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*Le recenti eruzioni dell'Etna: danni materiali,
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*A New Social Map of Metropolitan Areas:
the case of city businessmen in Rome*



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**A NEW SOCIAL MAP OF METROPOLITAN AREAS:
THE CASE OF CITY USERS AND CITY
BUSINESSMEN IN ROME****

1. Introduction

Contemporary metropolises are not defined in the international urban context by their territorial dimensions, population's density or high skyline, but by studying a group of phenomena related to processes and quality of production, cultural patterns and, above all, human relations throughout space. Geographers, sociologists, planners analyse the metropolitan "texture" and they try to describe processes which involve millions of people, expressing transformations of society and underlining in each case the cultural topics.

So it was possible to speak of an ecological city (WHO, 1992; Alberti *et al.*, 1994) directed toward a sustainable development, a technological city, where innovation leads the organisation of social life (Castells, 1989; Salomon *et al.*, 1994), a multiethnic city, where social exclusion and spatial segregation take place (Wieviorka, 1994), a global city, with an economic system that pushes low-income people (with a lot of women) to take informal jobs, increasing social problems (Sassen, 1991), a retail city, with diffusion of shopping malls and "no-places" without specific identity (Augé, 1992), and a city with 4 populations (Martinotti, 1993; 1996), where studies highlight social characters who live together in metropolitan places, but according to different spaces.

The typical central city of Metropolitan Areas is crowded during the day and people leave it at night, tourists consume it (Lozato-Giotart, 1990), immigrants hope to live there, there are hospitals with specialists

* Even if the paper was devised together by the authors, F. Cristaldi wrote Introduction and whole Section 3 and R. Morri wrote Sections 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and Conclusions.

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for specific needs of patients. These cities are the meeting place for sport supporters, delegates of international conferences, there are research centres and modern enterprises, they are the “starters” of innovations.

Cities are the origin of an attraction’s area that was already defined by Christaller and which is now becoming interesting again for its new features in the post-modern society. The aim of this paper is not to describe all “1,000” metropolitan populations but just to introduce to the study of **city users** and **city (or metropolitan) businesspeople** within the Roman Metropolitan Area.

2. Social morphology of metropolises: from the first to the third generation?

Scholars who study metropolitan areas from a sociological point of view think the “social” composition of big cities has changed a few years ago (Martinotti, 1996). Summarising up the history of urban population’s growth, it is possible to show an increase of the social complexity of people who live and work in modern cities (Hendriks, 1999).

Even if urban people have increased the social complexity in a vertical direction, with many different social layers linked to different levels of income (White, 1998), the meaning suggested in this paper for the word “social” is more related to a functional interpretation.

In other words, this paper deals with different human *groups*¹ who live in big cities according to their own way of being related to the urban space, defining new ways of life and new habits.

According to this point of view, it is possible to describe a first generation of metropolitan cities, in which it is customary to study the *behaviours* of two main groups: inhabitants and commuters.

These groups usually use the same services (public transports and public offices, shops and shopping malls, ...), which are often too crowded to work “correctly”.

The study of commuters trips has generally been thought with relation to the place of known origin (his/her own house of residence), of a series of opportunities located inside the city (especially as regards pos-

¹ Perhaps the people who are going to be studied should be considered *series* - «a number of people who occasionally meet at the same place where they intend to do the same thing» - rather than *groups* - «individuals in a group from a social entity which persists over a period of time and in which the individuals share a long-term purpose» (Ellegård, 1999, p. 167).

sibilities of employment), and, finally, with relation to the distance and of the quality of the connections with the city (Kwan, 1999; Itoh, 2001).

Still, commuters for reasons of study or work have an objective importance in characterising the life of metropolitan cities, but recently the range of studied subjects has progressively become wider, because attention is also paid to the so-called visitors of edge cities.

These visitors are generally identified with those people, not living in the city, who develop there some specific activities (Vihelmson, 1999). However, it is believed that these analyses currently present two main defects: on one hand, attention is almost completely referred to traditional commuters, who during the lunch break or at the end of the working day interact with the socio-economic texture of the city in which they are, independently of their own job. On the other hand, the study excessively results pivoted on the economic and commercial aspects, particularly putting in evidence people's flows attracted by retail and shopping malls during the weekend (Monheim, 1998).

2.1. A second generation of metropolitan cities

Thus, the current complexity of modern cities depends on two variables, space and time, and the success in defining the new shapes assumed by urban spaces is closely related to one's skill in individuating and measuring these two parametres.

It is possible to recognise a metropolitan city through the particular concentration of some functions dealt with directional powers in relation to political, economical and business areas.

The presence of head offices usually goes together with a high quality of some specific services, which do not belong just to one category of residents or "employers", since people who do not live in the city may use them.

Moreover, behind these typical metropolitan functions, other specific activities can be featured by a city, like tourist or religious ones.

So late social studies are able to speak of a second generation of metropolitan cities within which distinguished different human groups becomes more and more important. This importance derives from a different use (and consumption) of urban space by several human groups, since each of them has a series of specific needs to satisfy in relation to the time and the place during which and in which they stop in the city (Ellegård, 1999).

