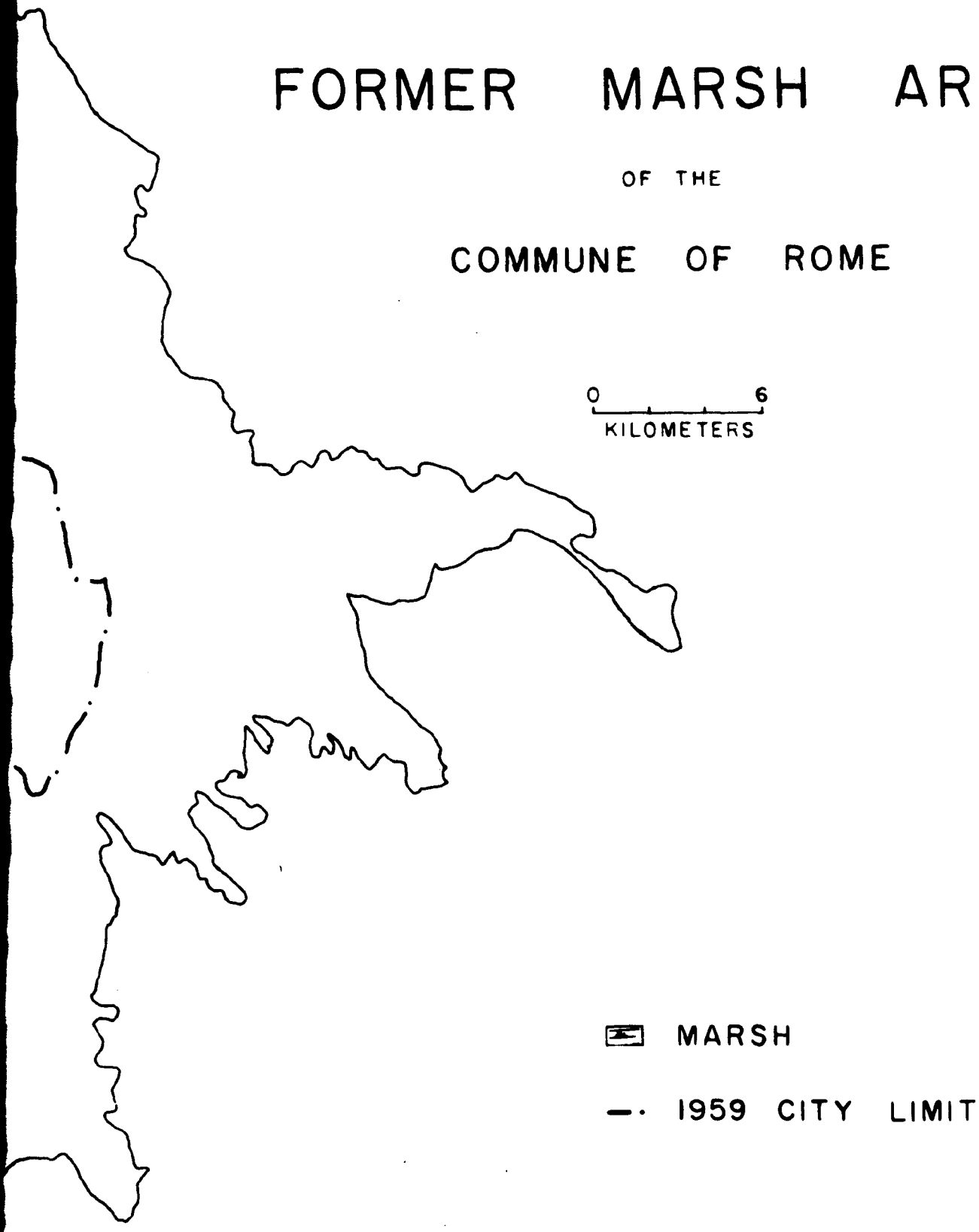

FORMER MARSH AREA
OF THE
COMMUNE OF ROME
0
6
KILOMETERS
MARSH
1959 CITY LIMIT

Fig. 9

The capital also embarked upon its first attempts at commune-wide planning. Mussolini, who had a strong desire to see Rome extend to the sea, undertook the task of directing the city's expansion southwestward. To most Romans and Italians this seemed like an impossible task in view of the southwestern sector being a vast marsh and almost entirely devoid of transportation facilities. To implement his plan, therefore, and make the area suitable for occupancy, the dictator embarked upon a program of drainage and railroad and highway construction. By 1930 the area was completely drained and joined to the heart of Rome by a new railway and highway.

In 1931 the first truly comprehensive commune-wide master plan was completed. This plan reflected Mussolini's hopes of populating the virtually empty area south and southwest of the city. The most startling feature of the plan was the proposed construction in this sector of an entirely new urban nucleus and cultural center which would first house the 1942 World's Fair. The zone was to be connected to the city by Italy's first subway. The other aspects of the 1931 master plan were slum clearance and a circular highway to connect all of Rome along the commune's periphery. Work on these projects was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II, but for the most part they were completed in the post-war years.

As the commune's planners laid the foundation for Rome's 1956 master plan, it was obvious to them that, by contrast, the 1922-1954 period of growth was a much more successful one than the 1871-1922 period. The earlier period reflected an expansion that was unimaginative, unplanned, and sporadic. The second period, however, reflected man's genius in overcoming both physical and social obstacles. During this latter period, the Romans were able to penetrate the barrier of the low, rugged Sabatini Hills to the west of the Tiber and also to make the southern marshland habitable. These accomplishments made it possible to utilize the entire territory of the commune for settlement. The other major accomplishment of this period was the broad use of planning to insure the best possible use of the commune's lands.

Because of both the present and prospective size of Rome's population, guidance in the use of the commune's land grows increasingly more important. Existing problems must be solved and future pitfalls avoided. The complexity of Rome's present growth does not permit the anarchy or neglect of the past.

While there were master plans for the commune in 1873, 1882, and 1909, they were largely traffic control and correction schemes until Mussolini's plan of 1931. Although there have always been men of vision in Rome, their pleas fell upon deaf ears because their ideas seemed too

radical or costly. The autocrat Mussolini, however, a visionary extraordinaire, ruthlessly crushed any opposition to his plan. It is, indeed, fortunate for the commune that his ideas were sound, since the Duce's two decades of unchallenged departure from previous plans could have been disastrous.

Mussolini's accomplishments--drainage of vast marshlands, slum clearance, part of a circular by-pass highway, and the beginnings of a new urban core south of the existing one--were a legacy that even an embittered, post-war Italy could not ignore or abandon. The 1931 plan not only treated existing problems; it anticipated the complications and needs of future growth. The post-war planners of Rome adopted the principal concepts of the 1931 plan and considerably broadened them.

The basic objectives of the 1956 master plan are: (1) freeing the historical city within the Aurelian Wall of much of its commercial and administrative function; (2) extending the southern and eastern population settlement areas, and (3) attracting additional industries to broaden the economy. The entire plan affects about three-quarters of the commune's territory and, for the first time, includes parts of adjoining communes (Fig. 10).

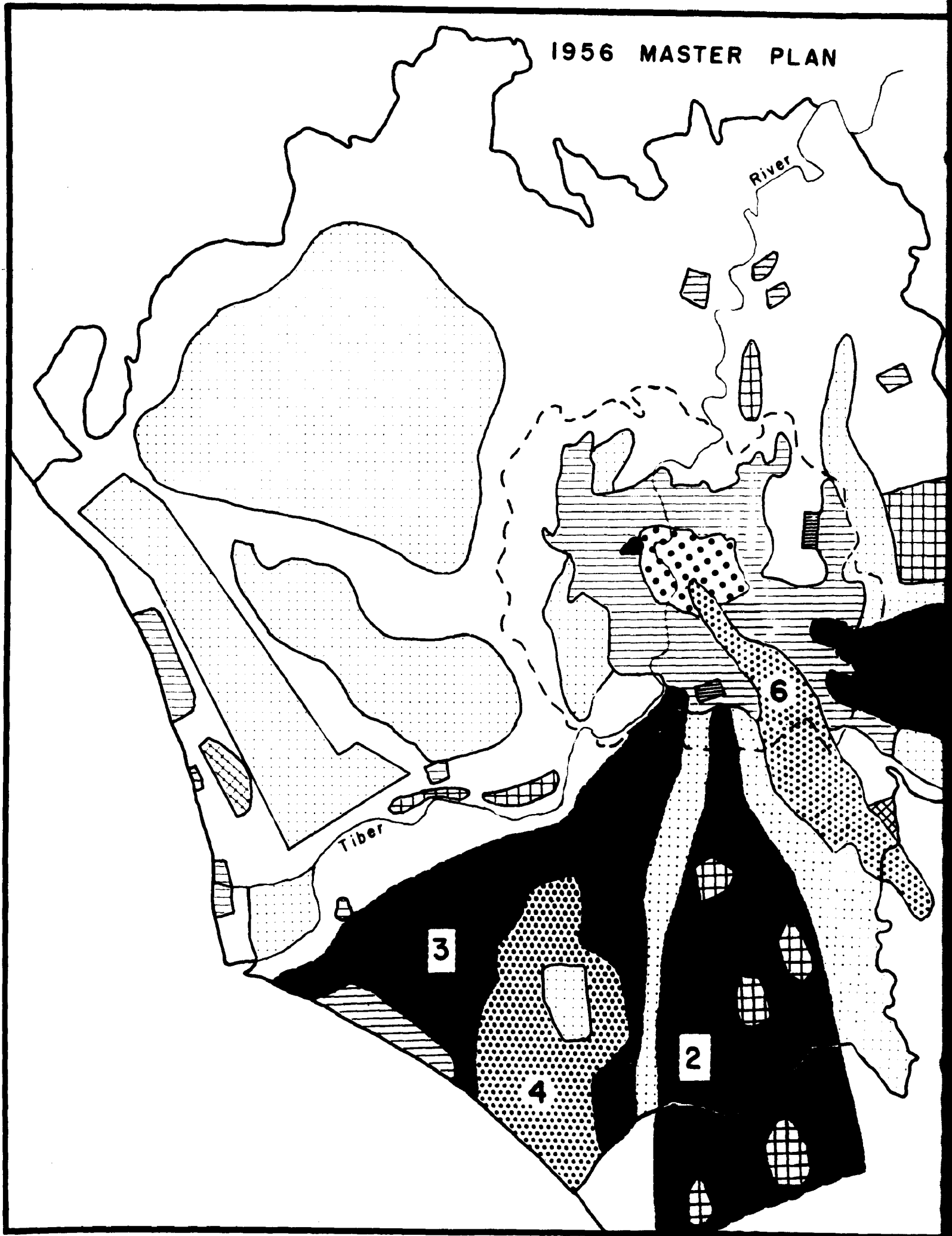
The decentralization of commercial and administrative functions from the old city has been prompted by the growing inability of the area to cope with the rapidly in-

Fig. 10.--Land Use and the 1956 Master Plan of the Commune of Rome.

Key to Numbers

1. Tuscolana-Prenestina
2. Ardeatina-Cecchignola
3. Ostiense-Laurentina
4. Castel Porziano
5. Alban Hills
6. Appia Antica

Source: Istituto Geografico Militare, "Roma e Dintorni," 1956; and letter from Alberto Gatti, Planning Commission of the Commune of Rome, Rome, April 2, 1959.

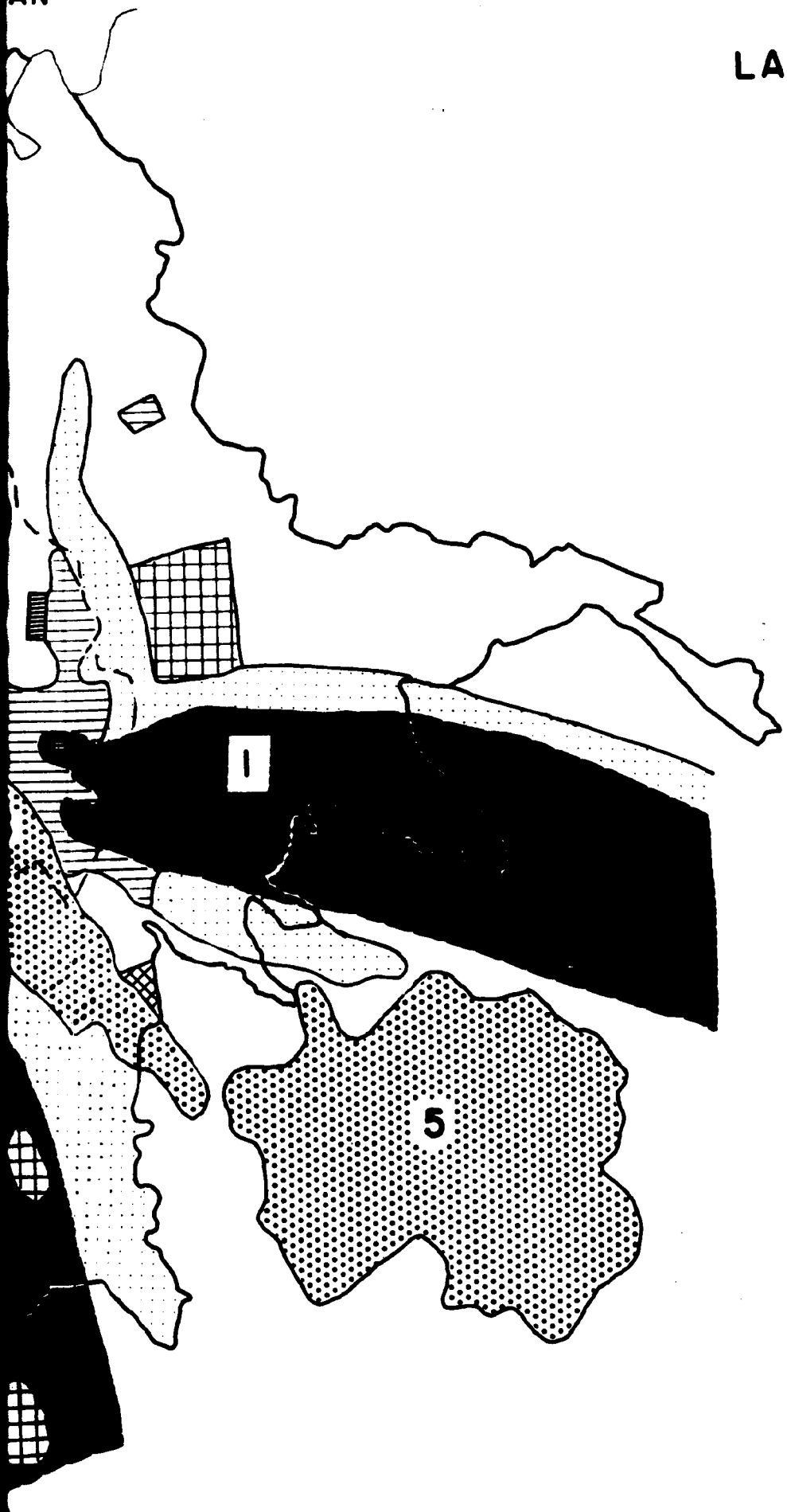

1956 MASTER PLAN
River
Tiber
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3
2
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AN

LAND USE AND 1956

OF THE

COMMUNE OF



CULTURAL
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COMMERCE
ADMINISTRATION
HISTORICAL ZO
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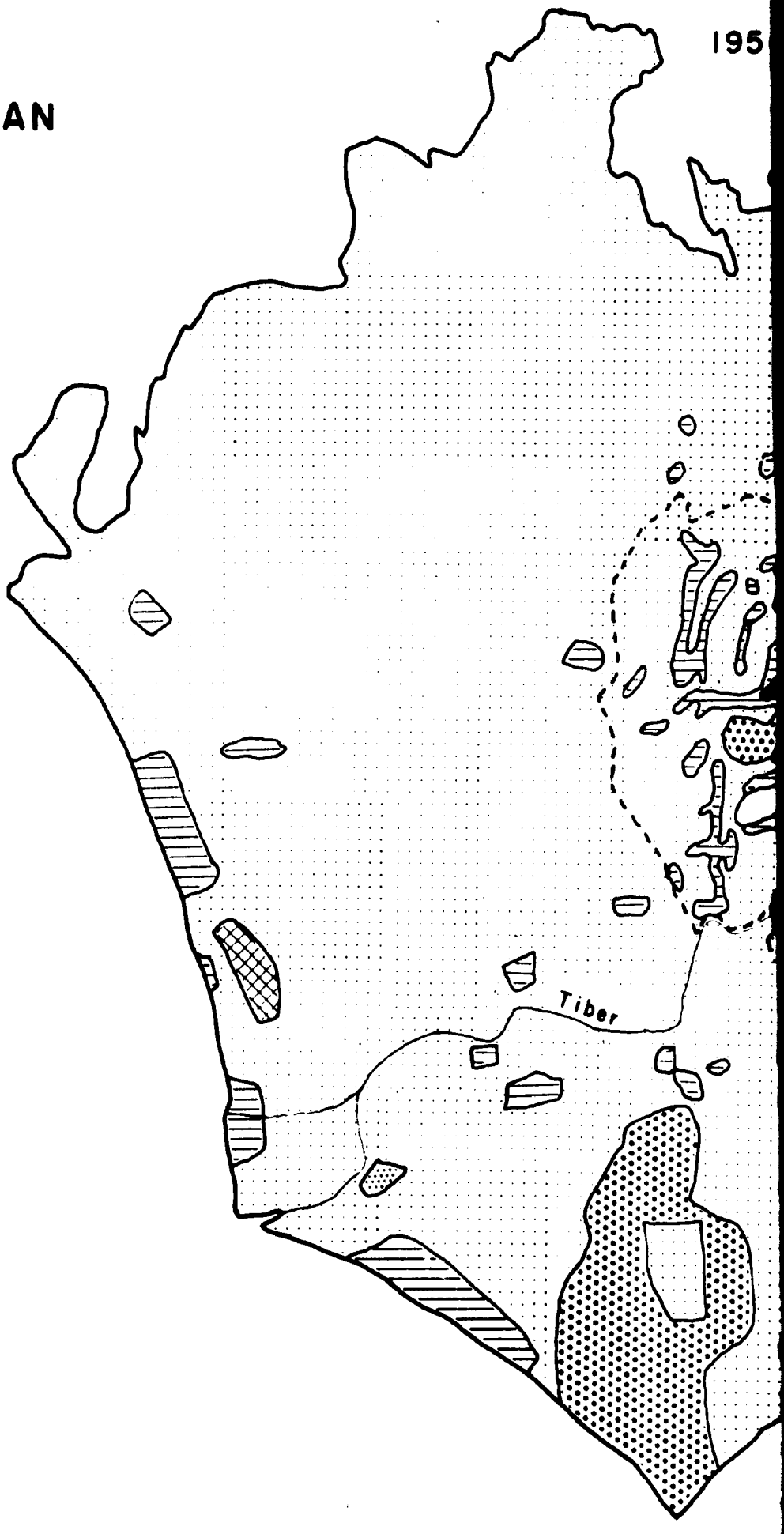
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Fig

1956 MASTER PLAN

OF THE

UNE OF ROME



LTURAL

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ANSPORTATION CENTER

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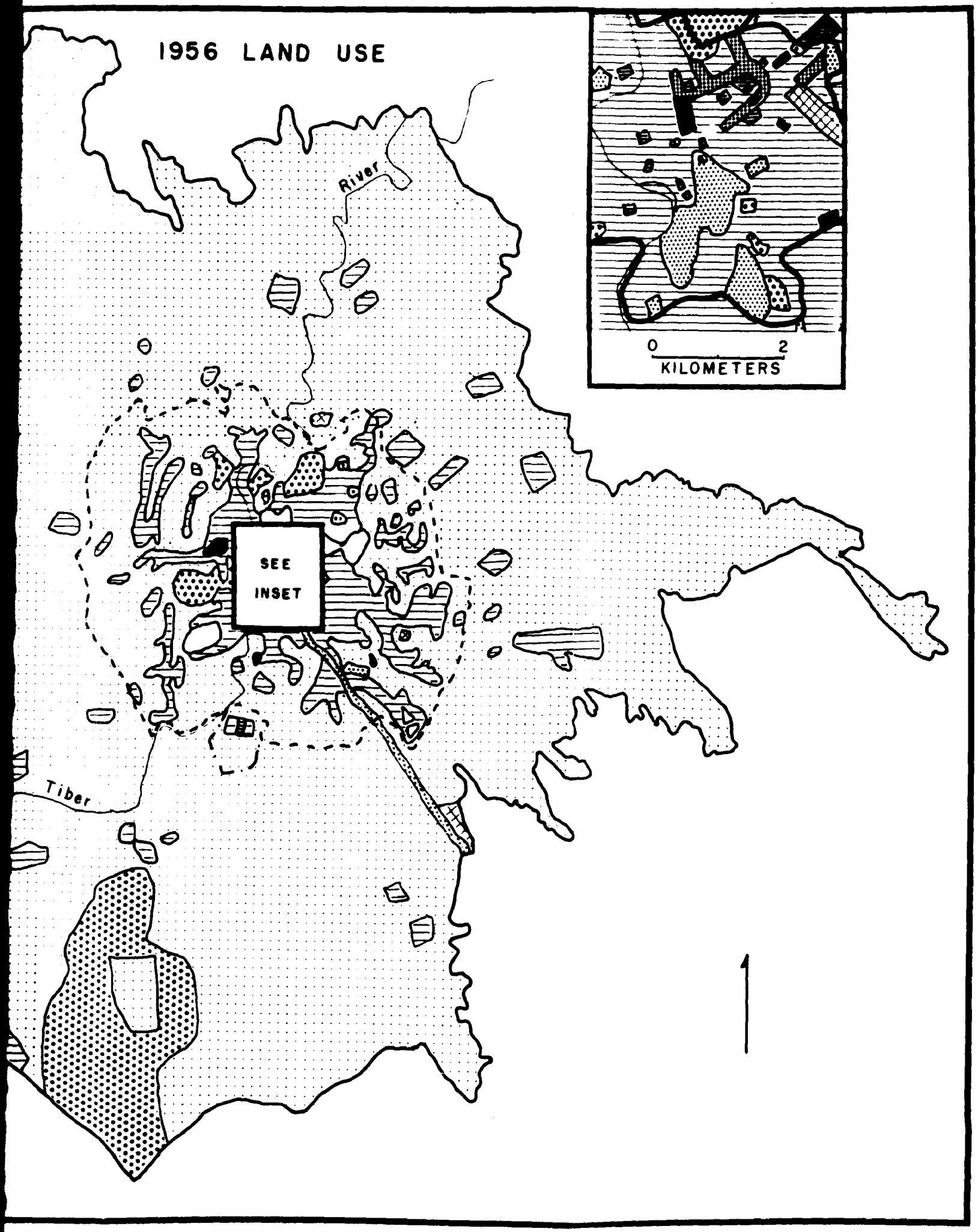
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Y LIMIT

KILOMETERS

10

Fig. 10


1956 LAND USE
River
SEE
INSET
Tiber
0
2
KILOMETERS
1

creasing traffic problem. A state of paralysis is slowly gripping the urban core because of its narrow streets and lack of parking space. Demolition of buildings to widen streets and create parking areas is an economic impossibility because of the high property values. There is also the equally important drawback of the historic value of so many of the area's structures and narrow old side streets. The only other alternative is to remove the causes of the traffic. At present almost every important function of the commune occurs in the old city. To decentralize at least some of these functions, such as governmental administration, commerce, and finance, would greatly relieve the pressure on the urban core.

With this purpose in mind, the new master plan proposes four administrative centers to be located near the periphery of the present city limits (Fig. 10). A new expressway system will connect them with other parts of the commune. The new centers will not replace all governmental bureaus, but primarily those which have outgrown their present quarters.

The grounds of the Universal Exposition of Rome (E.U.R.) (Fig. 2), originally the site of the proposed 1942 World's Fair, will be one of the four centers. It already houses a few commune and national bureaus. The most important of these are the Fund for the South (the Italian redevelopment program for South Italy) and the

Planning Commission of the Commune of Rome. The other three centers will be located just within the city limits to the northeast, east, and south of the present urban core. All four centers will be located where the greatest population expansion is expected, to the east and south of the Aurelian Wall. Although the emphasis is upon administration, the architects of the plan hope also to attract a considerable share of the commercial life of the central business district, in much the same manner as the American shopping center.

The four centers will be of particular importance to the three proposed residential zones because of their remoteness from the urban core. The proposed residential zones, rather than being unique creations, are simply formalizations of what would be the end result of the natural population drift in these directions. What the commune seeks to accomplish is unity and order for the mutual benefit of the residents and the commune. The three residential zones of the plan are: (1) Tuscolana-Prenestina, stretching directly eastward in a broad band from the present eastern population limit beyond the commune limit into several of the neighboring communes; (2) Ardeatina-Cecchignola, stretching southward in a triangular-shaped fashion from the southern population limit toward the Province of Latina, and (3) Ostiense-Laurentina, stretching southeastward in an irregular triangular shape

from the E.U.R. to the Lido (Fig. 10).

The overwhelming majority of the housing in the proposed residential zones is designated for low income families. Those in government and industrial employment will be the principal benefactors, but the commune also hopes to absorb the 70,000 rural slum dwellers (p. 93) now encircling the city. The commune cannot possibly assume the entire responsibility of constructing all the proposed low-cost housing because of the staggering expense involved. Much of the success of the program will, therefore, rest upon the aid of such social welfare societies as the Institute for People's Housing, INA-Casa, and UNRRA Casas.[1]

The new master plan includes no zoning of the expanding middle and upper class residential areas. These neighborhoods, as in the past, will continue to grow with a minimum of interference in the traditional northward and eastward direction, where broad, open expanses have been left in the master plan (Fig. 10).

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[1]The Institute for People's Housing (Istituto Case Popolari) was founded in Rome in 1904 by Luigi Luzzatti, who later (1909) became Prime Minister of Italy. The purpose of the Institute is to provide good housing for the poorer classes at nominal rents.

INA-Casa is an agency of the National Insurance Institute (Istituto Nazionale d'Assicurazione), the government-owned insurance company. INA-Casa constructs low-cost housing primarily for government employees.

UNRRA-Casas is a special agency of the United Nations. It was created in Italy after World War II to help solve the serious housing shortage.

The three planned residential zones will be separated by a number of recreational and agricultural zones, all of which are based on existing land use (Fig. 10). They will serve the residential areas as buffers, tributary areas, and places of recreation.

Separating the residential zones of Tuscolana-Prenestina and Ardeatina-Cecchignola will be two vast recreational areas, the Appia Antica and Alban Hills. The Appia Antica, running from the Piazza Venezia in the heart of Rome to the commune limit along the famous historical Via Appia,[1] will also include many of the ruins within the Aurelian Wall. Even before the master plan was drawn up, the ancient Via Appia was a popular attraction for Sunday outings and picnics. Along the historical road, much of it the original road of the emperors, are countless remnants of the Roman civilization. The zone, therefore, will retain a dual role as a recreational area and an enormous outdoor museum.

The second recreational zone, Alban Hills, is located in the Alban Hills, southeast of the commune and outside its area. The region has long been popular with Romans because of its two beautiful crater lakes and many famous hill towns, the best known being Castel Gandolfo, summer residence of the pope. As in the case of the old Via Appia,

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[1]The Appian Way.

the existing land use of the Alban Hills was formally adopted into the 1956 master plan both to conserve the area and to expand its recreational use.

The third recreational zone, Castel Porziano, is also an adoption of a previously existing land use, having been a hunting and recreational area owned by the royal family. Rather than separating two residential zones, Castel Porziano will form a deep wedge in the Ostiense-Laurentina zone, splitting it into two segments. Deep inside the recreational area, a region presently in agriculture, has been permanently zoned for this use.

Ten other zones of varying size have been set aside to remain in agriculture. Three will serve as long, narrow buffers between the residential zones. They are intended to function as truck farming regions for the adjoining settled areas. The three other agricultural zones which are adjacent to settled areas will have a similar function. Of the four remaining agricultural zones, the two along the coastal plain and delta are particularly valuable for specialized vegetable crops. To prevent the loss of this prized farmland to less productive land use the planning commission established the two agricultural zones. The remaining two agricultural regions are in the Sabatini Hills. Despite the lack of competition with other types of land use, the commune formally zoned the two regions as agricultural.

The remaining zoning classification of the master plan is industrial. It symbolizes the commune's desire to become less dependent upon government expenditures. Although Mussolini had hoped to attract manufacturing to Rome, little was done to accomplish this end. The present commune leadership, undertaking the task energetically, is confident of success.

Nine industrial zones have been created, all of which are located well outside the city. Three of the zones are situated in the Tiber valley. Two of these zones are located along the express highway midway between the new international airport near Fiumicino and the E.U.R., while the other lies north of the city, along the circular by-pass. A fourth zone, the largest of the nine, lies directly east of the city along the circular by-pass. The five remaining sites are scattered throughout the Ardeatina-Cecchignola residential zone.

What types of industry the commune hopes to attract is yet somewhat nebulous. At present, the chemical and food processing industries share some degree of success in Rome. It is the hope of the commune leaders that with a strong effort other industries will be attracted to the commune. In regard to raw materials and fuel, Rome possesses no advantages over such northern cities as Milan and Turin. However, Rome's growing population, which is moderately prosperous by Italian standards, presents an

excellent market for small, light industrial goods. Rome is also closer to the poor, but large, South Italian market. If the commune can attract more industry, its economy will become far less dependent upon governmental expenditures.

The entire master plan, all ramifications being considered, places the heaviest emphasis upon the southeastern quadrant of the commune. This development is due to several factors. Because much of the western half of the commune is covered by the Sabatini Hills, it has been largely left to agriculture and grazing. Being the most difficult, and expensive land to develop, it will also be the last employed for any major projects.

A number of corridors in the western half of the commune, and almost all of the northern half, have been left out of the plan. These areas are to grow "naturally." The corridors take on special value and significance because they are served by roads or border the sea, which affords them a certain commercial potential. The exploitation of this potential has been left to private interests. The land to the north has been omitted because part of it is in the expansion zone of the upper and middle classes and the balance is of no particular value for the objectives of the present master plan.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION GROWTH PATTERNS

After studying the new master plan of Rome, it is difficult to imagine the city in 1871 as a backward and economically stagnant center of approximately 200,000 people. Rome's growth since 1871 has been phenomenal (Fig. 11), yet its rapid emergence as a great metropolis is but one chapter in the amazing story of Western urban growth over the past century. While often differing in their basic character and personality, most Western cities share the same common denominator of rapid rate of growth. This can be seen by comparing Rome's rate of growth with three other Western cities: Milan, Paris, and Washington, District of Columbia.

