

VENICE

AESOP ANNUAL CONGRESS

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JULY
2019



PLANNING FOR TRANSITION

Book of Papers

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Planning for Transition

Contemporary cities and territories face significant challenges – natural disasters due to climate change impacts, ecological crises, growing socio-economic unrest, global migration, political rifts including a rise of right wing factions, ambitious public works and mega-projects – all of which require new capacities in dealing with such individual and multiple groupings of such challenging and profound changes.

It is a matter of fact that at international level a discourse if not a condition of transition is pervading sectors and societies. This discourse points to alternative patterns and solutions to many of the challenges faced. A quickly changing scenario requires forms of planning, both locally and globally, which bear the capacity to support and manage mutable urban and environmental conditions. In fact, although cities do incessantly change, policy-makers and institutions are never fully prepared to respond to complex and risky situations, as well as relying on planning and policy tools which are often outdated; in addition, also existing theoretical frameworks, concepts, cognitive abilities and approaches become ineffective or outmoded.

Each unintended or unanticipated change comes as a break to existing social, political, and administrative routines and yet it may be anticipated that mechanisms of collective reflection and action will be generated. The congress invites scholars and practitioners to present and discuss case-studies of cities and projects that have engaged in meeting challenging situations – supporting transitions in urban contexts.

Specifically, it is aimed at offering an understanding of the forms of knowledge, concepts, tools, and skills needed to plan and address transition. Furthermore, it seeks to explore whether (and how) managing such changes has brought any overall reconsideration of the city design model and towards more general institutional reconfigurations.

The book collects all the papers presented at the Aesop Venice 2019 conference. It is articulated in chapters that correspond to the tracks (16) and special sessions proposed (23).

Tracks

1. Transforming built heritage and landscapes
2. Urban design for multilevel planning
3. Teaching planning for the transition
4. Institutional change and regional transition
5. Methods and technologies for transformative planning
6. Community-based planning and social innovation
7. Theorizing urban change: complexity and ethics
8. Transition paths and urban futures
9. Climate proof cities and resilient societies
10. Urban metabolism and circular economy
11. Housing, gentrification and socio-spatial dynamics
12. Food, planning and healthy cities
13. Planning for accessibility and sustainable mobility
14. Planning, Law and Property Right: facing urban transitions
15. Tourism, spaces and urban cultures
16. Urban and Regional economics for transition

Special Session

1. Transition Histories
2. Urban Tourism, Neighborhood Change and Social Conflicts
3. Innovative Agriculture for Healthy Cities
4. Towards Post-Growth Planning Theory and Practice
5. Planning and Designing Green Infrastructures
6. Land Development and Management in Post-Socialist Countries
7. Home Sharing. Short-Term Rentals Affecting Local Housing Markets
8. Dynamic Change, Uncertainty and Planning for Adaptivity
9. Space, Citizenship and Identity: The Eu-Mena Region
10. The Role of The Local in Improving Cohesion and Spatial Justice
11. Friendly Spaces and Mobility for Ageing
12. Emerging Spatialities and Eu Policy Instruments: Cases and Perspectives
13. Facing Migrants Exclusionary Urban Policies
14. Learning Loops in The Public Realm. Enabling Social Learning in Communities to Tackle the Challenges of Cities in Transition
15. Planning and Biodiversity
16. Acsp-Aesop Special Session: Morsels of Hope: Migration and Urban Planning
17. Spatial Tensions: Urban Microgeographies for Changing Cities
18. Affordable Housing in Developing Countries: a Comparative Perspective
19. Acsp-Aesop Special Session: Learning from Arnstein's Ladder: from Citizen Participation to Public Engagement
20. Smart Cities and Regions Informing the Energy Transition
21. Maritime Spatial Planning (MSP) In Europe: Challenges in Transition
22. Shrinking Cities and Sustainability
23. Regional Design: Impacts on Territorial Governance and Planning Practice



