A Portrait of Porta Portese

by

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Author’s Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.

This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.
Abstract

This thesis investigates an informally self-organized street market, Porta Portese, in Rome, Italy. As a response to the contemporary phenomenon of migration, of people and goods, Porta Portese reflects the city’s evolving urban, cultural and social dynamics under the impact of global forces.

Based on fieldwork executed from 2007-2009, this thesis builds on the idea of scoring in an attempt to establish a framework of tangible notations, using mediums ranging from time-lapse photography to pattern mapping. The language of architecture is adapted to render visible the spatial dynamics in the fabrication of the market. Despite its lack of representation, Porta Portese leaves its mark as a layer of the invisible city of Rome. One can trace its terrain through palpable memories of a collective urban and cultural experience, for it transports ideas, images and values between different worlds based on universal understandings. Ultimately, this thesis advocates for an interpretive representation of places like Porta Portese as valuable urban spaces that celebrate and satisfy the needs of direct human experience. This is achieved through enabling the neglected voice of a place that can strike a resonating chord of dialogue amongst differences - and it all begins from a story about Porta Portese.
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# Table of Contents

List of Illustrations ×ii

**PRELUDE**

1 **INTRODUCTION** 7

1 **THE MARKET** 17

2 **GROUND WORK** 27

   - Modernity
   - City + Public Space
   - Ritual/ Event Space

3 **SITE CONTEXT** 33

   - The Gateway
   - The Roman Periphery
   - The Social Housing

4 **PATTERN MAPPING** 55

   - XL > Europe – Global
   - L > City
   - M > Porta Portese
   - S > Vending Stall

5 **CONCLUSION & REFLECTIONS** 121

**APPENDIX**

   i Untimely Objects
   ii 55 Wordscape
   iii Interviews
   iv Porta Portese News Clips

**BIBLIOGRAPHY** 152
List of Illustrations

0.1 Via Portuense at 5:00am Sunday morning, photograph. xviii

A Scoring 1, photograph 4-5

0.2 Sunday event congregation in Rome, diagram. 6

0.3 Saturday night trolley, photograph. 12

0.4 Scaffold trolley emerge on roadside on Saturday night, photograph. 12

0.5 Road block fences on roadside on Saturday night, photograph. 12

0.6 Trolleys lining up Via Portuense on Saturday night, photograph. 13

0.7 Vendor’s van parked on roadside, Saturday overnight, photograph. 13

0.8 Trolley in front of a supermarket on Saturday night, photograph. 13

B Scoring 2, photograph 14-15

1.0 Porta Portese market, photograph. 16

Consiglio. La Magia di Porta Portese. Roma, 1965

1.1 Porta Portese market, photograph 16

1.2 – 1.6 Historical Photographs. Consiglio. La Magia di Porta Portese. Roma, 1965

1.7 Screen shots from Ladri di biciclette, a film by Vittorio De Sica 19

1.8 Maurizio’s fine for occupation of public soil, document. Maurizio

1.9 Monuments vs. Porta Portese within 1.4 km of P. Venezia, diagram. 21

C Scoring 3, photograph 22-23

D Scoring 4, photography 34-35

3.0 Porta Portese, 1912, aerial photograph. 34

Ministero Pubblica Istruzione-Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti

3.1 Porta Portese area photograph, 1943

Società per Azioni Rilevamenti Aerofotogrammetrici, NISTRI

3.2 Porta Portese, 1959, aerial photograph.

Società per Azioni Rilevamenti Aerofotogrammetrici, NISTRI

3.3 Porta Portese, 1977, area photograph.

Società per Azioni Rilevamenti Aerofotogrammetrici, NISTRI

3.4 Porta Portese, etching.

<http://members.tripod.com/romeartlover/Vasi12.jpg>

3.5 Pianta di Roma edita da Francesco De Paoli doppo 1623, map.


xii
3.6 Gianicolo wall and surrounding, circa 1849, lithography.  
Fondazione Marco Besso-Biblioteca, Consoni, scat. Trastevere 18 20439

3.7 Master plan of Rome (PRG), 1909.  
<http://www.sirio.regione.lazio.it/SchoolCorner/RM_Bertrand_Russell/ieri_Eta_Moderna_1870_TrasformazioniUrbane.htm>

3.8 Mandrione borgate in Rome, 1944, photograph.  
<http://www.pierpaolopasolini.eu/Pasolini-e-Roma/14.%20Roma%20borgata%20Mandrione.jpg>

3.9 Rome periphery, circa 1960, photograph.  
<http://www.cinetecadibologna.it/sitopasolini/Pasolini-e-Roma/24.%20Roma%20periferia.jpg>

3.10 Panorama, circa 1935-1939, photograph.  
Stato Maggiore Aeronautica, 5 Reparte, Centro Produzione Audiovisivi, 20449

3.11 "Roma dell’Istituto Geografico Agostini", circa 1911, map.  

3.12 Old Trastevere Station Roma-Civitavecchia, circa 1900, photograph.  
Ferrovie dello Stato, Archivio Fotografico

3.13 Baracche on Piazzale Portuense, circa 1938, photograph.  
Archivio Fotografico = Archivio Storico Capitalino, Biblioteca Romana, Archivio Fotografico, n. 974

3.14 Baracche on Piazzale di Porta Portese, circa 1938, photograph.  
Archivio Fotografico = Archivio Storico Capitalino, Biblioteca Romana, Archivio Fotografico, n. 981.

3.15 Grande Piano Regolatore, 1931.  
Archivio Fotografico = Archivio Storico Capitalino, Biblioteca Romana, Archivio Fotografico

3.16 Housing construction on Via Portuense, circa 1960, photograph.  
Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Arch. Di Castro, b.30, cart.22.

3.17 Housing construction on Porta Portese site, circa 1960, photograph.  
Fondazione Marco Besso-Biblioteca, Jannatoni, 186.a.1.

3.18 View of Via Portuense, circa 1960, photograph.  
Fondazione Marco Besso-Biblioteca, Jannatoni, 186.a.1.

3.19 Porta Portese Banchi on Via Portuense, circa 1960, photograph.  
Fondazione Marco Besso-Biblioteca, Jannatoni, 186.a.1.

3.20 Porta Portese weekday activity, diagram.  
44-45

3.21 Piazza di Porta Portese, photograph.  
46

3.22 Weekday traffic on Via Portuense, photograph.  
47

3.23 Car pound, photograph.  
48

3.24 L’Arsenal Pontificio, photograph.  
49

3.25 Weekday Porta Portese site collage, photograph.  
50-51

3.26 Street Intersection, photograph.  
52-53
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E</th>
<th>4.0</th>
<th>XL: Flow of new merchandise, diagram.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>XL: Flow of second hand merchandise, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>L: Recycling Economy, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>L: General types of mobile vendors, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>L: Maurizio’s weekly markets, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Porta Portese market, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Porta Portese market street intersection, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>M: Via Bargoni study area key map, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>M: Space occupation comparison, Foreigner vs. Italian, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>M: Via Bargoni vendor pattern in merchandise category, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>M: Via Bargoni vendor pattern by foreigner, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>M: Via Bargoni vendor pattern by license, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>M: Via Bargoni vendor pattern by merchandise, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Miscellaneous objects, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Old books, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Old crayon, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Collectible coins, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Objects, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Used Barbie, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Fur coat on Eavesdrop, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Hanging display on fence, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Advertisement on car, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Banana box, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Scaffold detail, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Vending stall detail, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Street Vendors, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Street Vendors, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ AMA Cleaner, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>Porta Portese market/ Vending stall and vendor, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>S: Vending stall set-up, photograph.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>S: Vending stall materiality collage, diagram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.31 S: Vending stall existing site condition, diagram.
4.32 S: Type A/ Blanket as stall #1, photograph.
4.33 S: Type A/ Blanket as stall #2, photograph.
4.34 S: Type A/ Blanket as stall #3, photograph.
4.35 S: Type A/ Stall on blanket; contraband purse, photograph.
4.36 (a-e) S: Type A/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs. private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation
4.37 S: Type B/ Cardboard box stall, photograph
4.38 S: Type B/ Cardboard box; La Reppublica vendor, photograph.
4.39 S: Type B/ Cardboard box stall; perfume, photograph.
4.40 (a-e) S: Type B/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs. private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation
4.41 S: Type C/ Furniture stall in piazza, photograph by DMD.
4.42 S: Type C/ Furniture stall in middle of road, photograph by DMD.
4.43 (a-e) S: Type C/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation
4.44 S: Type D/ Table+ umbrella stall #1, photograph.
4.45 S: Type D/ Table+ umbrella stall #2, photograph by DMD.
4.46 S: Type D/ Table + umbrella second hand clothing stall, photograph.
4.47 (a-e) S: Type D/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation
4.48 S: Type E/ Blanket + car stall #1, photograph.
4.49 S: Type E/ Miscellaneous objects, photograph.
4.50 S: Type E/ Blanket + car stall #2, photograph.
4.51 S: Type E/ Blanket + car stall #3, photograph.
4.52 (a-e) S: Type E/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs. private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation
4.53 S: Type F/ Table + vehicle + umbrella stall, photograph.
4.54 S: Type F/ Table + vehicle + umbrella stall, photograph.
4.55 S: Type F/ Table + vehicle + umbrella stall, photograph by DMD.
4.56 (a-e) S: Type F/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs. private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation
4.57 S: Type G/ Vehicle + extended canopy + PVC stall, photograph.
4.58 S: Type G/ Vehicle + extended canopy + PVC stall, photograph by DMD.
4.59 (a-e) S: Type G/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs. private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation

4.60 S: Type H/ Vehicle + automatic canopy stall, photograph.

4.61 S: Type H/ Vehicle + automatic canopy stall, photograph.

4.62 S: Type H/ Vehicle + automatic canopy stall, photograph by DMD.

4.63 S: Type H/ Roof top detail #1, photograph by DMD.

4.64 S: Type H/ Roof top detail #2, photograph by DMD.

4.65 (a-e) S: Type H/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs. private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation

4.66 S: Type I/ Compact monster transformer; detail, photograph.

4.67 S: Type I/ Compact monster transformer; back, photograph by DMD.

4.68 S: Type I/ Compact monster transformer; store front, photograph by DMD.

4.69 (a-e) S: Type I/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs. private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation

4.70 S: Type J/ Trolley + canopy stall #1, photograph.

4.71 S: Type J/ Old trolley, photograph.

4.72 S: Type J/ Trolley + canopy stall #2, photograph by DMD.

4.73 S: Type J/ Trolley + canopy stall #2 detail, photograph by DMD.

4.74 S: Type J/ a) plan 1:100 b) section 1:100 c) public vs. private
d) circulation, vendor vs. crowd e) centre of operation

4.75 S: Type J/ Trolley plan and elevation, diagram.

4.76 S: Type A-J stall footprint, diagram.

4.77 Everyday object assembly, diagram.

4.78 Porta Portese market/ Cleaning threshold, photograph.

4.79 Porta Portese market/ Cleaning streetscape, photograph.

4.80 Porta Portese market/ Abandoned shoe, photograph.

4.81 Porta Portese market/ Cleaning streetscape, photograph.

4.82 Porta Portese market/ Portable toilet, photograph.

4.83 Porta Portese market/ Cleaning streetscape, photograph.

4.84 Porta Portese market/ Cleaning streetscape; warehouse, photograph.

4.85 Porta Portese market/ View from warehouse, photograph.

4.86 Porta Portese market/ Scaffold dismantling sequence, photograph.

F Scoring 6, photograph

xvi
5.0 People salvaging the remains of the market, photograph. 127
5.1 Porta Portese street sign, photograph. 127
5.2 Via Portuense post Porta Portese market, photographs. 128
5.3 End of Porta Portese market, photograph. 129
6.0 Untimely objects/ Carciofi, illustration. 132-133
6.1 Untimely objects/ Hand gestures, illustration. 134-135
6.2 Untimely objects/ Espresso café, illustration. 136-137
6.3 55 Wordscape, diagram. 139
6.4 Portrait of Maurizio in Porta Portese, photograph. 140
6.5 Porta Portese news clip #1. 146
6.6 Porta Portese news clip #2. 147
6.7 Porta Portese news clip #3. 148
6.8 Porta Portese news clip #4. 148
6.9 Porta Portese news clip #5. 149
6.10 Porta Portese news clip #6. 150
6.11 Porta Portese news clip #7. 150
6.12 Porta Portese news clip #8. 151

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** All photograph and diagram by author unless otherwise stated.
Prelude

April 27th, 2007

Like a pair of night owls, Dario and I perched at the edge of a tufa retaining wall overlooking Via Portuense with the gate of Porta Portese to our far left. It was five to five in the morning and we knew why we left the warmth of our beds but didn’t know what to expect. It was cold and humid. Morphing into the shadows of darkness upon us, we scouted the streets for any movement in silence like snipers on the watch, except we were equipped with an old Canon G5 on an uneven tripod. It was cold and humid. Yet there were only the flickering light of a half-broken street lamp against a flapping piece of scrap metal in the wind that accompanied our breaths of clouds.