The three cities are quite unlike in most respects. Milan is Italy's leading industrial and financial center and the country's second largest city after Rome. Paris combines all of the major functions of a city; it is at the same time the French capital and the country's leading manufacturing and financial center. Washington, District of Columbia, bears the closest functional similarity to Rome, also depending primarily upon governmental expendi-

Fig. 11.--Population Growth of Rome 1871-1957

Source: Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico della Citta di Roma 1952-54.

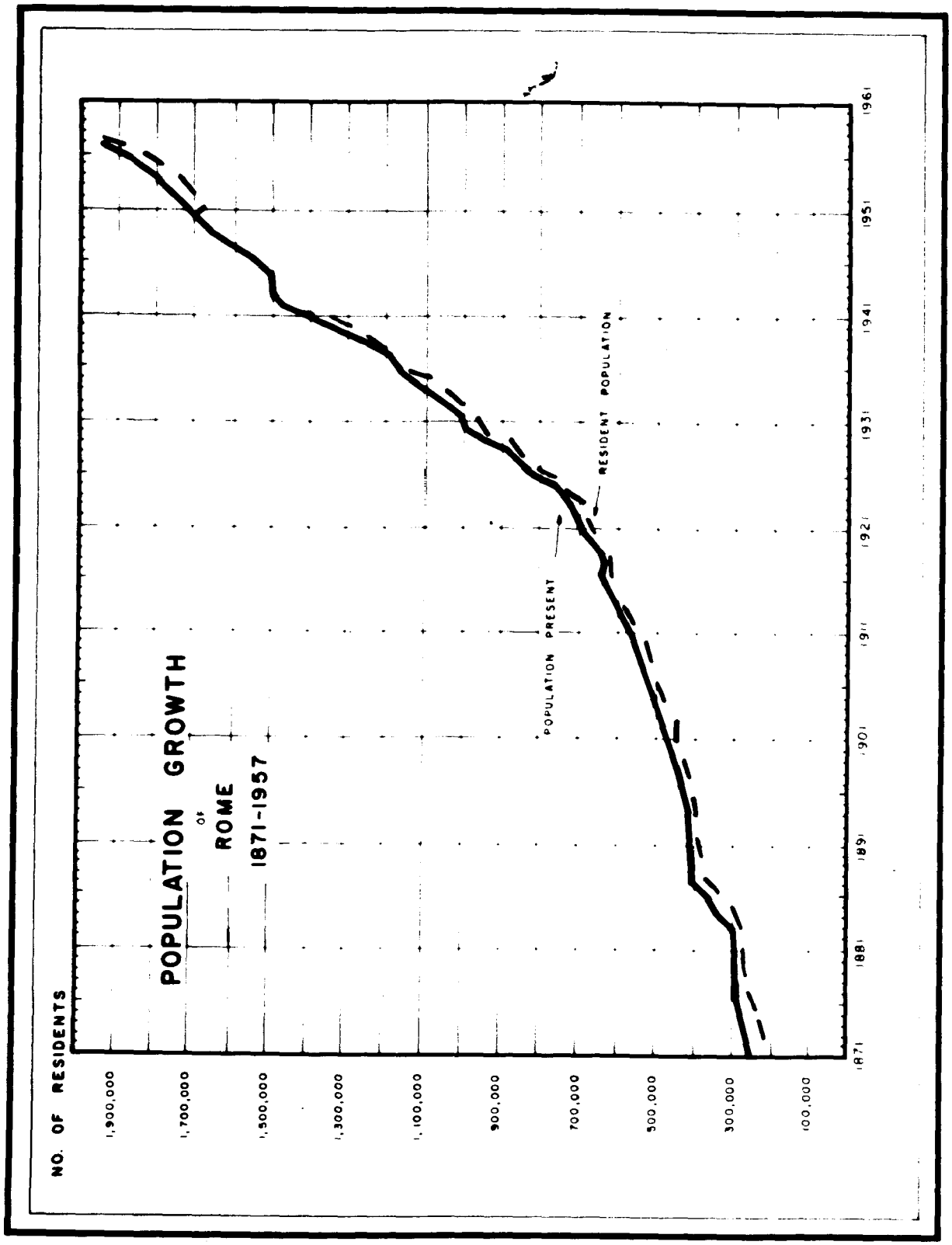

POPULATION GROWTH
OF
ROME
1871-1957
NO. OF RESIDENTS
1,900,000
1,700,000
1,500,000
1,300,000
1,100,000
900,000
700,000
500,000
300,000
100,000
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911
1921
1931
1941
1951
1961
POPULATION PRESENT
RESIDENT POPULATION

Fig. 11

tures. Its growth, therefore, like Rome's has come about largely as a result of the increasingly important role of the government. The cities being compared, however, reflect clearly that, while Western urban growth has been rapid during the past century, the rates of growth of individual cities have varied appreciably at times.

TABLE 1

COMPARABLE URBAN GROWTH RATES 1880-1950[1]

(000)

	1880	1900		1920		1950	
	TP[2]	TP	GR	TP	GR	TP	GR[3]
Rome	300	450	50	700	55	1,700	143
Washington, D.C.	175	278	59	425	53	1,287	203
Milan	300	491	64	718	44	1,275	76
Paris	2,750	4,000	45	4,500	13	5,500	22

Of the four cities under study, Rome and Washington have had the most comparable rates of growth since 1880. Only in recent decades has Washington's growth rate greatly surpassed Rome's. Milan's rate of growth, on the other hand, has tended to lag behind Rome's since 1900, the gap widening in recent years. The population of Paris has in-

[1]Compiled from numerous sources. Figures have been rounded off for facility of comparison.

[2]TP = Total Population.

[3]GR = Growth Rate.

creased at the slowest rate of all, despite the city's multiple function. All of the cities, however, have grown impressively since 1880. While some of this growth has come about through natural increase (an excess of births over deaths), most of the population increase has been the result of almost continual immigration from all the corners of Italy. Immigration, however, has proven highly sensitive to the economic and political climates of Rome and Italy, fluctuating wildly during certain periods in the past 88 years (Fig. 12). As a result, the commune's population increase through immigration has occurred in four successive waves, rather than one continuous movement. Three of the waves covered periods of over 20 years each. The fourth, which is presently in process, has thus far endured for 14 years.[1]

The first immigration wave covered two decades, from the establishment of the capital to the great building crisis of the late 1880's. The crisis, precipitated by over-construction and over-speculation in land, threw Rome into economic doldrums from 1885 to 1889. During these five years, the construction of new dwellings and business in general, fell off drastically. In the two decades prior to the crisis, Rome's population almost doubled, and approximately 89 percent of this increase was due to im-

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[1]Italy, Censimento Generale--1871, I, p. 312.

Fig. 12.--Pattern of Population Increase in the Commune of Rome 1871-1954.

Source: Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico della Citta di Roma 1952-1954.

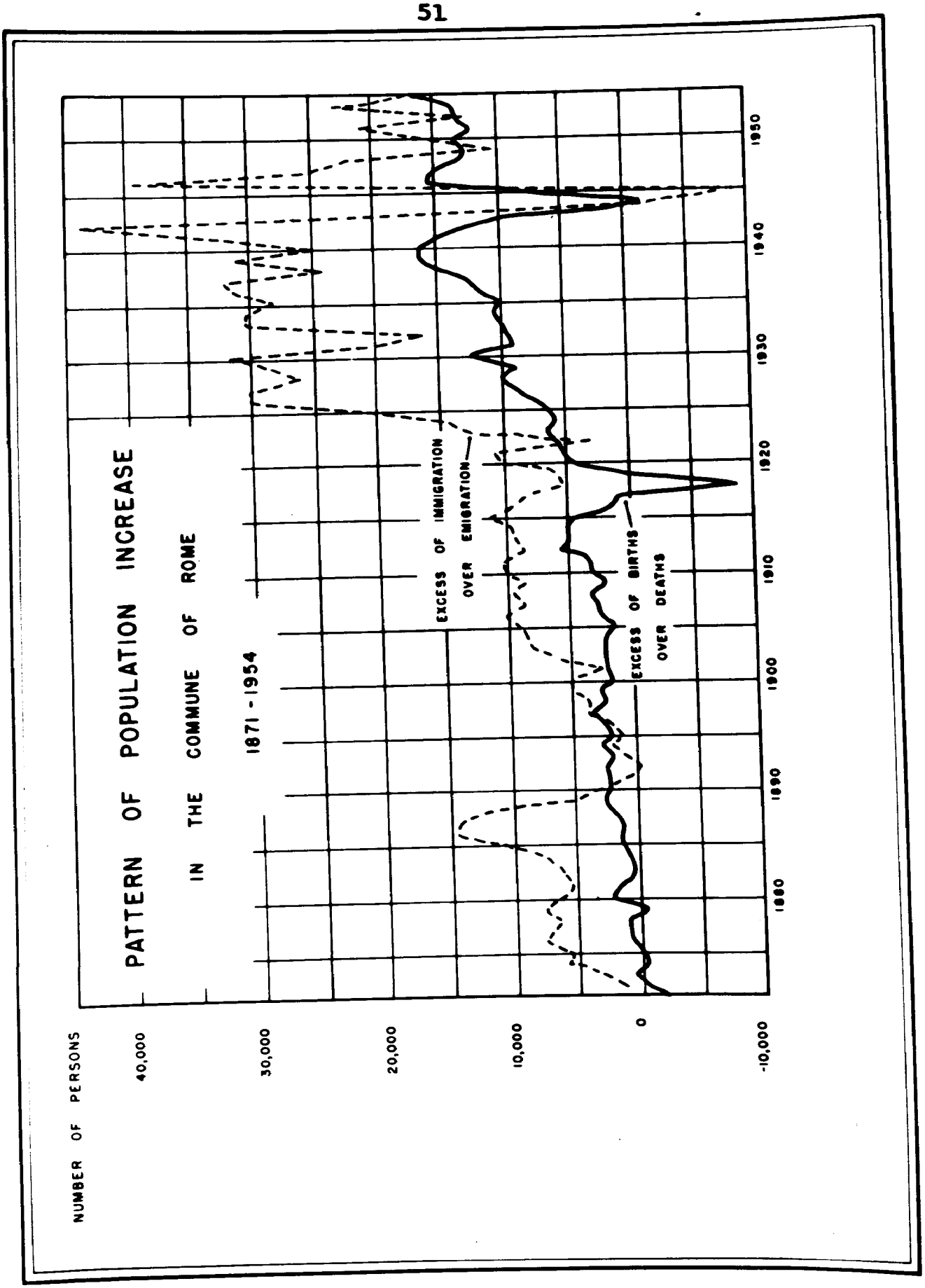

PATTERN OF POPULATION INCREASE
IN THE COMMUNE OF ROME
1871 - 1954
EXCESS OF IMMIGRATION OVER EMIGRATION
EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS
NUMBER OF PERSONS
40,000
30,000
20,000
10,000
0
-10,000
1880
1890
1900
1910
1920
1930
1940
1950

Fig. 12

migration.[1] The flow of immigrants to the commune had increased gradually from 1871 to 1885, then suddenly began to soar, reaching a peak in 1886-1887. Just as suddenly the immigration came to an almost complete standstill, in much the same manner as the city's economic activity, and by 1891 emigration exceeded immigration.

The second immigration wave, the longest to endure, but the most feeble, covered the 30-year span between the end of the building crisis and the rise of Mussolini in 1922. In the closing years of the crisis, the immigrants began trickling back to Rome, but only by 1896 did immigration again contribute more to the population growth than natural increase. In the following 30 years Rome's population increased by 200,000. All but 25 percent[2] of the increase was due to immigration, which rose steadily, finally reaching a plateau in 1903. Except for a two-year drop at the end of World War I, immigration remained at this level until the year prior to Mussolini's rise to power. With the advent of Mussolini a great new era began for Rome.

The year that Mussolini and his Fascists assumed con-

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[1]Italy, Censimento della Popolazione del Regno--1901, II (Rome: Tipografia Nazionale di G. Bertero, 1902), p. 358.

[2]Italy, Censimento della Popolazione del Regno--1921, VI (Rome: Stabilimento Poligrafico dello Stato, 1926), p. 61.

trol of Italy was an unstable one, and immigration to Rome almost ceased. By the following year, however, conditions had returned to normal, and the flow of migrants to the commune resumed. Thus began the third wave of immigration, a 20-year period of intense activity and growth. Mussolini, because he looked with special favor upon Rome, undertook great projects of restoration and modernization in the city. The great demand for laborers and civil servants brought new arrivals to Rome in unprecedented numbers. By 1926 immigration to the commune reached a volume twice as great as the previous high of 1886. The volume continued high, although fluctuant, until 1943, the year of Mussolini's downfall.

This third wave of immigration saw Rome's population rise from slightly over 700,000 to 1,500,000.[1] Approximately three-quarters of this growth was the direct result of immigration. There are many today in Rome who wistfully recall this period. They regard it as the Golden Age of modern Rome. They remember Mussolini's booming voice at the Piazza Venezia and his ambitious undertakings in the city. It is these people who provide the extreme Rightists with one of their largest vote blocks in Italy in election after election.

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[1]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico della Citta di Roma, Anni 1952-1954, p. 3.

The chaos of the Second World War did not leave Rome untouched. In the early years of the war, when events were in favor of the Axis nations, there was great opportunity for employment in the cities of Italy. In response to this favorable condition, migration to Rome increased sharply from 1939 on, reaching a record high by 1942. As the tide of war changed in favor of the Allies, conditions throughout Italy began to deteriorate, especially after the Allied landings in Italy in 1943. As the invading armies drew closer to Rome, people began to flee the city. By 1944 emigration from the city exceeded immigration. Even after the Allies occupied the capital, conditions were so poor that emigration again exceeded immigration in 1945.[1] By 1946, though, there was a complete turnabout, and people flowed into Rome at a rate only slightly lower than the record numbers of 1942.[2] Thus, 1946 marked the beginning of the fourth immigration wave.

From 1946 to 1959 the population of Rome grew to 1,900,000 persons, an increase of 400,000. Almost a quarter of the wage-earning immigrants were public administrators or skilled laborers responding to the commune's

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[1]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico della Citta di Roma, Anni 1948-1950 (Rome: Tipografia Carlo Colombo, 1953), p. 18.

[2]Ibid.

ever-increasing need for people with such training.[1] An equally large number were people with no profession.[2] The high rate of construction in the commune has attracted many of these unskilled laborers. Many others have been drawn into the numerous petty jobs associated with Rome's thriving tourist trade.

Although the present immigration wave has not had sufficient time to become well-defined, two trends appear to be developing. First, it is quite apparent that the present rate is not approaching the huge influx of the Mussolini era. The second trend is far more significant, since it could be an indication of the nature of future growth. Over the past decade the proportion of the population increase resulting from immigration has been considerably lower (15 percent) than during the past two waves.[3] This may simply be a peculiarity of the present population wave, or it may reflect the weakening position of immigration as a factor in Rome's population growth.

The traditional heavy immigration to Rome has been from Central Italy (Figs. 13 and 14). The region of Lazio (Fig. 5), of which Rome is a part, has contributed more to Rome's population than any other region in Italy.

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[1] Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico, 1952-1954, p. 374.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Fig. 13.--Origin by Birthplace of Non-native Residents in the Commune of Rome.

Source: Italy, Censimento Generale della Popolazione del Regno 1871, 1881, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1936, and 1951.

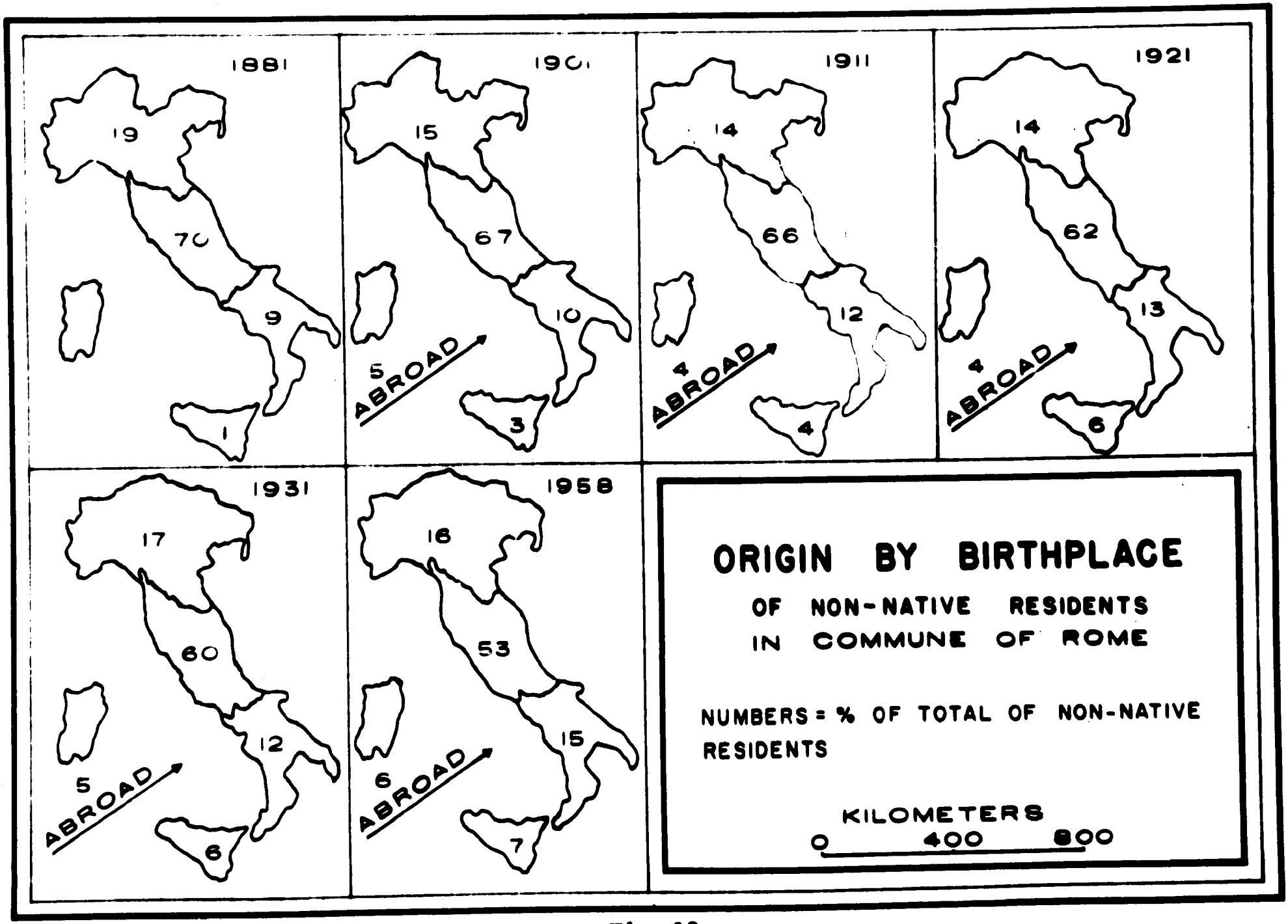

1881
19
70
9
1
1901
15
67
10
5
ABROAD
3
1911
14
66
12
4
ABROAD
4
1921
14
62
13
4
ABROAD
6
1931
17
60
12
5
ABROAD
6
1958
16
53
15
6
ABROAD
7
ORIGIN BY BIRTHPLACE
OF NON-NATIVE RESIDENTS
IN COMMUNE OF ROME
NUMBERS = % OF TOTAL OF NON-NATIVE RESIDENTS
KILOMETERS
0 400 800

Fig. 13

Fig. 14.--Percent of Native and Non-native Residents in the Commune of Rome.

Source: Italy, Censimento Generale della Popolazione del Regno, 1871, 1881, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1936, and 1951.

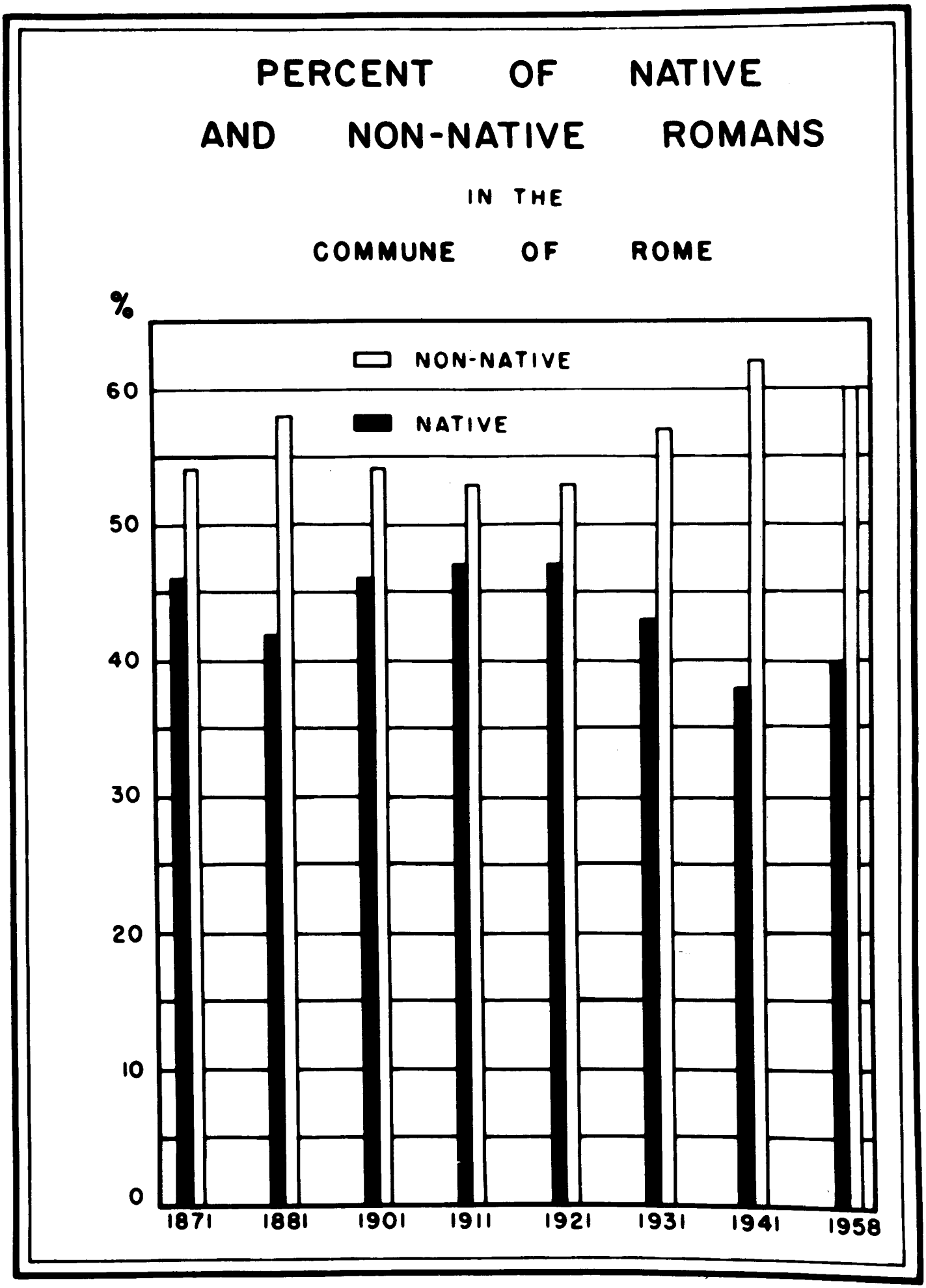

PERCENT OF NATIVE
AND NON-NATIVE ROMANS
IN THE
COMMUNE OF ROME
%
NON-NATIVE
NATIVE
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
1871
1881
1901
1911
1921
1931
1941
1958

Fig. 14

During the first years following the establishment of the capital, Central Italy was the source of nearly three-quarters[1] of Rome's immigrants, but this proportion has slowly decreased through the decades. Now approximately one-half[2] of the immigration is from this area, but Central Italy still remains without question Rome's primary source region. A very large proportion of the immigrants from this part of the country have been surplus agricultural laborers. They have gone to Rome, the largest city in Central Italy, in the hope of finding employment. For the most part, these migrants have formed the backbone of Rome's unskilled labor force.

North Italy has been Rome's second largest tributary region, although it has lagged far behind Central Italy. While in certain years as much as 22 percent of the commune's immigration has come from the north, in most years the figure has been closer to 15 percent.[3] It has also been the traditional source of most of Rome's skilled laborers and professional people. This has been true largely because of the North's more advanced economic de-

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[1] Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico di Roma, 1885, I (Rome: Tipografia dei Fratelli Bencinni, 1886), p. 57.

[2] Mario Bianchini, "L'Immigrazione a Roma nel Decennio 1941-1950," Bollettino della Societa Geografica Italiana, V (May-August, 1952), 219.

[3] Computed from Italy, Censimento Generale (1871-1951).

velopment by contrast with Central and South Italy. No other region of Italy has actually been able to train the great numbers of skilled and professional personnel required by Rome. That Rome has continually offered opportunity for employment in public administration has also served as a strong lure, especially when one is aware of the great appeal that the stability of government employment holds for Italians. Northern surplus agricultural laborers, on the other hand, have gone in large numbers to the northern industrial cities of Milan and Turin, rather than to Rome, where opportunity for the unskilled laborer is meager.

South Italy, by contributing 9 percent[1] to Rome's immigration during the first decade of the modern capital, ranked third as a population source. With each passing decade, however, the region became more important to Rome's growth. By 1911 South Italy almost equalled the North as a Roman tributary region. Since that year it has maintained a fairly equal level with the North.

The islands, Sardinia and Sicily, have never been an important population source. During the first decades following the unification of Italy only 1 percent of the people living in Rome claimed the islands as their place of birth. This percentage has risen steadily, but by

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[1]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico, 1885, p. 57.

1958 only about 8 percent[1] of the capital's immigrants came from Sicily and Sardinia.

The number of alien residents has also been of secondary importance during the modern history of the capital. In the first two decades following the unification of Italy, very few foreign residents had settled in Rome. By the turn of the century, however, 5 percent[2] of the total immigration was from abroad. This percentage has remained more or less the same since then.

Rome's foreign residents have always come almost exclusively from Europe and North America.[3] Generally, about four-fifths have come from Europe, and most of the balance have come from North America. Five countries, France, Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, and the United States, have continually furnished the majority of Rome's foreign colony. Most of the colony is made up of temporary residents. A large percentage of the Swiss, Germans, and Austrians in Rome have been female domestics, while a very large proportion of the Americans, English, and French have been diplomats, students, and members of wealthy families.

There remains one group of foreign residents which

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[1]Bianchini, p. 219.

[2]Italy, Censimento Generale-1901, II, p. 358.

[3]Computed from Italy, Censimento Generale (1871-1951).

merits special mention. Because of the city's rich cultural tradition and cosmopolitan structure, in recent decades it has attracted increasing numbers of artists and expatriates from abroad. These people, while forming only a minority of Rome's foreign colony, represent one of the more colorful elements of the city's population. Many of these people tend to cluster in various neighborhoods, which take on the character of the particular group involved. A good example of such an area is the Via Margutta artist colony, just north of the Piazza di Spagna. The cafes of the Via Veneto, one of Rome's more fashionable avenues, are also the meeting places of many expatriates and film stars, both foreign and Italian. Rome benefits greatly from the presence of these foreign artists and expatriates, since many of them contribute much to the commune's cultural life.

Future immigration probably will not vary greatly from the present trends. Central Italy will undoubtedly continue to be the leading population source of Rome because it is the nearest reservoir of surplus agricultural labor. On the other hand, based on the increasing influx from the South since the end of World War II, it is possible that South Italy may become a more important immigration source than North Italy; but whether or not migration from the South will increase remains highly problematical. Any other important changes are rather un-

likely.

In South Italy can be found the largest labor surplus in all of Italy. This surplus is the result of centuries of economic decay in the region caused primarily by absentee landlordism, primitive farming practices, and a high birth rate. The Cassa Per il Mezzogiorno (Fund for the South), created in 1950, has been highly successful in improving economic conditions through land reform, but the labor surplus still remains because almost no non-agricultural industry of any type exists in the South to absorb it. The government's land reform program divided the farmland on the basis of its ability to support a family. Further subdivision would, therefore, serve little purpose in realistically arresting or reducing the region's population surplus. Only through absorbing this surplus in non-agricultural industries can the problem be solved. Unless such industries are attracted to the South the labor surplus will continue to grow. The Italian government is presently increasing its efforts to attract new industries to the South, but thus far the results have been poor. In view of the government's program and policies, some degree of success would seem quite probably, but the degree of success only remains conjecture. It is the degree of industrialization of the South that will ultimately determine the migration from it to Rome and other cities of the North.

The occupations of the immigrants have varied little since 1871, as the basic economic character of Rome has not altered greatly. Because of the presence of the Holy See in Rome, and because Rome is the capital of Italy, a fairly large proportion of those migrating to the capital have always been clerics and public administrators, the former comprising approximately 20 percent of the total, and the latter almost 10 percent.[1] Other important groups have been the trades, commerce, and the professions. Since 1940 these occupation groups have contributed about 15 percent[2] to the total migration. The remaining group of immigrants has mainly been composed of non-skilled laborers. If the industrialization phase of the 1956 master plan succeeds, the greater demand for skilled labor will change the traditional distribution of immigrant occupations.

The pattern of Rome's growth through natural increase has been somewhat different than that of increase through immigration (Fig. 12). The pattern of natural increase reflects a very low sensitivity to changing economic climates; therefore, its stability through the years has been quite strong.

Rome's population growth through natural increase has

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[1]Bianchini, p. 224.