Studying various reasons and frequencies which are peculiar to people who come to a metropolitan city, researchers may show several "populations" who live in the urban space.

The social topics considered above describe at least five populations who are features of contemporary metropolitan cities: residents, commuters, tourists, **city users** and **city (or metropolitan) businesspeople**. Indeed, there is no fixed scheme in this classification about the number of possible populations one can recognise (artists and homeless people are sometimes considered apart, Nuvolati, 2002), or about the sequence of the generations. In particular, someone considers *city users* the new group of second generation metropolises, whereas *city businesspeople* should characterise the third generation (Gazzola and Poggi, 2001). In this paper, it is thought it is actually difficult to draw a clear separation line between these two moments, probably very close related to the evolution of each single city²: so this paper only deals with both groups within Rome.

Tourists, city users and metropolitan businesspeople have some common characteristics: the most important ones are the irregularity of their arrival to the city, the short period they stay and, above all, the reason why they do not live or work in the city every day.

The importance of tourist population can change a lot, because this presence depends on an attractive function not so necessarily related to a metropolitan dimension, even if people nowadays visit cities devoid of historical or early cultural heritage, simply to know the metropolitan way of life (many Northern American or Eastern modern cities are the destination of this kind of tourist flows).

Moreover, in some cases, tourists come into city users population because they use the city without producing directly income, especially if compared with the activities of *metropolitan businesspeople* (even if businesspeople, when they do not work, become a sort of tourists).

The argument about the “correct” definition of *city users* is really open. The range of activities in a metropolitan city, in fact, is so wide that it is important to try to define the significant ones: without doubt, a lot of visitors think of the city as a place of consumption (Monheim, 1999), so knowledge of the retail structure is highlighted (Lowe and Wrigley, 2000), but there are also a lot of cultural and leisure activities which should not be ignored.

The presence of *city businesspeople* qualifies the city, since they arrive to the city because of its directional functions and, moreover, they

² «And the social groups, with unequal power, who compete for space within restructuring cities themselves vary in composition from place to place. The configurations, perceptions, users and uses of urban space are highly variable between cities in individual countries» (White, 1998, p. 4).

have no difficulties in paying high-quality services, they are no consumers “tout court”, but they concretely participate in the economic city life, asking for the further development of these kinds of high-standard performances (Glaeser, Kolko, Saiz, 2001).

But this aspect does not affect the gentrification process, because those rich workers do not substitute lower income residents: for them, the city remains a consumption and work place, chosen for the typical concentration and density of these functions and other amenities, although they are less attractive than the ambience they come from³.

3. Metropolitan businesspeople

The name of this category derives from the presence of this people in the Metropolitan Areas where they arrive to consume high quality services. Late innovative activities and head-offices of international firms are located in these areas where, despite of productive decentralisation that concerns the secondary and simple city-forming functions, human contacts always have a privileged space. People meet, discuss and plan, deciding the future of non-metropolitan territory, re-drawing its space.

Increasing globalisation, the size of the international market, the de-localisation of offices and factories, with the growth of the quantity of foreign workers, have produced a large exchange of goods and qualified employers. However, the management of this process needs knowledge, and human relationships (not only books and new technologies) are necessary to transfer know-how.

Some scholars thought the use of new technologies would have decreased movements, people would have had no more need to move thanks to internet, e-mails and videoconferences. But virtual travels just allows to avoid some trips, maybe the less important ones, whereas important decisions are taken while directly interacting with other people.

Besides, already some decades ago, some researchers had thought the diffusion of telephone could change territory and spatial relationships: however Gottmann (1977), pointed out this was an illusion. Ex-

³ Anyway, we agree that «consumers are becoming more important to the success of the city» (Glaeser, Kolko, Saiz, 2001, p. 33), but probably this success should not be understood in terms of demographic concentration, especially for Rome and other European cities without a developed productive texture, which, as a result, should above all improve the services they offer.

actly the same way, New Technologies can represent a useful tool, but they cannot take the place of meeting people.

Anyway globalisation, because of the easier access to the communication net, stimulates a general increase of movements for business motivations.

City businesspeople arrive to the edge cities, they use, consume, “squat” the urban space, and a competition starts with other population groups for the physical space which grows wider, whereas the social space grows narrower.

Businesspeople, with a high budget for their travels, meet in large cities where they use services (Istat, 1999) which often other social groups living in the city cannot afford. Inhabitants and commuters use buses, subways, their own cars, while *businesspeople* move by cabs. Tourists travel by car or by train, *metropolitan businesspeople* choose planes; tourists eat in fast foods or cheap restaurant, *businesspeople* have lunch in the best restaurants; tourists stay in campings or cheap hotels (just 35% of tourists stay in hotels in Rome), *businesspeople* sleep in expensive hotels (78% of businesspeople choose hotels) - see Section 5.3.

Also the travel period changes a lot according to its reason: in the northern hemisphere the real tourist leaves during the summer while the “business tourist” leaves during the autumn and winter. Only when there is an international meeting the period may become the same, because the conference is often an event that may combine work and holiday.