Feeling like invisible trespassers, we froze at the sight when the first pair of ghostly headlights crossed the gate of Porta Portese and ventured down Via Portuense. Before we knew it, vans, trolleys, cars, three-wheeled ape and people slowly filled the street as if on a parade against the candy-colored sky at the break of dawn. Except it wasn’t a parade, it was the Porta Portese market. One by one, tables unfolded, umbrellas erected, banana boxes unloaded, and vehicles transformed into vending stalls in unimaginable ways. With an acute instinct, the vehicle drivers/stall vendors neither blinked their eyes nor stopped chatting out of their vehicle’s window, single handedly
maneuvered their vehicles into its rightful spots without hesitation. Their eyes and mouth talked to different people in opposite directions, instructing, joking, and insulting at one another. Yet their hands never stopped working. Sometime around 6:00am, an old man with a Sicilian hat appeared out of nowhere, pushing a trolley full of fresh cornetti and hot beverages down the street. Sleek as a fish, he ducked the chaotic traffic while juggling change at the same time. Everyone seemed to know one another, and the market felt like a big family reunion. However lighthearted the vendors seemed with their coffee in one hand and cigarette dangling off another, everyone took their work seriously - because there was money to be made. Tension in the air rose by the unofficial opening time of the market around 7:00am. The sky was a crisp Azzuri blue.

I couldn’t take my eyes off of what I was witnessing beneath me: a growing sea of colors composed by people and things, alive, throbbing and pulsating with movement. I was overlooking the market from above, yet it felt as if I was right in the heart of it. I lowered my eyes and was immediately immersed in the murmuring sounds of people that vibrated from the core of something strangely familiar - I was transported back to the back-alley labyrinths of Sunday markets in my childhood, where fresh soya milk, dubious herbal remedies and naked headless-chickens sat comfortably side by side with motorcycle helmets, women’s lingerie and electric mosquito rackets.

A shiver ran down my spine.
Before immigrating to Canada at the age of 10, I remembered explicitly a conversation that I had with my mother – questions regarding Canada that eventually led to my first conscious understanding/questioning about whom I am.


\[\text{Amy: Mama, where is Canada?}\\ \text{Mom: It's on the other side of the Pacific Ocean from Taiwan.}\\ \quad \text{(Pointing to a vast pink shade on the world map)}\\ \text{Amy: Where is Taiwan?}\\ \quad \text{(Looking for Taiwan on the map)}\\ \text{Mom: Taiwan is an island in front of China.}\\ \text{Amy: Where is China?}\\ \text{Mom: It is in front of Taiwan, on the other side of the Taiwan Strait.}\\ \quad \text{(Pointing to a vast yellow shade on the world map)}\\ \text{Amy: … But I don't see Taiwan on the map…?}\\ \text{Mom: It doesn't matter. You shall never forget you are Taiwanese.}\\
\]

The question of my own identity and the crisis of homelessness were ever pronounced when I was challenged by the strong cultural stereotypes of being a foreigner while living in Rome. I was the rich “Giapponese” who came to save the stagnant economy of Italy, crazed with shopping frenzy. Handicapped mute and deaf by the language, I set out on a journey looking for universal expressions that could transcend boarders of race, gender, culture, language and nationality in order to voice what I couldn't in words. I discovered my fascination for the transformative rituals of everyday life in the "Untimely Objects" during the M1 studio in Rome, in which I recorded a palette of communicative hand gestures, of a woman peeling an artichoke and a barista preparing an espresso café – all of them are expressions of intangible auras, tucked in moments between the creases of everyday life. One by one, they paved way for my encounter with the Porta Portese market.

Looking back now, after two years of soul searching in the course of this thesis, I finally understand what it meant to me on that particular Sunday morning when I witnessed the unfolding of Porta Portese market before my very eyes. Besides being moved by the experience of bearing witness to such a phenomenon, deep down, I knew where I was for once.

I was at home.
A. SCORING 1
The increasing emergence of self-organized spaces reveals a new set of spatial dynamics that change the way in which contemporary cities are experienced. They probe at the underlying issue of conflict over space between two parallel and co-dependent realms of the formal and the informal. Such conflicted spaces, characterized by deregulation and self-determinacy, not only question our perception of contemporary public spaces, but also offer insight in their transformative capacity to channel conflict into generative potentials of change through time. They embody possibilities that bridge, rather than suppress, the fragmented social and cultural differences of an increasingly heterogeneous city of Rome. Buried beneath the chaotic surface of used clothes, auto-parts, pirated DVD’s, cheap commodities and random objects, there exist an intricate and complex system of social and cultural networks within the Porta Portese market that manifests itself as a new form of urbanism: one that is fragmented and transient in its physical form and bounded by understandings of traditional values, negotiations of relative territories, emotive and intuitive forces.

Behind over-exposed images of Rome, heavily romanticized with a picture perfect background of the Coliseum, there lays hidden a different reality of political and social struggles that manifests itself in the city’s increasingly fragmented urban milieu. After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, the re-organization of global orders across borders of once politically segregated world acted as a catalyst that accelerated the growth of global migration. In the past fifteen years, due to Italy’s geographical location as one of the southernmost Mediterranean countries closest to Africa and the Far East, the country has experienced a new wave of migration including diasporas, refugees and immigrants from developing countries in North Africa, Asian and former Eastern Europe. The meshing affect of this new mobile community, have generated a web of informal networks that are strung between different worlds of political, economical and social relationships.
In a culture in which unfamiliarity is not easily accepted, the emergence of such a diversified community is often seen and felt as an overarching threat. People resist cultural diversity under the idealism of one unifying national identity that Italy still struggles to uphold in a country divided by rivaling regional differences. Similar to the undercurrents that surge beneath seemingly unstirred water, the migrant communities find a place in the society by poaching on existing networks of informal practices that are socially and culturally prevalent in Italy. Such practices vary from task-oriented services (such as cleaning and au-pair) cheap labour and informal trade aimed at tax evasion, or as elaborate as organized criminal activities. While the city’s social demography becomes progressively diverse, the controversial expansion of the Porta Portese market in the past decades, in contrast to the rapid invasion of big box stores that slowly encircle the city, reflects a different dimension of Rome’s marginalized urbanity.

The phenomenon of global migration can be understood as one of the many experiences of modernity, which is according to Stephen Frosh, “[its] only stable state is instability – openness to change, revolutionary transforming, [and] catastrophic discontinuity”6. Unlike cities of the past, contemporary cities now assume the role as global hubs of exchange. They become sites of negotiation where different ideas, images, and values traditionally bounded by local domains inevitably converge and interpenetrate. With the increasing migration of people and goods, this global phenomenon has created a new set of spatial dynamics that can be observed in the emergence of informally self-appropriated spaces. Negotiated between two parallel worlds of the formal versus the informal, such spaces have drastically altered the once homogeneous social and cultural landscape of contemporary cities.

This thesis is structured as an extended research based on the established work compiled in the Networked Cultures Project7 by Peter Mortenbock and Helge Mooshamer. The collaborative compilation attempts to address the effects and possibilities of networked spatiality by providing different trajectories of artistic, architectural and cultural engagements. This thesis intends to utilize the research platform of the Networked Cultures Project and situate its research on Porta Portese market as a detailed extension particularly inspired by the three studied informal black markets in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Istanbul and Moscow. The intent is to facilitate a dialogue between the two disciplines of network condition as identified by Networked Cultures Project and the traditional architectural discourse on context, framed within a subjective trajectory.
Organized in five chapters, this thesis first introduces the emergence of self-appropriated informal spaces that are responsive to the phenomenon of migration, focusing specifically on the Porta Portese market in the city of Rome. Chapter One - *The Market* - gives a detailed portrait of Porta Portese and its current political and social condition. Following the trail from Porta Portese's origin to its present condition, this chapter sketches the outline of the market's political, social, and cultural context. Chapter Two - *Ground Work* - touches on the theoretical backdrop on the contemporary notion of space. This thesis investigates how informal spaces such as Porta Portese in fact challenge the contemporary notion of public spaces, and advocates for an alternative approach to universal spaces shaped by events, experience and human practices through understanding different frameworks of spatial-temporalities. Chapter Three - *Site Context* - recounts the historical morphology of Porta Portese that mirrors the changing social, cultural and urban milieu of the city. Chapter Four - *Pattern Mapping* - renders visible the underlying economical, cultural and social dynamics of the market in four descending scales from extra large, large, medium to small. Lastly, chapter Five concludes the findings on the thesis investigation in particular about the role of an architect in the discourse of contemporary urban planning and design.

**On Methodology**

> Scores are symbolizations of processes which extend over time…Scores vary as to what they can or are intended to control… Scores have been a means of recording past events, of prognosticating the future, and of influencing the present. Scores extend over time and space to communicate and control, they have involved myths and rituals, mysticism and religions. They have been used to record folklore and communicate music to future generations. For centuries scores have been used to plan cities and build buildings, to write plays and diagram procedures.
>  
> LAWRENCE HALPRIN, The RSVP Cycle

The idea of *scoring* is adapted as a methodology to capture the transformative aura of the market where the unfolding of events becomes the performative architecture of the city. This is achieved by using time-lapsed serial photography and the making of a movie that have documented the unfolding of the market from 5am to 8am, and its erasure from 2:30pm to 5:30pm on Sunday, April 29th, 2007. The score, in this thesis, assumes the role of a storyteller who bears witness to an alternative experience of spatial-temporality within which Porta Portese exists. It advocates for the relevance of Porta Portese, not as a second class place shamed by the city, but as “*un pezzo di Roma*” – a piece of Rome.
È domenica mattina
si è svegliato già il mercato
in licenza son tornato e sono qua
per comprarmi dei blue jeans
al posto di questa divisa
e stasera poi le faccio una sorpresa...

C’è la vecchia che ha sul banco
foto di Papa Giovanni
lei sta qui da quarant’anni o forse più
e i suoi occhi han visto re
scannati ricchi ed impiegati
capelloni ladri artisti e figli di...
- e figli di...

Porta Portese
Porta Portese
Porta Portese
cosa avrai di più?...

Vado avanti a gomitate
tra la gente che si affolla
le patacche che ti ammolla quello là
ci ha di tutto pezzi d’auto
spade antiche quadri falsi
e la foto nuda di Brigitte Bardot...
- Brigitte Bardot...

Porta Portese
Porta Portese
Porta Portese
cosa avrai di più?...

Tutti rotti quei calzoni
si vabbè che è roba usata
ma chissà chi l’ha portata quanto vuoi?
Quella li non è possibile
che è lei insieme a un altro
non è certo suo fratello quello
e se l’è scelto proprio bello
ci son cascato come un pollo io...

"A ragà...
ma che hai fatto?
Ma ‘sti carzoni li vòi o nun li vòi?"

Porta Portese
Porta Portese
Porta Portese
cosa avrai tu?

“Fiore de sale
l’amore fa penà ma nun se mòre...
d’amore nun se mòre
ma se sta male...”

It’s sunday mornings
The market is already awake
I am off (as a soldier) and I am back here
for a pair of blue jeans
instead of this uniform
then, tonight I will make a surprise

there is the old lady who has on her stand
a photo of Pope John XXIII
she has been here for forty years or more
and her eyes has seen kings
the poor, the rich, and the workers
big haired, thieves, artists, and sons of...

Porta Portese
Porta Portese
Porta Portese
what more will you get

I go forward with my elbows out
between people who make the crowd
the cons that this guy will give you
he has everything of spared car parts
old swords and fake paintings
and the nude photo of Brigitte Bardot

Porta Portese
Porta Portese
Porta Portese
what more will you get

how broken those pants are
fine, it’s second hand
who knows who had it, how much do you want?
it is impossible that girl
she is together with another
for sure he is not her brother
she had chosen a really handsome one
and I trusted her blindly as a chicken

hey guy
what did you do
do you want these pants or not?

Porta Portese
Porta Portese
Porta Portese

flower of salt
love is painful but you don’t die
you don’t die for love
but you feel sick

Porta Portese, 1972
Claudio Baglioni
Endnotes

1 Statistics of annual attendance at the Olympic Stadium is obtained from:

2 Statistics of annual attendance of Sunday mass at St. Peters is obtained from:
   Vatican. “Presenze di Fedeli ad Incontri con il Santo Padre Benedetto XVI nel Periodo
   <http://www.vatican.va/>.

3 Statistics of annual attendance at the Porta Portese market is obtained from:
   Comune di Roma, Municipale XVI. Personal Interview. 18, December 2007.

4 The conflict between the formal versus the informal, implies the political and social
   struggle of power between the states and its inhabitants. In this thesis, the term also
   refers to the dilemma of value between measurable and quantifiable forms versus the
   immeasurable and tangential qualities of space.

5 The fall of Iron Curtain in 1989 refers to the Revolution of 1989 that ended the
   symbolic, ideological, political and physical division of Western Europe versus Eastern
   Europe since post World War II.
   See “Making the History of 1989.” Center for History and New Media, 02 Apr.