[2]Ibid.

been steady, except for the periods of World War I and World War II. During the first decade following the creation of the capital there was virtually no natural increase, inasmuch as the death rate exceeded the birth rate in five of the 10 years. From 1880 onward, however, the rate of natural increase began to rise. The first interruption in this rising rate came in 1915 when World War I summoned many of Rome's young men to the battle front. The drop in the birth rate resulted in a 20 percent decline in the rate of natural increase. This decline was further intensified in 1918 when the world-wide influenza epidemic struck the commune. The result of the epidemic was an excess of deaths over births in that year. With the end of the war and the epidemic, the slowly-rising rate of natural increase resumed its pre-war pattern.[1]

The second significant interruption of the pattern came during the early years of World War II. No truly serious decline became evident until 1942, when the birth rate began to fall. The decline continued through 1944. An increasing death rate, the result of extreme wartime hardships and disease, aided the decline. By 1946 the pre-war pattern of increase had reestablished it-

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[1]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico, Anni 1914-1924 (Rome: Tipografia F. Centenari, 1925), p. 12.

self and has suffered no serious decline since that year.

In only 11 of the past 88 years has the rate of natural increase exceeded that of immigration. In all of these 11 years the excess was meager. In most cases the year was one of economic or social stress which discouraged immigration. Traditionally the annual excess of births over deaths has contributed one-third of the total population increase; however, since 1948, the position of immigration has weakened considerably, while that of natural increase has remained firm. Whether or not this pattern of the last decade is indicative of future trends is rather uncertain. It is significant, however, that the decline of immigration has occurred during a period of relative prosperity. It is quite possible, therefore, that in future years natural increase will be a considerably more important factor in Rome's population growth than in the past.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION DENSITY

In the previous chapter the discussion was limited largely to the growth pattern of Rome's population. Closely related to this growth phenomenon is the settlement pattern, which has been quite uneven in the commune. The result has been a great variation in densities. This uneven population distribution has been the outgrowth of both physical and cultural factors.

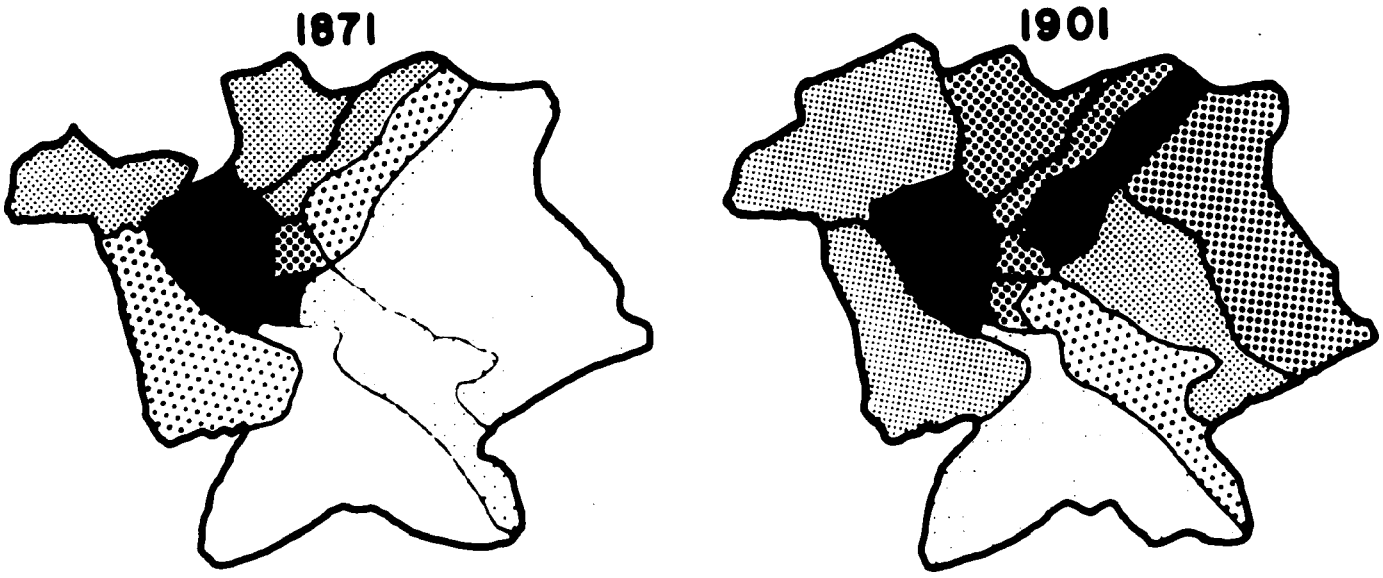
At the time Rome became the capital of a united Italy in 1871, most of the population was concentrated on the left bank of the Tiber in the heart of the city. Since 1871 Rome's population has increased almost 10-fold, consequently the demographic concentration has spread far beyond its original confines of the north-central rioni. The Roman population expansion has been primarily toward the east and north-east (Fig. 15). Only in the 1930's did it begin to move in other directions. This shift was mainly the result of two phenomena: Mussolini's influence on city planning, and an advancing technology.

The construction of buildings and roads in the eastern part of the city and commune has never presented any physi-

Fig. 15.--Population Density per Hectare in the City of Rome 1871-1951.

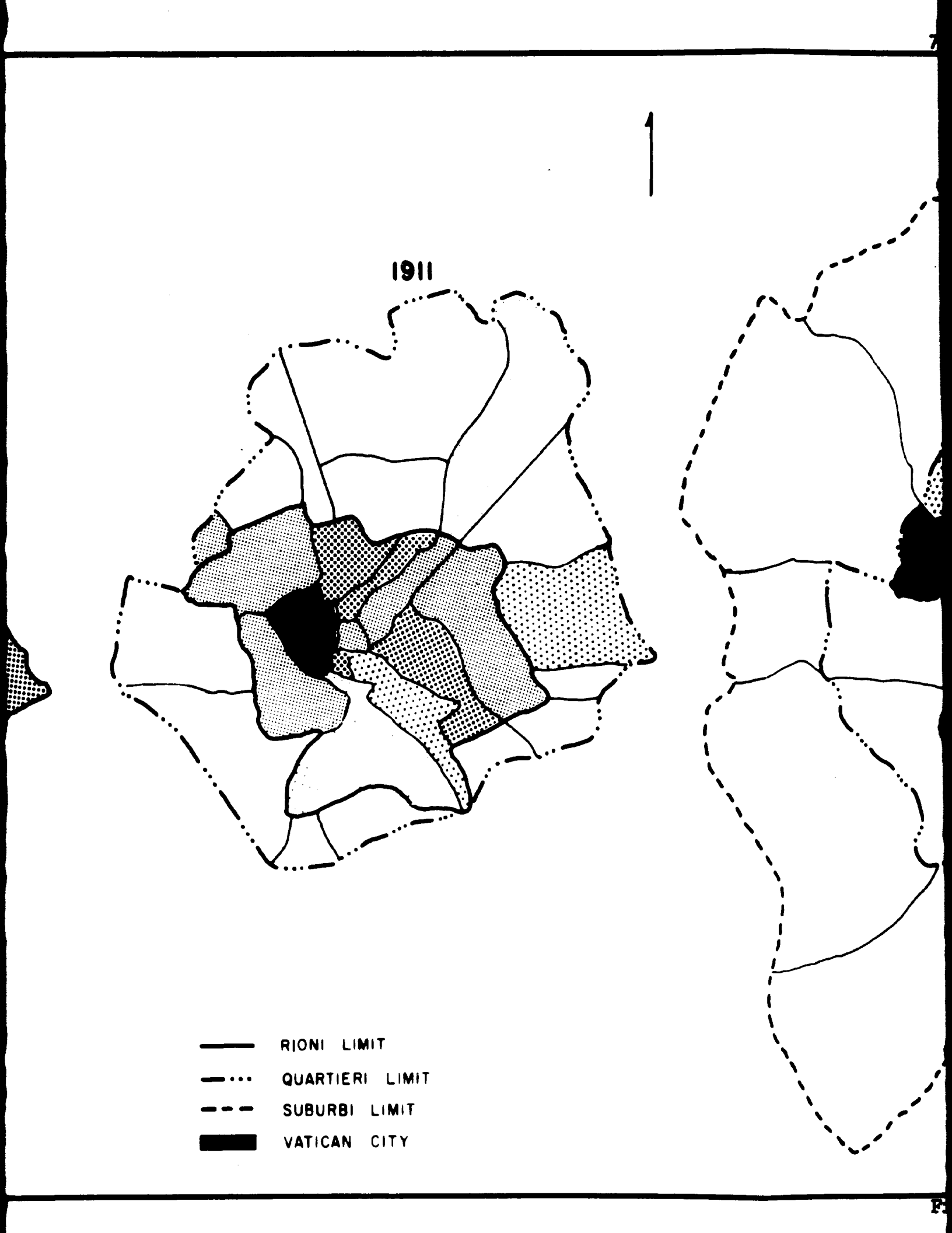
Source: Italy, Censimento Generale della Popolazione del Regno, 1871, 1881, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1936, and 1951.

POPULATION
DENSITY PER HECTARE
IN THE
CITY OF ROME



PERSONS

- 0-49
- 50-99
- 100-199
- 200-299
- 300-399
- 400-499
- 500 PLUS


1911
RIONI LIMIT
QUARTIERI LIMIT
SUBURBI LIMIT
VATICAN CITY

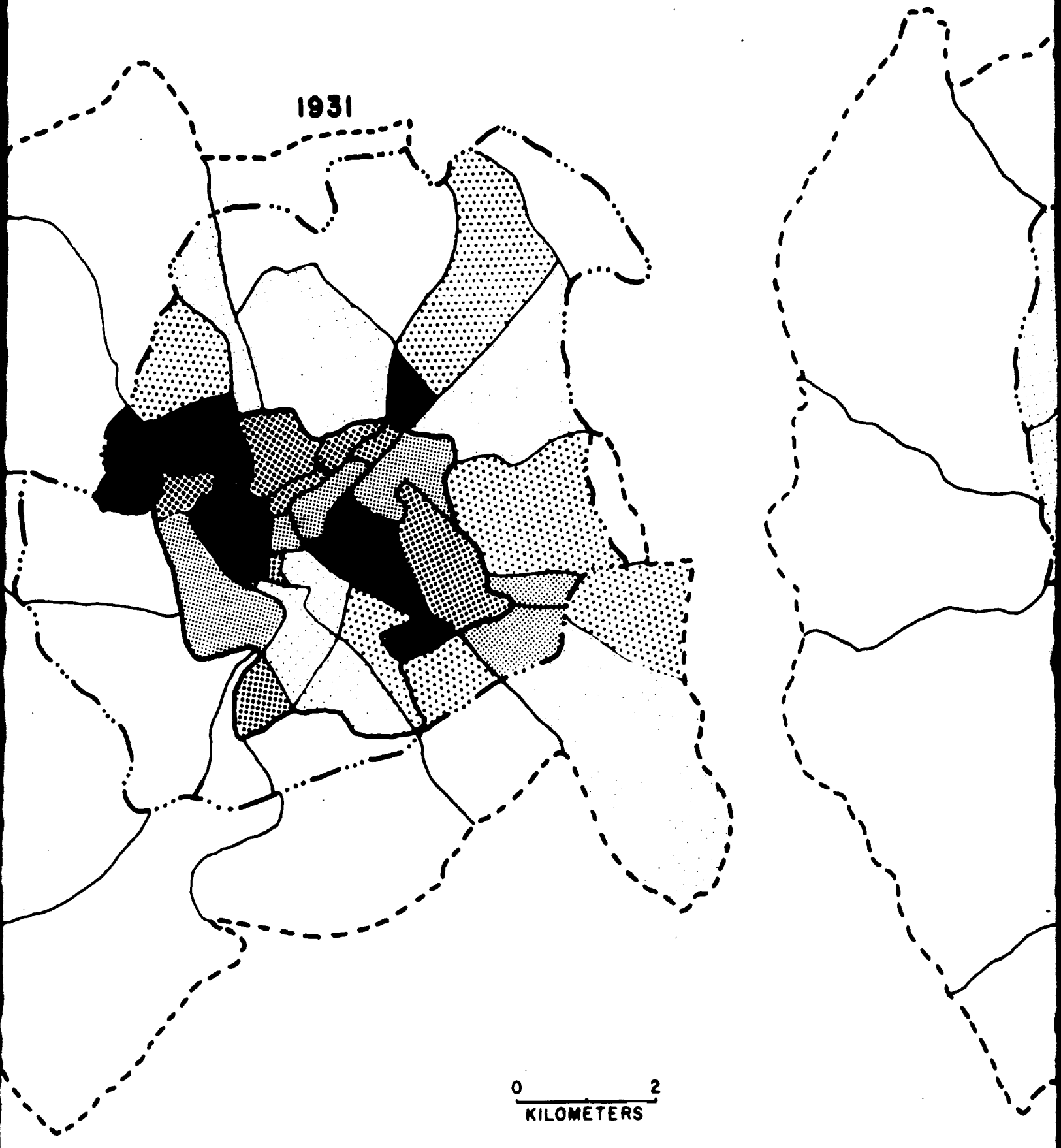
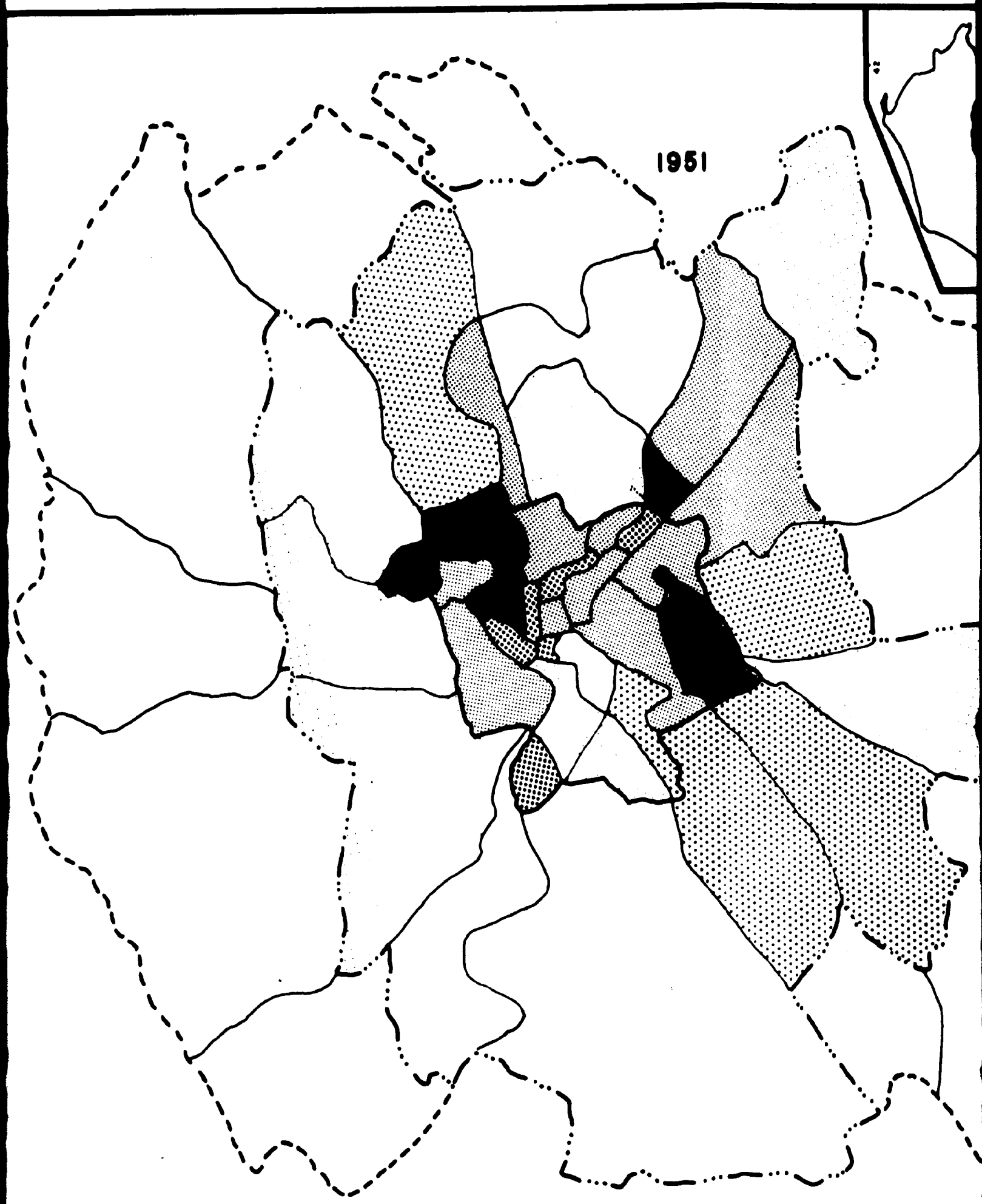
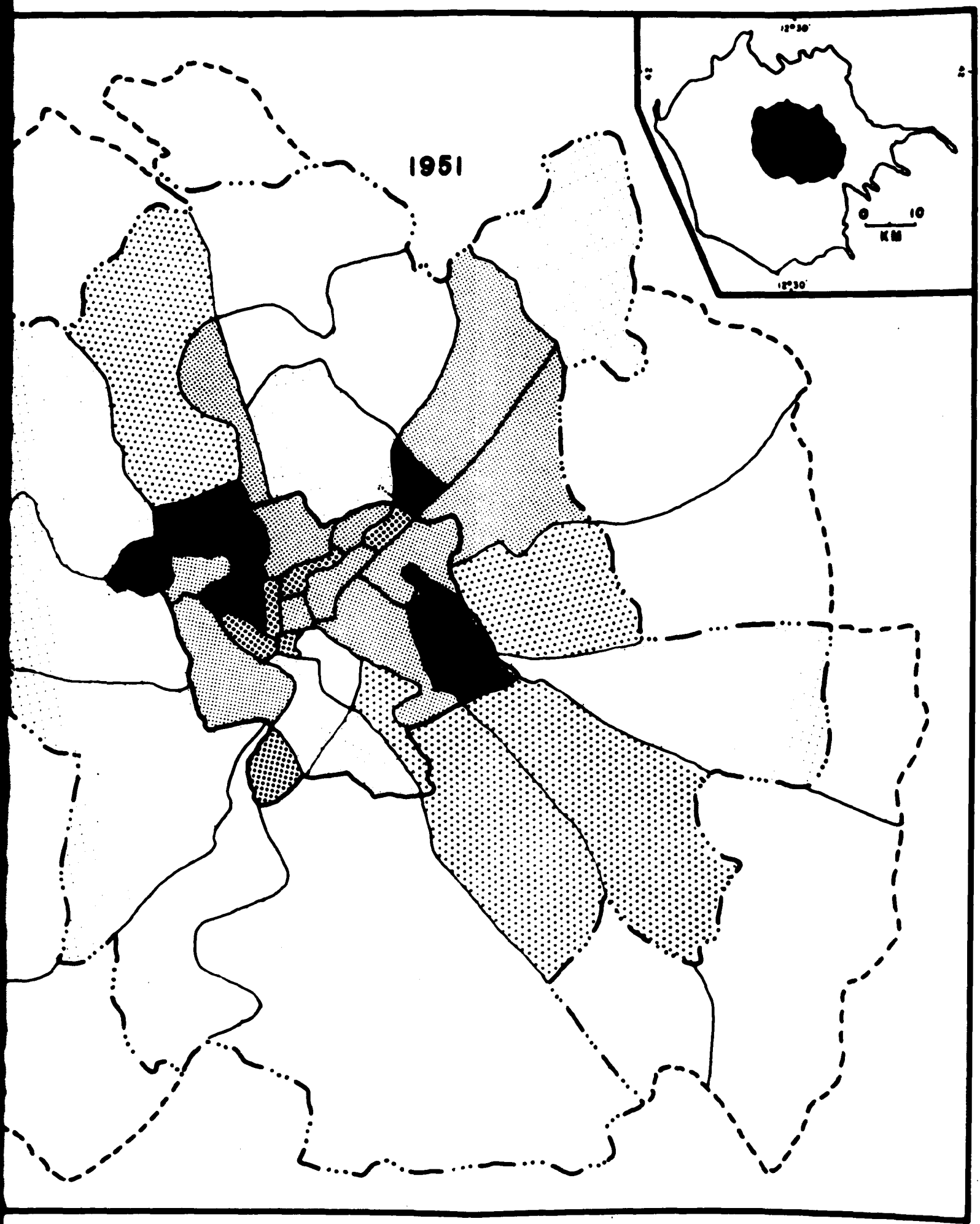


Fig. 15


1951


1951
10
KM

cal difficulties because of the broad expanse of relatively flat land which lies in that direction. The western flank of the city, however, is blocked by a ridge of the low, but highly dissected Sabatini Hills. The greater expense and difficulty of expanding in this direction had, therefore, discouraged its development. Only since the end of World War II, as a result of rising land values and improved technology, has the western hill barrier been breached. This area is now one of the fastest growing in the entire commune.

The western flanks of the Quartieri Gianicolense, Aurelio, and Trionfale were sparsely settled until the post-World War II years, despite being closer to the center of Rome than several of the heavier populated eastern quartieri (Fig. 15). The principal reason for this discrepancy was the unfavorable topography of the western quartieri and the related high costs of building and road construction on such terrain. When World War II ended and Rome was faced with an enormous building program to end the housing shortage, contractors began to reconsider the western quartieri. As construction began in all parts of the commune, even in those as distant from the commune's center as Lido di Roma, the proximity of these quartieri to the urban center took on additional value. The greater use of machinery had also reduced the costs

of construction on difficult terrain. These combined factors have been responsible for the post-war population expansion in the western quartieri.

The explanation for the retarded expansion northward from the central business district is somewhat similar. Almost immediately north of the Aurelian Wall is the moderately hilly Monti Parioli district (Fig. 7). The nature of the terrain and the abundance of more desirable land to the east discouraged any large-scale settlement in the Monti Parioli district until the 1920's. In the 1930's the Parioli district became one of Rome's most fashionable residential areas as a new wealthy civil service and industrial group settled there. Wealthy Roman families, which had lived along the Via del Corso for several generations, began to desert the older neighborhood for the newer, more beautiful Parioli district. The hilly terrain of the new neighborhood was in itself a strong inducement because of the beauty of the building sites. The beauty of the area was further augmented by the two large parks surrounding it on the east and south.

Adjacent areas also began to attract more residents. Northeast of the Parioli district an entire new garden city, Aniene (now called the Quartiere Monte Sacro) (Fig. 7), was constructed during the late 1920's for the more modestly paid civil servants. Approximately 10,000

people were living in Aniene by 1930.[1] Further population growth directly northward ceased almost entirely with the development of the Parioli area, since the level land in the Tiber valley was set aside for the Tor di Quinto Race Track and for Rome's northern airport. All further northward population movement after the 1920's, therefore, was in a northeastern or northwestern direction, avoiding the race track and the airport.

Population expansion southward from the central business district progressed extremely slowly. To this day residential districts within the Aurelian Wall south of the Via del Corso are conspicuously absent, due to the presence of ancient ruins. The Rioni Ripa and Testaccio, south of the Aventine Hill, are major exceptions. It was not until the late 1920's, with the construction of the garden city of Garbatella (Fig. 7), that any important population movement beyond the wall was effected. People were reluctant to move southward beyond the ruins and the wall because of the relative isolation from the more populous areas of the city. Subsequent southwestward expansion of the Roman population into a former marsh area was almost entirely due to commune planning.

Historically, this part of the Agro Romano had been

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[1] L. Maroi, "I Risultati per la Citta di Roma, del Censimento al 21 Aprile, 1931," Capitolium, VII (December, 1931), 635.

only lightly settled, even during the most prosperous periods of the Roman Empire when the land had been drained. With the decline of the empire the marshes began to creep back again, forcing many people to leave. Subsequent to the return of the marshes was the gradual spread of malaria and the ills which accompany it. Feuding among the local estate owners during the middle ages was another factor contributing to the relative absence of population in the Agro Romano. The first major improvement in the malaria conditions came as a result of drainage projects undertaken in 1878 when the government of the newly-united Italy appropriated funds for the work in several areas of the Tiber delta. It was not until Mussolini's government, however, that all of the marshes were drained.

To connect the city with the coast, a rail line was constructed in 1924 between Rome and the Lido di Ostia[1] at the sea (Fig. 24). Shortly afterwards, in 1928, an express highway was constructed parallel to the railroad (Fig. 26).

In 1925 the Commune of Rome established a new budget allotting 67 percent[2] of the annual expenditures to the

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[1]Now called Lido di Roma.

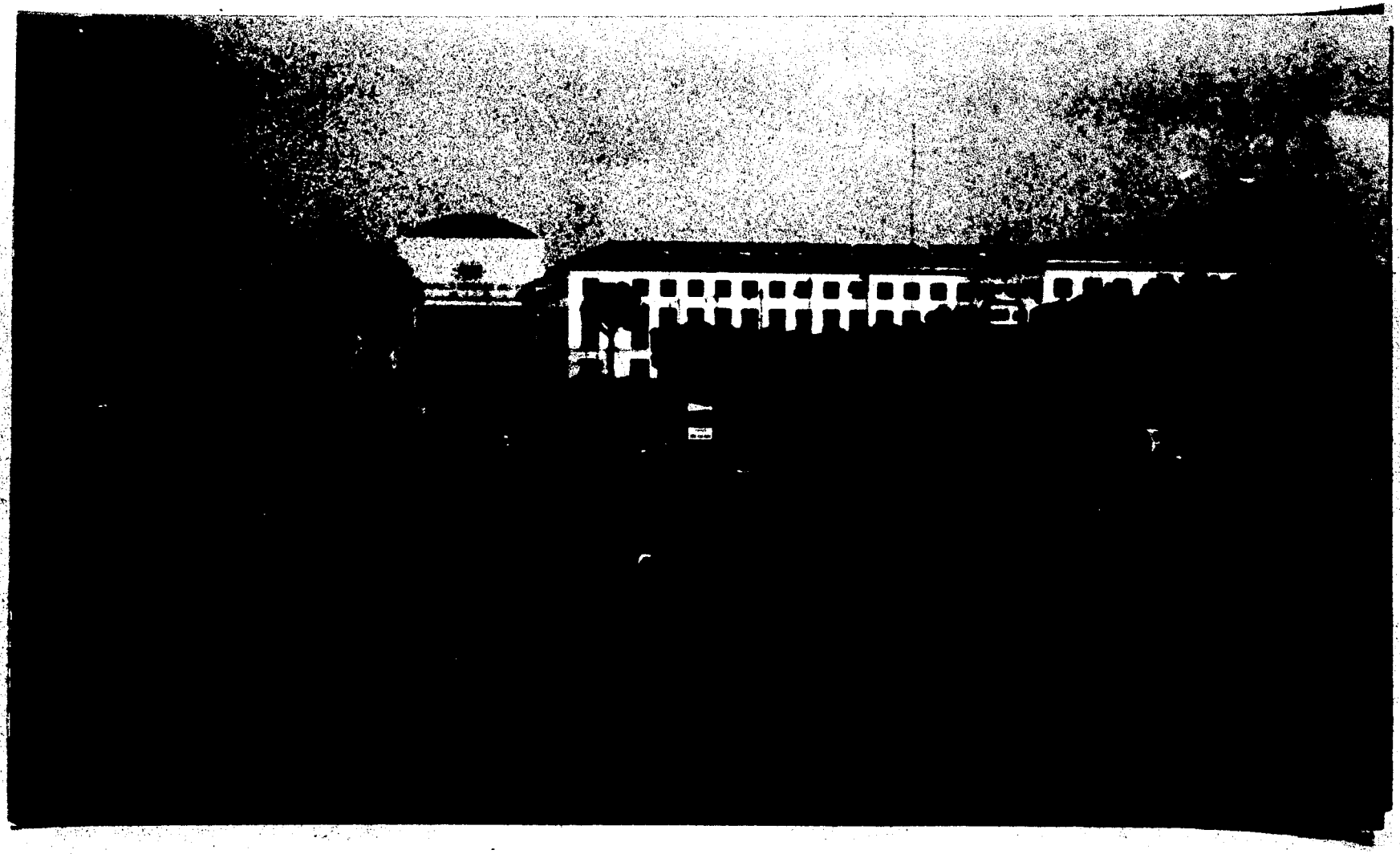
[2]Commune of Rome, Una Legge per la Capitale (Rome: Tipografia Centenari, 1956), p. 150.