There are differences during the week, too. Tourists travel mainly during weekends, while business meetings take place usually in the first days of the week.

A further feature of business tourists is the gender: most businesspeople are male (78,4%), and they are between 25 and 44 years old (58%) or between 45 and 64 years old (31%) (see Section 5.1). The “leisure tourist”, on the contrary, is often female and, according to the ageing of last years, elderly⁴. It is then clear they need different services.

3.1. Rome: where the image becomes marketing

In 1999 Italian travels, with at least one night outside home, increased up to 90 million and 209,000. Latium was the most visited region –

⁴ In Rome, like In Italy, most of people who travel for work are male (82%), whereas they are female (53%) if they travel for holiday.

7,664,000 arrivals (10% of arrivals in Italy) – but only Rome’s province attracts tourists (72% of Latium’s arrivals sleep in this province).

The Metropolitan Area of Rome, as it results from geographical literature (Cristaldi, 1994), is composed of Rome, where high-rank services and functions are gathered, and of some bordering municipalities where there are just some medium-rank services. The presence of the capital, a superior political and administrative centre, does not allow the self-development of centres with their own attraction: therefore it originated a centripetal area, defined “without periphery” in the 70’s (Seronde-Babonaux, 1983). Because of this unbalanced system, business tourism assembles within the borders of Roman municipality, while other metropolitan towns have a marginal role.

In Rome, fountains, squares, churches and museums attract almost 4.5 million Italian tourists and 7 million excursionists every year. The city “smiles” to these citizens, it lives strictly together with them on buses and in the subways, all together people breathe the same (polluted) air. But tourists and excursionists already show reasons of their presence by their clothes and way of life.

A lot of people come to Rome because it offers facilities, opportunities, government and administrative centres and the image of a very charming place.

The Italian primacy of Latium, during 1999, about work travels (16.9% of national movements, followed by Lombardy with 16.3%) derives also from the conference organisers’ idea of Rome. The image offered for a place then creates the place itself (Miossec, 1977), since the charm of a place arrives to mould reality.

Moreover, in 1861 Rome was also the centre of the first recognised international medical conference (ENIT, 1969). And the presence of *businesspeople* causes a national and international influence that increases popular images of the city.

Rome’s fame, because of different reasons such as the presence of Vatican, government and national/international representative centres, the immense cultural heritage, crosses over national borders, throughout oceans, drawing daily thousands of people who arrive to the city for leisure and work. The city gives not only hospitality to single *businesspeople*, busy in small meetings each day, but it is the venue of larger national and international happenings and conferences, and their echo spreads the city’s fame.

Some organisations have begun to survey the international conferences phenomenon some decades ago, making a list of countries and cities which are leaders in this activity (fig. 1). Even if different criteria

are used⁵, Rome comes after about ten cities: Paris, Vienna and London are always classed first, together with some north-European cities (among which Brussels obviously stands out). During the last five years Rome has been always classed between the 14th and the 15th position in this international list, whereas Paris is the first one. Comparing this picture with Rome in the '50s , it becomes clear that Rome has gone down a lot from its 4th position (ENIT, 1969); on the contrary, other cities, like Paris and London, are still the most important centres, followed by cities with international associations' centres, like Brussels and Strasbourg.

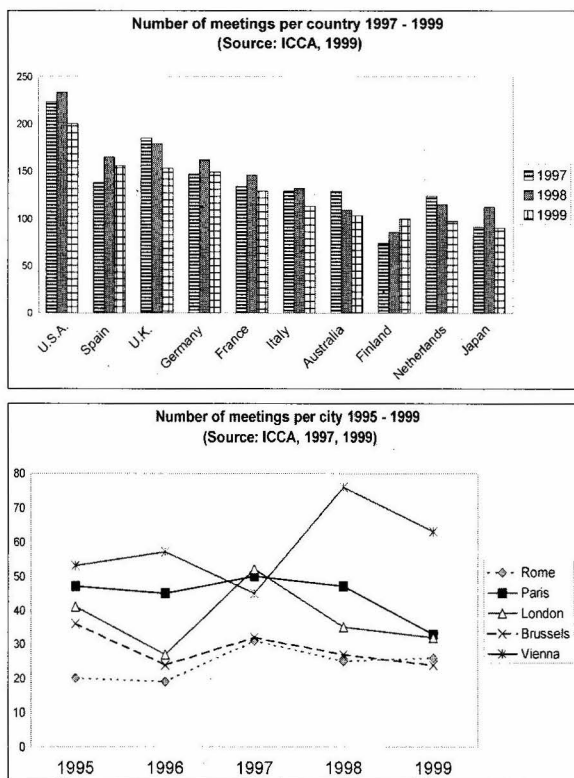


Fig. 1 - Number of meetings for country and city

⁵ UIA includes meetings organised by International Organisations which appear in the *Yearbook of International Organizations* and in the *International Congress Calendar*; ICCA considers regular happenings with more than 50 delegates who arrive from 3 different countries, at least.