6 Stephen Frosh, Social Experience, Identity Crisis: Modernity Psychoanalysis and the Self
   :10-31.

7 Networked Cultures Project, is an on-going international research platform based at
   Goldsmith College, University of London, examining the condition of global mobility
   and the resulting phenomenon of self-determined network connectivity in politically
   contested spaces.

0.3 Saturday night trolley, photograph.

0.4 Scaffold trolley on roadside, photograph.

0.5 Road block fences on roadside, photograph.
0.6 Trolleys lining up Via Portuense on Saturday night, photograph.

0.7 Vendor’s van parked on roadside, photograph.

0.8 Trolley in front of a supermarket, photograph.
The magic of Porta Portese is that it is a market of dreams and illusions. In Porta Portese, visions and ghosts, lies and excuses are sold once a week. It is a market of poly-materialistic poetry. People who go to the Porta Portese market are irrational. Men and women believe in simply a moment, or a sunny Sunday morning - they believe in fantasy, in the unbelievable faith, and luck. Because among other things, luck is sold in Porta Portese, or better, it is caught on a fishing hook.

ALBERTO CRACCIOLÒ¹, La Magia di Porta Portese

Like an invisible city awakening overnight, the street vendors of the Porta Portese market perform their magic by choreographing objects. They transform urban streets typically dominated by ferocious vehicle traffic into an intricate labyrinth. As the market unfolds before dawn, the banal neighborhood of Porta Portese undergoes a metamorphosis from unassuming streets to a pedestrian promenade lined with commodities ready to be bargained. For some people, Porta Portese is an ordinary Sunday street market. It is dirty, chaotic, dodgy, and cheap. It can’t be taken seriously. For others, the Porta Portese market is a weekly ritual that gives Sunday another meaning, paints the city another color, and brings people together no matter who they are and where they come from. It is a different gateway to the spirit of Rome – its pulsating heart beats with the rhythm of the people who the market both mediates and circulates. While the faithful congregate at St. Peter’s² in an affirmation of Godly truth, the people who gather at Porta Portese are there for real experiences. Here everything is fake yet nothing is more real than the universal language of human nature that makes even the air smell raw. At Porta Portese, the eyes are meant to be deceived yet the haptic experiences of the body never lie. Rekindling the primitive instincts

Facing page

1.0 Porta Portese market, 1965, photograph.
1.1 Porta Portese market, 2008, photograph.
within them, people learn to see again with the pores of their skin as they read and write the invisible layer of the city through performing the ritual of *passeggiata* - a walk. It is the only way to navigate, seek and fend for oneself in this visceral web. Hidden under an arched eyebrow, a flash of hand gesture and a friendly insult, Porta Portese reveals the undeniable light and shadow of metropolitan life that keep us real and human. Porta Portese market is a place of greed, humour, games, lies, desires, obsessions, relationships, fantasy, values, tradition, knowledge and most of all, the freedom of being.

**The Origin**

Nobody can be sure of the true origin of the Porta Portese market. According to popular belief, the origin of the market dates back to World War II, a period of great political and social turmoil. Informal traders, mainly poor Romans and war refugees from other parts of Italy first congregated in the area both inside and outside the Porta Portese gate, at the southern end of the Aurelian wall. Then an abandoned industrial wasteland, the area quickly became informally legitimized by the city as a free trade zone in an effort to cope with the severity of wartime conditions in everyday life. After the war, the market continued to expand along Via Portuense and attracted merchants from the southern Campania region. The earliest official record on the market was confirmed by a city regulation in 1949, when officials first acknowledged the growing presence of the market from the increasing number of illegal vending stalls and the vast space that it occupied. Since then, despite the site's urban transformation from an industrial wasteland to social housing complexes in the 1970’s, the market has rapidly expanded from 246 stalls in 1949 to approximately 2400 vending stalls at its peak in 2000 according to the municipal police census.
Other than its uncontrollable expansion, the market’s easy access to the lowest social categories has brought about its fame as an uncensored ground of exchange both economically and socially. It took little effort for Porta Portese to become the largest black market in Rome where stolen goods are baptized as innocent second hand merchandise, catering to the needs of the poor working class.

Vittorio De Sica’s, *The Bicycle Thief* (*Ladri di biciclette*) from 1948, is a space-temporal documentation of Rome’s historical urban experience where the lives of the people and the urban spaces they inhabited offered a different dimension to Rome’s contemporary cultural history. In the film, an unemployed man, Ricci, and his son, Bruno, traverse great distances across the city of Rome in search of their stolen bicycle that was the only mean to secure a meager job. Father and son proceed to track down their bicycle first by visiting the used/stolen bicycle market at Piazza Vittorio, northeast of Rome, and later to the black market of Porta Portese south of the Tiber River. The audience gets the first glimpse of Porta Portese as the protagonists make their passage running through the gate, which later reveals an empty industrial landscape, offering them nothing but despair. Through the lens of De Sica’s film, one gets a historical impression on the social, economical and cultural milieu of post war Rome. The emerging transformation of the urban periphery, through time, voiced a unique cultural experience of everyday life that bears witness in the market of Porta Portese.

**Present Condition**

The lack of official documentation on the Porta Portese market is substituted by frequent news of gypsy pickpockets, drug-trafficking and trading of stolen goods blamed on the increasing number of ethnic immigrants who have slowly altered the city’s demography in the past twenty years. Threats from the city planning officials to eliminate the Sunday market have made consistent appearances on the front page of local newspaper – and quickly forgotten the next day. Issues regarding the legality of Porta Portese market constitute the underlying tensions that span three ways: the city, the people and the vendors. Similar to a see-saw, the unstable political stances of the city/mayor and the governing municipality (XVI) of Porta Portese constantly sway from one end of extreme to another, depending on the political party in office. Opinions on the Porta Portese market are torn between supports from the socialist left wing, and threats from the conservative right wing. Being typically self-interested, people are generally indifferent to the issues of Porta Portese, with exception for the residents, who are immediately affected by
it every Sunday. Proposals were made to divide and move Porta Portese from its current location to one further out on the modern periphery of the city, near the ringed highway of Grande Raccordo Anulare. At the city’s best effort, Porta Portese number two was born at the peripheral Tuscolano quartiere of the city along Via Tuscolana. Unfortunately, the characters and spirits of the original Porta Portese market could neither be relocated nor duplicated. The city did stop the Porta Portese market from further expansion with vigorous police control, but could never annihilate it completely.

During the course of this thesis, vending stalls have been forcibly censored and reduced from 2,400 in year 2000 to approximately one thousand stalls by the end of year 2008 after numerous police blitz since September 23rd, 2007. The selection process, based on the mythical “Porta Portese license” that never existed, determined who could stay and who had to go. The city demands operational licenses that can only be obtained through nearly impossible bureaucratic processes that had been continuously revised over the years to the point where it is so complex, it becomes a Catch 22. Alternative licenses such as the “permit for occupation of public soil” and “mobile vendor license” are passed as legal documents that constitute only up to twenty percent of the vendor population. Muta – A fine, although by nature a prosecution of illegality, is a legitimate surrogate license of Porta Portese, as it acts as proof of the vendor’s history of occupancy. In the ecology of the market, ownership of vending space is claimed through time. A vendor who has been at the same spot for thirty years has the right to continue his or her occupation. Like the bloodline of a family, the entitlement to vending spaces are passed down through immediate families and friends or otherwise leased and sold to third parties in the same manner as property.

In the particular culture of informal trades, business contracts are bounded by verbal promises rather than written proof. Therefore, the notion of a valid “Porta Portese license” is considered a joke for the people who have been in the trade long enough to know the legal loopholes. However, ethnic immigrants from China, Bangladesh and North Africa who have appeared in the market during the last fifteen years were not near so lucky. The reduction process of the market not only caused further political tensions, it has also been a troubled mystery tainted by news of corruption and sabotage. The empty slots of once vital vending spaces that are now mysterious voids each has a back-story that we may never know. Despite its many controversies, the Porta Portese market remains stubbornly where it is, as what it is.
From an ancient gateway to social housing complexes, the area of Porta Portese somehow eluded its pre-conceived urban role and remained a temporal stage where the phenomenon of the market becomes an ephemeral yet tangible layer of the city. In contrast to the countless monumental icons famed in Rome, Porta Portese has a place on the tourist map not for its social housing complexes, but as a self-organizing place of cultural identity that is reenacted in the market every Sunday. Beneath its chaotic surface, Porta Portese is an assemblage of the city’s fragmented social and urban milieus that mirrors the evolution of the city itself. It is a place thickened by the quotidian spirit of the people that seeped through the skin of the city and became part of its flesh and bone. Above all, it is a palimpsest of the lives of the people who were there, and who will always be there.
1.10 Condition of vending zone in the market as of October, 2007, diagram.
Endnotes

1 Consiglio, La Magia di Porta Portese: 27. (quotation translated by Dario Mulas Debois)
2 St. Peter's Basilica is the symbolic centre of the Roman Catholic Church located within the Vatican. Weekly Sunday masses are held at 12:00pm noon in the square of St. Peter's Basilica.
3 Since Rome is the religious capital of the Roman Catholic, the presence of Vatican City and the Pope shielded the city from major bombardment during World War II. Therefore, the city became a safe destination for refugees from areas all over Italy.
4 Free trade zone, in the case of the Porta Portese market implies tax-free status authorized by the state.
5 Campania region is south of the region of Lazio, within which Rome is the capital city.
6 Italy, Comune di Roma. Delibera #3948, 08.11.1949.
7 Ibid.
10 Comune di Roma, Municipale XVI. Personal Interview. 18, December 2007.
11 The police blitz that took place on September 23rd, 2007 was one of the major confrontational events that initiated the market’s most recent reduction process in which the city's designated legal vending zone is reinforced by political action. Mara, “Super blitz a Porta Portese e irigattieri bloccano la via Vigili anti-abusivi: sequestri e multe”. La Reppubblica [Roma] September 24th, 2007.
12 Catch 22 is an expression inspired by Joseph Heller’s novel, Catch 22, describing a situation or problem in which a resolution is impossible because of built-in logical rules and regulations. It can also be described as a self-defeating course of action.
13 Maurizio. Personal Interview. 27 December. 2007.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
C. SCORING 3
Chapter 2: Ground Work

Individuals, lost in an isolation from nature, strangers to the place of their birth without contact with the past, living only in a rapid present, and thrown down like atoms on an immense and leveled plain, are detached from a fatherland that they see nowhere.”

ANTHONY VIDLER¹, The Architecture Uncanny

Under the impact of modernity, contemporary city and architecture “presents itself to us as a plural, multiform [and] complex experiences”.² Subjected to a multitude of fragmented experiences, the utopian ideal of a homogenous totality as envisioned by the modernist no longer validates contemporary life. For the first time in history, we are confronted by a contradictory notion of being “that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are”.³ What we are experiencing is a post-modern crisis - the death of universal truth⁴ has shattered all previous anchors of ours existence. The solid ground beneath us has disintegrated into strands of fragmented discontinuities.
The process of globalization not only transcends boundaries of political, economical and cultural geographies previously bounded within nation-states, it also destroys the linear perception of time and space. In the age of global migration, the increasing circulation of different ideas, knowledge, values and relations contribute to an accelerated experience of space and time compression. The modernists’ adaptation of Cartesian space, in which time is perceived to be a linear progression and that space is measurable in absolute, has failed to singularly represent the multiplying experience of space-time temporality.

The controversy over Porta Portese, a self-organized space, is one beyond the discussion of its legality or physical boundary. It is the underlying conflict between different perceptions of space as well as the varying experiences they generate. The spatiality of Porta Portese market is one that suspends between moments of temporality as a self-organized space that eludes any model of planning. It is fleeting, ephemeral and unevenly experienced in a collective sense. Such spaces confront our fundamental perception of public spaces, and prompt us to ask questions. What are public spaces? Who are they for? What do they tell us about our needs? Most importantly, what role(s) do/can they play in contemporary cities?

City + Public Space

_The city must be a place of waste, for one wastes space and time; everything mustn’t be foreseen and functional… the most beautiful cities were those where festivals were not planned in advance, but there was a space where they could unfold._

HENRI LEFEBVRE

The metropolitan city is one that offers unlimited magnitudes of experiences. It is where new urban activities and landscapes constantly re-shape itself in search of new ways of communication, experiences and identities. Contemporary public space has evolved to carry transformative potentials that reflect the multi-faceted urban experience of a metropolitan life as opposed to its historical role as a manifesting symbol of religious/political power. It transcends boundaries between the private and the public, as well as beyond restraints of functionality, program and use that is more appropriately described as a process rather than a physical entity. They are places of being that emphasize the notion of the presence, embodying the spontaneous experiences of both the subjective and the collective whole.
Rome is a city made by its public spaces – from historical practices of religious and political manifesto of power to the performative ritual of everyday life. The experience of being in a Roman public space is to be both a spectator and a performer. It takes place in room-like piazzas and pedestrian-oriented streets that are containers of everyday life, full of hidden surprises. More like a big town than a small city, the Romans understand that the city is a bodily space, and that “cities are not for moving through – they are for being in”. In a culture deeply rooted in its public spaces, rituals and events are celebrated as an integral part of everyday life that constantly reinforces the memories and changing identities of its people. Porta Portese is an alternative public space that confronts different frameworks of spatial experiences – it is a place where differences merge through processes of negotiation. Based on user-defined practices that oppose prescribed normality, places such as Porta Portese can occupy the negotiated space between overlapping realities that are at once foreign but familiar. Most of all, they offer us the opportunities to redraw contours of private and public spaces, reflecting the multitude of urban experiences in which we inhibit.