Planning Commission and for work on the proposed Universal Exposition of Rome (E.U.R.) project (Plates I-III). The E.U.R. (Fig. 2) was to be a group of monumental buildings designed to serve first as exposition halls for the 1942 World's Fair and then as a nucleus for an entirely new residential zone. The area, located just south of the present city limit, was to be connected to the center of the city by a subway and a highway, the Via Cristoforo Colombo (Fig. 8). Work was initiated on the E.U.R. and the two transportation routes, but the Second World War began before the E.U.R. and the subway were completed. They remained unfinished and almost forgotten until World War II ended. The aftermath of the war brought many changes regarding "a great new Imperial Rome," and the entire E.U.R. project came to be regarded by many people as a very expensive white elephant. Rather than abandon the enormous investment, however, the commune decided to complete the project with certain modifications. A public corporation was established for the 420 hectare site, and very strict zoning practices were put into operation.[1] Residential building sites were offered for sale, and plans were made for the completion and use of

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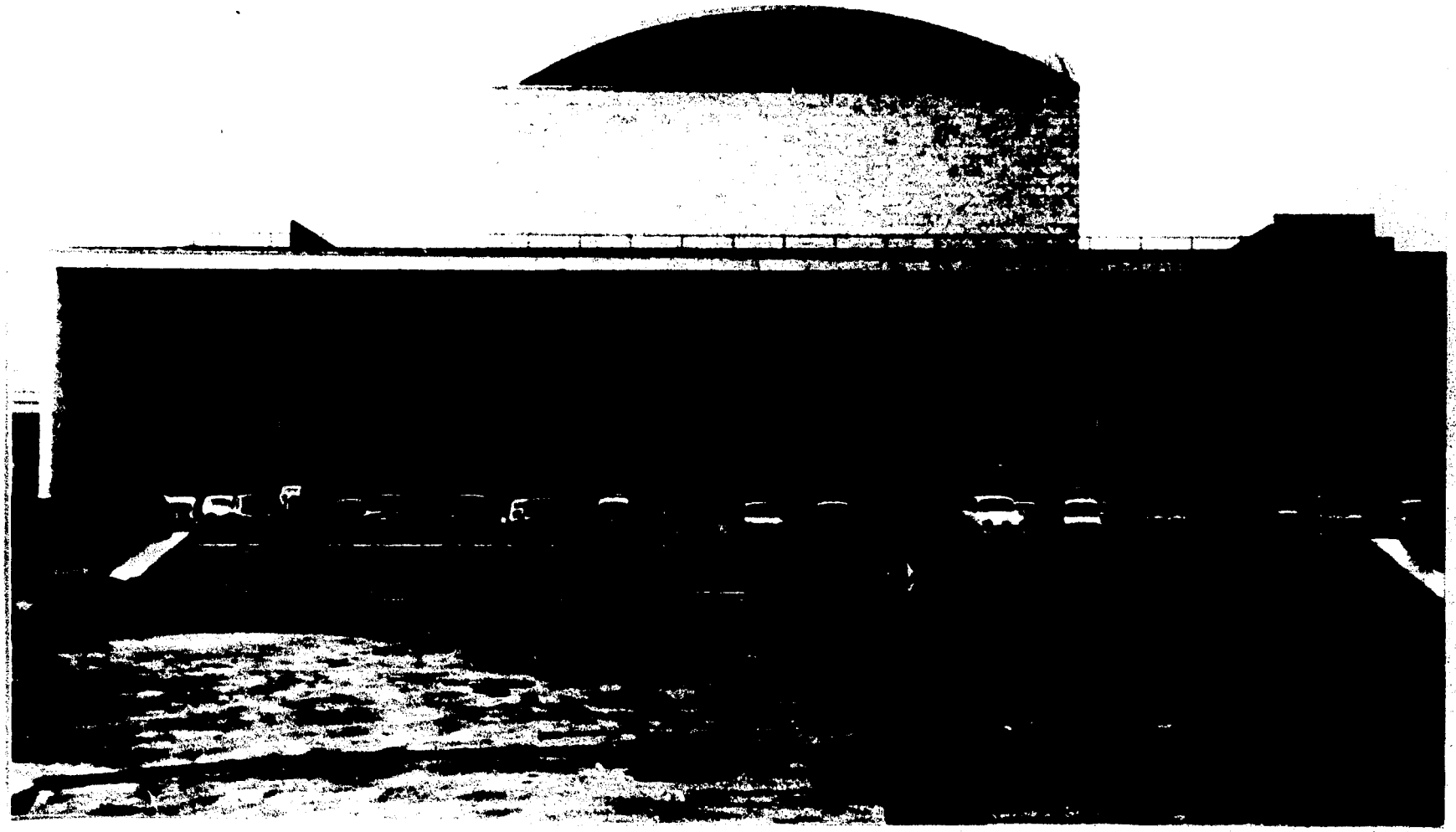
[1] W. A. Robson (ed.), Great Cities of the World (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1954), p. 541.

PLATE I



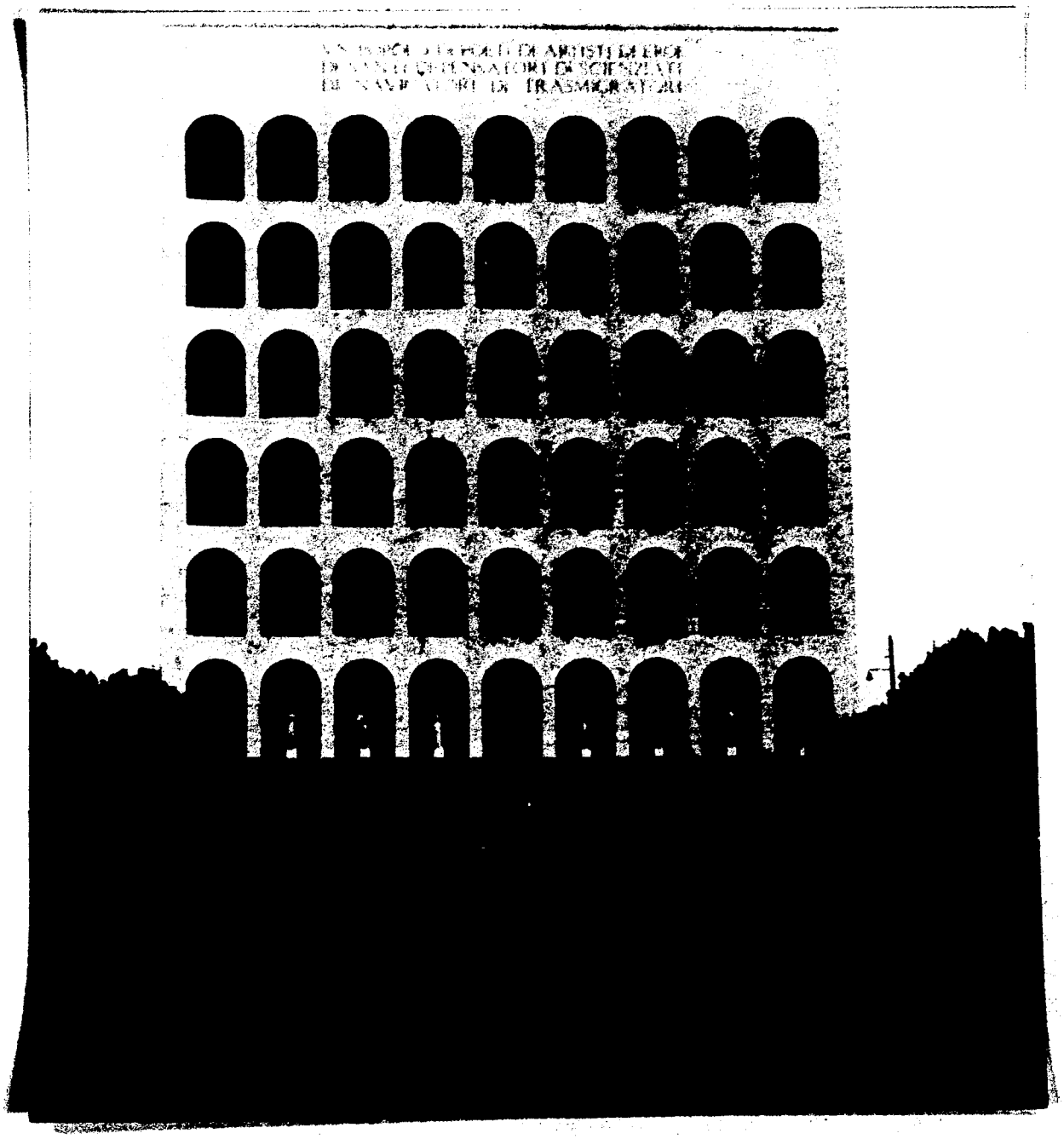
Central Plaza of the Universal Exposition Grounds (E.U.R.).

PLATE II



The Exhibits Building of the E.U.R.

PLATE III



The Museum of the E.U.R.

the magnificent buildings begun by Mussolini. Although not yet finished, the residential area already houses approximately 15,000 people.[1] The subway, or metro (metropolitana), begun so many years earlier, was completed entirely in 1955, linking the E.U.R. with the rest of Rome (Fig. 24). Ironically enough, Mussolini's dream for the Exposition grounds materialized, in a manner of speaking, because of the scheduling of certain events of the 1960 Olympic Games in the E.U.R.

Mussolini's hopes for the population expansion beyond the E.U.R. to the sea also materialized to some degree. Lido di Roma and Fiumicino grew from sleepy little villages to important urban centers after the marshes were drained and the railroad and express highway were constructed. Lido di Roma has undergone the greatest growth. Prior to World War II it was primarily a summer resort area of approximately 5,000 permanent dwellers, and it may well have remained simply a resort area had not the post-war population pressures upon Rome been so great. The commune, faced with drastic housing shortages as immigrants poured into Rome after the war, decided to convert the Lido into a permanent residential area. Transportation was improved so that the commuters could travel

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[1] Ibid., p. 532.

quickly and easily from their homes in the Lido to their jobs in central Rome, 30 kilometers (18 miles) away. The Planning Commission drew up plans for a Lido di Roma with an eventual permanent population of 135,000.[1] The present population is about 20,000.[2]

Rome's continual population growth and expansion has brought about numerous changes in the propertional distribution of the population in the commune (Table 2).

TABLE 2

PROPORTIONAL POPULATION DISTRIBUTION 1871-1956[3]
(IN PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION)

	Rioni	Quartieri	Suburbi	Agro Romano	Total
1871	89			11	100
1881	96	—	—	4	100
1901	90	—	—	10	100
1911	75	17	—	8	100
1921	65	23	—	12	100
1931	45	32	13	10	100
1951	26	57	8	9	100
1956	20	59	10	11	100

From 1871 to the turn of the century about 90 percent of the population lived in the rioni, the balance living in the Agro Romano.[4] From 1900 onward, although their num-

[1] Ibid., p. 523.

[2] Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1952-1954, p. 7.

[3] Computed from Commune of Rome, Bollettino Statistico, July, 1955, p. 7.

[4] Ibid.

bers continued to increase until 1931, the proportion of people living in the rioni gradually dwindled. In 1956 only 20 percent of the commune's population lived in the old urban core.[1] The quartieri were the principal recipients of the increasing proportions outside the rioni. By 1956, 59 percent of the commune's inhabitants lived in the quartieri.[2]

The continual demographic expansion of Rome also brought about repeated changes in population density throughout the commune. Since population density is an important index of the social and economic character of a geographic area, it is imperative that all dimensions of the density be explored. For this reason both the number of persons per hectare and the number of persons per room will be considered.

In 1871 the heaviest concentration of people was in the heart of the city, in the area between the Via del Corso and the Tiber River. In this sector were cramped nearly 700 persons per hectare (280 per acre).[3] Areas immediately west, north, and east were also fairly heavily populated, but the areas south and southeast within the

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[1]Computed from Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1952-1954, p. 10.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Italy, Censimento Generale-1871, p. 20.

Aurelian Wall were virtually empty. The lands of the commune outside the wall were also very lightly populated.

By 1951 the average density per hectare for the entire Commune of Rome was 11 people.[1] In the same year, in sharp contrast to Rome, the average densities for Greater London and metropolitan Washington, District of Columbia, were 44 (11,562/square mile)[2] and 28 (7,216/square mile)[3] respectively. Although the three urban areas differ in their basic structures, they are, nevertheless, well known representatives of common urban types. The greater contrast allows a better appreciation of Rome's average density within the broad spectrum of urban types.

Despite the passing of 87 years and the commune's tremendous development in that period, the distribution pattern of the density per hectare, with certain modifications, remains remarkably the same (Fig. 15).[4] The heaviest density is still in the area east of the Via del Corso. Similarly, the sector south of the Via del Corso, within the city limits, remains the least densely populated.

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[1]Italy, Censimento Generale della Popolazione-1951, I, No. 59 (Rome: Societa Abete, 1955), p. 14.

[2]Great Britain, Public Record Office, Annual Abstract of Statistics-1960 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1961), p. 11.

[3]United States, Department of Commerce, Census of Population, 1960 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 1-48.

[4]Italy, Censimento Generale, 1951, I, p. 14.

Two secondary high-density agglomerations, however, have developed to the east of the central business district, one in the Quartiere Salario and the other in the Rione Esquilino. These, plus the general heavy eastward population growth, have caused the calculated population center of the city to shift from Rione Sant'Eustachio to Rione Monti, a kilometer and a half southeast (Fig. 1).

The commune lands outside the Aurelian Wall have undergone an increase in population density simply because they were largely unpopulated in 1871. The territory within the wall, which then comprised the city limits, has undergone a metamorphosis of a different nature, however. While, in general, the population within the wall has increased almost two-fold, the more densely populated rioni between the river and the Via del Corso have slowly lost inhabitants to the less densely populated rioni and other parts of the commune (Fig. 15). The obvious result has been that the density per hectare of the area inside the wall has been gradually equalizing. It is quite possible, therefore, that if the trend continues, this core area of the commune may one day have a relatively uniform density per hectare.

Demolition has been the major reason underlying the decreased density of the rioni west and southwest of the central business district. Apartment buildings in these

rioni have been razed to make way for new streets, to make the ancient Roman ruins more accessible and visible, or in some cases because the buildings were unhabitable due to hygienic and safety factors. The major demolition in the area occurred during the Mussolini era when many square blocks of buildings were razed to construct broad avenues between the Colosseum, the Piazza Venezia and the Tiber (Fig. 8). As part of the same project other buildings were torn down to make such famous ruins as the Roman Forum more visible. Inasmuch as very few building sites remain within the Aurelian Wall, it is quite unlikely that the density in any part of the old city will increase greatly, if at all. On the contrary, the density will undoubtedly decrease in many areas, particularly the older ones, as streets are widened and other modernization projects are undertaken.

Similar to the old city within the wall, several of the older quartieri have very few building sites remaining, and it is unlikely that land-unit densities there will change appreciably. The quartieri falling into this group run in a solid tier, along the northeastern portion of the wall, from the Tiber to Quartiere Tiburtino (Fig. 15). It was into these neighborhoods that the earliest overflow from the rioni occurred. Changing densities in other parts of the commune are largely a mat-

ter of continual urban expansion. The densities will continue to be high by American standards because future urban growth in the commune, as in the past, will be dependent upon apartment buildings.

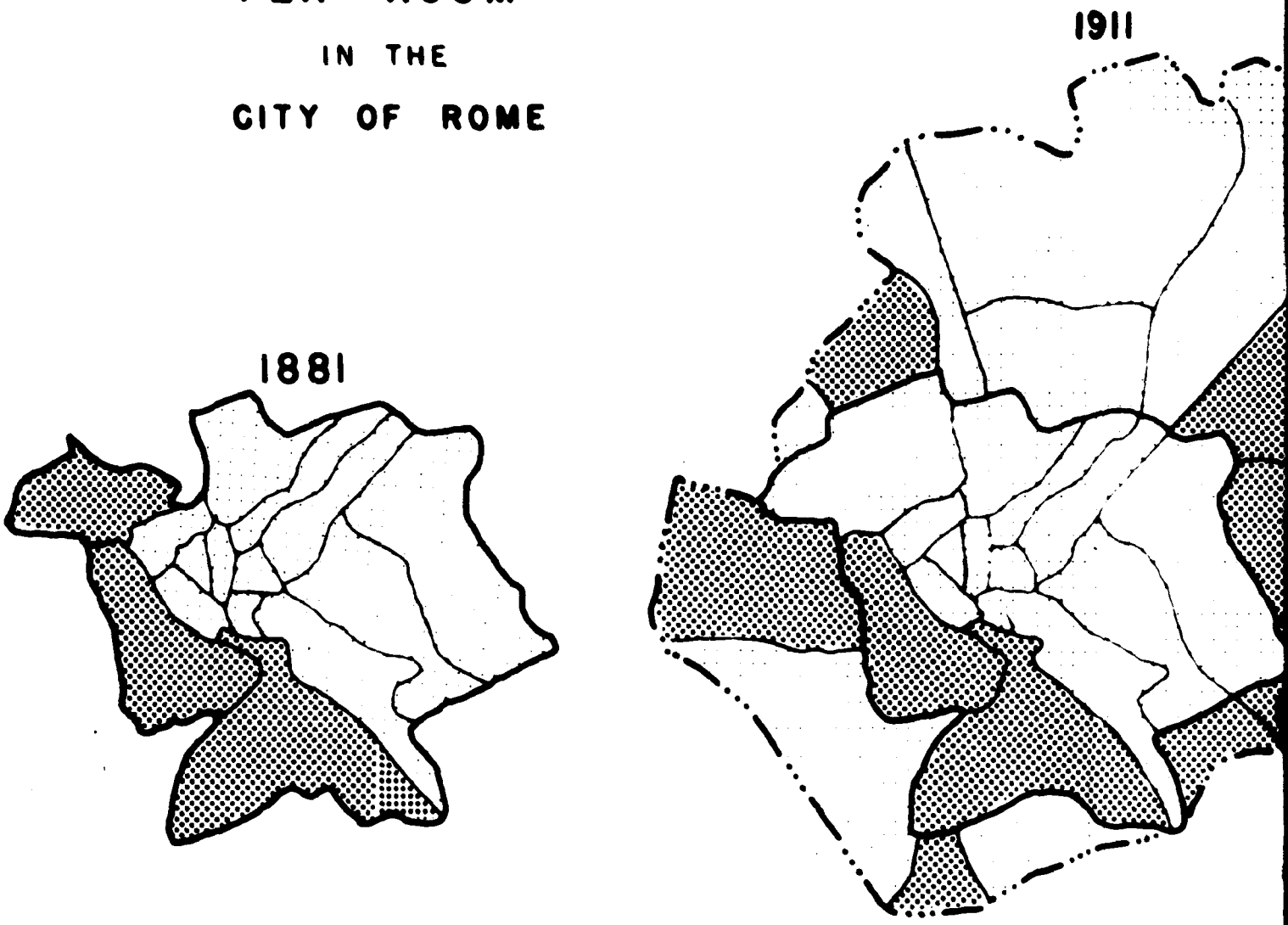
While density per land unit clearly reflects the concentration of numbers within a region, it reveals little else. It does not indicate in any way the actual character of the population comprising the density. With the additional dimension of density per room, one can begin to gain some understanding of the people themselves and not merely their statistical significance in a land unit area. While the density per hectare of a given zone may increase or decrease, the density per room of the same zone may not be at all affected. In the commune an inverse relationship has developed; as the heavier concentration of urban population has spread into the sparsely populated countryside, the average number of people per room has diminished (Fig. 16).

In 1881, when the earliest related data were made available, two room-density zones were shown to exist in the city. The people in the three rioni bordering the western limits of the Aurelian Wall were, with an average of three people per room, living under much more crowded conditions than people in the rest of the city. The nuclei of these three rioni were the neighborhood directly east of the Vatican, the eastern half of Trastevere, and

Fig. 16.--Population Density per Room in the City of Rome 1881-1951.

Source: Italy, Censimento Generale della Popolazione del Regno, 1881, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1936, and 1951.

POPULATION DENSITY PER ROOM IN THE CITY OF ROME



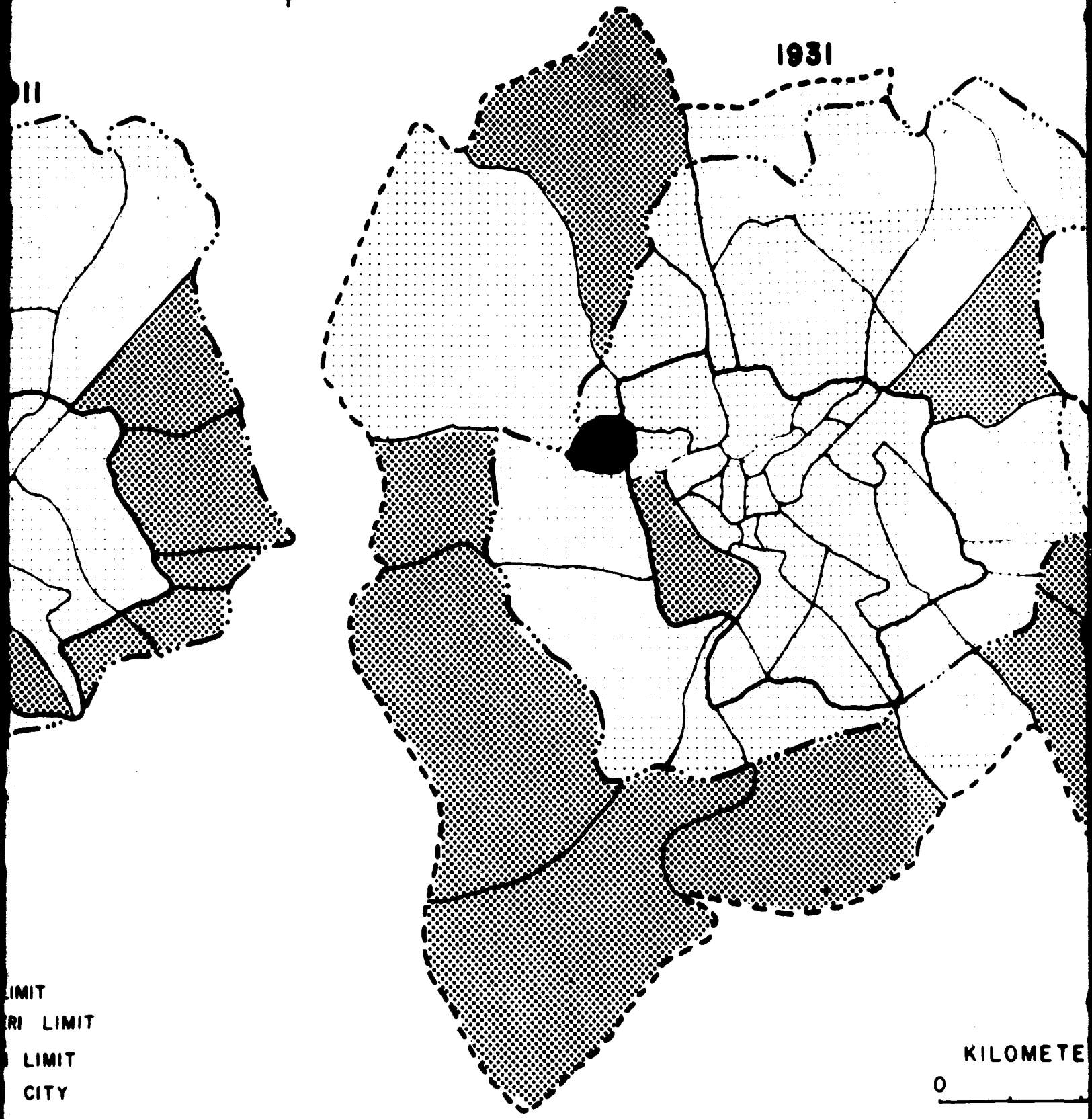
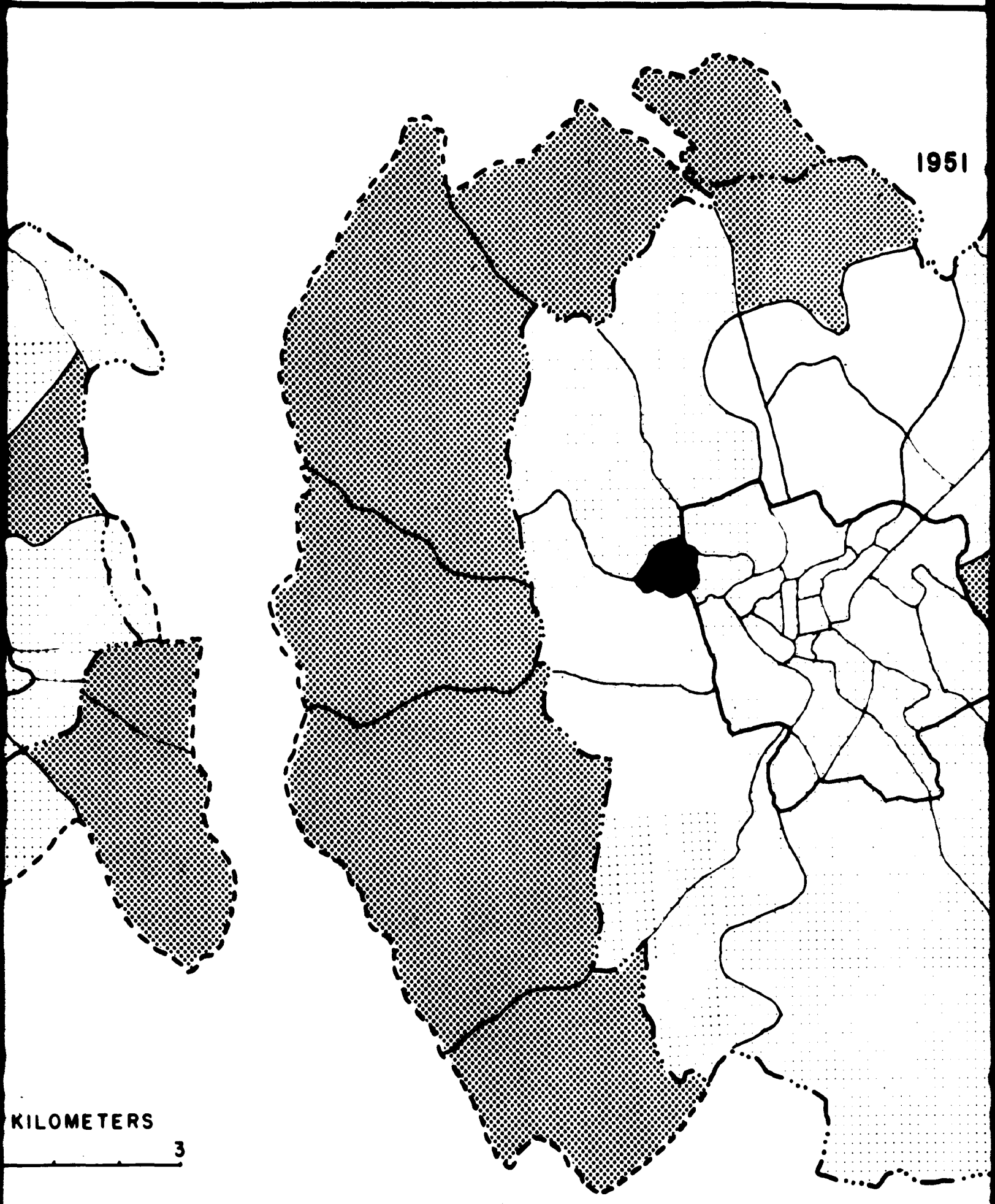
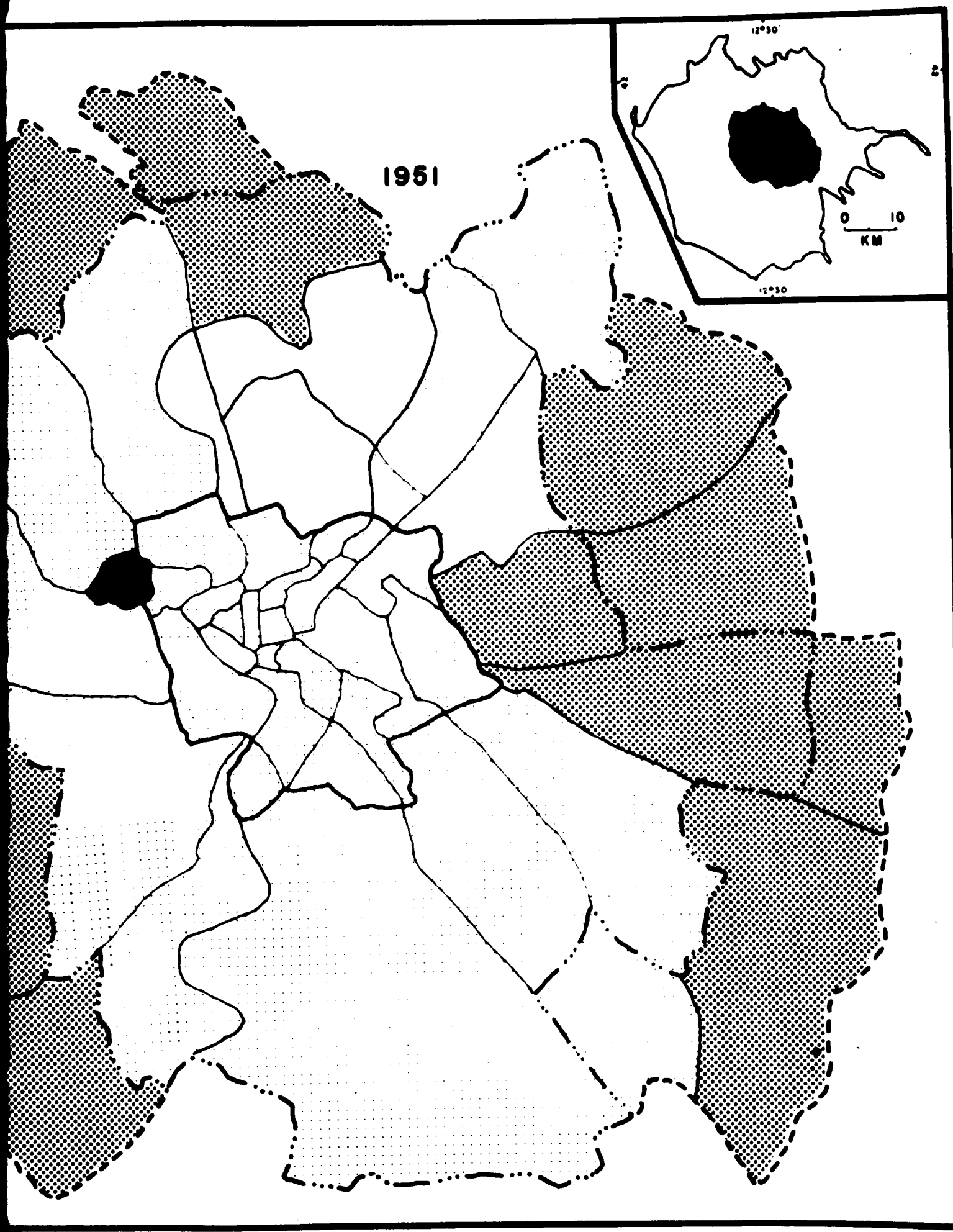


Fig. 16


1951
KILOMETERS
3


1951
12°30'
0 10
KM
12°30'

the Ghetto (Fig. 16). All three were areas of wide-spread poverty. The filth and misery of these sections, particularly Trastevere, which has become almost a classic of Roman squalor, was so great that foreign visitors were often moved to make special note of them in their diaries.

Conditions in the rest of the city were significantly different. The area of principal population concentration--the region surrounding the Via del Corso--was also the area with the lowest room density. In these neighborhoods there was an average of one to two people per room, but never less than one.[1] These lower room densities again help to reflect the human character of the area, since in these less crowded neighborhoods lived most of Rome's middle and upper income families.

Outside of the wall, in the Roman countryside, the commune lands were the scene of truly appalling living conditions. Here the people, although relatively few in total numbers, lived under cramped conditions surpassing even the worst inside the city. The homes themselves were, almost without exception, simple thatched huts or wooden shacks completely devoid of any sanitation.