3.2. *From competition to integration*

These two typologies of tourists do not thus seem to use the same urban space but, on the contrary, they have different integrated ways of life, which represent a continuous demand of services.

Since necessary services change according to the travel's motivation, it is possible to think of integration and not competition in the use of space. In fact, this competition probably exists between leisure tourists and other urban populations, because they usually consume cheap services which are used by inhabitants and commuters, too. A tourist normally moves using public transport, walks in the city on the same streets and buys in the same shops as citizens, and also eats in cheap restaurants: so, finally, he competes with residents.

Business tourists take a route that is different by daily movements and stops from the one of urban populations, because it is more expensive.

Then the city is positively influenced by the businesspeople's presence and it is spurred to offer more high-quality services in order to fill in empty spaces and times, because they are less affordable for other tourists and urban population who compete for urban space (both during the days and nights).

4. City users

Thinking of the peculiarity of Rome due to its role of capital metropolis, a whole series of services, which revert to the grey zone on the border between the two new metropolitan populations (*city users* and *city businesspeople*), exists.

From a methodological point of view, the ambiguity typical of city users (consumers of city-forming and/or city-serving services) depends on the real possibilities of use of this category within the analyses of the functional relationships existing in a metropolitan network.

Actually, these matters have been studied in geographical subjects well before Martinotti felt the need to subsequently specify the complexity of the metropolitan citizen (Mori, Cori, 1969; Berry, Horton, 1970).

Nevertheless, it is also true that Martinotti is not pressed by the geographical worry to necessarily define the area from which the wave of "city consumers" moves into the metropolis setting itself, but rather by the problem of the presence of these people inside the urban texture, particularly in terms of competition with the other metropolitan populations in the access and use of resources and services.

In order to highlight the relationships between city consumers and the city itself, it was decided to use questionnaires, to constitute a

meaningful databank of the behaviours of these particular consumers (Harris, 2000). According to this viewpoint, it was preferred to select places “appointed” to the reception of these particular populations (Elwood and Martin, 2000), such as two of the most important libraries now existing in Italy (the National Library – where every text published in Italy is deposited - and the Library of the Chamber of Deputies) and some Ministries and central offices of the Public Administration.

Fortunately, even if with a lot of difficulties, we succeeded in involving a meaningful number of offices located in two of the zones in Rome where the greatest concentration of these institutions is recorded, i. e. the district called “E.U.R.” in the southern part of Rome (the Ministry of the Environment, of the University and Scientific Research and the Foreign Trade Ministry) and the area near the Central Railway Station (the Ministry of Civil Works, of the Treasure and of Labour and Social Security), where the National Library is also located.

The Library of the Chamber of Deputies is slightly away from these two zones, as it is located between the Pantheon and Via del Corso.

5. The survey

We looked for information about the number of visitors, sorted by municipality of origin, who come to these structures in order to benefit of services not available elsewhere. Only the Ministry of Civil Works could immediately give the requested data; in the others 5 Ministries questionnaires were distributed (appendix 1).

At the end of the established period (three months, between March and June 2001) for the survey, 712 questionnaires were picked up; it is impossible to quantify which percentage of the usual visitors has positively reacted; nevertheless, when they have decided to collaborate, the result was satisfactory, since 675 were adequately filled in, particularly as regards the indication of the residence⁶.

⁶ The analysis of these data has been compared with information supplied by the Ministry of Civil Works, according to which during one year (1999) the entry of 20,246 people was recorded. Over 15,000 visitors (almost 75%) are people who live in the municipality of Rome; 5.186 individuals originated instead from other parts of Italy, with as much as 11% from the Latium regional district. In this group, only 135 people went to Rome from towns belonging to the area considered as “Metropolitan Area”, particularly from Ciampino, Fiumicino, Albano and Anzio.

58% of the people who answered live in Rome, whereas the remaining quota (almost three hundred people) originated from other Italian municipalities.

Just considering the questionnaires filled in by the resident of the Metropolitan Area⁷ (fig. 2), the image which emerges corresponds to those derived from classical studies on the Roman Metropolitan Area (Cristaldi, 1994).

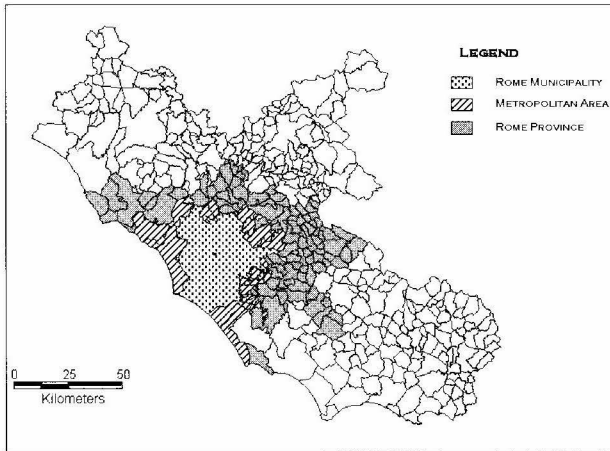


Fig. 2 - Rome, its Metropolitan Area (Paratore et al., 1995) and its province.