**Ritual /Event Space**

Ritual space is a transient space of emotional dwelling, re-enacted through repetition of choreographed experiences. An act of ritual becomes the emotional and psychological journey inscribing one’s presence. The changing subjective experiences define certain “spaces” not as mere voids but “places” capable of reasserting particular notions of identity and a sense of belonging. The reiteration of the market every Sunday, although mundane, is “a subjective desire to manifest a vision of the world not through symbols or images but by means of [simulating] new and changing spatial experiences”. Simply put, without ritual, it is only a routine.

The unique experience of Porta Portese proliferates in the elusive realm of event space. The experience of simply taking a walk in the Porta Portese market is one enlivened in a relational space – from an old painting to a pirated movie, each object embodies a specific aura capable of transporting one to an imaginary space of fantasy and desire. They are meaningful only in ways specific to the individual. Ultimately, we acquire the things that identify us not only because our survivals depend on them, but through these things we fulfill our unconscious needs.
Similar to the Proustian episode of Madeleine\textsuperscript{13} that embodies the space of a childhood memory, people relate to their everyday experiences of the past, present, and future in the imagined space of Porta Portese. In this dream-like space, the fake is real, and the ordinary is extraordinary. Porta Portese is a place/space at once illusionary and real, distant and immediate.

Using Porta Portese as an opening, this thesis attempts to identify the complex and elusive relationship between space and event within which architecture prevails. Porta Portese is a performative architecture of the city, bearing witness to a particular socio-urban experience of Rome enacted through time. Formless and intangible, its architecture is constructed in the temporal dimension of an event, driven by and responsive to the emotive power of the crowd. Similar to the appearance of a rainbow after a thunder storm, its ephemeral presence exists through the lived experiences of the observer rather than as a thing in itself. Such spontaneity is universal, and mirrors a certain kind of freedom that satisfies our body through direct experiences.
Endnotes

2 Sola-Morales, Differences topographies of contemporary architecture: 57.
3 Berman, All that is solid melts into air the experience of modernity: 15.
4 The death of universal truth, refers to Nietzsche's widely quoted statement of “God is dead” that first appeared in The Gay Science. The death of God implies that our universal understanding of the world, embodied in the idea of “God”, is no longer a viable source that determines our moral code. The rejection of belief in an absolute cosmic or physical order also implies a rejection of absolute values themselves.
5 Globalization, “the process by which the experience of everyday life, marked by the diffusion of commodities and ideas, is becoming standardized around the world.” See ”Globalization definition of globalization in the Free Online Encyclopedia. 20 Apr. 2009 <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/globalization>.
6 Cartesian space refers to the Cartesian coordinate system in which space is calculated and measurable in x,y,z plane.
9 Levitt, The Inner Studio A Designers Guide to the Resources of the Psyche:11.
10 Foucault, and Jay Miskowiec. “Of Other Spaces”; 22-27.
11 Ignasi de Sola-Morales, 95.
12 Relational Space, implies the idea of internal relations under the influences of external forces in specific processes through time. Such space is most appropriate in understanding emotive driven spatiality, such as through the imaginary relations evoked by a prayer or through reading a book.
13 The Proustian episode of Madeleine, refers to the idea of involuntary memory by Marcel Proust, in his novel In Search of Lost time. Proust's famous recollection of the Madeleine captures the experiences of involuntary memory that are unconsciously triggered by sensory inputs.
Chapter 3: Site Context

The urban history of Porta Portese serves as a contextual base for the thesis investigation to follow in Chapter Four, *Pattern Mapping*. The outlined study area is bounded North by the Porta Portese gate and the Pontificio wall, West by the Tiber River, East by Viale Trastevere and South by the Trastevere Station. The morphology of the site evolves in parallel with Rome’s political and social history. The period between Italian unification in 1871 to post WWII is most relevant. The site’s evolution can be traced in three stages: The Roman Gateway, The Roman Periphery and The Social Housing.

Facing page

3.0 Porta Portese, 1912, aerial photograph.
3.1 Porta Portese, 1943, aerial photograph.
3.2 Porta Portese, 1959, aerial photograph.
3.3 Porta Portese, 1977, aerial photograph.
The Roman Gateway

Commissioned by Pope Urban VIII and later completed by Pope Innocentius X\textsuperscript{1}, Porta Portese is the southernmost Roman gateway since its construction in 1644. Replacing the ancient gate of Porta Portuensis, located 300 meters south of its current location, Porta Portese is one of the many monumental gates that complete the historical walled enclosure of Rome. The gated portal is the official threshold that defines the boundary of historical city centre. It separates the internal from the external and the city from the countryside. Via Portuense\textsuperscript{3} begins immediately outside of the gate, connecting Rome to the Roman port of Portus at the mouth of the Tiber River. While the urbanity of Rome remained much unchanged during this period, the city continued to build on top of its existing urban fabric within the confinement of the historical walls. Other than the port of Grande Ripa and the Arsenal Pontificio built in 1748\textsuperscript{4} within the vicinity of the Porta Portese Gate, the landscape beyond the city walls remained that of a pastoral countryside until the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century.

\textbf{3.4} Porta Portese, etching.
\textbf{3.5} Pianta di Roma edita da Francesco De Paoli doppo 1623. Map shows the surrounding landscape of Porta Portese site circa 1623.
\textbf{3.6} Gianicolo wall and surrounding, circa 1849. Note the Arsenal Pontificio at lower left corner and the port of Grande Rippa.
The Roman Periphery

Rome’s conversion into the political capital of the Kingdom of Italy in 1871 was a historical moment that inevitably tipped the city, for centuries a backwater under the Papal State, into the maelstrom of a new modern era. Prior to the Italian unification in 1871, the population of Rome (roughly 150,000) consisted mainly of cleric-ecclesiastics, aristocratic land owners, a small professional high-middle class, a small community of artisans, and a large caste of proletariat. Contrary to other European capitals at the time, “Rome lived an artificial life, never a producing city but only a consuming one”. Despite Rome’s almost total lack of industrial economy, the city’s newly assumed role as the nation’s governing capital stimulated large scale urban reforms city-wide. Like a catalyst, the city attracted mass labour migration from other parts of Italy, and the city’s population grew. For the first time, a new middle class of government employees and an even larger working class of unskilled workers drastically reconfigured the socio-urban landscape of Rome into that of a metropolis. Shadowed by the progressive urban reform of the capitale, the emergence of the Roman periphery offered an equally compelling yet different reality of the same urban phenomenon as the city underwent processes of modernization.

Mass construction of infrastructures, institutional buildings and middle-class housings accelerated the urban and social transformation of modern Rome, both inside and outside of the historical wall. Grand master plans were envisioned to remodel Rome as the unifying symbol of Italian nationalism. Aside from the construction of new government institutional buildings, large scale urban reforms took place at the historical heart of the city. The creation of Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, Via Cavour, Via Nazionale and the national monument of Il Vittoriano (nicknamed The Wedding Cake or Typewriter) were built to establish a national symbol of progress and unison by way of large scale infrastructural and urban reform of Rome’s dense city centre. Existing urban quarters that comprised of mostly slums, ghettos and artisan’s quarters were demolished and the former inhabitants were either displaced to new housing developments at the walled periphery of the city or simply left homeless. The poorest were forced to appropriate their own shelters in the form of barrache (shanties) that usually parasite on existing infrastructure such as the city wall or ruins at the fringes of the city. Moreover, Mussolini’s coming of power as the head of Fascist Regime in 1922 furthered the “cleansing” of the capital through extensive urban reforms intended to demonstrate totalitarian power at times of great social and economical depression. Part of the excavated Roman Forum was
re-buried for the pavement of Via dei Fori Imperiali, a grand boulevard that physically and symbolically connects the national monument of Il Vittoriano to the Imperial symbol of Rome, the Coliseum. Poor neighborhoods at the heart of the city were once again mercilessly destroyed to make room for bourgeois/middle class housings and new piazzas for public demonstrations. Along with the migrant population from the poor southern states due to city-wide labour demands, the working class inhabitants were forcibly expunged from the city and mass deported to the borgate in mostly empty urban peripheries: a place that was “neither country, nor city” 11, but somewhere frozen between the gaps of the two overlaying realms.

There is no easy translation that embodies the full urban and social definition of the borgate: an architectural typology that best characterized the spirit of the Roman periphery 12. Though built by Mussolini in an attempt to house the homeless, the borgate refers to large social housing projects for the poorest social-class that were usually located in the midst of desolate Roman peripheries where electricity, water and tram lines weren’t even within reach from the city. One can grasp a visual image of the borgate, described by Italo Insolera, as an urban desolation of a life detached from the meaningful prospects of the city.

The panorama offered by these borgate is always the same: houses all plastered in yellow – the cheapest color – with green shutters, all lined up in a fashion that clearly denounces the spiritual poverty and lack of culture of the technical offices that designed them; in the open spaces the only embellishment are the clotheslines and a few spindly shrubs, scorched by the sun in summer and frozen by the wind in winter, in spaces that offer their inhabitants no shelter, no protection. 13
Trastevere Railway Station

The initial urban transformation of the site in the late 19th's century grew in parallel to the urban transformation that the city underwent, constituting a unique area of Rome's growing urban periphery. The construction of Italy's national railway infrastructure was initiated in an attempt to bridge the much disconnected Southern and Northern regions of the Italy, each bounded yet divided by strong regional influences culturally, socially and economically14. As a national bounding agent, the railway centralization of Rome became a catalyst that propelled the urban and demographic expansion of the city.

3.10 Rome panorama, circa 1935-1939, photograph. Note the Trastevere rail yard on upper right of the photograph, bordering to the left bank of the Tiber River.
The construction of the Trastevere railway station in Piazza Ippolito in 1888\(^{15}\) marked the beginning of the area’s contemporary urban transformation. The Trastevere station was built as the second terminus railway station after the city’s main Termini railway station. Although initial plans proposed for the station to arrive at Piazza Cosimato in the heart of Trastevere, the site was determined in October 1887 to be 220m outside of the Pontificio wall\(^{16}\). The location of the train station and its rail yard formed the area that now defines the Porta Portese neighbourhood. The site was flattened along Via Portuense and the construction of arched warehouses, now an architectural feature of the site, was built as part of the tufa retaining wall. The tufa wall runs along the west side of Via Portuensi for around 600 meters, in which 300 meters to the southern end of the infrastructure is full height (approx. 3 meters)\(^{17}\). The arches were built as both structural support and entrance to the warehouses buried beneath the flattened site. The warehouses are still partially in use today for old mobile trolley storage or converted to retail shops.

The Trastevere rail station opened in 1889\(^{18}\). However, plans were made to modify the original terminus station to a transit station due to general low passenger use shortly after its completion. Modifications were proposed for a rail extension to go below the Aventine Hill and a rail bridge over the Tiber River connecting Trastevere Station to the main Termini Station. Unfortunately, these grand plans were never realized due to archeological finds under the Aventine Hill\(^{19}\). Therefore in 1911, a new Trastevere Station was built at the end of Viale Trastevere (former Viale del Re) and its location remains where it is today.
After all cargo traffic was transferred to the new Trastevere station in 1930, the area adjacent to the old Trastevere Station on Viale Trastevere, the ex-rail yard, was designated to extensive social housing projects according to Rome’s Master Plan (Piano Grande Regolare) in 1931. The land was sold by National Rail not until 1943 and housing projects were fully realized until later in the 1960’s. For almost a decade after the site’s formal existence as the ex-Trastevere Rail station, the area of Porta Portese became an urban void of industrial wasteland, where nomadic occupation and temporal activities that had no place in the city took over. Such activities can be seen in the historical aerial photograph of the site in 1959, where a mysterious circular structure in the middle of the industrial terrain was confirmed by memories of the local residents to be a popular circus, Lidia Togni.

The lack of historical documentation of the Porta Portese area tells us of the insignificance that the city labels its subaltern periphery. The characteristics of the urban periphery can be observed in the few surviving historical photographs of the *barrache* (shanties). The barrache are self-improvised temporary dwellings that sheltered the poor or the homeless who has no place in the city. Constructed out of scrap pieces of wood and flimsy tin roof, the *barrache* signifies an organic architecture that is typically Roman: their survival depended on digging their roots into the heart of existing infrastructural ruins. From the ruins of aqueducts, Greek temples to the ex-railway retaining wall in the case of Porta Portese, the *barrache* forms an organic layer of architecture over existing permanence of the city. These self-improvised *barrache* of the urban poor constitute the derelict urban characteristic of a no man’s land and their traces are still prevalent even today.