PA 02 Transforming built heritage and landscapes

INFLUENCE OF CREATIVE ACTIVITIES ON THE RESIDENTS AND CONSERVATION OF CULTURE, HISTORY, AND LANDSCAPE IN SETOUCHI ISLANDS, JAPAN Asai Yuka, Miyake Saki, Abe Hirokazu, Otsuka Noriko	2
INVISIBLE PROJECTS: IMAGINED NEARNESS AS A TOOL TO EXPLORE LONG-TERM TRANSITIONS OF LANDSCAPE/HERITAGE. THE CASE OF THE RIVER TIBER IN ROME Avellini Elisa	12
ASSESSING THE TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL TO PARTICIPATORY HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN TURKEY Aydin Gizem, Bleil de Souza Clarice, Cerutti Federico	21
TRANSITIONS TOWARDS LANDSCAPE-AND HERITAGE-CENTRED LOCAL DEVELOPMENT: A MULTI-LEVEL PERSPECTIVE Barbanente Angela, Grassini Laura	35
THE SLOW LINE AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REGENERATE HERITAGE IN THE FRAGILE AREAS: THE CASE OF THE VENTO PROJECT Dezio Catherine, Giambruno Maria Cristina, Oppio Alessandra, Pileri Paolo	49
RESEARCH ON THE RENEWAL STRATEGY OF NEW AND OLD INTERSECTION COMMUNITIES IN METROPOLIS BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF LANDSCAPE URBANISM - TAKING A PRACTICE IN SHANGHAI TIANLIN COMMUNITY AS AN EXAMPLE Hu Shufen	62
TOWARDS A HISTORICAL URBAN LANDSCAPE: PRINCIPLES AND APPROACHES IN RECENT BUILT HERITAGE AND LANDSCAPE REGENERATION PROJECTS IN THE YORKSHIRE REGION OF ENGLAND Huang Yong, Ren Xiang	75
UMBRELLAS, INCUBATORS, MOTHERS AND KILLERS: FOUR TYPOLOGIES OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL MEGA-EVENTS AND SMALL AND MICRO EVENTS IN HERITAGE-RICH EUROPEAN CITIES Jones Zachary, Ponzini Davide	85
REFLECTIONS ON INDIVIDUAL MEMORY IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE COGNITIVE CONTEXT Li Cong, Li Jiaying	95
EMERGING NEW MODEL OF URBAN RESIDENTIAL HISTORICAL BUILT-UP AREA RENEWAL IN CHINA: FIVE PRACTICE OF URBAN RENEWAL IN SHENZHEN, GUANGZHOU AND SHANGHAI Long Jiayu, Gang Liu	119
PARADOXES OF THE ITALIAN HISTORIC CENTRES BETWEEN UNDERUTILISATION AND PLANNING POLICIES FOR SUSTAINABILITY Pellegrini Paola, Micelli Ezio	132
ALPINE INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES IN TRANSITION. TOWARDS A TRANSFERABLE STRATEGY FOR BROWNFIELD TRANSFORMATION IN MOUNTAIN REGIONS. Modica Marcello, Weilacher Udo	147
BUILT HERITAGE AND LANDSCAPE ROLE IN THE ROME METROPOLITAN PLAN Nucci Lucia	166
THE PRODUCTION OF HERITAGE Pace Michela, Chandler Alan	172
DEVELOPING TRANSFORMATION STRATEGIES FOR ALPINE INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES SHOWN BY THE STYRIAN IRON ROUTE IN AUSTRIA Pechhacker Julia, Forster Julia	182
LET'S TALK ABOUT CHANGE - EXPERIENCES FROM A VIDEO EXHIBITION CONFRONTING THE PUBLIC WITH URBAN AND LANDSCAPE TRANSITION BY REVISITING THE ORIGINAL SITES OF RELOCATED HISTORICAL MUSEUMS BUILDINGS TO VIEW THESE SITES IN THEIR CURRENT STATE Schretzenmayr Martina, Casaulta-Meyer Simona	196