Eastern and Southern areas have closer ties with Rome and the most represented municipalities are Monterotondo, Guidonia, Tivoli, Pomezia and Anzio.

Just a few other towns stand out if compared with the Civil Works Ministry's data: Mentana, Albano Laziale, Ciampino and Monteporzio Catone, even if the "metropolitan" municipality from which the highest number of users came to this Office is Fiumicino (Menichini, 1996).

To find the correct interpretation of the described results is not easy, since it is necessary to keep in mind the quantity and quality of the present services in these zones, believed to be a little autonomous from the Capital.

At the same time, it is necessary again to recall the dichotomical nature of the *city users* initially mentioned.

⁷ In this paper, the concept of "Metropolitan Area" is taken from a study of Human Geography Department (Paratore et al., 1995), where it was supposed it should be composed of an aggregation of 24 municipalities around Rome, considering many different indexes.

If in fact this population is identified with a sort of “hunters of shopping malls”, underlying the presence of city-forming services (Cristaldi, 1994), it can be thought that the ability of these areas to become independent from Rome has been indeed overestimated.

If great importance is instead given to the presence of services with a stronger metropolitan characterisation, considering above all the role and the functions developed, then the chances that indeed an endogenous development started in these zones are unchanged, because the elimination of these ties does not depend on these municipalities, but it can only be made possible by a better and stronger decentralisation of the prerogatives of the central State administration (Piccolomini, 1993).

The “Metropolitan Area” is only one aspect that has to be considered in the study of the movements of *city users*.

For a really valid test of the adequacy of the model adopted here as compared with the current dynamics of the Roman metropolitan territory, the data about departures from Rome and arrivals to the other metropolitan towns are essential, because they reveal the level of integration and above all of acceptability for the Roman metropolitan system of a network structure (Dematteis, 1997), that could functionally balance the current “Rome-centred” system.

However, the conviction is that in reality the situation is still rather fluid, i. e. the territory of Rome’s municipality is no longer the only one to offer services and city-serving functions, even if the order of the metropolitan area is still strongly centripetal.

5.1. *Interviews by gender and age*

Interviews are fairly distributed among the two sexes, with a light prevalence of female in the younger classes of age and of male in the older ones.

The sample has been divided into 5 classes of age (between 16 and 65 years), plus another group of people over 65 years (i. e. retired people, who therefore should manage differently their time and movements).

By cross-checking the data related to gender and age, it is inferred that most of the population in movement is constituted by women and men below the 35 years, with some noticeable differences, however, at regional level (fig. 3).

For instance, inside Latium, young females have a greater mobility than male individuals of the same class of age (42% of the visits to Rome have been made by women between 26 and 35 years of age,

against 17% of males of the same age group); a difference that is attenuated but still remarkable inside the province of Rome, especially if all the considered individuals are below 35 years (49% of this group is constituted by women, whereas men equal 33%).

It is possible to speak of a slight but constant supremacy of the female element in the other contexts (sometimes with really small difference, about 1% - 2%), with the only exception of the North of Italy. In fact, the most numerous group is identified with 33% of men between 36 and 45 years, followed by males between 46 and 55 years (25%) and those between 26 and 35 years (17%). Women between 16 and 35 years only represent 12% of the city users arriving from the northern regions.

A last consideration has to be made as for the accessibility to Rome for groups with particular needs; in fact, for instance, old people could be one of these groups and they do not seem to have equal opportunities if compared with other people because of their very low presence in Rome. Probably their presence is larger among tourists, but this aspect will be studied again to clarify the real opportunities for old people to use urban spaces according to their possibilities and needs.

5.2. Reasons for the visit

The proposed options for the compilation of this field have been devised to highlight the possible existence of non-systematic movements depending on motivations different from the usual reasons of study and work (cultural visit, family reasons and others).

This attempt has not really produced the hoped results, although the irregularity of the movements toward Rome emerges for a meaningful group of the sample, since the prevailing motivations result however those labelled as "traditional".

How should we understand these data? One can perceive the confirmation of the idea that a remarkable quota of people who reaches Rome is not indeed attracted by banal services as retail or the multiplex cinemas: businesspeople (often more men than women, fig. 4), whose symbolic case has been represented by 58% of men from the North who have exclusively arrived to the Capital for work reasons (29% of the interviewed individuals who were not resident pointed out this motivation), and in great measure students and/or researchers kinds, making up as much as 61% of the total amount.