**From left to right**

3.13 *Barrache* on Piazzale Portuense, circa 1938, photograph.

3.14 Barrache on Piazzale di Porta Portese, circa 1938, photograph.
Catering to the booming construction industry at the turn of the twentieth century, an increased housing demand from an influx of working class population has driven the urbanization of the area that defines nowadays Porta Portese. Early housing projects such as the construction of social housing for the railway workers on Via Giovanni da Castelbolognese no.30 and on Via Ettore Rolli no.15 in 1926 set the tone for the development of a socialist quarter. By the end of the 50’s, areas between Viale Trastevere and the old Trastevere station as well as the area north of the new railway station were fully urbanized albeit with little planning incentives from the private developers. Due to political and economical upheavals surrounding the period of World War II, housing constructions on the site of the ex-rail yard, although planned in 1931, did not commence until Italy’s economic boom of the 1960’s. The operation was hailed as “one of the largest and most central urban speculation ever realized in areas that were of former public spaces in Rome”. Upon its completion in 1970’s, dense six-stories social housing dominate the site like a concrete forest, with no green spaces, public amenities and horizons to be seen beyond.
Over the past thirty years, the area has slowly lost its socialist spirit as buildings of once social housings are occupied by public offices including Minister of Treasury, Minister of Justice, Minister of Finance, Tax office, Electrical Office, in addition to several banks and insurance offices. The property value of this area has slowly increased over the years due to its convenience and close vicinity to the city centre. Middle class families now replace the once working class families. Bordering the edge of hip entertainment quarters of Trastevere and Testaccio, the Porta Portese neighborhood is targeted by the city and the real estate market for its high development potentials.

Despite its drastic urban transformation in the past decade, the area of Porta Portese maintained much of its marginalized, vagabond characteristics of the Roman periphery over time. These indeterminable urban spaces remain sandwiched between dense housing and existing historical infrastructures (the Pontificio wall, the tufa retaining wall and the Tiber River). The area of Porta Portese mediates and transverses the two different realms of realities between night vs. day, formal vs. informal, and the (banal) weekday activities vs. (ritualistic) Sunday market. Porta Portese, now identified more as a neighborhood than a city portal, is where activities of the Unwanted, whether temporal or permanent, prevail in resilient existence “like a bone lodged at Rome's throat.”

The infamous banchi lining along both sides of Via Portuense immediately outside of the gate is another architecture/cultural feature of this area. Amongst the jungle of motorcycle helmets, auto-parts and bicycles, the banchi, guarded by its angry owners in collapsible camping chairs, sell everything imaginable from illegal fire crackers on New Year’s Eve to found metal wheel covers that flew off from cars speeding along uneven Roman roads. Though no reliable record exists, it is speculated that Porta Portese’s banchi are the second generation of the Roman barrache in the 1930’s. The banchi are self-improvised, or in slang, “fatti in casa”, homemade structures made of cheap metal panels and plastic corrugated roof. Just like their ancestors, they perch on the ruins of the ex-rail yard retaining wall with their storage basements buried beneath the foundation of the tufa wall.

3.18 View of Via Portuense, circa 1960, photograph.

3.19 Porta Portese Banchi on Via Portuense, circa 1960, photograph.
A time based study of the Porta Portese area’s permanent activities is illustrated in the weekday activity diagram in which existing programs are divided in four categories: Junk Space, Cultural Ruin, Everyday Routine and Institutional Non-Place.
Current page
3.21 Piazza di Porta Portese, photograph.

Facing page
3.22 Weekday traffic on Via Portuense, photograph.
Endnotes

1 Comune di Roma, *Per La Pianificazione Delle Stazione ed Aree Ferroviarie*: 6
2 Comune di Roma: 6
3 Via Portuense is an ancient Roman trading route that connects the city to the ancient port of Portus south of the Tiber River.
4 Arsenale Pontificio, is an arsenal built by Clement XI in 1714 - 1748.
7 Castellani, “L’arte nell’industria”: 395
8 Rhodes, *Stupendous, Miserable City Pasolini’s Rome*: 1
9 Ibid: 2
10 Ibid: 4
11 Ibid: 76
12 For further information and detail see:
13 Insolera, *Roma Moderna*: 139-140
15 Comune di Roma: 18
16 Ibid: 18
17 Ibid: 20
18 Ibid: 20
19 Ibid: 20
20 Ibid: 20
21 Ibid: 20
22 Ottavi, *La Storia di Porta Portese*: 1
23 Italy experienced tremendous economic growth in the 1960’s due to increased stability in international trade that fostered the country’s export production.
25 Ottavi: 1
26 Ottavi: 2
27 Dibdin, *Vendetta*: 117
Top left
3.23 Car Pound, Porta Portese, photograph.

Bottom right
3.24 L’Arsenale Pontificio, photograph.
Built in 1714, it is one of the remaining cultural monument on the site of Porta Portese.
3.25 Weekday Porta Portese site collage, photograph.
Out of boredom I decided to do a weekday tour of the Porta Portese neighborhood. Although I was pretty good at navigating my way around the area from having visited the site so many times, all the streets and buildings seemed surprisingly absurd and out of place in comparison to how I remembered them during the Sunday market. The streets, instead of filled with swarms of people sandwiched between mobile vendors and colorful merchandize, were dominated by ferocious traffic that rendered the void of the market ever more pronounced. Something was missing, and I was not where I imagined myself to be.

Cars, so many cars – they occupied every available space whether they were in motion or not. It seemed as if they have become the sole legitimate inhabitants of the city while people take refuge within the confinement of concrete blocks. I wondered where all the cars disappear on Saturday night before the market unfolds. It felt as if the place embodies two parallel worlds in two different dimensions that never intersect. Yet their strange co-existence is like the metamorphosis of a Greek Goddess – eerie, temporal, but beautiful. As I tried to focus on the lifeless, depressing street in front of me, somehow a vivid image of the market persisted at the back of my retina, overlaying the immediate greyness of my vision. I could not differentiate which one is the real Porta Portese.

*A car zoomed by inches before my nose, followed by angry honking.*

Suddenly aware of my close mortality, I dashed to safety in the nearest crack between two parked cars along the street. Disappointed at my aloofness and even more of my surroundings, I turned around and started heading towards home, feeling lost as if I had just woken up from a reoccurring dream …
E. SCORING 5
Maps are pictures
Maps are self-portraits
Maps are manifestations of perceptions
Maps are portraits of the world in the manner in which those preparing them would like the world to be understood
Maps are subjective
Mapping is... an act of power

JAI SEN¹, An Atlas of Radical Cartography
Chapter 4: Pattern Mapping

Pattern mapping is adapted as a methodology to establish an architectural framework in which the multi-faceted spatial dynamics in the fabrication of Porta Portese market can be read as a language. Through tracing the mobile geography of people and goods, the market’s invisible architecture beyond its bounded locality is made legible and given form. Mapping is a vehicle that not only suggests new visibilities (hence possibilities), but it is also a mean of empowering the voice of the grassroots community within the market. Essentially, the mappings conducted in this chapter draw on abstract assumptions based on information obtained from field research, interviews and generalized observations. The maps are drawn based on both objective understanding and subjective experiences of the Porta Portese market, which are transitory and fragmented in nature. They are produced to conceptually convey the speculated dynamics that exist within the market as well as the external forces and circumstantial conditions that Porta Portese operates within.

Examined in four scales - extra-large, large, medium and small – each illustrates the unique economical, cultural and social networks that the Porta Portese market operates within. Extra-large scale: Global - investigates the global processes of networked distributions in which the merchandise, both used and new, come to circulate in the market. Large scale: City - outlines the flow of goods, activity and people as part of the market’s regional extension. Medium scale: Porta Portese Market - charts the physical, psychological, and relative geography of the market. The Via Bargoni section of the market is mapped out through a census study. Small scale: Vending stalls – documents an inventory of stall typologies that exist in the market.
Everything that exists passes through here. Through the port of Naples. There’s not a product, fabric, piece of plastic, toy, hammer, shoe, screwdriver, bolt, video game, jacket, pair of pants, drill, or watch that doesn’t come through the port. The port of Naples is an open wound. The end point for the interminable voyage that merchandise makes…Everything made in China is poured out here. Like a bucket of water dumped into a hole in the sand. The water eats the sand, and the hole gets bigger and deeper. The port of Naples handles 20 percent of the value of Italian textile imports from China, but more than 70 percent of the quantity. It’s a bizarre thing, hard to understand, yet merchandise possesses a rare magic: it manages both to be and not to be, to arrive without ever reaching its destination, to cost the costumer a great deal despite its poor quality, and to have little tax value in spite of being worth a huge amount…In the silence of the port’s black hole, the molecular structure of merchandise seems to break down, only to recompose once it gets beyond the perimeter of the coast. Goods have to leave the port immediately. Everything happens so quickly that they disappear in the process, evaporates as if they’d never existed. As if nothing had happened, as if it had all been simply an act. An imaginary voyage, a false landing. A phantom ship, evanescent cargo. Goods need to arrive in the buyer’s hands without leaving any drool to mark their route, they have to reach their warehouse quickly, right away, before time can even begin- time that might allow for an inspection. Hundreds of pounds of merchandise move as if they were a package hand-delivered by the mailman. In the port of Naples – 330 acres spread out along seven miles of coastline – time undergoes unique expansions and contractions. Things that take an hour elsewhere seem to happen here in less than a minute. Here the proverbial slowness that makes the Neapolitan’s every move molasses-like is squashed, confuted, negated. The ruthless swiftness of Chinese merchandise overruns the temporal dimension of customs inspections, killing time itself. A massacre of minutes, a slaughter of seconds stolen from the records, chased by trucks, hurried along by cranes, helped by forklifts that disembowel the containers.

These days the merchandise unloaded in Naples is almost exclusively Chinese – 1.6 million tons annually. Registered merchandise, that is. At least another million tons pass through without having a trace. According to the Italian Customs Agency, 60 percent of the goods arriving in Naples escaped official customs inspection, 20 percent of the bills of entry go unchecked, and fifty thousand shipments are contraband, 99 percent of them from China – all for an estimated 200 million Euros in evaded taxes each semester.

ROBERTO SAVIANO², Gomorrah
Porta Portese has grown and transformed from a post-war free trade black market to a contemporary hub of exchange. It not only bridges social and cultural differences, but connects the local to the global. Goods are manufactured cheaply in developing countries scattered across the globe such as China, India and Eastern European countries for their low-cost labour. They are then distributed globally to consuming giants in Western Europe and North America, generating profits based on the difference between low-cost manufacturing and high yielding retail price. In charting the flow of goods and people in relation to the Porta Portese market on a global scale, it can be observed that Porta Portese operates within the context of underground economy, which needs some brief definition. Informal economy is defined as:

"income-generating activities occurring outside the state’s regulatory framework that have analogs within that framework. The scope and character of the informal economy are defined by the very regulatory framework it evades. For this reason, the informal economy can only be understood in terms of its relationship to the formal economy – that is, regulated income generating activity."

In contrast to North American culture, practices of informality are accepted forms of social and cultural praxis that are identified by average citizens as normal codes of behavioral conduct. Informal practices, from tax evasion, underground economy, to political relations, operate on the principle of creditable exchange based on mutual agreements or favours that bypasses formal and legal constraints. It is crucial to stress the significance of overlapping networks of extended social connections that are based on values of human relationship. Not only are they a peculiar cultural expression, they bridge the gap between different strata of social networks and interconnect them through achieving mutual interests on an individual basis.

In the context of Italy, underground economy can also be referred to as lavoro nero (black work) and constitute an empire of hidden economies run by organized crimes. An estimated 100 billion Euro combined profits are generated annually from internationally networked illegal trades in the following order, from highest to lowest profit: drug, weapon, prostitution, garbage disposal, and textile manufacturing. Undeniably, underground economy constitutes an inescapable part of everyday life beyond common perception - its influence infiltrates through every spectrum of human activities, from street vendors to haute couture fashion.
4.0 Flow of new merchandise

The diagram traces the flow of manufactured merchandise and contrabands sold at the Porta Portese market. Cheap commodities are manufactured in China, India, and Pakistan and shipped daily to the Port of Naples, legally or illegally. They are then further dispensed to vendors in warehouses near the quarterier of Toscalano in Rome, and sold to the public from the vendors who congregate weekly at Porta Portese. The market is only one of the many destinations in Europe where cheap imports from China travel across the world to be readily mass-consumed. Judging by the notably low prices available at the market versus that in a normal retail store (silk ties for 5 Euro or brand new sneakers under 10 Euro), it is commonly known that the merchandise sold in Porta Portese market is a part of the contraband imports that arrive in the Port of Naples.
4.1 Flow of second hand merchandise

Used garments and toys are collected from clothing donation boxes administrated by local municipalities throughout Italy. Run by the non-profit charity group Carista, received donations, coming from average Italian citizens, are then transported to centralized warehouses in Prato, Tuscany, where selection processes take place. The garments are filtered by hand and divided according to different grades of qualities and make. Items of the poorest of quality are often disposed as garbage while low-grade garments are distributed to the poor in need. The best quality garments are compacted in bales and sold by the kilograms to merchants from the Naples region. They are then transported to Resina, Campania, where the largest second hand wholesale market is in Italy, and further distributed to individual mobile vendors.
In the Porta Portese market, every god leaves his throne and becomes mortal; the idea of reuse and recycle is law. As if among children with clothes in increasing sizes passed down from elder brothers to their younger siblings, the Porta Portese family exchanges second-hand clothes following the principle of need and convenience without any hierarchy. She, Porta Portese, passes the relay from one anonymous body to another, following the bloodline of humanity – the people of Porta Portese. In the market of Porta Portese, it is always November 2 (Remembrance Day of death): a celebration of the dead that repeats every Sunday, amongst the new streets and the old streets, sandwiched between Viale Trastevere and the water of the Tiber River. The people of Porta Portese worship the cult of Aldila (afterlife) and offer their own bodies to the clothes of the dead.