Change in Roman living conditions came slowly. The traces of a stagnant economy, resulting from many decades

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[1]Italy, Censimento Generale della Popolazione del Regno-1911 (Rome: Tipografia Nazionale, 1914), p. 40.

of unenlightened papal rule, could not be removed in the matter of a few years.[1] In the period following the unification of Italy the economic structure of Rome strengthened considerably, aided by the continual flow of government money into the capital to construct new offices and new homes for the ever-increasing number of civil servants. Construction by private interests also began to increase. As economic conditions improved and employment and wages began to increase among the poorer classes, the living conditions of these people slowly improved. The creation of such social welfare institutions as the Institute for People's Housing also aided the improvement. Twenty-five years after its foundation in 1904, the Institute was housing 80,000 people[2] in numerous projects throughout the city and commune. Among these projects were the garden cities of Garbatella and Aniene.

Today Trastevere, that great Roman stronghold of poverty, with an average room density of almost two persons,[3] remains Rome's most crowded zone within the wall (Fig. 16). Ludovisi, a wealthier area bordering the large park north of the wall, is the least crowded with an

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[1]Showerman, p. 545.

[2]Helen Ormsbee, "People's Houses in Rome," The Survey, LXII (July 1, 1921), 410.

[3]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1952-1954, p. 18.

average of one person[1] per room (Fig. 16). The average density for the other rioni lies between these two extremes. Especially when considering that most of Rome's wealthier families have long since left the rioni for new neighborhoods beyond the wall, this improvement in living conditions must be regarded as a great achievement.

Room densities in the commune lands beyond the Aurelian Wall remained quite static until the beginning of the great population overflow from the old city, shortly after the turn of the century. By the time the city limits were extended in 1911, creating the quartieri, the income-group neighborhoods in these newly-created administrative subdivisions were already becoming well defined. To the east of the wall new low income neighborhoods were rising, while to the north and southwest the middle and high income families were establishing themselves. For the most part, the average room density in the poorer quartieri was almost three persons,[2] while in the middle and high income quartieri the average was between one and two persons per room.[3]

The following decades saw the living conditions continue to improve throughout the quartieri as the population in these districts increased and pushed farther and

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Italy, Censimento Generale-1911, p. 93.

[3] Ibid.

farther into the Roman countryside. Substandard buildings of all types gradually disappeared from the scene and new apartment buildings took their place. By 1931 there was no quartiere with an average room density of more than two persons (Fig. 16). Much more impressive was the fact that the average room density for all the quartieri was only slightly more than one person.[1] By annexation the quartieri lands have almost trebled since 1931, and living conditions have continually improved in that span of years. In the northern quartieri, almost entirely surrounded by large parks and recreation areas (Fig. 16), people are living, on a broad scale, under the most modern and least crowded conditions in the history of Rome. In the luxurious apartment buildings (Plate IV) of these neighborhoods live a large proportion of Rome's most prosperous families. In the remainder of the quartieri the improvement has been slower, though still impressive. In the more recently annexed portions of the eastern quartieri, where many of the city's poorer families live, there still remains an average of more than two people[2] in every room, whereas in the other quartieri the density varies between one and two persons per room.

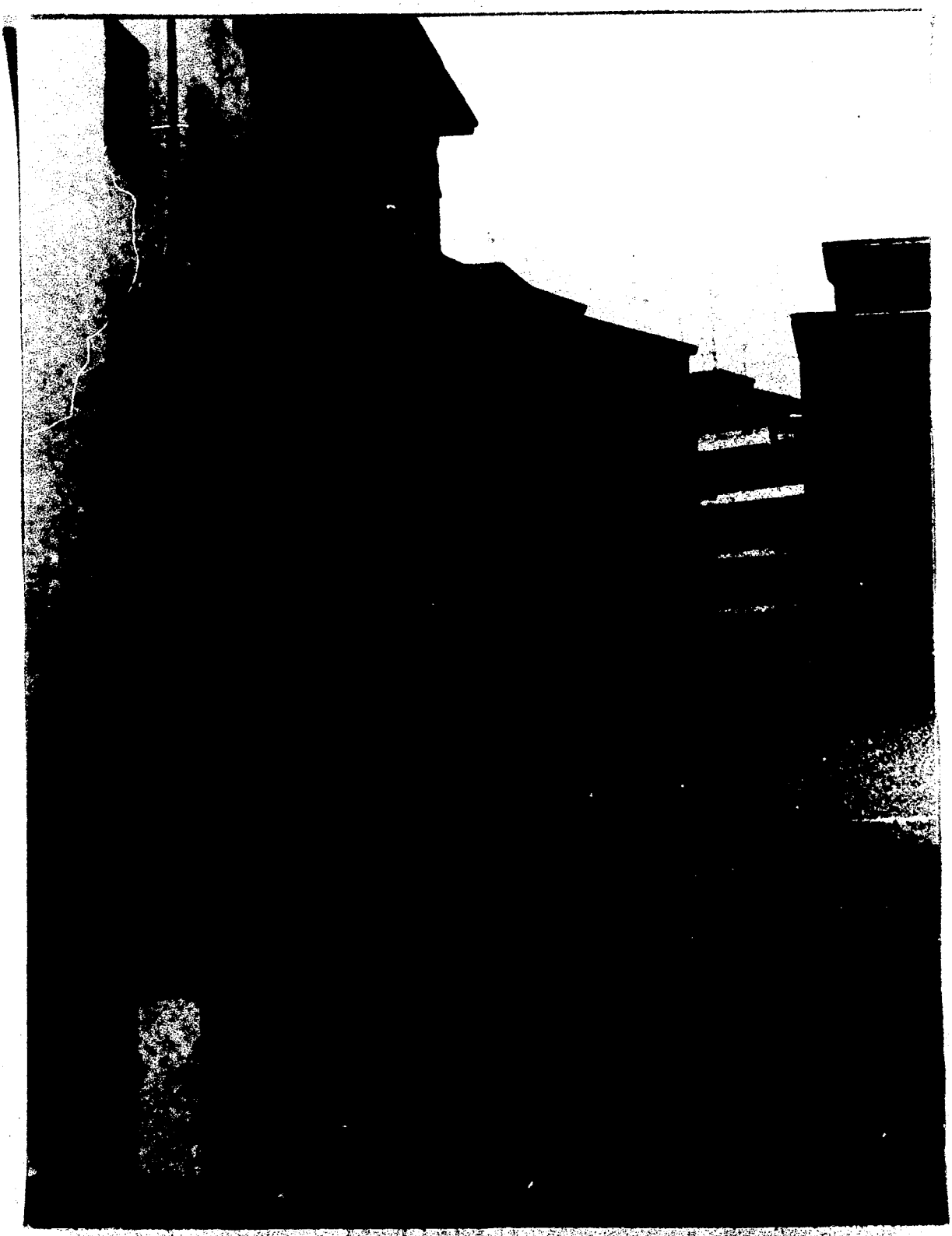
Conditions throughout the suburbi, however, were and

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[1]Maroi, p. 635.

[2]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1952-1954, p. 19.

PLATE IV



Luxurious Apartment Building in Quartiere Trieste.

are very poor. The average room density was over two persons in almost every part of this rural-urban fringe in 1931. The conditions in the *suburbi* of today are even worse. Since the year in which the *suburbi* were created (1921), there have been several changes in the sizes and boundaries of most of the *quartieri* and *suburbi*. In this period of time the land area of the city has doubled through further extension of the city limits. What were the *suburbi* of 1921 have long since been absorbed by the extended *quartieri*, and the *suburbi* in turn have been granted new lands (Fig. 1). The *suburbi*, thus, have come to serve as an urban fringe of the expanding city. Therefore, if the policy persists of continually extending the *suburbi* outward as soon as they have acquired some degree of urbanized population, they will also continue to inherit regions of lower living standards. In the former *suburbi* (presently part of the *quartieri*) the people now, for the most part, enjoy a much more comfortable room density than existed in these sectors in 1921. Overall living conditions in the present *suburbi*, on the other hand, are appreciably worse than those of 1921, since the present rural-urban fringe has become a haven for countless rural slums (Fig. 17).

Following World War II thousands upon thousands of property-less immigrants from all parts of war-torn Italy descended upon Rome in search of shelter and a livelihood,

Fig. 17.--Major Rural Slums in the Commune of Rome

Source: Commune of Rome, Alloggi Precari a Roma, 1958.

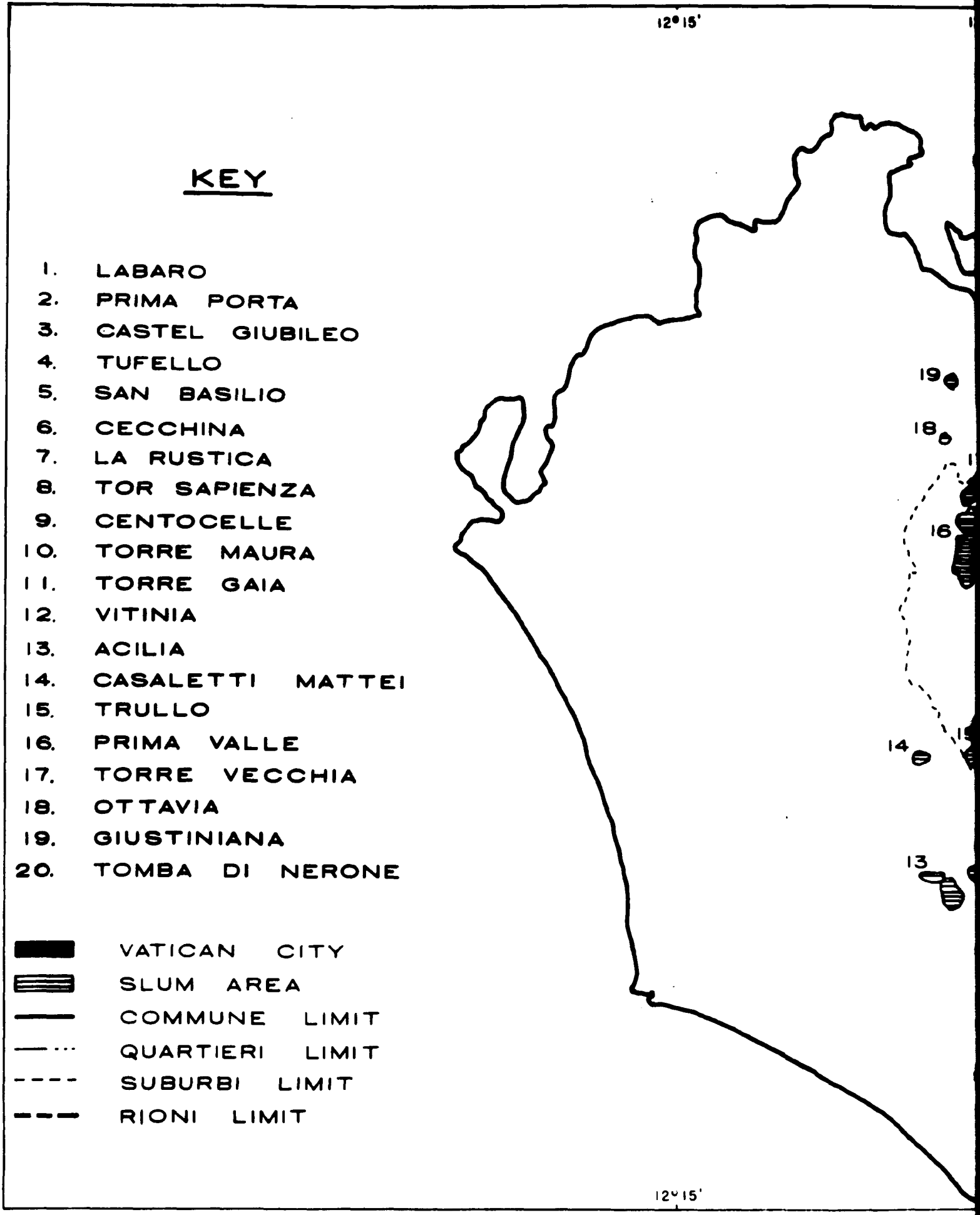

12°15'
KEY
1. LABARO
2. PRIMA PORTA
3. CASTEL GIUBILEO
4. TUFELLO
5. SAN BASILIO
6. CECCHINA
7. LA RUSTICA
8. TOR SAPIENZA
9. CENTOCELLE
10. TORRE MAURA
11. TORRE GAIA
12. VITINIA
13. ACILIA
14. CASALETTI MATTEI
15. TRULLO
16. PRIMA VALLE
17. TORRE VECCHIA
18. OTTAVIA
19. GIUSTINIANA
20. TOMBA DI NERONE
VATICAN CITY
SLUM AREA
COMMUNE LIMIT
QUARTIERI LIMIT
SUBURBI LIMIT
RIONI LIMIT
19
18
16
14
13
12°15'

Fig. 17

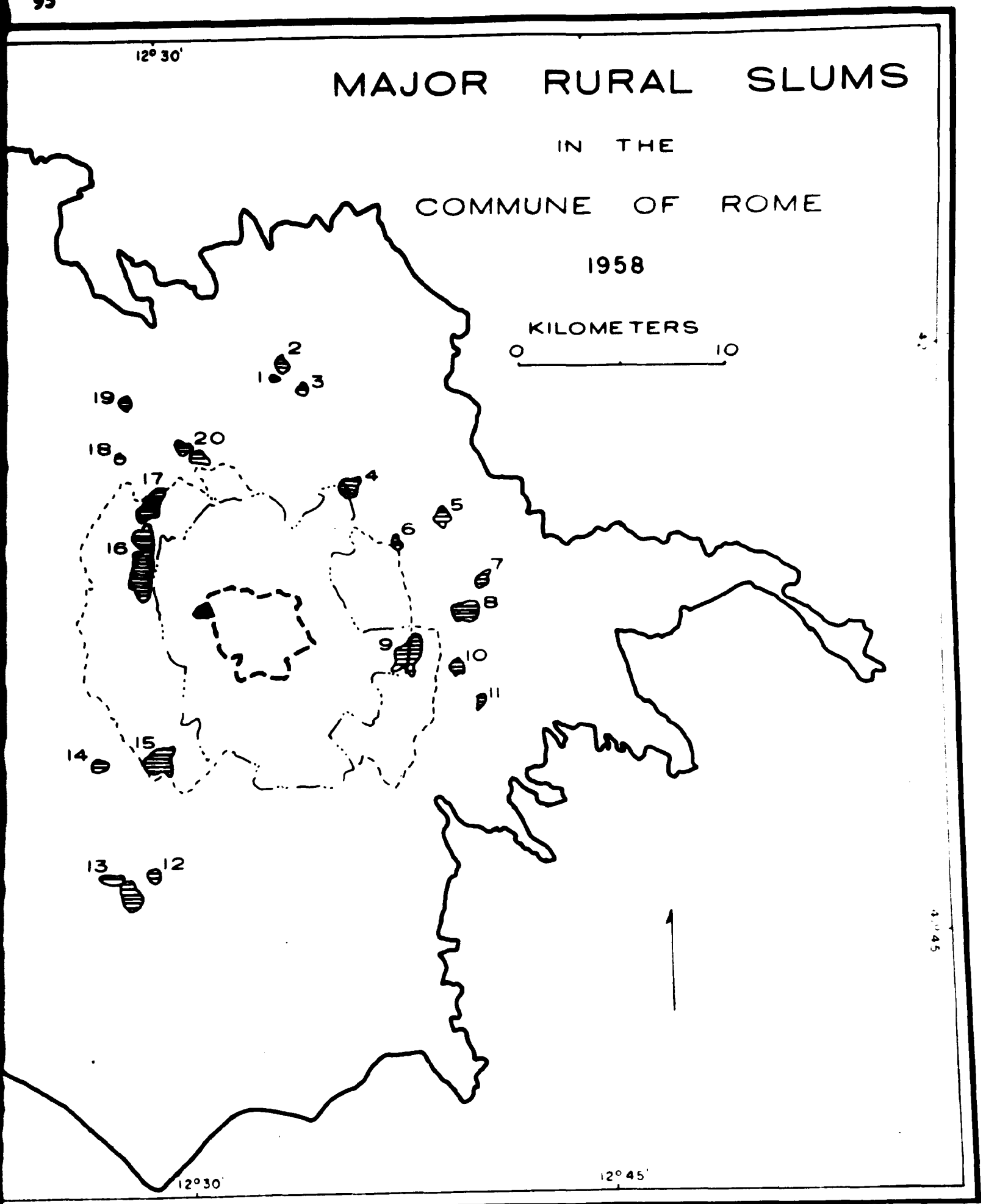

12° 30'
MAJOR RURAL SLUMS
IN THE
COMMUNE OF ROME
1958
KILOMETERS
0
10
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
12°30'
12°45'

Fig. 17

but most of them found little comfort in the nation's capital. Indeed, the bitter disappointment of finding little hope for improvement in Rome soon sent many of these people back to their native provinces. Those who remained, however, lived where they could and how they could. The majority settled on the fringes of the city, some in the quartieri, but most in the suburbi. Their homes were often only makeshift shelters, but almost always completely substandard structures (Plate V). Only in extremely rare cases did the land beneath the dwelling belong to the dweller. As the construction of new apartment buildings began in the post-war years, the belt of shacks that surrounded the city was forced to retreat further into the countryside. It became a common sight to see side by side an ultra-modern apartment building and a group of wretched shacks (Plate VI). The peripheral slum, thus, has become and remains a part of the Roman landscape.

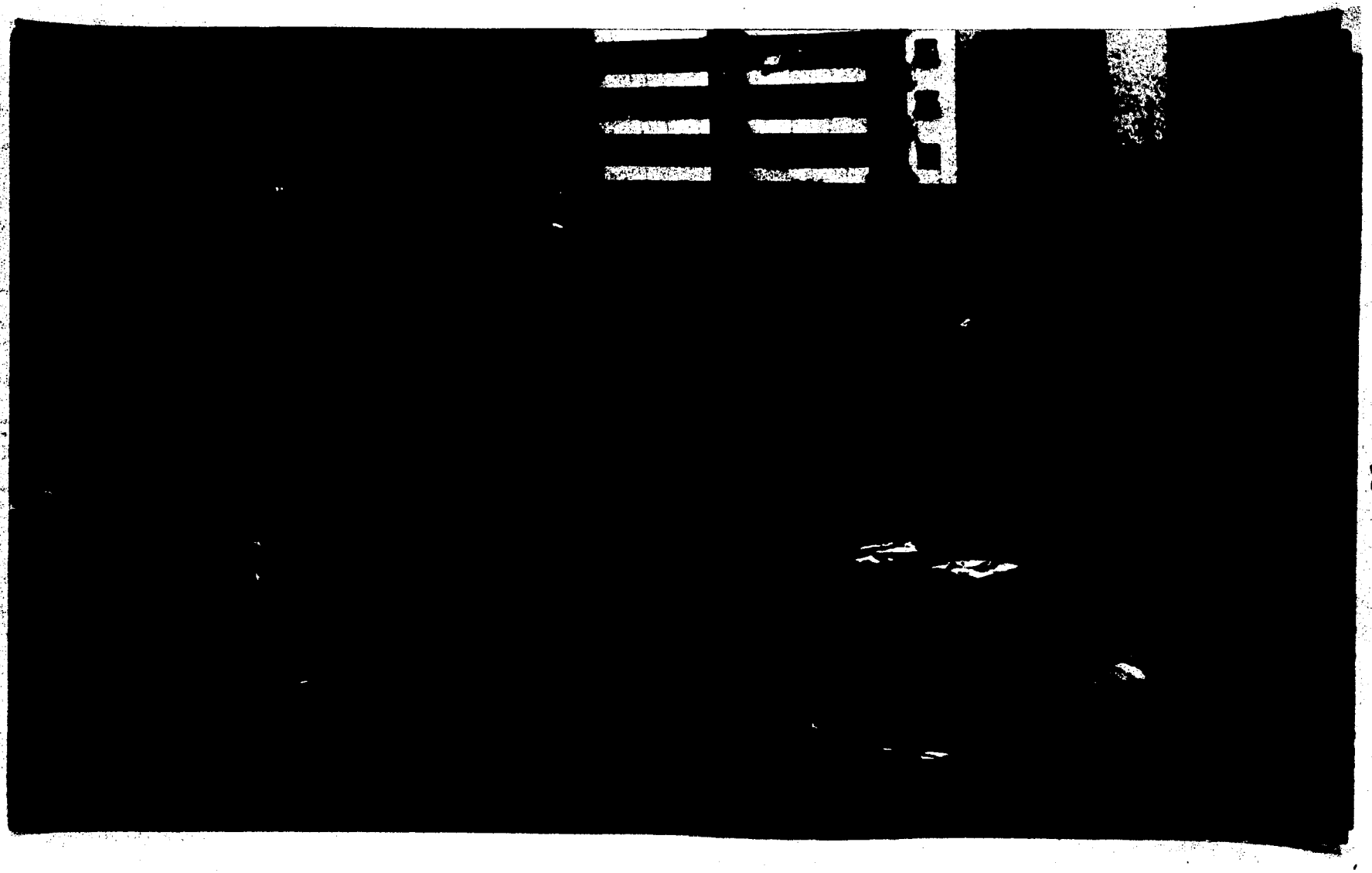
The commune is almost powerless to prevent or remove these dwellings, since by law, once a roof has been erected--on anyone's property--it constitutes a home and cannot be removed unless another building is to replace it. To insure an uninterrupted erection of a roof, a large proportion of the rural slum buildings were rapidly built during a single night.

PLATE V



A Scene in Prima Valle, a Rural Slum in Suburbio Trionfale.

PLATE VI



A Squatter Slum Area Alongside a Group of Modern Apartment Buildings in Quartiere Gianicolense.

There are approximately 70,000[1] rural slum dwellers scattered throughout the commune. It is bitterly ironic that there are also approximately 70,000 new vacant rooms of excellent quality at present (1959).[2] The Italian magazine, Tempo, had the following comment to make regarding this coincidence:

> For each of the empty, newly-constructed rooms there is someone camped in a primitively-constructed, wretched hovel of wood, tin, cardboard, and rags that produce an ulcer on the face of the city.[3]

What actually caused this situation to develop was the over-construction of luxury-type apartments. Many builders, responding to the early post-war demand for expensive apartment, continued to construct them after the market became saturated, resulting in the present surplus.

The peripheral slum dwellers are urban dwellers and should not be confused with the inhabitants of the commune countryside which lies beyond the peripheral slum. Except for the residents of such urban agglomerations as Lido di Roma and Fiumicino, the inhabitants of the Roman countryside follow primarily agricultural pursuits. These inhabitants have been witness to the remarkable amelioration that has occurred in their midst since the end of the First World War.

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[1]Gustavo Tomsich, "Inchiesta Sulla Crisi delle Costruzioni," Tempo, XXI (February 10, 1959), 51.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

When Benito Mussolini arrived on the scene in 1922 the people living in the Agro Romano began to see a transformation of the lands around them. These changes have profoundly affected their living standards. The remaining malaria-ridden marshes of the coastal plain and Tiber delta disappeared and productive farms took their place. Where donkey trails had been, the railway and modern roads appeared. Sanitation was also improved, and various new services were extended to these rural lands. For the first time in many centuries the dweller of the Agro Romano began to rise from the physical and economic morass that surrounded him. Over the past 35 years the homes of the Agro Romano have improved considerably in quality, sanitation, and spaciousness, although they still do not measure up to the standards normally desired by the commune. While the density per room for most of the Agro Romano was about three persons[1] prior to the improvement program, it is now two persons.[2] This indicates a healthy improvement, but still leaves room for further progress.

Lido di Roma deserves special mention since its case is rather unique in the commune. Located outside the city

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[1]Italy, Censimento Generale-1911, p. 52.

[2]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1952-1954, p. 19.

limit, 20 kilometers (12 miles) from the nearest quartiere, the Lido is a highly urbanized region which bears a strong resemblance to a quartiere, although legally it is not one. Both geographically and demographically Lido di Roma is as large as several quartieri, and in modernity and room density (1.3 persons)[1] it is far superior to most of them. The continuance of these high standards, with an eventual population much larger than the present one, seems quite apparent in view of the commune's most careful supervision of the Lido's growth and development. The development of the Lido, like the E.U.R., is a large-scale, extended program. When completed, 135,000 people will live there.[2]

While significant room-density changes have occurred throughout the commune since 1871, no true equilibrium has yet been achieved. In the older areas, the rioni and quartieri, future change will be slow, but in the newer areas, the suburbi and Agro Romano, it will be greatly accelerated. Because of the presence of such model residential nuclei as the E.U.R. and Lido di Roma, and because of the strong guiding hand of the commune itself in future urban expansion, room densities in the suburbi and Agro Romano should decline rapidly in the coming decade.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Robson, p. 523.

CHAPTER IV

INTERNAL POPULATION MOVEMENT

Closely related to population density is the pattern of the change of residence in the commune, since this is one important manner in which the density changes from year to year. Although the data dealing with this topic are available only since 1924, they are nevertheless highly revealing of the characteristics of Roman residence changes. Perhaps the most significant revelations are the shift from the rioni to the suburbi as a primary region of residence change since 1924 and the Roman tendency to move only very short distances. Other characteristics also become apparent as one investigates the phenomenon in its entirety.

The percentage of the total population changing residence annually has fluctuated considerably in the last 35 years (Fig. 18). In 1924 approximately 3.5 percent of the population changed homes.[1] This figure rose steadily until 1930 when nearly 14 percent of the population moved to other parts of the commune.[2] The rate of change con-

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[1] Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1914-1924, p. 208.

[2] Computed from Commune of Rome, Dati Statistici (1930).

Fig. 18.--Percent of Total Population Changing Residences in the Commune of Rome 1924-1954.

Source: Commune of Rome, Dati Statistici, 1925-1954.

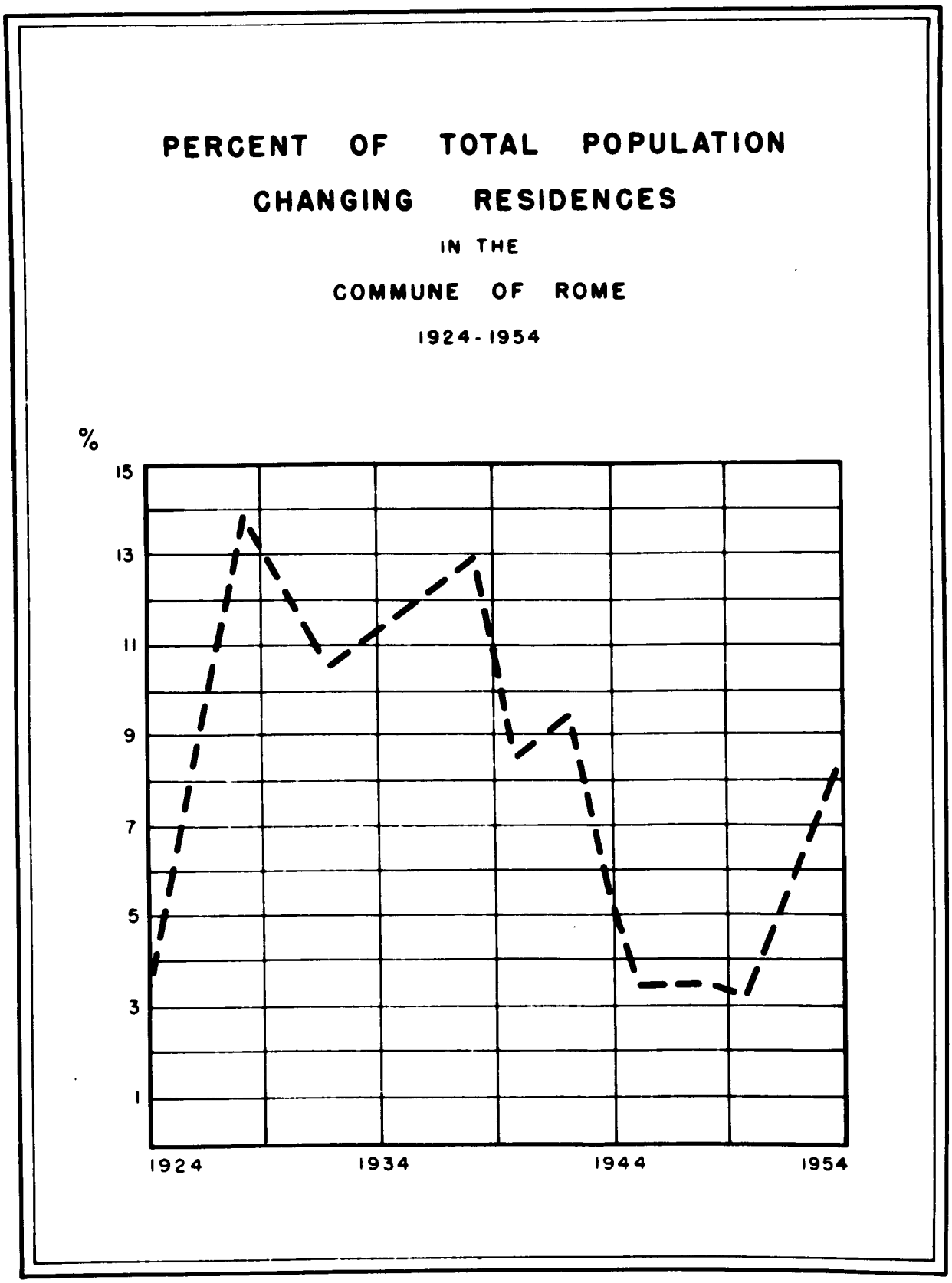

PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION
CHANGING RESIDENCES
IN THE
COMMUNE OF ROME
1924-1954
%
15
13
11
9
7
5
3
1
1924
1934
1944
1954

Fig. 18

timued fairly high until the beginning of the Second World War. The percentage of the total population changing homes decreased steadily as the war progressed. Even after the war ended the scarcity of apartments continued making it increasingly difficult for people to change living quarters. The cessation of apartment construction in Rome for almost a decade, combined with the city's population increase during the same period, made Rome's entire housing situation almost unmanageable in the early post-war years. In 1950 the percentage of the population moving to new quarters reached its lowest point, 3.3 percent, since the onset of World War II.[1] By 1950 the post-war building boom began to catch up with the people's needs, and consequently the rate of residence change began to rise. By 1954 the rate had climbed to 8.5 percent and showed every indication of continuing to rise to the pre-war level.[2] As apartment construction continues at a high volume, the housing shortage is quickly disappearing. Romans, as before the war, are able to find quarters they prefer without great difficulty, and, therefore, are changing homes in much the same manner as before the war.

Since 1924 when related statistical data were first made available, it became clearly apparent that a great

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[1]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1948-1950, p. 208.