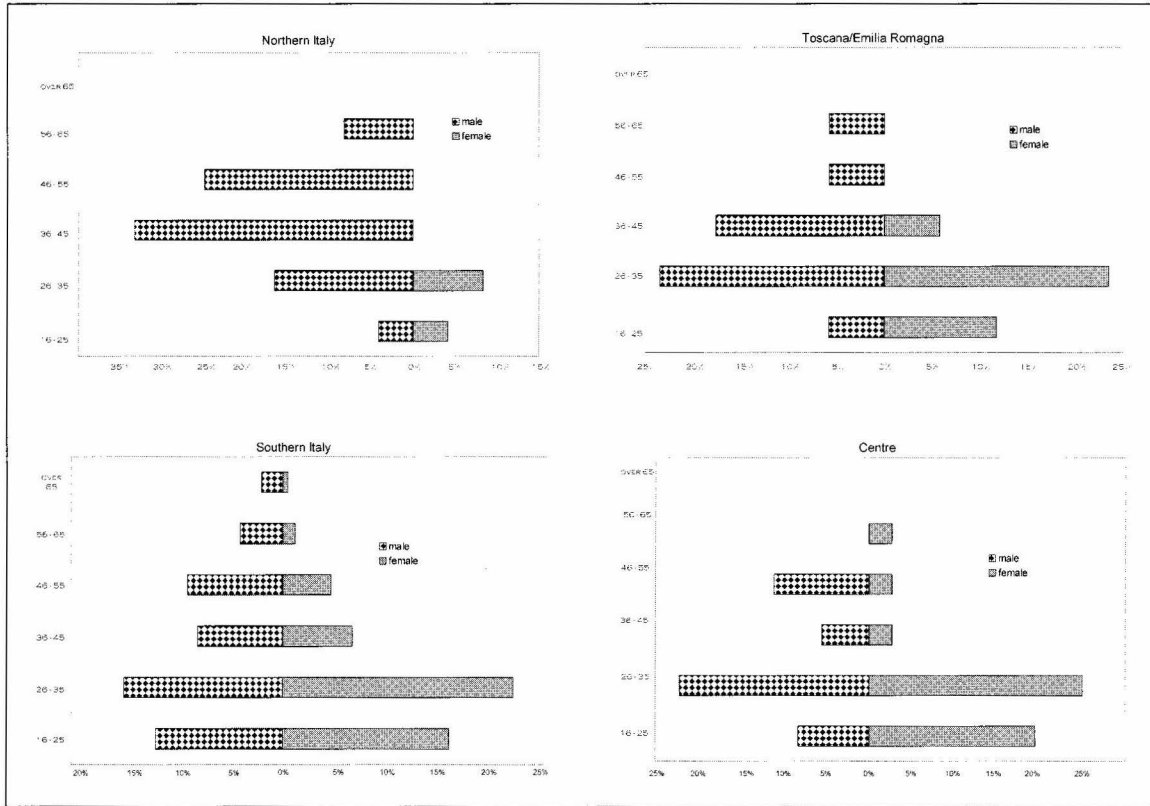


Fig. 3 - Samples by gender and age for regional aggregations in Italy.

It is rightful, however, to also express some doubts about the real significance of the remaining three items, which together make up 10% of the non-resident population, even if it is necessary to note that, as for the “free” field, that its generic denomination “other” does not have a meaningful incidence that could confirm the impossibility for interviewed people to choose among the proposed questions.

The only confirmation that therefore it appears correct to note concerns the ambiguity and complexity of the “consumers of the metropolitan city” and, above all, the necessity to extend this analysis to that series of services for the moment excluded from this study.

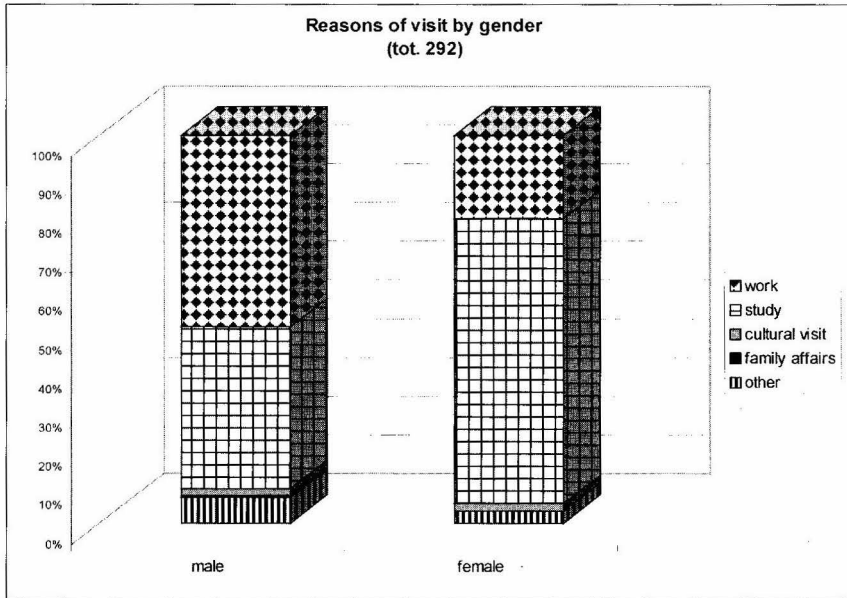


Fig. 4 - People who do not live in Rome by gender and reasons of the visit

5.3. Frequency, stay and means of transport

If the availability of a determined type of services is really important, the frequency with which the *city user* comes to the Capital should be, within a certain distance, independent from the physical separation between place of origin and Rome (Vihelmsen, 1999). But it is also true that with the distance the possibility to find out other cities (or systems of cities) able to offer the same services increases (Dematteis, 1997).