GIOSUÈ CALACIURA, La Repubblica

Note:
In the period post-WWII, Italy’s economy experienced major growth in the 60’s under the influences of increasing global stability and international trade. Yet Italy experienced a stagnant economic crisis in the 80’s when accumulated national debt, the third largest in the world, sank the country into a deep financial turmoil. Taxes are raised tremendously in order to repay the interest generated from the outstanding debt that result in overall low salary, thus low consumption and low production. Ultimately the effect results in slow national economic growth. The common practice of informality, aimed at tax evasion, therefore becomes a double-edged sword that is both a solution and a problem. These are the basic economical and cultural conditions that are specific to Italy and are adapted as general assumptions in this thesis for analytical purposes.

In an economy becoming slowly dominated by corporate giants rather than traditional small and medium size family-owned businesses, Porta Portese’s increasing growth in the past decade signaled an alternative mode of consumption. Over the years, Porta Portese market has grown and expanded based on an informal economy that took advantage of its operating principal to recycle and reuse – any usable, even as scrap materials, will be salvaged. Ever since its emergence as a postwar black market, people’s resilience and strong will to survive is celebrated in Porta Portese through the ritual of recycling. As opposed to catering only to the poorest, Porta Portese’s organic adaptability to given conditions have enabled the market to evolve over time, generating an alternative economy based on networked connections. Under fierce corporate competition, Porta Portese maintained its affordability and traditional
4.2 Recycling economy diagram

The diagram explores the factors that contribute to the expansion of the Porta Portese market based on a comparison between consumer’s normal consumption cycle vs. low consumption cycle. Consumption power decreases under the influence of high tax and political instability which contribute to low production and affordability. Medium/Small family-run businesses and regular markets are forced out of business by the expansion of big box commercial retailers. Due to Porta Portese’s high accessibility and low cost of operation, it attracts small businesses and popular demands.

charm through its hybrid systems of recycling from the public and within itself, as well as cheap new imports and its tax-free status. Most importantly, the market’s dispersed social networks, linked by individual mobile entrepreneur, are the binding agents that continued to shape and generate new possibilities. For example, small family businesses that couldn’t compete with the corporate retailers migrate to the Porta Portese market in order to continue their business informally. They bring with them an array of otherwise lost diversity. Craftsmen, artisans and collectors gather at Porta Portese for a wealth of eclectic finds that no longer have a place in generic shopping malls. Porta Portese resembles a Wal-Mart if we only look at the merchandise sold in the market. Yet it operates on the principal of individual stake that emphasizes equal participation rather than totalitarian monopoly. Identity, dignity and civic value are thus enabled in each individual vendor. Collectively speaking, Porta Portese provides an alternative model of grassroots economy that should be valued for its networked connectivity and generative capacity.
4.3 General types of mobile vendors
4.4 Maurizio’s weekly markets

From his home in Lavinio, forty kilometer south of Rome, Maurizio used to go to a different market everyday within the Lazio region. For the past 10 years, he only operates in Porta Portese on Sunday because all the other markets are not generating any profits.
**Top left**
4.5 Porta Portese market, photograph.

**Bottom Right**
4.6 Porta Portese market at a street intersection, photograph.
In this section, 256 vendor stalls, comprising of approximately one fifth of the market vendors, are mapped out according to a police census conducted in March 2007 and an informal census conducted by the Association of Porta Portese. The study area samples the Via Bargoni section of the market, known as the Chinese/immigrant electronic and gadget area of the market. The stalls are color coded under 10 different merchandise categories: clothing, jewelry, books, electronics, home furnishing, collectables, household hardware, wearable accessories, food, and objects. Each vending stall is mapped according to actual occupied space in square meter, measured by the census. They are then further studied under patterns of ethnicity and licensing. The mapping process attempts to distill organizational patterns as well as to identify potential social and cultural networks.

The mapping process reveals the fundamental logic of planning in which the seemingly unprescribed organization of the market actually complies with. Collectively, vendors follow basic organizational rules that create a cohesive network of paths, edges, boundaries and territories. First of all, primary pedestrian paths are established to circulate the crowd along maximum vending perimeters while secondary paths are created out of working conveniences such as short-cuts. As a result, vending stalls appropriate existing street edges and align themselves collectively on the basis of creating a network of primary paths that complete the flow of a street promenade. Boundaries are drawn between public and private territories on the principle of negotiation with the individual stall’s immediate neighbors. Each vending stall is a complete entity in itself, yet its survival also heavily depends on forming reputable relationship with others. The social dynamic between market vendors can be as delicate as national borders, as described by Maurizio, the President of the Porta Portese Market Association:

You will find vendors who are ready to kill you and stretch their stands into your space as soon as you are distracted. On the other hand, the association is the evidence that there is a real community among the vendors of Porta Portese with people helping each other out from the kindness of their hearts. Most of the people are not racist at all; they accept the presence of other non-Italian vendors in the market such as the Russians, Chinese, Arabs, and Bangladesh etc. I am not racist, but as soon as some Chinese stretch their stands into my space, I would be the first to say “Fucking go back to China”.

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**Basic Statistic of Census Study:**

- **Total vendors studied in census:** 414 vending stalls
- **Total vendors mapped:** 256 (60%)
- **70% Italians / 30% Foreigners**
- **License:** 18% Foreigner vs. 11% Italians
- **Vending Stall Space:** Italians _ average 10 sq.m/stall 
  Foreigners _ average 7.4 sq.m/stall
The idea of relative geography is exercised in Porta Portese not only as an organizational strategy; it also serves as a tool of way-finding. The system of relative geography has emerged through time, creating a unique spatial dynamic in which everything in the market exists in relativity to one another. As a rule of thumb, the location and boundaries of each individual stall is identified by referring to existing urban elements that are often banal and meaningless. Street signage, subtle change of terrain, vegetation, street number, graffiti, or simply a hole in the ground are all reference points in the relative geography of the market. Directions are always given by proximity and each stall is situated in relativity to its surrounding neighbours. The locations of the informal stalls are thickened in space through ritualistic repetition, and thus are given meaning as actual "places" despite their temporal durée. Their mobile geography is heavily constructed on the presence of the Sunday market where collective habitual practices and memories sustain its ephemeral existence in the heart and minds of the people through time.

4.8 Vending stall occupation of space diagram - a comparison between foreign vendor and Italian vendors - from largest space occupied to lowest, in relation to different categories of merchandise.
4.9 Via Bargoni vendor pattern in ten merchandise categories, diagram.
4.10 Via Bargoni vendor pattern by foreigner, diagram.
4.11 Via Bargoni vendor pattern by license, diagram.
4.12 Via Bargoni vendor pattern by merchandise, diagram.
“..we are reliant on our things to define us ... those kind of things that means everything to the person who owned them and nothing to anyone else...”

- K. RANDY, New York Times\textsuperscript{10}
4.13 Porta Portese market/ Miscellaneous objects, photograph.
4.14 Porta Portese market/ Old books, photograph.
4.15 Porta Portese market/ Old crayons, photograph.

Facing page

4.16 Porta Portese market/ Collectible coins, photograph.
4.17 Porta Portese market/ Objects, photograph.
4.18 Porta Portese market/ Used Barbie dolls, photograph.
“Porta Portese is like a whore; everyone goes, but no one talks about it.”

- Market vendor"
4.19 Porta Portese market/ Fur coats on eavesdrop, photograph.
4.20 Porta Portese market/ Hanging display of merchandise on fence, photograph.
4.21 Porta Portese market/ Advertisement on car, photograph.

Current page
4.22 Porta Portese market/ Banana box, photograph.
4.23 Porta Portese market/ Scaffold canopy detail, photograph.
4.24 Porta Portese market/ Vending stall detail, photograph.
“People go to Porta Portese in search of the lost memories that they unconsciously want to forget.”

- Market visitor"
Facing page
4.25 Porta Portes/ Street vendor, photograph.
4.26 Porta Portese market/ Street vendor, photograph.

Current page
4.27 Porta Portese market/ AMA cleaner, photograph.
4.28 Porta Portese market/ Street vendor, photograph.
This compilation of vending stall inventory attempts to establish an empirical representation of spatial patterns. The drawings and photographs document an array of creatively self-assembled vending stalls in the Porta Portese market based on field observations. Ten vending stalls are selected, measured, and drawn as typical stall typologies. A basic guideline was adopted in the process of identifying, compiling and developing the vending stall typologies - they were drawn, measured and articulated on the premise of objective generalization based on field observations and documentation. Since all fieldwork on site were measured using the body as a reference, the drawings do not precisely reproduce the physical space, but rather provide an architectural framework in which the reading of informal spatial dynamics can be traced and studied as a pattern language.

Each individual stall within the Porta Portese market is unique in its intuitive definition and appropriation of space. Every vendor is ultimately the architect or designer of their stall. The most banal everyday objects - from blankets, coat hangers, pieces of cardboards, metal shelves, to motor vehicles - are the raw materials that ignite the vendors’ innate instinct to build as if a five year old child with LEGO. In the heart of every vendor, the assemblage of a stall is nothing less than a work of choreography. It is initiated first by defining an edge that symbolically and physically territorializes a particular space. The stall vendors then proceed to establish an infrastructure for their stalls by arranging the placement of their merchandise. The emergent patterns of organization then differentiate physical/ psychological boundaries, as well as thresholds and paths that collectively make up the Porta Portese market.
Vending stall assembly sequence, photograph.
4.30 Vending Stall Materiality, collage.
General Existing Site Condition

4.31.a Edge | Curb condition

4.31.b Edge | Wall/Fence

4.31.c Multiple Edges | Plantation Curb in middle of road

4.31.d No Edge | Open Piazza, middle of the road
Blanket as stall is the most primitive type of street entrepreneur. They are commonly seen around the city’s over-exposed sites of tourist attraction. Since the vendors are themselves the mobile stall, they travel by foot or public transportation to their desirable vending location, typically where massive crowds thrive and the police are absent. To ensure maximum efficiency and mobility, in cases of emergency evacuation due to police or rain, the vendors are equipped with technologically advanced cellular phones for communication and a large blanket that enables them to move quickly on the go. In Porta Portese, type A vendor is the lowest category amongst all vendors since they usually consist of either gypsies or illegal immigrants who sell contraband hand bags. Since they do not have any designated vending areas within the market, vendors by hand often gather in groups of three or four and claim the middle section of the pedestrian walkway as their vending space. Type A vendors are characterized by their cheetah-like mobility of “Come easy, go easy” and their acute awareness for trouble and bad weather, rivalling that of an animal’s instinct.
Type B vendors are similar in nature to that of vendors by hand. The vendors recycle scraps of found cardboard or banana-boxes and reinvent them as stands for propping up smaller, more valuable merchandise such as contraband fountain pens, perfumes or watches. It is worth noting that in addition to defining one’s own territory (as exemplified by Type A stall), the act of creating and elevating the vending surface above ground with a piece of recycled cardboard is the fundamental principle of stall-making: to structurally articulate an architectural element from easily obtained materials. Some vendors personalize the generic cardboard box/stand with pieces of cloth for better visual aesthetics. Typically, one can find Type B vendors sticking in packs with Type A vendors.
Furniture and home decor vending stall have a prominent presence in the market - not only do they take up the most space as a stall typology, they also sustain the traditional characteristics of Porta Portese market as the place for rare antique furniture. Mostly concentrated in the Piazza Ippolito Nievo, type F stall vendors arrange furniture and home decor in ways that resemble mobile real estate show-rooms. In their case though, the enclosing envelope is physically and psychologically constructed out of the placement of each individual collectible pieces. Through the composition of objects, Type C stalls domesticate banal urban spaces by creating room-like interior spaces that evoke the familiarity of everyday life. Since the merchandise is mostly antique, the vendors (usually antique/art collectors themselves) target few but high valued transactions. They have the trademark of looking incredibly bored (or slightly snobbish) and are always chatting with other vendors while making sure nobody touches anything, except for the few serious costumers.