[2]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1952-1954, p. 458.

population transfer was taking place in Rome. In that year, of the total change of residence, 21 percent[1] more people were moving from the rioni than to them, whereas quite the contrary was true in the quartieri.[2] The following year, 1925, the difference reached a negative (loss) maximum of 28 percent in the rioni and a positive (gain) maximum of 24 percent[3] in the quartieri. The remaining 4 percent moved from the rioni to the Agro Romano. More careful examination shows that, despite the heavy out-zonal movement from the rioni, there has been no corresponding population loss in this sector. There has been, on the contrary, a small increase. While established Roman citizens have been leaving the rioni for newer neighborhoods, their places have been taken by new arrivals.

The rioni have become a primary settlement area for newly-arrived immigrants of the unskilled and semiskilled class. This development has come about because of several reasons: the location of the railroad station, cheap housing, and heavy concentrations of "countrymen." The

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[1]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1914-1924, p. 208.

[2]To simplify the discussion, the suburbi, which became incorporated into the quartieri in 1933 and which are part of the present-day quartieri are, for the purposes of this discussion, considered part of the quartieri from 1924 to 1933 also.

[3]Computed from Commune of Rome, Dati Statistici (Rome: Tipografia F. Centenari, January-December, 1925).

immigrant usually arrives in Rome by train. Upon leaving the railroad station, which is located in the eastern part of the old city (Fig. 8), he hesitates to wander far, not being familiar with the city. Within a radius of one or two kilometers from the station are numerous old neighborhoods such as Monti and Esquilino where housing is relatively cheap. Generally, the immigrant, prior to leaving his native province, is told of a particular neighborhood where he may find people from the same province. Once assimilated to Roman life, he may prefer to move to another part of the commune, and when he does his place is taken by another newly-arrived immigrant.

Apart from those leaving the commune, the people moving from the rioni selected new residences in the quartieri, suburbi, or in the Agro Romano. Since 1924 virtually all of the population loss within a single region of the commune has occurred in the rioni. Nearly all of this loss has been to the quartieri. This transfer of population decreased steadily from its 1925 maximum until 1940, when a complete reversal developed over a period of four years.

From 1940 to 1944 there was a great return to the rioni. In 1943, the peak year of the reversal, of the total residence change in the commune, 6 percent[1] more

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[1] Ibid.

people moved to the rioni than from them, while the contrary was true in the quartieri.

The reverse movement was the direct result of the wartime conditions. Due to severe manpower and goods shortages during the war years many vital services such as public transportation, communications, and food supply were sharply curtailed. Because homes in the quartieri are relatively distant from the central business district and many of the government offices, people working in central Rome and living in the quartieri were faced with the hardship of commuting to work with the public transportation system all but disbanded. Those who were able moved to the rioni where they were located nearer to their jobs. Once the hostilities ended, however, the pre-war movement out of the rioni resumed.

In the early post-war years there was but a trickle of people from the rioni to other parts of the commune. As construction of new dwelling units gained momentum, though, housing became more plentiful, and people were able to move about more freely. Consequently the transfer of people from the rioni to areas beyond the Aurelian Wall gained momentum along with the housing construction. The post-war movement from the rioni developed a somewhat different character from that of the pre-war period. From the end of the war until 1950 the greater majority

of the people moving from the rioni chose new homes in the quartieri. From 1950 onward, however, the mainstream of the outward movement began to center upon the suburbi, while the Agro Romano also began to make noticeable gains. In 1953, for example, 70 percent of the people moving from the rioni selected homes in the suburbi, while another 18 percent[1] selected homes in the Agro Romano.

It is very likely that in future years the suburbi and the Agro Romano will continue to receive most of the outzonal population movement from the rioni, since usable vacant land in the quartieri is rapidly diminishing. A great deal of construction has already occurred in the suburbi since World War II, while the E.U.R. residential zone and Lido di Roma are also attracting people from the center of the city.

Over the 30-year period from 1924 to 1954, an average of one-third (32 percent) of the entire change of residence in the commune was internal (within the same administrative subdivision, i.e., a single rione, quartiere, and so forth) in character.[2] In 1924 and 1925 the proportion was as low as 16 percent and as high as 49 percent in 1938, but apart from these extremes, the ratio of the internal

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[1]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico 1952-1954, p. 452.

[2]Computed from Commune of Rome, Dati Statistici (1924-1954).

change to the external has tended to remain one-third to two-thirds.[1]

The heaviest proportion of the internal change of living quarters has always been primarily in the south-eastern rioni and quartieri, where, generally speaking, the heaviest concentration of total numbers has been. As the quartieri gained a larger population they also gained a greater proportion of the internal change of homes. Whereas in the eight-year period from 1924 to 1932 the sector of heaviest concentration of internal change was the Monti-Esquilino-Tiburtino sector, by the late 1930's the heaviest concentration had shifted south-east to the sector composed of Esquilino, Appio Latino, Tuscolano, and Prenestina-Labicano. Since the end of World War II this sector has undergone minor change.

The strong tendency on the part of Romans to move to new homes only very short distances from the old ones becomes much more apparent upon further examination. What amounts to an external move, by virtue of a family's moving from one administrative subdivision to another, takes on altogether different meaning when one perceives that the move is as short or shorter in distance than most internal moves. While it is difficult to be exact, on the basis of available statistics, it is quite apparent that

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[1]Computed from Commune of Rome, Dati Statistici (1925).

an average of more than three-quarters of the people moving out of an administrative subdivision moved to another one immediately adjacent.[1]

By plotting the occurrence and location of every administrative subdivision receiving from another at least 1 percent of the total annual change of residence, a pattern strikingly similar to that of the internal change of residence appears. In the period 1924 to 1954 the heaviest concentration of movement occurred in the southeastern rioni and quartieri, principally in Monti, Esquilino, Tiburtino, Prenestina-Labicano, Tuscolano, and Appio-Latino. In the entire 30-year period, 86 percent of the external change of residence occurred between adjacent administrative subdivisions.[2]

The Roman tendency to move only short distances is typical of most European cities. This is a phenomenon which can be attributed to primarily two factors: a general reluctance to leave an area where one has made many friends, and a great dependence upon the public transportation system, which is usually undeveloped along the urban fringe.

The growing use in Rome of the automobile may serve to alter this tendency in future years. London, for ex-

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[1]Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico, 1948-1950, p. 156, and Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico, 1952-1954, p. 446.

[2]Computed from Commune of Rome, Dati Statistici (1924-1954).

ample, has begun to display a growing dependence upon the automobile since World War II as an increasing number of people have begun to move to suburban areas a mile or more from their old neighborhoods.

CHAPTER V

TRANSPORTATION

The expansion of Rome's population has been very closely tied to the growth of the commune's transportation system. The construction of new housing, almost without exception, has always followed the extension of the main transportation arteries. While the extension of these arteries has given the Roman much greater freedom in the choice of a home, it has virtually made him a prisoner of the transportation system. In 1911 the average Roman rarely used the public transportation system, since he was able to walk almost anywhere. In that year the average inhabitant made only 25 trips a year on the tram.[1] By 1954, however, the number of trips (including trolley-buses and buses) had increased to 540[2] (Fig. 19).

The Roman practice of taking a two-hour lunch period at home adds special significance to the traffic problems of the commune. The daily traffic flow, which is bombarded with the normal early-morning and late-afternoon

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[1] Azienda Tramvie e Autobus del Commune di Roma, Bollettino dell' Azienda Tramvie e del Commune di Roma, XLIV (July, 1955), p. 55.

[2] Ibid.

Fig. 19.--Average Number of Trips per Resident on the Public Transport (A.T.A.C.) System in the City of Rome 1911-1954.

Source: Azienda Tramvie e Autobus del Comune di Roma, Bollettino dell' Azienda Tramvie e Autobus del Comune di Roma, 1955; and Azienda Tramvie e Autobus del Comune di Rome, Dati Statistici, 1958.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF TRIPS PER RESIDENT ON THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT (A.T.A.C.) SYSTEM IN THE CITY OF ROME 1911-1954

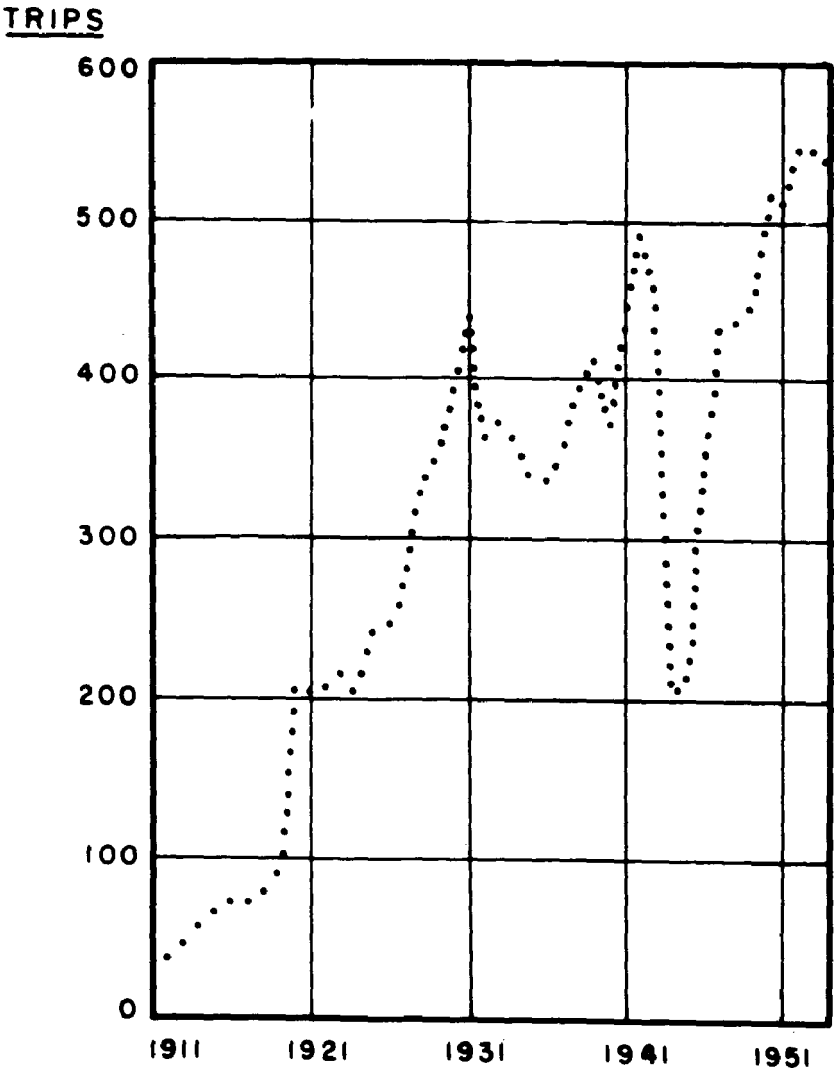


Fig. 19

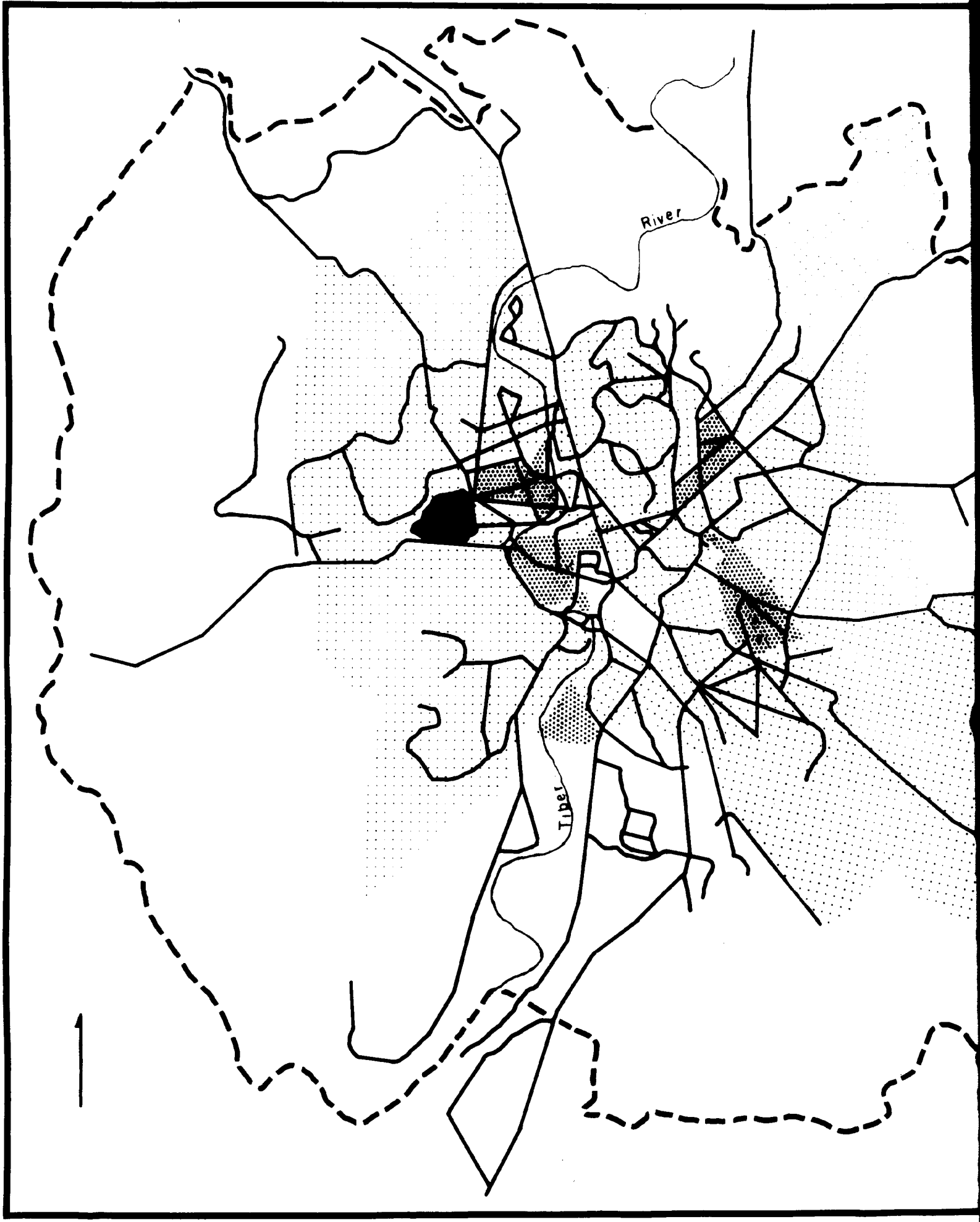
rush hours, is further complicated in Rome by pre-lunch and post-lunch traffic congestion.

The relationship of Rome's public transportation network to its population expansion and land use can best be understood by studying Figures 20 and 21. As these maps indicate, the density of the transportation network corresponds almost perfectly with both the population density per hectare and the more important land use in central Rome. Where there has been no public transportation, there has been virtually no settlement. It is quite probable, however, that this pattern will alter somewhat in future years due to the growing use of the automobile.

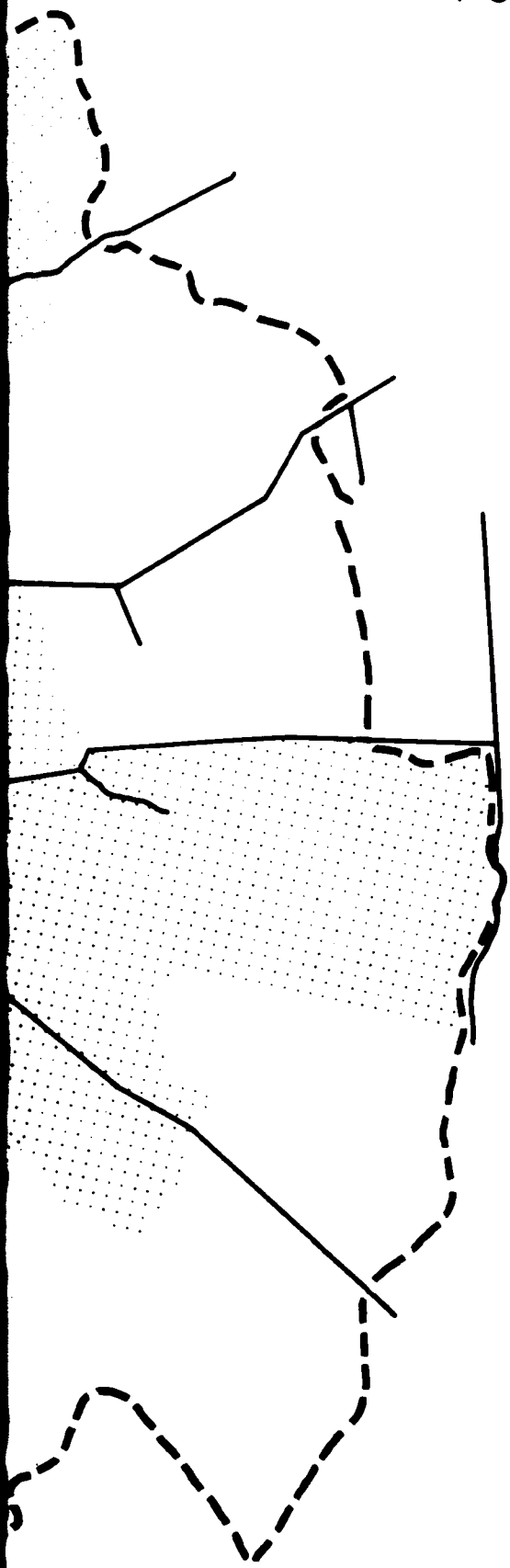
In reviewing the development of Rome's public transportation system, one may see that over the decades a number of changes have occurred that have caused major readjustments, both within the physical transportation system itself and in the concepts related to it. The popular form of mass transportation in the commune in 1871 was the horse-drawn tram. This gave way to the electric tram in 1895. The electric tram, which is still in use today, was the first great improvement in Rome's transportation. It made possible a much more efficient and rapid transportation network, which, in turn, greatly aided the city's early population expansion beyond the

Fig. 20.--Public Transportation Network and Population Density in the City of Rome-1954.

Source: Commune of Rome, Annuario Statistico della Citta di Roma 1952-1954; and Istituto Geografico Militare, "Roma e Dintorni," 1956.


River
Tiber

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION NETWORK AND POPULATION DENSITY IN THE CITY OF ROME 1954



0-49
50-299 } PEOPLE PER HECTARE
300+
VATICAN CITY
TRANSPORTATION LINE
CITY LIMIT

0 2
KILOMETERS

Fig. 20

Fig. 21.--Public Transportation Network and Land Use of the City of Rome-1954.

Source: Verdesi, Enrico, "Nuovissima Pianta di Roma," 1957; and Istituto Geografico Militare, "Roma e Dintorni," 1956.

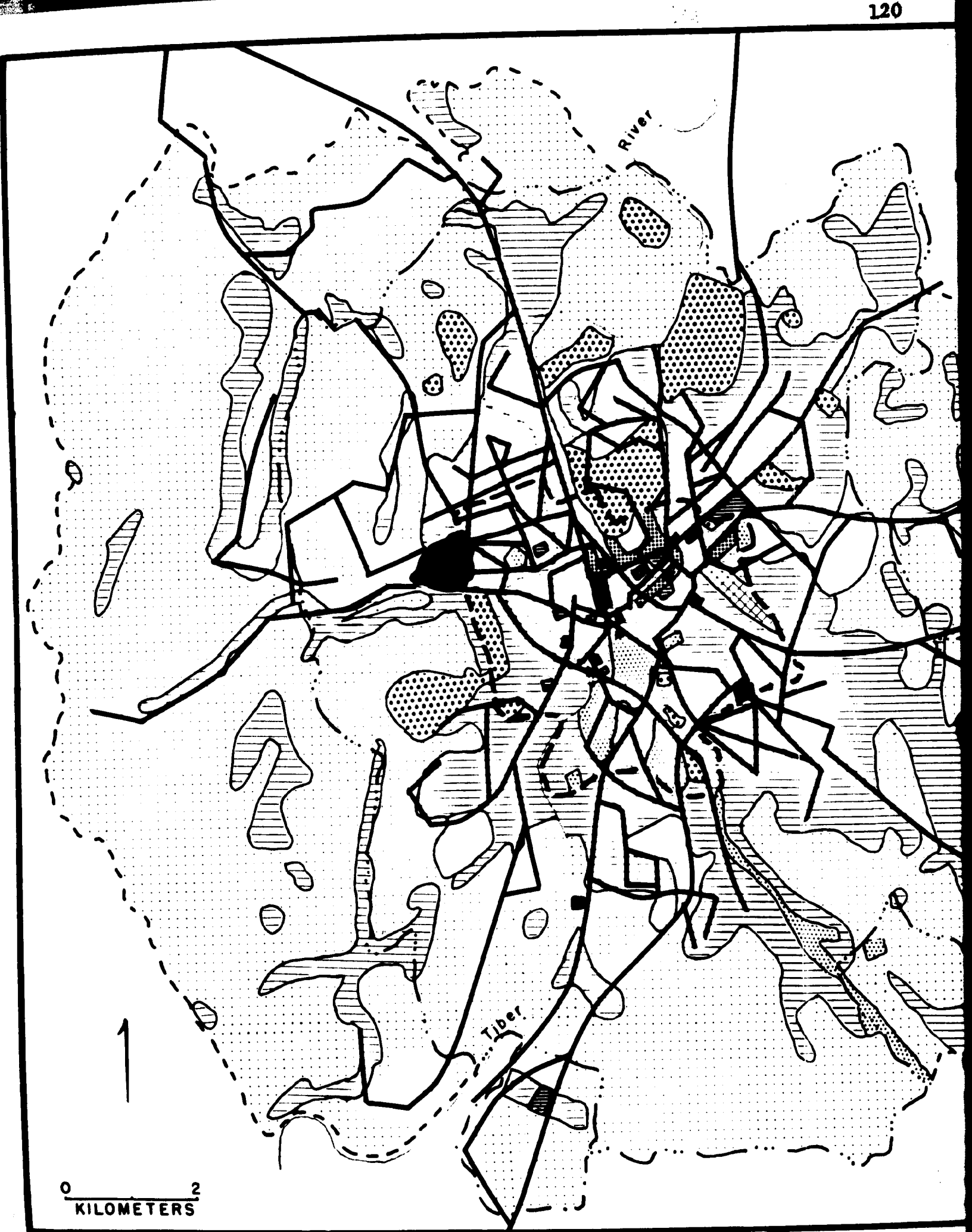


Fig. 2

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION NETWORK AND LAND USE OF THE CITY OF ROME 1954



CULTURAL
FINANCE & COMMERCE
COMMERCE
ADMINISTRATION
RECREATION
RUINS
TRANSPORTATION CENTER
RESIDENTIAL
AGRICULTURE
OTHER
RIONI LIMIT
TRANSPORTATION LINE
E.U.R.
CITY LIMIT

Fig. 21

Aurelian Wall.

Prior to 1911 the commune's transportation lines were privately owned. Under this system the public suffered somewhat, since profit-making was the primary interest of the companies involved. If it was not profitable, the companies were reluctant to introduce the new facilities, although new lines might have been necessary in certain neighborhoods. Fares also tended to be higher. The commune, realizing the disadvantages of private ownership, bought most of the existing tram lines in 1911 and established a public transport authority, now called the Azienda Tramvie e Autobus del Comune di Roma (A.T.A.C.). It was not until 1920, however, that A.T.A.C. had assumed complete ownership of the commune's tram lines.

In 1911 there were approximately 24 kilometers of tram service, of which 18 were commune-owned.[1] By 1920, when the commune had acquired complete control of the transportation system, the total tram network had grown to 130 kilometers, an increase of more than 500 percent in 9 years.[2] In that year the first motor bus was also introduced in Rome.

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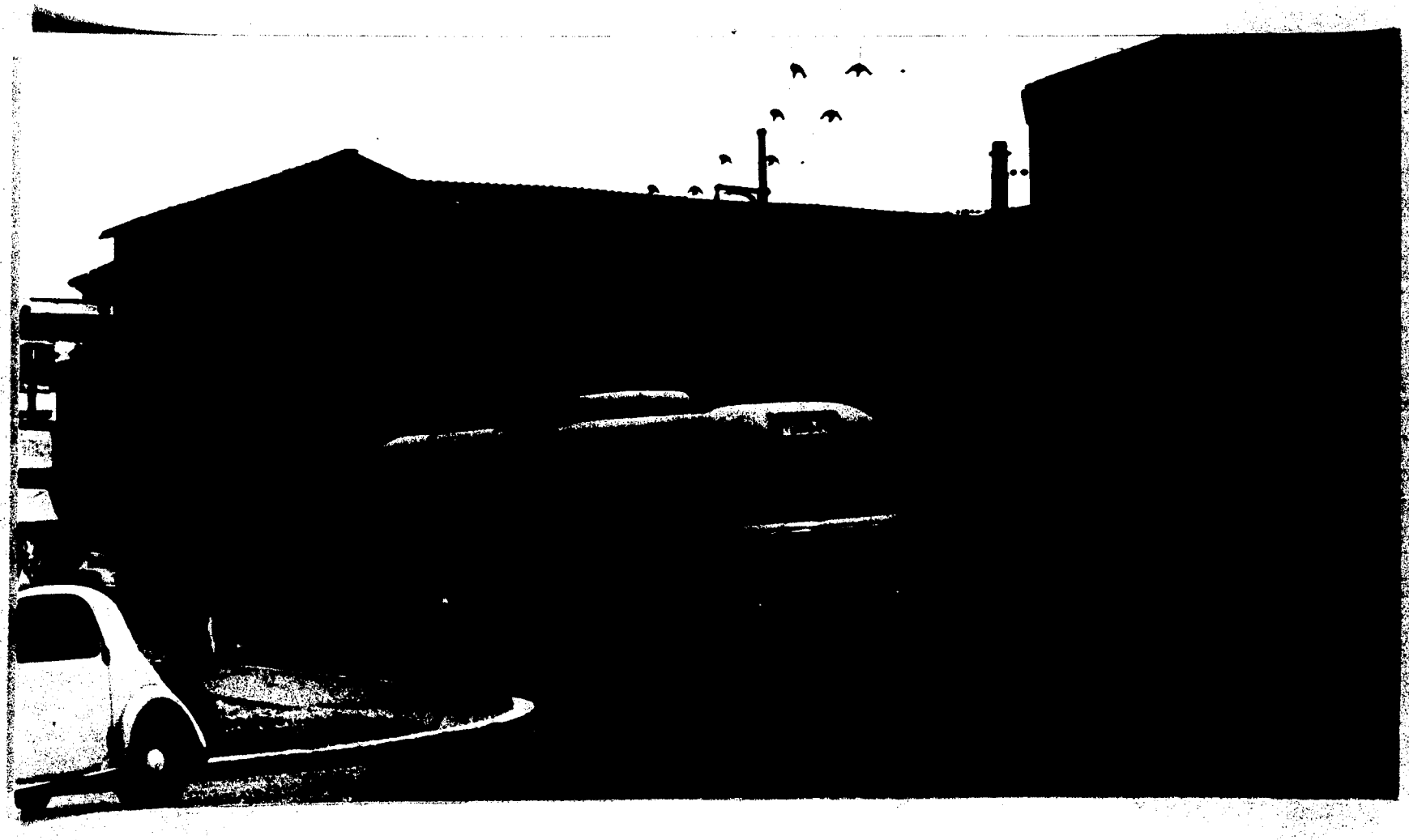
[1]A.T.A.C., Dati Statistici-1957 (Rome: A.T.A.C., 1958), p. 5; and F. M. Crawford, Ave Roma Immortalis (London: Macmillan and Company, 1903), p. 2.

[2]A.T.A.C., Dati Statistici-1957, p. 5.

The introduction of the motor bus, followed by the trolleybus in 1937, brought about another revolution in Rome's transportation system. These innovations, while extremely beneficial for internal movement within a rapidly growing city, were not without their accompanying ills. The tram's complete dependence upon a track made it a somewhat inflexible form of transport. The construction of new tracks is also both time-consuming and expensive. The trolleybus, and especially the motor bus, introduced to the commune's transportation the added dimension of flexibility. Extending the transportation system became a much easier and less costly task. The outward population growth, therefore, no longer had to depend upon the slowly-extended tram routes.

The arrival of the trolleybus (Plate VII) and the bus heralded the decline of the tram in Rome. Since the 1920's virtually no new tracks have been added. They have, in fact, almost disappeared entirely from the Roman scene, since the A.T.A.C. master plan calls for replacement of the tram lines with buses or trolleys as soon as possible. The reasons for the retirement of the tram in Rome are several: it is much noisier, much less adaptable to route changes, much more of an impediment to the free flow of motorized traffic, and the tracks greatly mar the beauty of the city.

PLATE VII



A Roman Trolleybus Maneuvering Through
One of the City's Narrow Streets.

The A.T.A.C. service has greatly improved over the years. Two important standards by which one may judge the quality of a transportation system are the number of lines in service (distance serviced) and the number of vehicles in service. By both of these standards Rome's transportation system has made great strides in meeting the actual needs of the growing population (Figs. 19, 22, and 23).

From the 24 kilometers of public transportation service in the city in 1911 the total network of service had grown to 734 kilometers in 1957.[1] This rate of growth since 1911 (3,058 percent) has more than kept pace with both the overall population increase (342 percent) during the same period and the increase (1,281 percent) of land incorporated within the city limits. This rapid growth of the transportation network has been the critical factor in Rome's rapid and almost unimpeded expansion.

The ratio of inhabitants per vehicle has dropped impressively since 1911, contributing greatly to the general improvement of the transportation service. In 1911 there was a ratio of 7,251 persons per vehicle; in 1957 the ratio had dropped to 1,487. There is little doubt that this figure would be much lower now were it not for the disastrous effects of World War II. By 1930 the ratio had already dropped to 1,190 persons per vehicle. As the

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[1] Ibid.

Fig. 22.--Average Number of People per Vehicle on the Public Transport (A.T.A.C.) System in the City of Rome, 1911-1956.