Anyway, considering only interviewed people living within the Metropolitan Area and in Latium, it was possible to assemble a sample of people, between 50% and 40% of respective totals, who act like commuters. A condition deriving partly from the proximity that therefore makes the access easier and partly to the verification that «to substantial proportion of intra-urban travel consists of multipurpose, fine-stop journeys, and potential stops at various locations may become dark accessible by virtue of their proximity to sites other than [...] the workplace» (Kwan, 1999, pp. 211-212).

Close to these data, there is however a 25% of the sample people who instead come to the city less than 4 days a week, with an increase in the irregularity of this presence far away from Rome, with a remarkable greater use of the train in comparison with those who, on the contrary, live inside the Metropolitan Area.

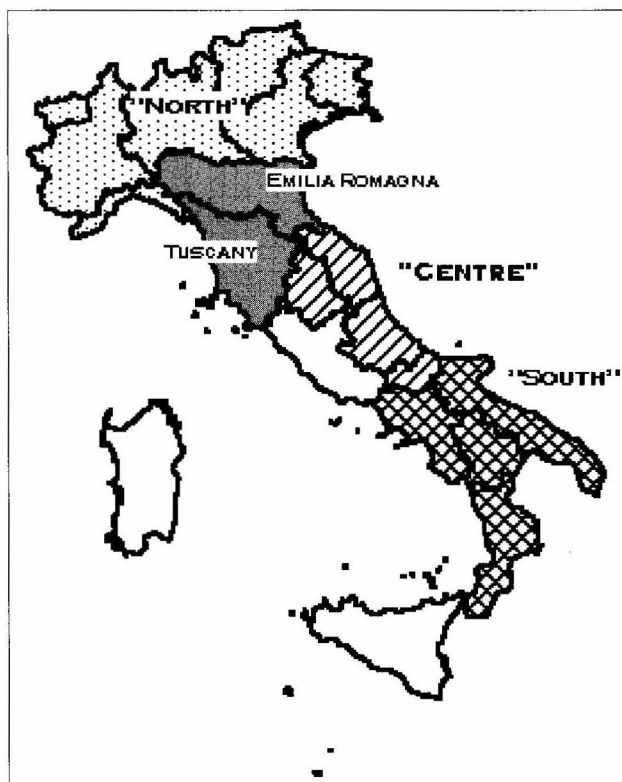


Fig. 5 - Regional aggregations where interviewed people were gathered

The data collected for people who do not live in Rome have been gathered for four regional aggregations (fig. 5): two are traditional ones (Northern and Southern Italy), whereas two other aggregations have been devised considering the proximity of other metropolitan cities, like Florence and Bologna (Tuscany and Emilia Romagna together) and considering the features of the sample (“Centre”, where Abruzzo, Molise, Marche and Umbria are).

So it is possible to highlight a strong presence of people who originate from the southern regions, constituting as much as 51% of the sample being under examination⁸, followed by people living in the “Centre” (23%), the northern regions (15%) and Tuscany and Emilia Romagna (11%).

As for the frequency of visits, it is possible to define a common trend for North and Tuscany/Emilia Romagna, from where people do not come very often, and for South and the Centre.

In fact, people arrive with a good frequency from these two areas, even if the length of their stay is different, because the southern one is longer. 24% of people coming from southern regions stay in Rome more than 3 days (for instance, twice than northern people).

This can also be explained by the differences in the net of communications that the two different areas of the Country have, and which is much worse in the Southern regions. A longer trip means a small availability of time to spend in the city, and this could justify the longer stay. But this should also discourage to come so assiduously; however, it is at this point that the services of the city become important, which probably for concentration (that means an unequal distribution on the territory) and for low speed in the satisfaction of the consumers’ demands (Glaeser, Kolko, Saiz, 2001) make new visits and new trips necessary.

Probably, a greater clarity on these aspects can be obtained by appraising not only the frequency of the trips, but also their duration and even the interval between a trip and the following one.

This double image of Italy comes out also considering the use of means of transportation and the places of stay⁹.

⁸ A further confirmation of how Rome still represents the door of access to the rest of the Country for the southern part of Italy. Such cities as Naples, Bari, Lecce and Palermo are almost completely bypassed, also when one does not have to move his/her “residence” to a different place (Morri, 2000).

⁹ This division between Southern and Northern Italy is historical, and for this reason most people think it is also old and superseded. It is indeed true that today it would be a mistake to think and speak about the Italian socio-economic complexity just according to this image, but it is also true that this difference does really still exist.

Trains meet the preferences of the largest part of the sample – even if the proximity allows travel by car (people who live in the Centre, for example; a choice also due to the bad railway links in this area), but in the north of Italy it is followed by the use of the plane rather the private car as it happens in the Southern part of Italy.