Type D: Tables + Umbrella (Vehicle elsewhere)
4.43.a Type D vending stall plan/ 1:100

4.43.b Type D vending stall section/ 1:100

4.43.c Public vs. private

4.43.d Circulation, vendor vs. crowd

4.43.e Centre of operation
Tables and Umbrella is one of the most popular stall configurations seen in the market. They constitute the fundamental modules that a basic mobile stall requires. Although there are no set standards, a considerable majority of the vendors use industrial foldable tables of two standard sizes: 120cm x 140cm and 80cm x 140cm. Umbrellas generally extend to shade an area of 3 x 3 meters. Type D configurations are generally employed by vendors who sell second-hand clothing that requires large vending surfaces and maximum circulation paths in order to allow buyers to sift through mountains of garments. Since parking spaces are limited within the market itself, Type D vendors usually park their vehicles in surrounding residential streets outside of the market. Some arrive on Saturday night to park their vehicles in order to secure a parking space.
4.47.a Type D vending stall plan/ 1:100

4.47.b Type D vending stall section/ 1:100

4.47.c Public vs. private

4.47.d Circulation, vendor vs. crowd

4.47.e Centre of operation
Blanket and car is the most minimal assembly of the vehicle-based vending stalls. The assembly starts with the vendors owning their private mode of transportation, either it be an Ape (a three-wheeled light commercial vehicle built by Piaggio, meaning “the bee” in Italian) or a normal passenger car. Before the police blitz in September 2007, where large areas were cleared away and reinforced as illegal vending zones, Type E vendor had a more prominent presence in the market. Nowadays, they can be found along Via Napoleone Parboni that connects the furniture section of the market in Piazza Ippolito Nievo to the Chinese gadget section on Via Angelo Bargoni. Generally selling miscellaneous used/vintage household objects ranging from books and clothing accessories to items that are unidentifiable by default. They best evoke the flare of North American garage sells. The random merchandise on display at type E vendors’ stalls is speculated to have come from the vendors’ immediate, past or present relatives and friends. They are at the market mostly for whatever cash they can get.
4.52.a Type E vending stall plan/ 1:100

4.52.b Type E vending stall section/ 1:100

4.52.c Public vs. private

4.52.d Circulation, vendor vs. crowd

4.52.e Centre of operation
Tables + vehicle + umbrella, is one the most generic stall configurations in the market for its maximum versatility and mobility. The vehicle serves as both the vendors’ mode of transportation and back of store security storage that defines the private edge on site when parked at the pedestrian curb. Tables and umbrellas are arranged based on modular assembly, defining the boundary and footprint of the stall according to given site conditions and appropriate display for different types of merchandise.
Tables + vehicle + extended scaffold canopy is an upgraded variation of the previous typology. The scaffold canopy is an architectural extension of the vehicle. Instead of modular construction, as exemplified by the use of umbrellas, Type F closely resembles traditional post and beam construction, waterproofed by a large canvas of PVC sheathing. They are cheap and offer high adaptability in constrained spaces. Type G stalls demonstrate the underlying creativity that the mobile vendors possess unknowingly. Their beauty lies in its owner's ability to tailor-build to its individual needs out of everyday materials.
4.59.a Type G vending stall plan/ 1:100

4.59.b Type G vending stall section/ 1:100

4.59.c Public vs. private

4.59.d Circulation, vendor vs. crowd

4.59.e Centre of operation
This is a more technologically advanced version of the type G stall. The Type H stall involves customized technology tailored to the vendors’ operating vehicle as modified add-ons. Generally, the automatic extended canopies are powered by mechanical pumps that can sustain greater loads and have more durability. They are compact, fast and convenient for professional mobile vendors on the go. Vendors are eased of the hassles of setting up repetitively, as the mechanical canopy has built-in parts that only require basic assemblage to fold or unfold. Automatic canopies also offer better waterproofing and additional vertical vending space to maximize hanging displays.
4.65.c Public vs. private

4.65.d Circulation, vendor vs. crowd

4.65.e Centre of operation

4.65.a Type H vending stall plan/ 1:100

4.65.b Type G vending stall section/ 1:100
Compact monster transformer trucks can be termed as the “king” of all mobile vending stalls. They are gigantic, elaborate and highly custom-designed for maximum efficiency and compatibility. There are very few monster transformers in the market, for they are the most sophisticated and expansive mobile stall type. The transformers are usually owned by successful, wealthy vendors whose businesses have accumulated considerable profit over the years. They are built with the concept of a deconstructed box – the walls of the trucking container slide and flip perpendicularly to form a canopy that can be extended by additional attachments. Built-in compartments store foldable accessories such as ladders, ramps, and hand tools. In this particular case study, shoes are organized in custom-made metal shelves on a roller tracking systems that can be easily stacked, maneuvered and reconfigured.
4.69.e Public vs. private

4.69.d Circulation, vendor vs. crowd

4.69.e Centre of operation

4.69.a Type I vending stall plan/ 1:100

4.69.b Type I vending stall section/ 1:100
The mobile trolley is a unique stall typology that is typical of the Porta Portese market. Nicknamed *trenino*, the little train, the trolleys are maneuvered as an attachment to a car. Basically a fold-out box on two wheels, the trolley is the most compact vending stall in size. Everything unfolds out of the space that the trolley holds. There are two types of trolleys that exist in the market: the first generation that were probably made in the 60’s, and the second generation that are currently industrially made. Almost an antique itself, the old trolley can still be seen around the market and are stored in ex-railway arched-warehouses during the weekdays as they cannot physically traverse much distance. The new trolley is basically a modified version of the old one with several built in devices, such as the expandable steel-frame for securing a scaffold canopy. Most of the new trolley stalls operate in nearby Via Sannio market during the weekdays, and have special motor license plates that enable them to travel on the road. Specially hired labourers transport these trolleys between Porta Portese and Via Sannio Saturday night before the market unfolds, as well as every Sunday afternoon when the market dismantles itself. The labourers are also commissioned to build and deconstruct the trolley’s scaffold PVC canopy. The stall owners simply show up on the spot to run their business in the morning, and lock up before leaving in the afternoon.
4.74.a Type J vending stall plan/ 1:100

4.74.b Type J vending stall section/ 1:100

4.74.c Public vs. private

4.74.d Circulation, vendor vs. crowd

4.74.e Centre of operation
4.75 New trolley plan and elevation/ 1:100
Endnotes

1 Mogel and Alexis Bhagat, An Atlas of Radical Geography: 13
2 Saviano, Gomorrah: 5-7
3 Sassen, Informal Economy: Between New Developments and old regulations in Globalization and its Discontent: 153
5 Maurizio. Personal Interview. 1 June. 2008.
8 The Association of Porta Portese was form in the beginning of year 2007 and later gained legal and political importance after the police blitz in September 23rd, 2007.
9 Maurizio. Personal Interview. 27 December. 2007.
11 Porta Portese. Fieldwork. 29 April. 2007.
A/ Blanket as stall

B/ Cardboard box

C/ Furniture stall

F/ Tables + vehicle + umbrellas

G/ Tables + vehicle + scaffold canopy

Basic trolley

J/ Trolley as stall
4.76 Vending stall foot print comparison, type A - type J, diagram.
4.77 Porta Portese market - everyday object assembly, diagram.
Top left
4.78 Porta Portese market/ the threshold where the city’s cleaning crew starts cleaning between 2:30 - 3:00pm on Sunday, photograph.

Bottom right
4.79 Porta Portese market/ Cleaning streetscape, photograph.
Page 116
4.80 Porta Portese market/ Abandoned shoe, photograph.
4.81 Porta Portese market/ Cleaning streetscape, photograph.

Page 117
4.82 Porta Portese market/ Portable toilet, photograph.
4.83 Porta Portese market/ Cleaning streetscape, photograph.
Top left
4.84 Porta Portese market/ Cleaning streetscape looking down Via Portuense with arched warehouse on the left, photograph.

Bottom right
4.85 Porta Portese market/ View from inside the arched warehouse, where old trolley stalls are stored during the week, photograph.
Porta Portese market/ Scaffold canopy dismantling sequence, photograph.

4.86
The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes, but in having new eyes.

MARCEL PROUST
Chapter 5: Conclusion and Reflection

Places like Porta Portese point out the inadequacy of conventional architectural discourse that recognizes only the measurable practices of space in contemporary cities. This thesis argues for an alternative understanding of public space through the performative ritual of everyday practice, user-defined appropriation, and the transformative capacity of contemporary loose spaces exemplified by Porta Portese. As a place of conflict, its existence unveils a wealth of potentials that call for a different approach to architecture. It encourages us to see beyond an idealized solution in which spaces are programmed and people’s lives are prescribed. Porta Portese exists not for aesthetic reasons, but rather for the innate human necessities rooted in the socio-urban history of the city. Such spaces are critical in facilitating trans-local social and cultural networks that have the generative potentials to become junctions of exchange, bridging different worlds through a process of negotiation.

In the spirit of Porta Portese, this thesis concludes by appropriating Ignasi de Sola Morales’ idea of weak architecture in which he defines event as the fundamental essence of architecture. Its strength is “bound by the lingering resonance of poetry after it has been heard, with the recollection of architecture after it has been seen”. The power of Porta Portese lies within its porous and elusive quality to sustain a weak entanglement of complex relationships as opposed to an architecture of strong image and form.

1 Morales, Differences: 71
It all began as a desire to tell a story about an extraordinary phenomenon in an ordinary place. The heart of this thesis is a gesture that strives to capture the intangible constituents of architecture. This weekly market inspires us – to observe, to remember, to assemble and to see the world anew - by giving value to the indefinable haptic experiences that we identify with universally. As an invisible layer of the city, its architecture dwells in the ephemeral aura of an event, yet bears witness of the infinite collective psyche. There is no end to this journey of discovery; the point of conclusion is reached only by glancing back at the terrain traveled and the stories that are told along the way.
5.0 People salvaging the remains of the market, Porta Portese, photograph.
5.1 Porta Portese street sign, photograph.
Facing page
5.2 Via Portuense post Porta Portese market, photograph.

Current page
5.3 Porta Portese, photograph.
Appendix

i. The Untimely Objects

Carfìoci
Hand Gestures
Espresso café

ii. 55 Wordscape

iii. Maurizio Interview

iv Porta Portese News Clips
   September 2007
6.0 Untimely objects/Carciofi, photograph.
when a laptop becomes 4 bags of salt

to be postponed

talking business, la familia

MOVE

rhythm of erotic play

$ cashing cashing $
6.1 Untimely objects/Hand gestures, photograph.
6.2 Untimely objects/ Espresso Café, photograph.
In Image of the city, Lynch conducted studies on the public image of the city and introduced the concept of place legibility based on four types of elements: paths, edge, district, node and landmark. Contrary to traditional approaches of urban theories, Lynch focuses on the mental perceptions of how people perceive and experience their physical environment through techniques of mental mapping. Consequently, 55 Wordscape exercises the idea in mapping the collective mental perceptions in which Porta Portese evokes. As the title suggests, 55 people were randomly interviewed and asked to describe “what does the market meant to them” in one word. The interviewees’ responses and where they came from were mapped out according to the specific locations where the interviews took place in the market. The diagram juxtaposes the interviewees’ opinions as well as where they have traveled to and from the market. Although 55 people's opinions only account to 0.2 percent amongst an average of 30,000 people who visit the market every Sunday, the mapping process itself was a valuable experience. It generated a spectrum of unexpected reactions, ranging from an indifferent frown to a heart-felt conversation. It was not surprising that majority of the people who were interviewed reacted negatively against the Porta Portese market, though with a few passionate exceptions.

1. Lynch, Image of the City: 1
D: How does the Porta Portese Association work?

M: The association was born in the 90’s as a booksellers association without any specific goals. I joined the association in ’98 but it became important only after the police blitz in September. Almost all the vendors are now member of the association. The association doesn’t have a structure; I am the president and the only person responsible for running all the duties without any profits. Some people are starting to accuse me and consider me as a scapegoat for my relationship with the police. Most people appreciate my work and I am very happy to see them defending me from the others. I like to run the association because I feel that there are many people who need help.

For example I have an old lady beside my stand making less than 100 euro per Sunday and her pension is only around 500 euro per month. So she definitely needs to work in Porta Portese every Sunday. I feel that she must be protected from people who will eventually take advantage of her. (referring to police, competitors, people stretching their stands). There are also many Chinese vendors who need help to deal with the municipality because they don’t know how the Italian Bureaucracy works.

D: During our interviews in the market, some vendors consider Porta Portese as an example of community. Others feel that Porta Portese is a battlefield of competition and what is your opinion about that?