Source: Azienda Tramvie e Autobus del Comune di Roma, Dati Statistici, 1958.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER VEHICLE ON THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT (A.T.A.C.) SYSTEM

IN THE

CITY OF ROME

1911-1956

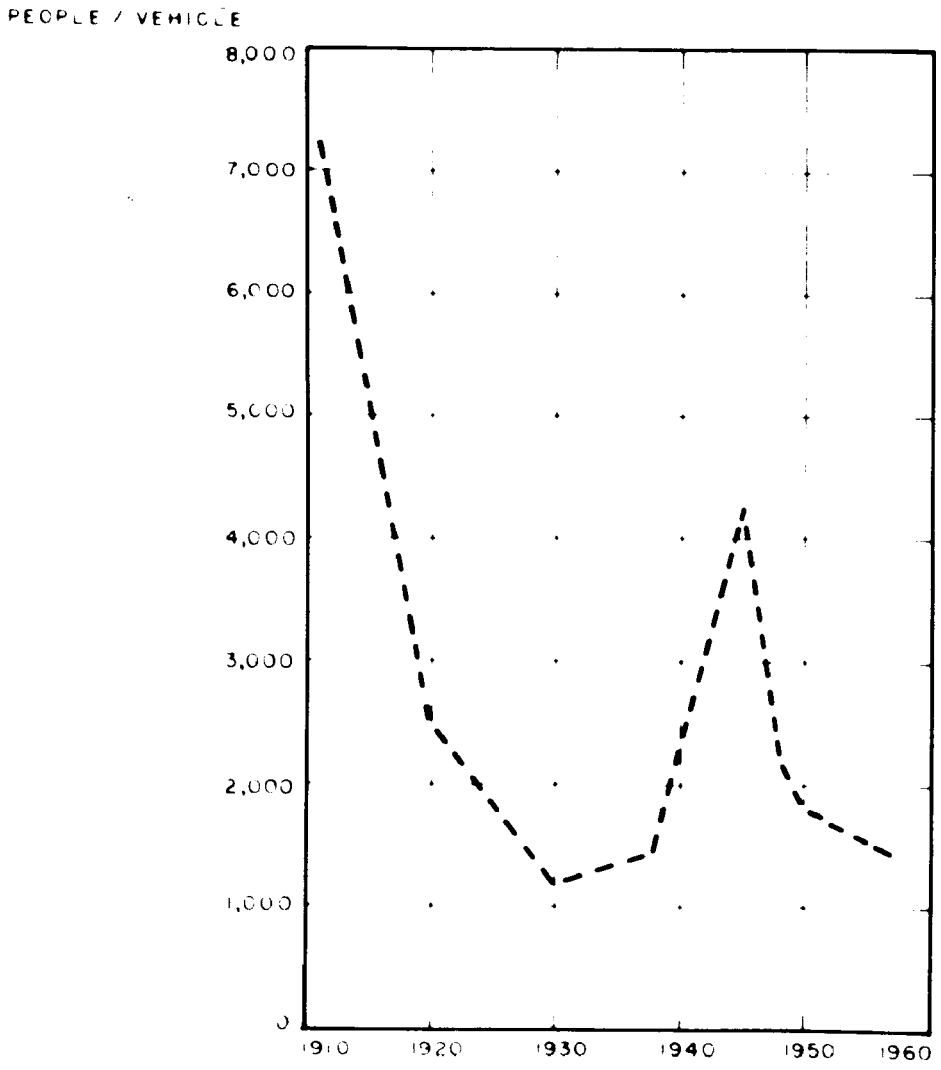


Fig. 22

Fig. 23.--Kilometers in Service by the Public Transport (A.T.A.C.) System in the City of Rome 1911-1957.

Source: Azienda Tramvie e Autobus del Comune di Roma, Dati Statistici, 1958.

KILOMETERS IN SERVICE BY THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT (A.T.A.C.) SYSTEM IN THE CITY OF ROME 1911-1957

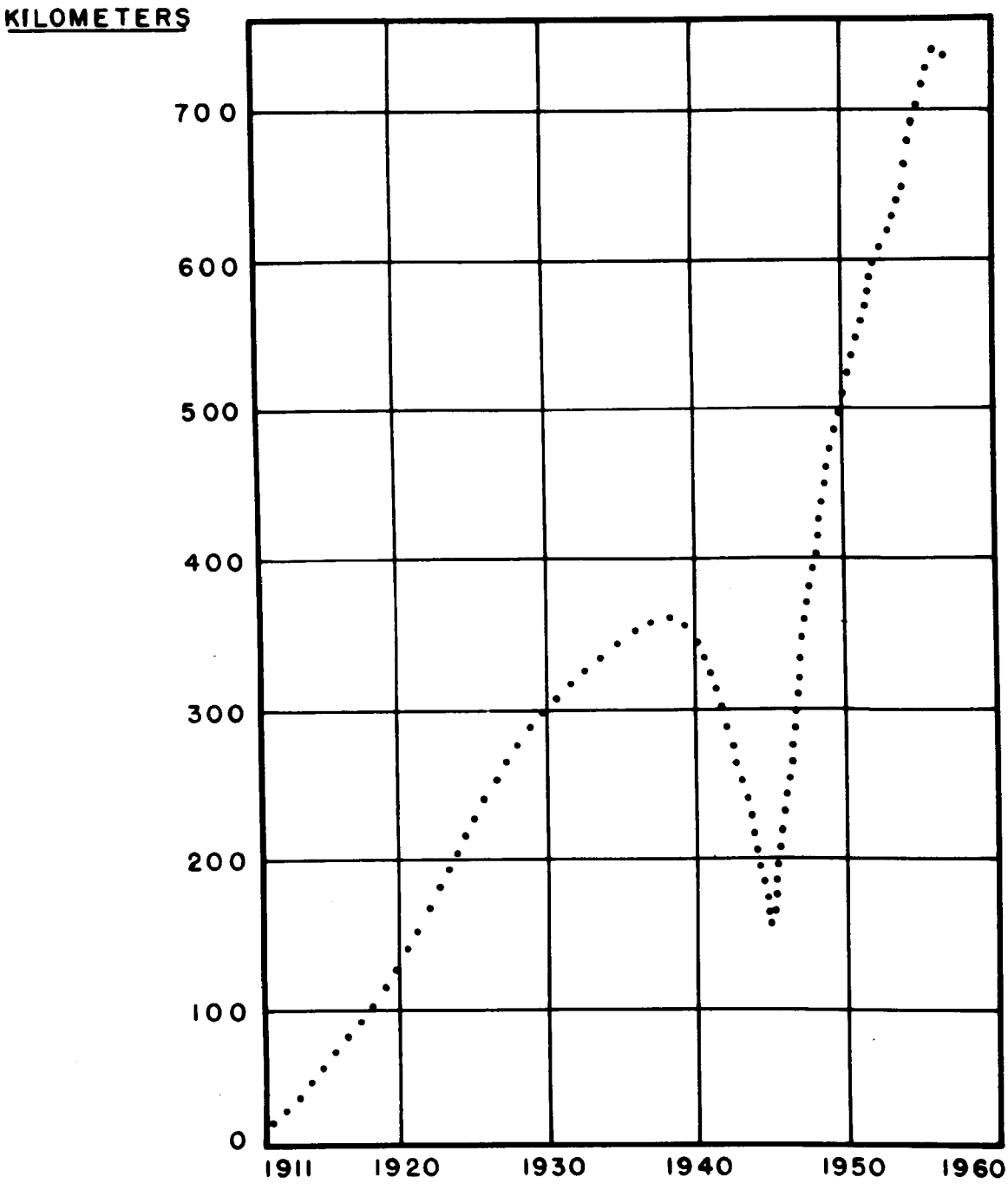


Fig. 23

desire for a new and greater Italian Empire gained momentum during the 1930's, less and less money was allocated to A.T.A.C. for replacement of worn-out vehicles. When the war ended in 1945, only 354 vehicles remained of a daily circulating fleet that had numbered 884 in 1938.[1] The Nazis contributed heavily to the depletion by removing 251 vehicles from the city between 1942 and 1944 for use in troop and supply movement.[2] This severe loss, plus an increase of more than 200,000 inhabitants in the same seven year period (1938-1945), left the city with a ratio of 4,225 persons per vehicle. The A.T.A.C. fleet did not regain its pre-war size until 1950, and the pre-war (1938) ratio of persons per vehicle was not regained until the end of 1957 (Fig. 22). It will probably be a few years before the record low ratio of 1930 is regained.

Although A.T.A.C. is the most important transportation system in the commune, it is not the only one. A.T.A.C. serves, almost without exception, only the area within the city limits. The Agro Romano is serviced primarily by the Societa Tramvie e Ferrovie Elettriche di Roma (S.T.E.F.E.R.), the Society of Tramways and Electric Railroads of Rome. S.T.E.F.E.R., unlike A.T.A.C.,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Interview with Ferdinando Di Michele, A.T.A.C., Rome, March 6, 1958.

is a private corporation, but the majority of shares is owned by the commune, and the mayor of Rome is the chairman of the corporation.

S.T.E.F.E.R. was created in 1906 when it was granted permission to construct tram lines from Rome's main railroad station to the Castelli Romani, the famous group of hill towns just southeast of the commune. The Castelli Romani network was enlarged and improved in 1912, 1916, and 1932. In 1924 the company constructed the railroad from Rome to Lido di Ostia, now Lido di Roma, linking the two areas and setting the pattern for future urbanization along this artery. Both the Castelli Romani network and the Rome-Lido line have been supplemented by bus service, and in 1950 S.T.E.F.E.R. added a new line, using buses, connecting Rome and Tivoli.

In addition to serving the Agro Romano and towns adjacent to it, S.T.E.F.E.R. also has three tram and bus lines connecting central Rome with the eastern outlying city neighborhoods of Centocelle, Capanelle, and Cinecitta, Italy's movie capital (Fig. 24).

The most dramatic addition to the S.T.E.F.E.R. service in recent years was the subway line from the main railroad station to the Universal Exposition grounds (E.U.R.). Begun in 1937 in anticipation of the proposed World Fair, the construction of the subway was abandoned when the Second World War broke out. Construction did

Fig. 24.--Network of the Quasi-public Extra-urban Transport System (S.T.E.F.E.R.) of the Commune of Rome-1958.

Source: Interview with Carlo Ventura, Societa Tramvie e Ferrovie Elettriche di Roma, March 8, 1958.

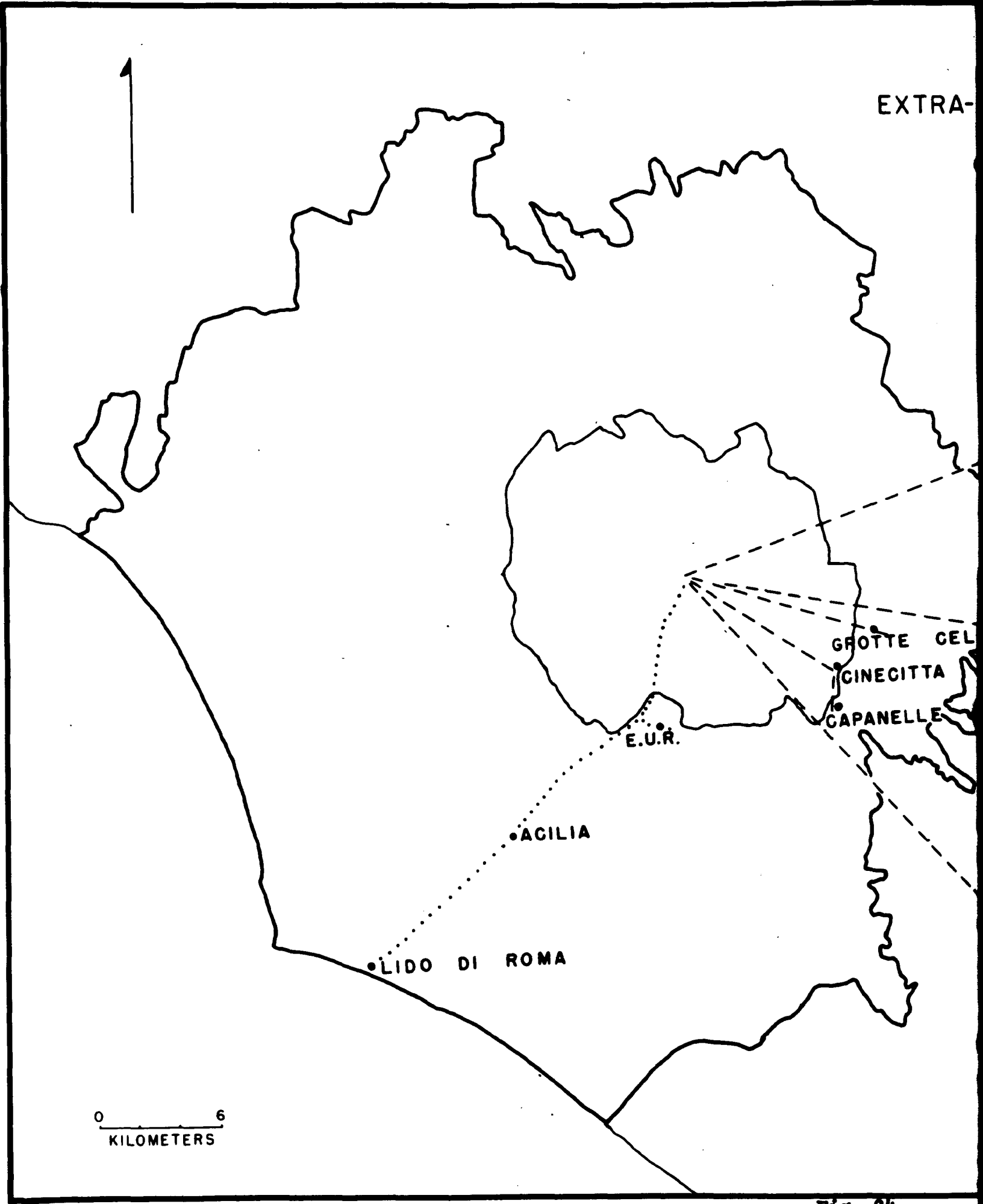

EXTRA-
GROTTE CEL
CINECITTA
CAPANELLE
E.U.R.
ACILIA
LIDO DI ROMA
0
6
KILOMETERS

Fig. 24

NETWORK OF THE QUASI-PUBLIC EXTRA-URBAN TRANSPORT SYSTEM (S.T.E.F.E.R.)

OF THE

COMMUNE OF ROME

1958

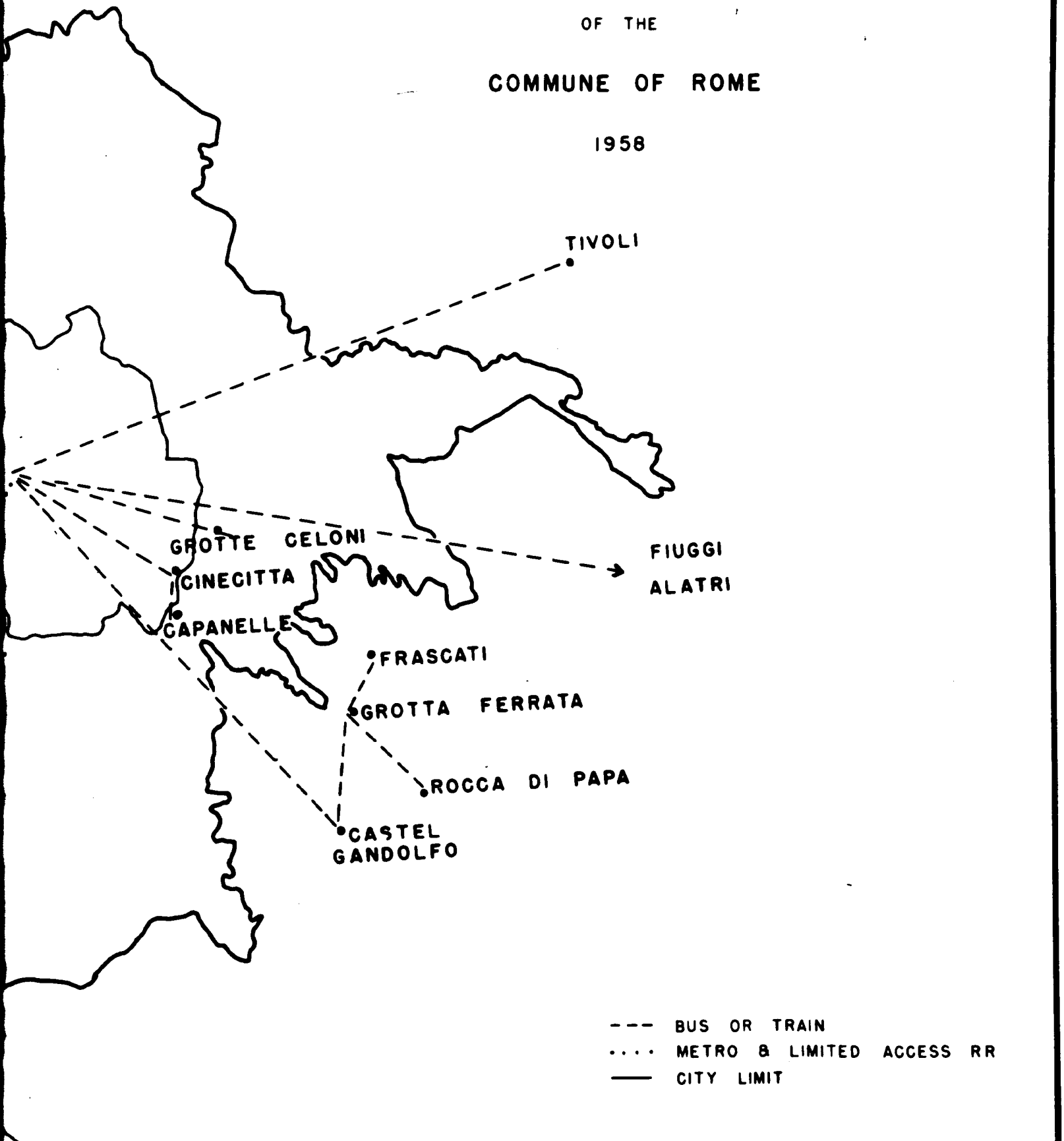


Fig. 24

not resume for several years after the war. When it did, progress was very slow because of archaeological considerations. Extreme caution was necessary in excavating to avoid damaging anything of archaeological value. In 1955, 18 years after the initial construction had begun, the subway finally was completed (Fig. 24).

Whether or not the subway network will be enlarged is purely conjecture at this point. There is little doubt that further extension of the network would be of enormous value in relieving much of the surface congestion; however, the cost of such a project may prove too great for the construction of lines that would cut through the heart of the city in various patterns. This would mean that, as in the case of the construction of the present line, extreme caution would be necessary to avoid destruction or damage to anything of archaeological value. The special care required for this problem adds greatly to the construction costs. Should future surface congestion become so great that few other means are available to relieve the situation, there seems little doubt that an extension of the subway system will be part of the solution.

Until the end of World War II there was very little use of the automobile in the commune. Nearly all transportation was by tram, bus, trolleybus, or train. Since

1945 the growing prosperity of Romans and, in recent years, the greater use of installment buying, have made it possible for increasingly large numbers of people in the commune to purchase automobiles. Inasmuch as most of the Romans who own automobiles also live in neighborhoods where the majority of their neighbors are dependent upon the existing well-developed public transportation system, one cannot conclude that the automobile is profoundly altering the distribution pattern of the commune's population. In the future, as more Romans acquire automobiles, there may be some changes in the nature of the commune's population distribution, but at present the only important effect of the automobile has been to increase an already serious traffic problem.

Traffic congestion, which has been one of Rome's most agonizing problems for several decades, promises to become much more severe in the future. For those who are familiar with the present problem (Plate VIII) it is difficult to imagine that it could grow worse. Yet the rapidly increasing number of motor vehicles on the commune streets is adding daily to the traffic congestion problem and its various ramifications. Although published statistics regarding registered motor vehicles are available only since 1929, they reflect very well the rising tide of motor traffic.

PLATE VIII



Noon-hour Traffic Congestion in Piazza Barberini.

In 1929 there were slightly over 15,000 motor vehicles in the commune.[1] Of this total, 61 percent were two-wheeled motor vehicles, and 1 percent were buses.[2] The ratio of inhabitants per motor vehicle was 64 to one, but the ratio per automobile was 102 to one. By 1938, the last pre-war year for which statistics were available, a marked increase had taken place. By that year the total number of motor vehicles registered in the commune had grown to almost 32,000,[3] or double the 1929 total, and a significant change had occurred in the per capita ratio of inhabitants to motor vehicles. There were, in 1938, 41 persons per motor vehicle (all types). The increase in automobile ownership during this period had radically improved the ratio to 55 persons per automobile.

The Second World War, as in so many other aspects of Roman life, left the commune with a greatly depleted number of motor vehicles. German requisitions, normal wear, and the war's destruction left Rome in 1946 with a little over 20,000 vehicles,[4] or a third less than in

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[1]Reale Automobile Circolo d'Italia, Autoveicoli, Velocipedi, Veicoli a Trazione Animale Esistenti nel Regno, 1928-1938, A report prepared by the R.A.C.I. (Rome: R.A.C.I., 1940), p. 71.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Automobile Club D'Italia, Statistiche Automobilistiche 1946-1948 (Rome: A.C.I., 1949), p. 177.

1938. Curiously enough, however, the number of trucks had increased considerably during the war period. This exception was due to the heavy war-time production of these vehicles for troop and supply movement. Without this exception Rome's motor transportation would have been crippled even more severely, since many trucks were used as buses in the early post-war years.

The post-war recovery of the commune's motorized transportation has been rapid (Fig. 25). In the 10-year period between 1946 and 1955 the total number of motor vehicles registered in Rome increased five times to 140,000.[1] In the same period of time the ratio of inhabitants per motor vehicle dropped from 74 to 17, and the ratio per automobile dropped from 185 to 27. There is every indication that these ratios will continue to drop.

Two important factors underlie the rapidly increasing number of motor vehicles in Rome. The most important of these is the growing strength of the Italian economy. When World War II ended the Italian economy was shattered. Foreign aid, Italian perseverance, and planning have revived Italy's economic life. Rome, as well as the rest

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[1]Computed from Automobile Club D'Italia, Statistiche Automobilistiche (1946-1955).

Fig. 25.--Number of Automobiles in the Commune of Rome.

Source: Automobile Club d'Italia, Autoveicoli, Velocipedi, Veicoli a Trazione Animale Esistenti nel Regno dal 1928-1938; and Automobile Club d'Italia, Statistiche Automobilistiche 1946-1958.

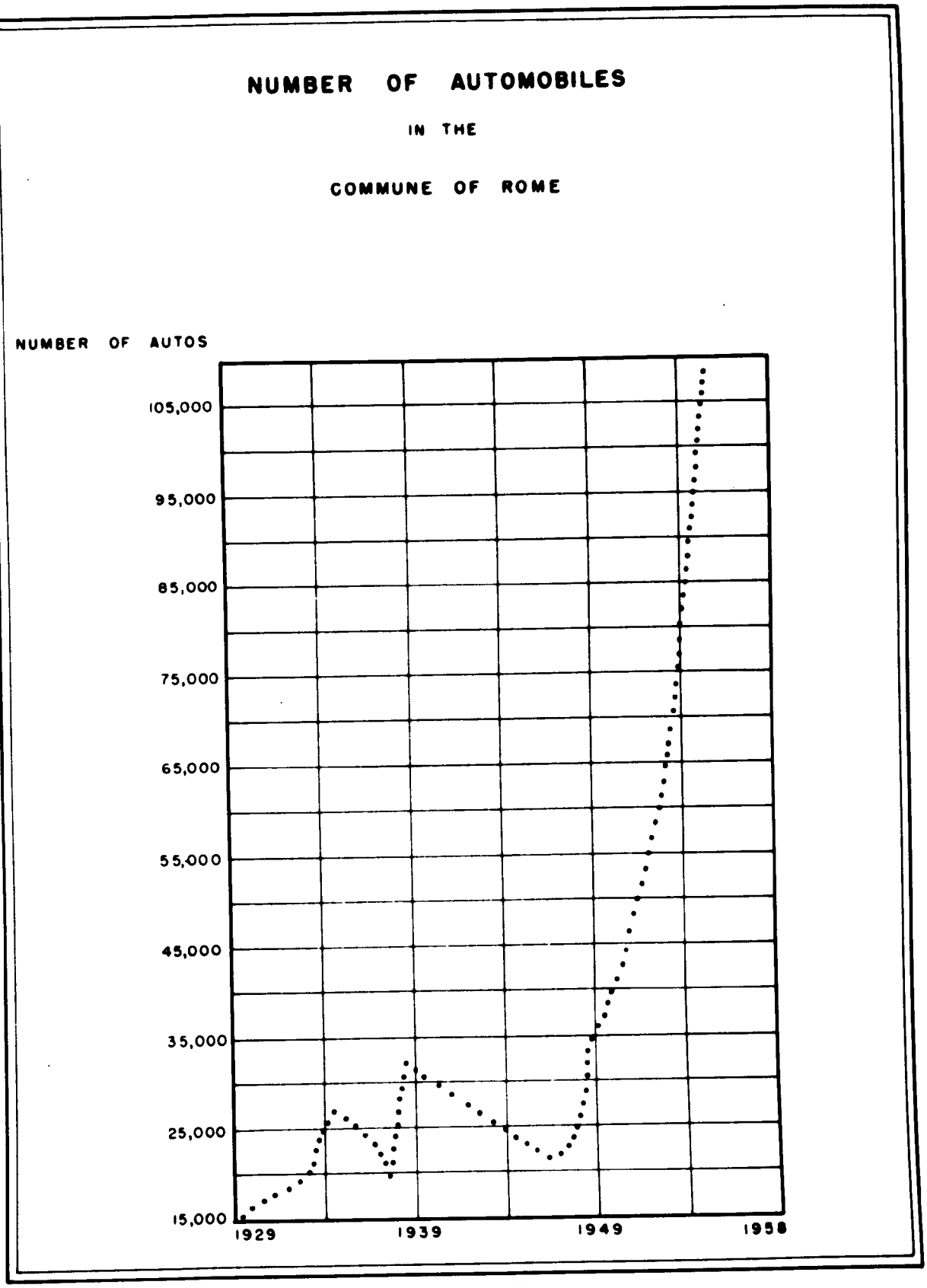

NUMBER OF AUTOMOBILES
IN THE
COMMUNE OF ROME
NUMBER OF AUTOS
105,000
95,000
85,000
75,000
65,000
55,000
45,000
35,000
25,000
15,000
1929
1939
1949
1958

Fig. 25

of the country, has benefited from this revival, since by 1955 the purchasing power of the average Roman had increased 38 percent above the 1938 level and slightly more than 100 percent above the 1946 level.[1]

The growing prosperity of the average Roman by itself would not have been enough to spur large-scale purchasing of motor vehicles, since the accumulation of money for such a purchase is a lengthy process. For this reason installment buying was introduced to the Roman (and Italian) scene for the first time on a grand scale during the 1950's. With this added means, the sales of motor vehicles have grown steadily in the commune and will undoubtedly continue to grow for the same reason. Therein lies the perplexing problem of growing traffic congestion.

Rome's street congestion, while especially serious now, has been a major concern of the commune's leaders ever since the creation of the capital. Rome's earlier master plans of 1873, 1883, and 1909 were, in essence, merely traffic control and correction schemes, although the planning of Prati and Esquilino, then new quarters, was also undertaken. The master plans of 1931 and 1956,

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[1]Ten Years of Italian Economy 1947-1956. A report prepared by the Banco di Roma (Roma: Stabilimento A. Staderini, 1957), p. 9.

while much more comprehensive in scope than their predecessors, also have placed considerable emphasis on traffic correction schemes and new road construction.

The most notable achievements of the earlier master plans were the construction of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele (Fig. 8) and the Via Nazionale, and the enlargement of the Piazza Venezia. The Corso Vittorio Emanuele, which runs from the Tiber to the Piazza Venezia (Plate IX), was constructed following the master plan of 1873. In order to carry out this project, it was necessary to raze many buildings, since the area was a labyrinth of narrow passages. For some sections of the new street existing street patterns were used. For the balance of the construction entirely new sections were cut. The Via Nazionale, on the other hand, was a completely new street. Also constructed following the plan of 1873, this broad new boulevard ran from just east of the Piazza Venezia to the famous Baths of Diocletian near the central railroad station. The Via Nazionale became one of the busiest and most fashionable streets in Rome.

The construction of the Corso Vittorio Emanuele and the Via Nazionale were of unquestionable value in easing existing and expected traffic problems, but no such unanimity can be found in discussing the enlargement of the Piazza Venezia and the construction therein of the Victor Emmanuel Monument. The Piazza Venezia project

PLATE IX



The Piazza Venezia from the Steps of the Victor Emmanuel Monument; the Via del Corso is in the Background.

outlined in the 1883 master plan, was begun in 1885 and completed in 1911. The actual widening of the Piazza, as well as several small streets leading into it, took but a fraction of this 26-year period. The massive Victor Emmanuel Monument required over 20 years to complete. After almost 50 years the monument remains one of Rome's most controversial subjects, since many people consider it too large and its style too much out of character with Rome's other monuments.

The Piazza Venezia was a primary arterial nodal point in 1883, connecting the Via Del Corso, the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, and the Via Quattro Novembre (contiguous with the Via Nazionale). After the construction in the early 1930's of the Via Dei Fori Imperiali, which runs from the Collosseum to the Piazza Venezia, and the Via Del Teatro Marcello, which runs from the Tiber to the Piazza Venezia, the square became an even greater focus for traffic (Fig. 8). When the enlargement of the Piazza Venezia was outlined in 1883, very little thought was given to lessening heavy traffic convergence and its related problems. There was far greater concern, at the time, for a proper setting for the proposed Victor Emmanuel Monument. Lack of good planning has helped to make the Piazza Venezia one of Rome's most heavily congested and disorganized intersections.

The master plan of 1931 might very well have been called the Mussolini Master Plan in view of the late dictater's heavy influence in its preparation and execution. The most notable traffic improvement programs in the plan were the partial construction of the subway line, the Via dei Fori Imperiali, and the Via del Mare, the express highway to the sea.

Mussolini and his planners were also responsible for the first projects designed to free central Rome of its heavy traffic by relocating commerce and government offices. This idea was originally introduced in the 1909 master plan, but did not receive wide support at that time. The rapidly increasing number of motor vehicles in the urban core, however, led to the adoption of the idea by the 1956 master plan.