This difference also exists for the choice of the place where to stay: in fact, when it is not possible to live at friends' or relatives', people decide to stay in hotels (religious institutes and hostels are poorly represented), but with a wide regional diversity (fig. 6): in fact, hotels are chosen by 14% of visitors coming from the southern regions, 11% of people residing in the Centre, 38% of the visitors from Tuscany and Emilia Romagna and 43% of the northern users. A picture rather consistent with the panorama till now described, even though it is worth to notice that the choice of the hotel is probably determined by the duration of the stay in the city. In fact, the hotel is chosen for visits of brief duration, up to a maximum of three days; over this limit, the choice decidedly reverts on the support furnished by friends and relatives.

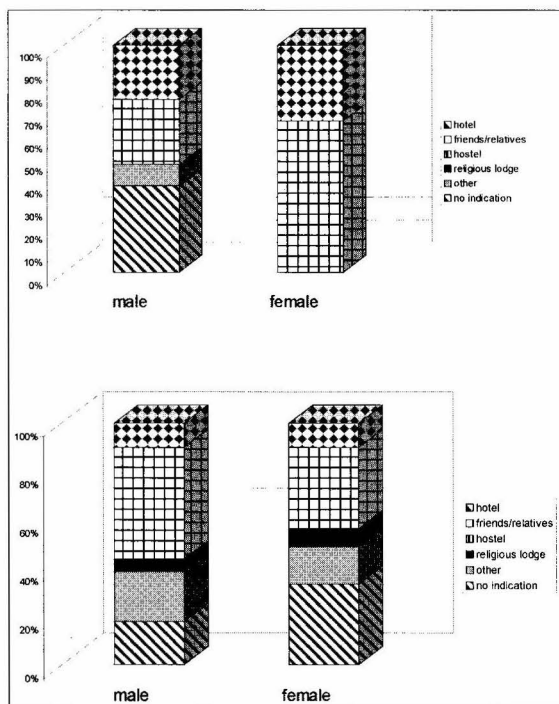


Fig. 6 - Samples of northern and southern Italy by gender and place of stay.

Conclusions

When speaking about *city users* and *city* (or *metropolitan*) *business-people*, the problem is not to state that they really exist, but to find out the way to understand their future consistence in the metropolitan life.

This problem derives from two main subjects, reciprocally connected: the first one is linked with the difficulties to define a clear identity of these users, because changing the kind of consumptions taken into consideration it is probably possible to define many categories belonging to this group.

Attention should be paid to a further category of services supplied by the sanitary structures. In fact, the reform of the National Sanitary System, effected beginning 1992, has not absolutely succeeded in correcting the centripetal order of the Sanitary System of Latium, almost entirely centred around the public and private structures existing in the Capital (Morri, 2001). This condition then creates movements towards Rome, where people arrive only to satisfy this particular necessity.

Besides, the survey allows to recognise some particular topics, like several gender diversities (for the reasons of the visit – male for work, female for study – or origins – male from northern Italy, female from southern Italy) and absence of some categories (elderly people, for instance, which may be due to lack of services).

Moreover, in order to better understand the articulation and inner complexity of the category of “city users”, the amount and origin of university students living in Rome but coming from other towns should be considered, to give a measure of how university students not permanently residing in Rome municipality contribute to consume the city.

Finally, there are also young people who come to the metropolitan city only during the night, also crossing many kilometres, who live and consume very specific leisure services which they might share with other young people living in the city. So the solution, which partly corresponds to the attempt made with this survey, is perhaps to pay attention to parametres like frequency of visit and length of stay, which cannot strictly depend on the typology of searched services but on the way to understand the city and live in it. This consideration leads to the second subject, i. e. the absence of certain statistical data to “measure” these habits according to time and space co-ordinates.

In fact, even if a sample of around 700 people is quite significant, this survey can be used just to open a window on this topics, in order to stimulate scientific and political awareness. But if someone imagines that this data is useful, or even necessary for the planning of future cities, then a wider and safer collection of data is needed. Nowadays this data is not available, and the questions introduced into the latest Italian census probably does not yet help understand these phenomena.

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APPENDIX

Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"
Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia - Istituto di Geografia

National Library

Survey on users of National Library

Please, write "x" or make black the field you answer

- 1) Gender: male female
- 2) Age: 16 - 25 26 - 35 36 - 45 46 - 55 56 - 65 over 65
- 3) Do you live now in Rome municipality: yes no
3a) You live in municipality of:
- If you do not live in Rome, please answer next questions:
- 4) You are in Rome for: work study cultural visit family affairs other
- 5) Do you come regularly to Rome?: no, only today every week every month once a year
- 6) When do you prefer to come to Rome?: january - march april - june july - september october - december
- 7) ...and when during the week (mon, tue, wed, thu, fry, sat, sun) ?
.....
- 8) How long do you think to stay? only today 3 days at least one week longer than a week
- 9) Where are you going to stay? hotel religious lodges hostel near friends/relatives other
- 10) You came to Rome by: private car train plane public bus private bus other
- 11) If you want, please write shortly the motifs of your visit to this library:
.....
.....
.....

Thank you for your collaboration