M: I believe that Porta Portese is both, just like a normal society. You will find vendors who are ready to kill you and stretch their stands into your space as soon as you are distracted. On the other hand, the association is the evidence that there is a real community among the vendors of Porta Portese with people helping each other out of the kindness of their heart. Most of the people are not racist at all; they accept the presence of other non-Italian vendors in the market such as the Russians, Chinese, Arabs, and Bangladesh etc. I am not racist, but as soon as some Chinese stretch their stands into my space, I would be the first to say “Fucking go back to China”. Basically everybody get along peacefully until some problems arise and they (referring to non Italian vendors) become the first ones to be blamed for.
M: The association is a serious one, the name has been registered by the lawyers. It has its own constitutions and it is something serious. Porta Portese is a different market; there is nothing in common with the other markets. There was only one similar market in Turin, now it is fixed from the current city government, and that market has 400 stands. Porta Portese had a census in 2000, there were 2400 stands. Now there are around 1300 stands. Considering whatever the size of the stands are, there consist of all the social categories in the market.

D: So when has there been the largest number of stands?


Darío: How did you carry out the census?

M: Through the membership as well as counting the non-members. Another census has been done by the police in the same year (2000). There are two major opinions about Porta Portese. One is from the mayor of Rome (Walter Veltroni) The market must be as it is with no relevant reduction around 1100 stands. The mayor’s opinion is not so important because the person ruling over Porta Portese is Mr. Bellini, who is President of XVI Municipality. There was chaos, therefore he wanted to close the market. Since he was receiving all the law suits from the residents of the Porta Portese area, he was probably scared not to be voted again as the president by the people. The market should be closed or have no more than 700 stands on Via Portuense. Now his opinion has changed and it is moving towards the mayor’s opinion because there are no more security issues.

However, I am worried that because of the costs of having so many policemen around every Sunday, the municipality will decide to decrease the number of policemen for Porta Portese, which I believe is already happening. If this will happen, the progresses made in the past few months in terms of legality, security, controls and hygiene will be lost. I understand that the costs are high, and most of the vendors agree with me about a self-induced taxation of 20 euro to cover the costs of the policeman. I made this proposal to the municipality and I am waiting for their reply.

Darío: When did you start?
M: I started in 1981. I have even seen 2 Kalashnikov been sold in the market. You really can see everything in the market. People selling in the Porta Portese market are not necessary poor; it is the minority who are the poor. There are many vendors whose profiles are high, such as employees, sculptures, artists, musicians, or experts of filatelio (coins / stamp collectors), comparable to the experts from Sotheby's or Christie's. There is everything and the opposite of everything. Porta Portese is everything. People who come to Porta Portese are sick. (La gente che viene a Porta Portese è malata).

M: my relationship with the police is great now. Probably it is because they are scared that I can sue them. There has never been a legalization of Porta Portese. For example, they (the police) put stands with regular licenses in Via Ippolito Nievo where the stands were not supposed to be because of the garage entrances. It has been like this and it is still like this, and this is Porta Portese. It’s just the political way of doing things – such as putting people wherever they want through bribery. To give you an example of how illegal the situation is, close to my stand, there is an Iranian, we called him the Swedish because he married a Swedish girl. He left Iran because he was charged for double murder and was sentenced to death and he sells drugs. Everybody knows it.

Dario: he sells drugs in the market?

M: yes, in the market. He and his friends are also the point of reference, including his friends who sell drugs in San Giovanni. I reported him to the police and nothing happened. The market is like this. The market is like the song of Claudio Baglioni. Porta Portese is like what those people said (referring to the wordscape). Complesso, casino, popolare, un pezzo di Roma, etc etc. This is what Porta Portese is all about. The big contradiction is, why are people spending their Sunday morning at Porta Portese if they say the market is ugly?

Porta Portese is frequented not just by poor people. When I was selling normal movies, Fellini’s assistant sometimes came to buy movies from independent directors. Other VIP such as Andy Luotto, Heather Parisi, Silvio Orlando (Actor), or Renzo Arbore. He has a famous juke box collection and he used to come and dig in the market.

D: Talking about cons previously, is there still any 3 cards player in the market?
M: They are disappearing because of increasing police controls and because most of the vendors don't like them since they con people and we don't want people to be conned, otherwise they don't come to the market anymore and we lose the customers. Right now stolen things are handled by people from maghreb (morocco, Algerian, Tunisia). The thieves are usually drug addicts too. They just steal things to sell them to the Moroccans who then go to the Porta Portese market to sell them back to people in Porta Portese. Before the police cleared Porta Portese (September 26th), there were so many pickpockets in the market, especially from Chile. There were too many of them, but since now there are lots of police, they are scared and they don't come anymore.

D: Would you consider Porta Portese as a mirror of the society with its problems and its evolution?

M: Yes, Porta Portese is a micro-society, reflecting exactly the real society. Of course, you can see from the photos you have taken. You can see how the people are populating the market (commenting on sequence photos).

D: Do you believe that the Porta Portese market should respect Roman tradition or it should continue to undergo its own evolution?

M: The market is a place for business where the supplies follow the demands. I understand that the market is very different from what it was years ago, probably losing part of its tradition. But I believe that the evolution must be accepted since the entire society is also experiencing a constant evolution. People have been blaming the ROM (zingari) for most of the problems in Porta Portese, continuously asking the authority to kick them out of the market. But the same people forget that if the gypsies were there, it was because there were people buying from them. The market cannot stay the same. Just like the evolution of a city. If the Chinese and the Romanians are there, then they should be part of the market, as much as they are part of the society.

D: How do you see Porta Portese in the future, and how do you wish to change it if there is anything?

M: I cannot see Rome without Porta Portese; it is a part of it. And it will never disappear. The Porta Portese that I want is as it is now, which is with more control than before, and a decent organization, more hygienic, and not over downsized.
D: Are you a vendor at Porta Portese only?

M: I used to go around to different markets everyday of the week because there are given days to given markets around Rome, such as Anzio and Lunghezza. So I was busy with the markets everyday. Now I only sell in Porta Portese because the other markets are not profitable anymore. Some of them are losing money; others are on the edge. This is because, first of all, the cost of renting a stall in the market is increasing; secondly, we are suffering from the competition of big box commercial malls and outlets, which are open everyday, and have prices that are comparable to ours. So people prefer to go there. The only market that is still making money is Porta Portese, that’s why I am only going to Porta Portese now. I know there are vendors making even 8000 to 10,000 euro per Sunday, such as the guy selling watches behind me who has 5 assistances and they give out numbers to queue like in the supermarkets.

D: How many people do you think go to the market every Sunday?

M: The police has estimated between 300,000 to 500,000 people depending on the weather and the season. Peak time is before Christmas and the slowest time is in the summer.

D: What do you think about the other markets in Rome, such as the one at Via Sannio?

M: The market industry is really on the edge. I predict that it’s going to be finished in 5 – 10 years.

D: What is your typical timetable for Porta Portese?

M: I go to sleep at 6pm on Saturday evening. I wake up at 1am so that I can be in the market around 2-2:30am. I don’t need to be there that early. I used to go there so early so I could have had time to look for nice things to buy. (pointing to the array of decors, statues and paintings in his living room as evidences). Of course it makes sense to go at 3am so you are the first ones to look at the good stuff. Now I still go so early but I don’t purchase anything anymore. But I prefer to go early so I can monitor the situation of the market as the President of the Association so I can organize, help people and handle eventual problems between the vendors and the police…to give a hand, and to cooperate etc. I start to sell between 6-7am, stopping between 2-3pm to be back home at 5pm.
To show you how much I love Porta Portese, please note that I am a great ROMA football fan but I can never watch the Sunday matches (3pm – 5pm) because I am always at the market.

D: What are your current expenses for having a stand at Porta Portese?

M: It's around 100 Euro per year for the occupation of public soil. I have a license as a commercial mobile vendor therefore I go to my accountant four times a year spending 170 euro each time. The license as a commercial mobile vendor is a general license and it is not specifically for Porta Portese.

D: Could you show us a Porta Portese license, or even a copy?

M: No, I don't have one and people will not show it to you since Porta Portese is not even mentioned on the license itself.

A: to sum up, what is your one word definition of Porta Portese?

M: Popolare. (people)

A: What is it about the market that you feel passionate about?

M: Here is an example: If a mother cannot afford a pair of Nike sneakers, and her child asks for them, because everyone else has Nike. Instead of spending 100 Euro, she can go to Porta Portese and find a pair of second hand or used Nike sneakers for 20 euro. This is something you can only do in the Porta Portese market.
Blitz antiabusivi dei vigilì: cento fermati, un arresto e quindici denunciati. Quasi tutti

Maxiretata a Porta Portese

La protesta degli ambulanti: «Perché se la prendono anche con noi?»

«Ora il mercato sarà ridisegnato»

Amministrazione soddisfatta degli interventi: «Legalità irrinunciabile»

6.5 Porta Portese news clip # 1
Porta Portese, primi interrogatori: «Ecco come funziona il mercato»

Linda racconta dieci anni di estorsioni per occupare un posto

La Città delle regole

Giorni fa abbiamo spiccato un’audizione nell’ambito di una vigliacca

Cronaca di Roma

Riordino dei banli via altri 2
Porta Portese, un blitz anti-abusivi «annunciato»

Gran Show di. Moka

Per gli abitanti di Porta Portese, è arrivato l'annunciato "blitz" di alcune unità di polizia contro i soggetti delictivi e di disturbo che frequentano la zona. I comuni della città, in particolare Porta Portese e Porta Metronia, sono stati scelti per l'operazione, che include controlli e sequestri di auto e motoveicoli. La notizia è stata resa pubblica in un comunicato ufficiale della polizia locale.

6.7 Porta Portese news clip #3

All'Olimpico scatoloni con schede elettorali votate

Dalla notte di sabato fino al pomeriggio di ieri, 200 agenti in azione. Al setaccio i venditori russi. Sporgono dei mobili

Super blitz a Porta Portese e i rigattieri bloccano la via

Vigili anti-abusivi: sequestri e multe

La polizia ha avviato un'operazione antievasione informale. I venditori di merci provenienti da Russia e ex-Urss sono stati coinvolti in controlli e sequestri di auto e vecchi mobiletti. La notizia è stata resa pubblica in un comunicato ufficiale della polizia locale.

6.8 Porta Portese news clip #4
Porta Portese «caccia»
gli abusivi: una domenica
al mercato con 35 pattuglie

"Dimezzate" le storiche bancarelle. I residenti:
«C'è più ordine, ma senza i robivecchi e l'usato...»

DOMENICA CALDA nello storico mercato
romano di Porta Portese. La questione si-
curezza è sbarazzata a ridosso delle mura por-
tenue, sollevata da un gruppo di residenti alle
prese con acciaio-
ni, nomi e venditori
abusivi che da anni,
dal sabato notte fino
alla fine del mercato domenica,
la situazione si intensifica con
l'arrivo delle notti in cui si
manca di spazio e di controllo.

I venditori, con i loro carichi
di abbigliamento e prodotti
alimentari, si riversano nella
zona, disturbando i residenti
che, di solito, si ritrovano
sottoposti a una situazione
di pressione.

I residenti, che si sono uniti
in un improvviso flash mob,
manifestano la loro intenzione
di difendersi e di porre fine alla
situazione.

La notizia è scesa in onda con
almeno 35 cariche contro i
venditori illegali, che si sono
scomposti alle loro spalle.

La notizia della notte
sorprende i residenti, che si
ritrovano a fronteggiare una
situazione di pressione che
non si è mai vista prima.

I residenti, convinti della
necessità di agire, si riuniscono
in un flash mob per manifestare
la loro determinazione.

La notizia viene pubblicata
con immagini e testimonianze
che dimostrano la situazione
di necessità.

La notizia è stata trasmessa
su uno dei principali canali
locale, che ha cercato di
riportare tutte le vicissitudini
che hanno avuto luogo.

La notizia è stata rivisita
in seguito, affinché i residenti
possano comprendere la
necessità di agire.

La notizia è stata trasmessa
in seguito, affinché i residenti
possano comprendere la
necessità di agire.

La notizia è stata trasmessa
in seguito, affinché i residenti
possano comprendere la
necessità di agire.
Porta Portese, cacciati gli abusivi

Dal Centro alla periferia, la rabbia dei romani: «Siamo stanchi di vivere in questa illegittimità»
E all’ex Bastogi famiglia rom gestiva traffico di cocaïna: tre in manette

Porta Portese, è tutto come prima

Nuovo sblocco dopo quello di una settimana fa, ma gli abusivi hanno invaso il mercato

E i vigili fanno passare chi esibisce una multa
Rivolta anti-vigili a Porta Portese:
cassonetti in fiamme, tram bloccato

Viene: «Primo passo
per il ritorno
al rispetto
delle regole»

Viaggio nei due quartieri
dove è pura l’operazione
giustizia e decoro del Comune
e delle forze dell’ordine
nenza e isolata
i residenti: «Ormai siamo stati abbandonati da tutti»

Porta Portese
Furtivamente qualcosa siamo abbassato
C’è gente che dorme
negli androni dei palazzi

L’ASSISTENTE RIZZI
«In settimana stilmremo
una lista degli operatori»

6.12 Porta Portese news clip #8
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