Since no published traffic statistics are available in the commune, one must rely upon the statistical data published by A.T.A.C. While these data are not completely satisfactory, they, nevertheless, reflect the true traffic picture simply because they clearly indicate where a very large segment of the Roman populace must and does travel during the course of a year.

According to the data available, 15 of the 20 most heavily traveled streets within the city are also within

the Aurelian Wall, i.e., historical Rome.[1] These streets are also, for the most part, the least suitable ones in the commune for heavy traffic in view of their narrowness and irregularity. To widen and straighten many of these streets would be extremely impractical, both in terms of cost and historical value. To widen the very narrow Via del Corso, for example, would mean demolishing block after block of Rome's most venerated buildings, to say nothing of the enormous expense involved in acquiring and razing them.

Also directly related to the city's traffic problem is the paucity of off-street parking. The rapidly growing number of motor vehicles is creating an alarming parking problem in central Rome. The sight of double-parked automobiles is quite common, despite the steady vigil of the police. This situation, of course, creates additional bottlenecks in the flow of traffic. To date, almost no off-street parking can be found in the older part of the city because in the past no provision was made for such a need, and also because of the enormous present-day cost to provide such facilities. Rome's central business district is slowly being strangulated by the complex traffic ills.

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[1]Angelo Patrassi, "Rilevamente e Statistiche del Traffico sui Trasporti Publici Romani," Politica dei Trasporti, I (January, 1954), 13.

Prior to World War II a good deal of discussion was devoted to possible solutions for Rome's traffic problems. When it became evident that a mass motorization was gripping the city, work was begun on a circular by-pass road system (Fig. 26), but the war prevented its completion. This system, now completed, entirely encircles the city, allowing traffic to pass from one side of Rome to the other without entering the city at all.

As has been seen in the previous pages, Rome's transportation has vastly improved since 1871. Transportation arteries and facilities during the first decades of the capital were of less significance then because the settled area of the commune was much smaller than at present. The rapidly increasing size of the settled area, however, has made transportation a far stronger factor in the commune's growth, and its role will continue to grow as the settled area expands.

Fig. 26.--Highways of the Commune of Rome

HIGHWAYS

OF THE

COMMUNE OF ROME

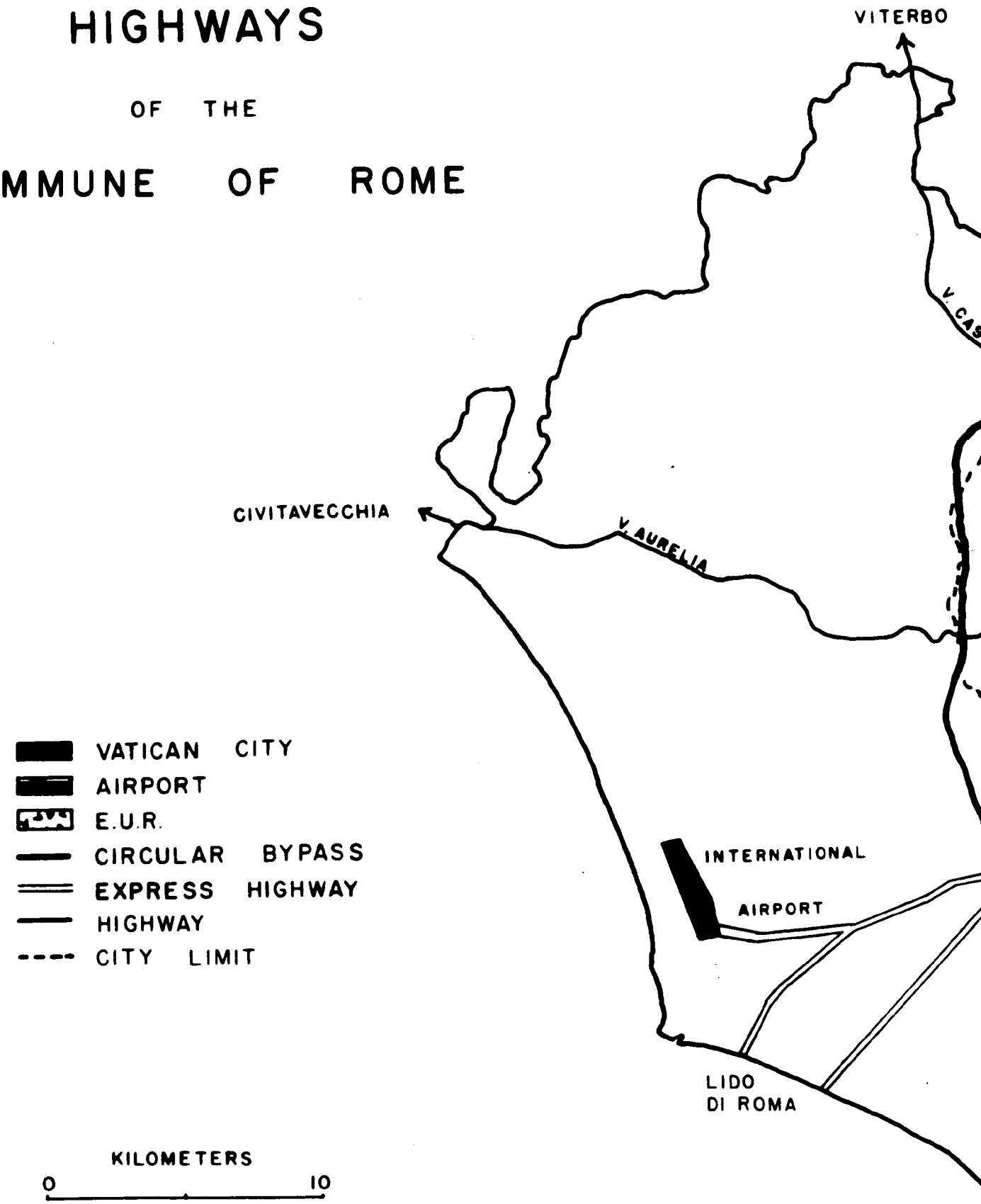


Fig. 26

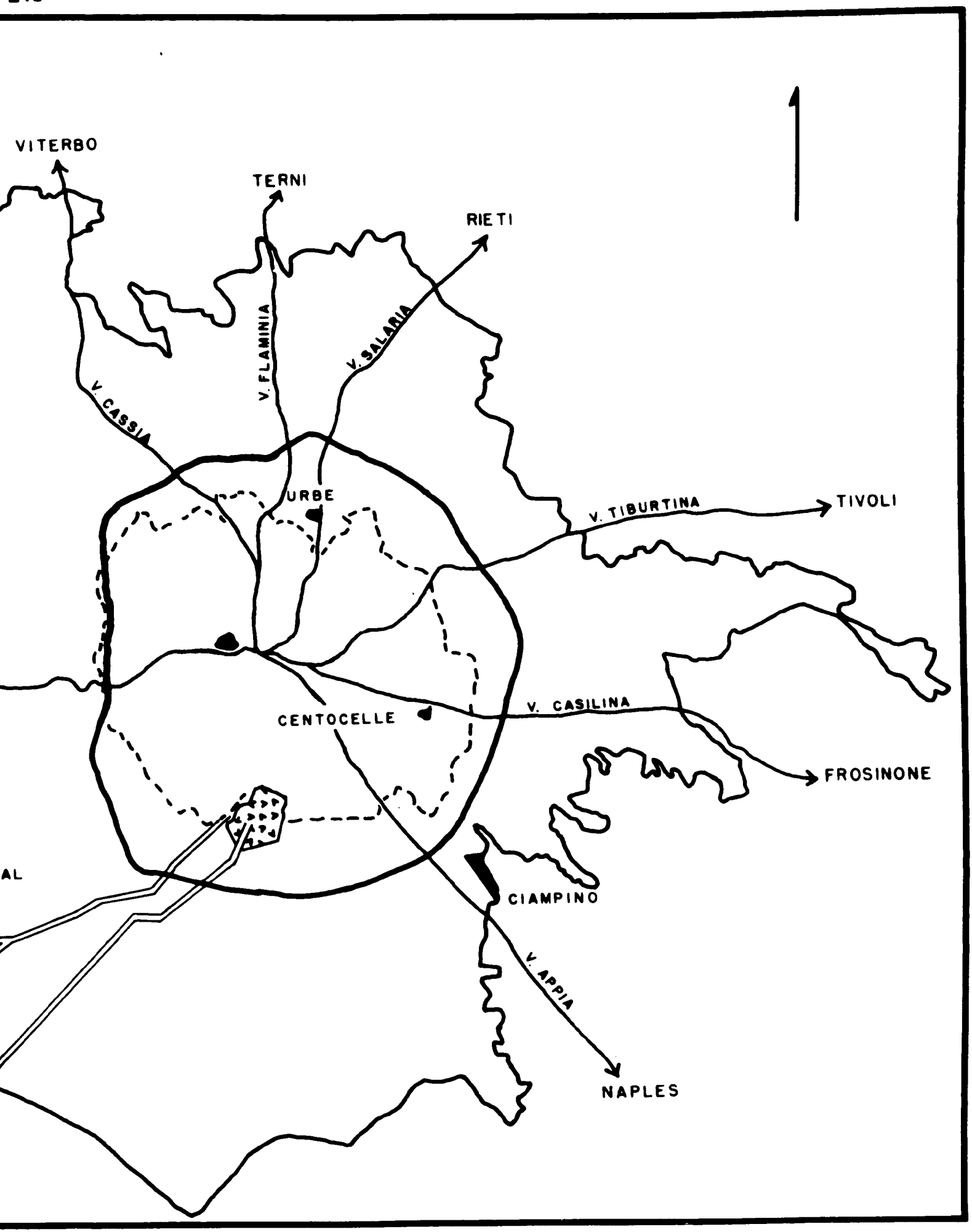

VITERBO
TERNI
RIETI
V. FLAMINIA
V. SALARIA
V. CASSIA
URBE
V. TIBURTINA
TIVOLI
CENTOCELLE
V. CASILINA
FROSINONE
AL
CIAMPINO
V. APPIA
NAPLES

Fig. 26

CHAPTER VI

OCCUPATION AND INCOME GROUPS

As the previous chapter on transportation indicates, some of the more profound changes relating to that subject have come about through the changing structure of the Roman income groups. The growing Roman middle class has touched off a revolution of motorization which promises to alter greatly the face of the commune. Room density is another aspect which is profoundly affected by changing income. Changes in the various income groups, then, are of considerable importance, because their distribution is often closely related to other significant distribution patterns.

The Rome of the popes was virtually without a middle class. With the passing of the years and the broadening of the economy, a small but growing middle class has arisen to fill the gap between extreme wealth and extreme poverty. While it is difficult to judge exactly when an income ceases to be classified in one group and begins to be classified in another, it is fairly safe to say that at present in Rome 85 percent of the families fall into the low income bracket ($0-1,999/year), 10 percent in the middle income bracket ($2,000-5,999/year), and 5 percent

in the high ($6,000 plus/year).[1]

Because of the dearth of data relevant to Roman incomes, a more meaningful understanding of the changing Roman income groups can be realized by studying the commune's occupation groups.

Skilled and unskilled laborers, petty marchants, and petty white collar workers usually fall into the lower income group, while those in the professions, important administrative positions, and bigger businesses fall into the middle and high income groups. By tracing the changing distribution of occupations over the past eight decades, one may gain a general conception of the changing economy and income groups (Fig. 27).

The present economic pillar of strength in the commune is the public administration sector. Twenty percent[2] of those gainfully employed or receiving an income in the commune are public administrators of minor or major importance. Most of the people thus employed are public servants of the nation. Since public administration is probably the single greatest contributor to the Roman middle income group, the continued growth of this sector of the economy is in itself a great assurance of the continued

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[1]Letter from Giovanni Bonelli, Internal Revenue Department, Rome, Italy, December 4, 1958.

[2]Italy, Censimento Generale-1951, p. 38.

Fig. 27.--Major Occupations in the Commune of Rome 1871-1951.

Source: Italy, Censimento Generale della Popolazione del Regno, 1871, 1881, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1936, and 1951.

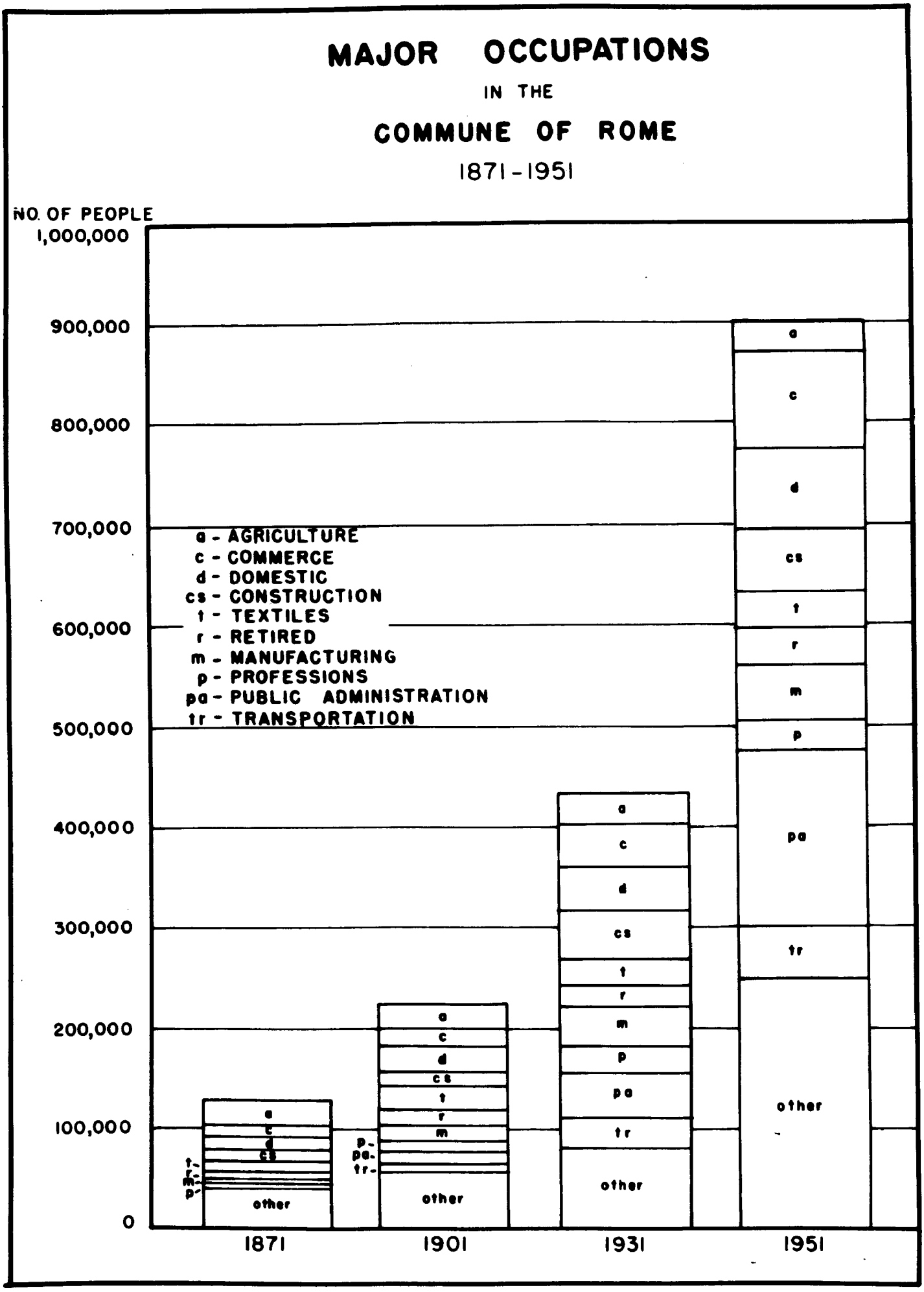

MAJOR OCCUPATIONS
IN THE
COMMUNE OF ROME
1871 - 1951
NO. OF PEOPLE
1,000,000
900,000
800,000
700,000
600,000
500,000
400,000
300,000
200,000
100,000
0
a - AGRICULTURE
c - COMMERCE
d - DOMESTIC
cs - CONSTRUCTION
t - TEXTILES
r - RETIRED
m - MANUFACTURING
p - PROFESSIONS
pa - PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
tr - TRANSPORTATION
other
1871
1901
1931
1951

Fig. 27

growth of the middle income group.

Public administration in Rome has steadily grown in importance since 1871. In that year it was insignificant in the economic life of the commune. By the turn of the century, however, it ranked sixth[1] as an employer. The Mussolini era saw a sharp rise in the number of public servants in Rome, and by 1931 public administration was second only to the construction trades.[2] Mounting government responsibility, particularly since World War II, has seen the addition of thousands of new public administrators to the payrolls in the past three decades; thus this sector of the economy now leads all others and employs twice as many people as its closest rival, commerce.[3]

While public administration is a very strong contributor to the Roman middle income group, commerce and the professions are also important. The combined strength of these three sectors of the Roman economy are an excellent index of the strength of the commune's middle class, although they do not give a complete picture, since one must take into consideration that not all of the employees in the three aforementioned economic sectors fall

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[1]Italy, Censimento Generale-1901, p. 139.

[2]Italy, Censimento Generale-1931, Lazio, p. 44.

[3]Italy, Censimento Generale-1951, p. 38.

into the middle income group.

That the combined percentage of the total employment in public administration, commerce, and the professions has more than doubled[1] since 1871, portrays vividly the expanding middle class.

Basically, the entire Roman economy has altered but slightly since 1871, except for one sector. A comparison of the leading sectors of the economy of 1871 and 1951 will bear this out. Of minor importance is the absence in 1951 of the military and the clergy as one of the 10 leading employers. Combined in 1871 they employed 8 percent of the earning population.[2] Of major importance, however, is the virtual disappearance of agriculture as an important occupation. In 1871 it was the leading occupation in the commune (19 percent).[3] Now it represents only 3 percent of the earning population.[4] That it has been replaced by public administration is highly significant, because of the much greater economic stability of the latter sector. The shrinking importance of agriculture also reveals the gradual urbanization of the

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[1]Italy, Censimento Generale-1871, III, p. 122; and Italy, Censimento Generale-1951, p. 38.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Computed from Italy, Censimento Generale-1871, III, p. 122.

[4]Italy, Censimento Generale-1951, p. 38.

commune.

At present there is very little industrial development in the commune apart from food processing, chemicals, and textiles. Because tailor-made clothing is relatively inexpensive in Italy, much of the country's clothing is made in this manner. For this reason every city in the country has a large number of tailors and seamstresses. Textiles, therefore, actually constitute a household trade. In the hope of adding a new dimension to the Roman economy, the nine industrial zones outlined in the new master plan (p. 83) (Fig. 10) are presently being promoted. If the commune is successful in achieving the desired industrialization of these sites, the industrial laborer will enter the Roman scene in far greater strength than the present 10 percent.[1]

The representative income and occupation groups unavoidably impress their respective characters upon a city. The most obvious manifestations are the physical appearance of a neighborhood, the densities of population, and the means of transportation. The relationship of income to such phenomena is self-evident in Rome. However, because relevant published data are almost totally absent, one must rely entirely upon observation and consultation with well-informed individuals.

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[1] Ibid.

High income group neighborhoods normally occupy the most desirable sites. The concept of desirability having changed since 1871, wealthy Romans, as a group, no longer choose to live in, or adjacent to, the central business district. Before the turn of the century, when transportation was poor, the wealthy class preferred to live along or near the Via del Corso, which was both the business and cultural heart of Rome. This street remained the center of the commune's upper income neighborhood until the arrival of the motor age.

The greater freedom of movement afforded by motor vehicles, especially the automobile, changed the concept of neighborhood desirability. While the movement to suburban areas did not grip Romans nearly as strongly as Americans, beauty and open green spaces became the major criteria involved in residential site selection, rather than proximity to the central business district. Subsequent to World War I the wealthier families of Rome began to abandon the Via del Corso district for newer neighborhoods north of the wall.

The principal focus was upon the Monti Parioli district. The beauty of the surrounding parks and hills, as well as the declining prestige of the Via del Corso district, ultimately lured most of the wealthier families to the Parioli area during the first decade of the Mussolini

era. The area has continued to attract upper and upper-middle class families after the Second World War.

These neighborhoods have spread east of the parks and to some degree, west of the Tiber, as building sites in older areas have disappeared and Rome's wealthier classes have grown. The expanding upper class areas have continued to consist almost exclusively of apartment buildings. The only significant departure from the northern concentration of wealthier class neighborhoods is the E.U.R. district south of the city (Fig. 28).

This residential district, a post-war phenomenon, has risen amidst the growing number of impressive public buildings and parkways. The terrain of the district differs sharply from the Parioli area, the former being almost flat. While the E.U.R. residential district continues to grow, it seems rather doubtful that it will ever seriously rival the northern area because of the latter's more beautiful setting and stronger traditional appeal to the wealthier classes.

Rome's middle class has traditionally sought to live adjacent to the upper classes. From its earlier neighborhoods surrounding the upper class Via del Corso district, the Roman middle class gradually migrated northwestward and northeastward, flanking the Parioli area on two sides. The northwest zone largely west of the Tiber, today includes primarily the Rione Prati and southern half

Fig. 28.--Income Group Neighborhoods in the City of Rome.

Source: Based largely upon observation and interviews with numerous Romans.

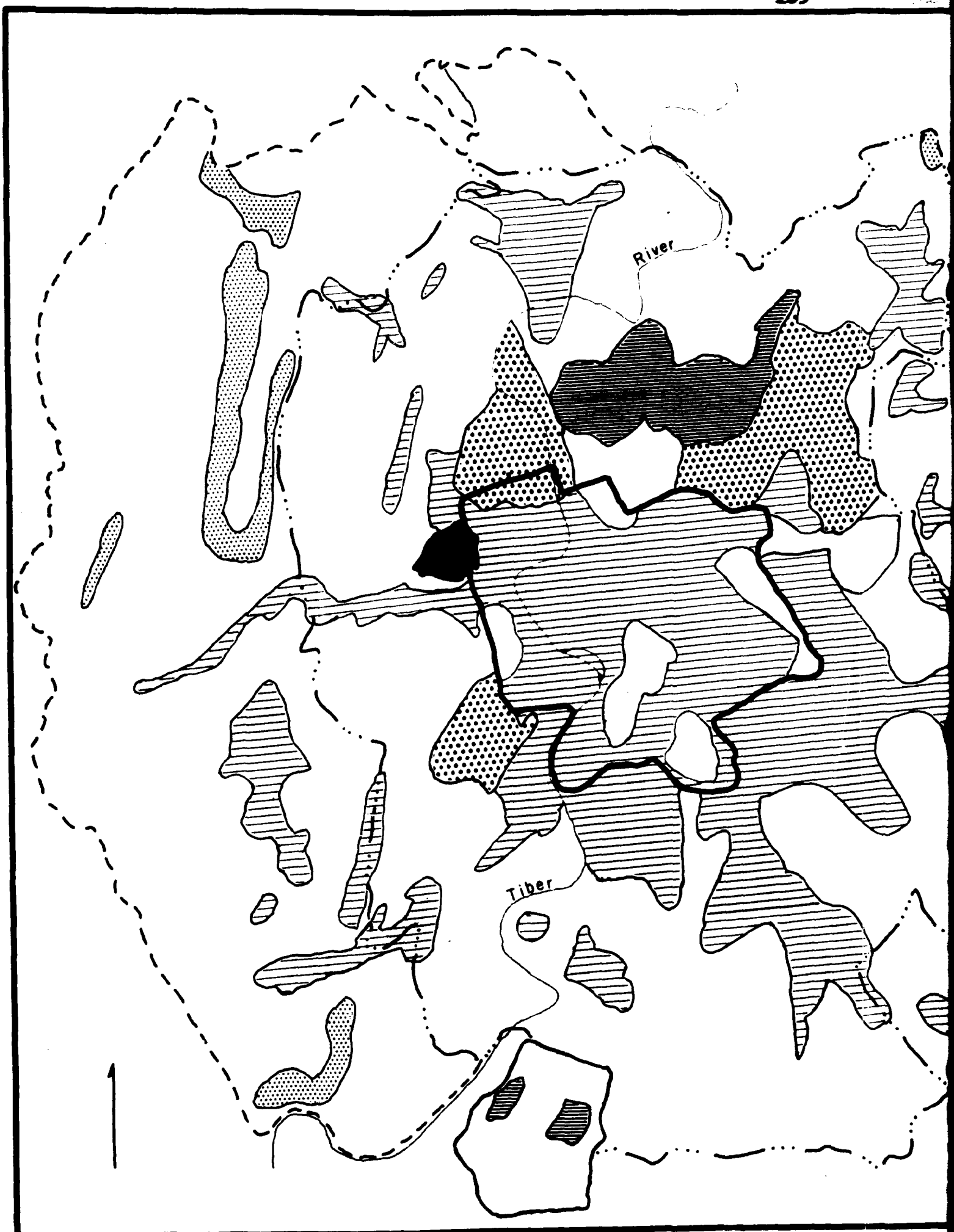


Fig. 28

INCOME GROUP NEIGHBORHOODS

OF THE

CITY OF ROME



VATICAN CITY
HIGH INCOME
MEDIUM INCOME
LOW INCOME
RURAL SLUM
NON-RESIDENTIAL
RIONI LIMIT
QUARTIERI LIMIT
E.U.R.
SUBURBI LIMIT

0 3
KILOMETERS

of the Quartiere Della Vittoria (Fig. 28). The zone to the northeast has steadily extended along both sides of the Via Nomentana into the Quartieri Trieste and Nomentano (Fig. 28).

Following World War II, a third major middle class district has arisen in the Quartiere Gianicolense west of the Tiber. Middle class families were attracted by the beauty of the setting, rather than by proximity to wealthier districts. Limited presently to the eastern half of the Quartiere Gianicolense, the residential area is continually expanding westward.

Residential areas over the balance of the commune are predominantly composed of lower income group families. These are neighborhoods which, for any of several reasons, are the least desirable. When Rome became the capital of Italy in 1871 the least preferred residential land in the city was along the Tiber, because the area was subject to frequent flooding. Only the poorest families lived here. Consequently, the nucleus of Rome's present-day low income residential neighborhoods was the area along the river between the Vatican and the Tiber island. This area was primarily composed of Trastevere, the former Ghetto, and the eastern half of Rione Borgo.

Another low income district to develop before the turn of the century was that surrounding the central railroad station and marshalling yards in the southeastern

rioni. Because of noise, filth, and unsightliness, only the less affluent Romans were attracted to the district. While an attempt was made to develop Rione Esquilino as a middle class area prior to 1900, the venture failed because insufficient numbers of the economic group showed interest. From the southeastern rioni new lower income neighborhoods have gradually expanded beyond the wall into the quartieri and suburbi to the east, southeast, and south. The neighborhoods surrounding the Via del Corso, long having been abandoned by the wealthier families, also form part of the major low-income district. It now extends, in a contiguous belt, from the oldest neighborhoods of Borgo and Trastevere to the new ones in the southeastern quartieri (Fig. 28).

Several important outlying lower income areas also exist. All, except Monte Sacro, are along the coast. The lone exception, in the extreme northeast of the city, arose in the 1920's as a planned neighborhood for low-salaried civil servants. Of the coastal area, Lido di Roma is the largest and easily the most important. The rural slums, because of their unique nature, fall into a classification of their own.

The distribution pattern of Rome's income group neighborhoods, unlike the overall population expansion, has continued to be strongly influenced by the physical

environment. The more affluent classes, since the arrival of the motor age, have maintained their preference for rolling and hilly terrain. The flatter, less interesting sites, have been left to the less affluent classes.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The nature of Rome's general population growth was primarily influenced by physical barriers and the state of the commune's economy until the early 1920's. The direction of the growth had been influenced by physical barriers, while the pattern of immigration was closely correlated with the commune's economic health. Although physical environment remains a factor in Rome's growth, its role has been greatly reduced by improved technology. The greater freedom of expansion afforded by this improvement has allowed planning to assume a major role. The 1956 master plan manifests the extent of this role. The scope of the plan leaves little room for conjecture.

The principal population expansion will be directed southward to the sea. Most of the dwellings will house families from the low-middle and low income groups, the E.U.R. being a notable exception. The upper-middle and upper income group families will, to a large extent, continue to occupy the traditional northern and western sectors of the city.

Another area that wealthier Romans can be expected to

occupy in increasing numbers is the historical zone within the Aurelian Wall. At present this zone contains the commercial, financial and many administrative centers of the commune, as well as most of the well-known ruins in the area. Subsequent to the decentralization of many of these functions to peripheral locations, a general relaxation can be expected in traffic movement to and from the historical zone. With the decrease in traffic, and the accompanying ills of noise and filth, a certain degree of dignity and calm should return to this ancient zone of the city. The attraction of a view of some of the more magnificent ruins is very strong. It has already stimulated the construction of several ultra-modern apartment buildings near the Colosseum. The proximity of major theatres and museums is still another lure. To those accustomed to living in apartments, as most Romans are, there is no conflict of choice between a house and an apartment. The absence of this conflict serves greatly to reduce any doubt of the continual construction and occupance of upper-middle and upper class apartment buildings in this zone.

If Rome's new master plan is effected in its present form, the over-all result will be threefold: (1) future expansion will be well coordinated, maintaining the unity of the commune; (2) slums, both rural and urban, will

greatly diminish, and (3) the room and land-unit densities will continue to drop in areas where they have been abnormally high until a more desired equilibrium is reached.

Rome's increasing reliance upon planning has come about as a result of the commune's rapid growth. The increasing size of the population and settled area require careful coordination to assure well-balanced urban expansion. Good transportation and housing are the keys to unencumbered growth. In both instances Rome has met its challenge well. Improved transportation has given Romans the freedom of movement that has allowed them to leave the congestion of the older areas of the city for newer, cleaner, and less crowded peripheral neighborhoods. Ambitious commune projects, at the same time, have also vastly improved the Roman countryside by draining marshes, adding transportation facilities, and providing low-cost housing.

Rome's extraordinary growth since 1871 has not been unique in Europe or the Western world. It is, rather, the contributing physical and cultural factors which have imparted a unique character to the commune's growth. Although Rome will increasingly come to resemble other Western urban centers, it will always retain its ties to the past and its distinctly unique flavor.

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