Table of Contents

THE INFLUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE ON INTANGIBLE HERITAGE: NOVI SAD 2021 Stupar Aleksandra, Camprag Nebojša, Polić Darko	209
URBAN DESIGN METHODS OF SHANGHAI TILANQIAO HISTORIC DISTRICT UNDER THE BACKGROUND OF URBAN RENEWAL Sun Xinyu	223
IN SUPPORT OF GLOBAL INTEGRATED LANDSCAPE INITIATIVES: EXPERIENCES FROM THE GREEN HEART IN THE NETHERLANDS Tisma Alexandra, Meijer Johan	236
BUILT HERITAGE AND AGENDA 2030. EMBEDDING HERITAGE VALUES IN THE SPATIAL PLANNING LOCAL AGENDA Trillo Claudia	248
WHO IS AFRAID OF TRANSITION? MONITORING THE IMPACT OF TRANSFORMATION ON HISTORICAL RURAL LANDSCAPES AS INDICATOR OF COMMUNITIES' CHANGING NEEDS Vigotti Francesca	261
RECONSTRUCTING PUBLIC HISTORY THROUGH EUROPEAN SETTLER AND INDIGENOUS HERITAGE AND LANDSCAPE Walker Ryan	272
SUSTAINABLE PROTECTION OF CHINESE HUMAN-HABITAT HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TRANSITION:CASES STUDY OF TRADITIONAL VILLAGES AND ANCIENT CITY OF PINGYAO IN SHANXI PROVINCE Xu Xiwei, Yin Xi, Li Yang	290
TRANSFORMATION OF ROADS' FEATURE PROTECTION: STATUS AND FUTURE THINKINGS OF SHANGHAI'S FEATURE-PROTECTED ROADS:BASED ON THE CASE OF YUYUAN ROAD IN SHANGHAI Zhou Yeyuan, Xueyan Wang	301
 PA 03 Urban design for multilevel planning	
WHAT ROLE DO URBAN POLICIES PLAY IN ENHANCING THE SATISFACTION FROM NEIGHBOURHOOD OPEN SPACES IN MIXED-USE CITY CENTRES: LESSON FROM AUCKLAND Amirshekari Razno Salma, Beattie Lee, Silva Cristian Alejandro	315
OPPORTUNITIES, INNOVATION, AND LEGITIMACY IN PUBLIC-PRIVATE COLLABORATION. LESSONS FROM FRENCH PRACTICES Ariani Camilla, Donvito Giacinto	327
ROME CAPITAL REGION: REASONS AND SCOPE OF A DIFFERENT PROSPECTIVE Caudo Giovanni , Baioni Mauro, de Strobel de Haustadt E Schwanenfeld Lorenzo	352
EXPLORING IBA BASEL – ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF TRINATIONAL COOPERATION AND THE RESULTING PERSPECTIVES FOR THE POST IBA PERIOD Förster Agnes , Frieling Katharina, Thissen Fee Natalie	360
THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING METHODS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SPACES: A SYSTEMATIC CASE STUDIES REVIEW ON SUSTAINABLE URBAN GOVERNANCE Geddes Ilaria, Charalambous Nadia, Papallas Andreas	375
LIVING APARTMENT BUILDINGS IN ANKARA AND THEIR RELATION WITH THE CITY Gedikli Bahar	389
RESEARCH ON RENEWAL OF LEFTOVER SPACES BASED ON MULTI-ACTOR PLANNING Guo YUCHEN, Baykurt Burçin, Dai Shuyuan	410
CITY AS A TRANSFORMATIONAL TOOL. THE INFINITY CITIES OF IVAN LEONIDOV Lanini Luca	433
PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNICATION: CHANGSHA CHILDREN FRIENDLY CITY PLANNING, DESIGN AND ACTIONS ON MULTIPLE LEVELS Li Ziyue, Ze Zhang	444



Table of Contents

A MULTILEVEL URBAN LANDSCAPE MEASUREMENT FOR ZONING CONTROL – A CASE STUDY OF GUSHAN KAOHSIUNG IN TAIWAN Li Jouhui, Han-Liang Lin	460
THE ROLE OF CLIMATHON® IN THE CHALLENGE OF MULTILEVEL ECOLOGICAL PLANNING Lorenzo Viviana, Massari Martina	479
INTERDISCIPLINARY METHODOLOGY FOR RETHINKING THE URBAN LAYOUT VIA MULTI CRITERIA ANALYSIS AND INDICATOR APPLICATION Luciani Francesca Romana, Caccamo Alessio, Herzog Lavinia, Nigro Silvia, Tommasoli Lavinia	488
COLLABORATIVE PROCESSES AND SPATIAL PLANNING: THE NATIONAL SPATIAL PLANNING POLICY IN PORTUGAL Maia Catarina, Sá Marques Teresa	499
FROM TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOODS TO URBAN ENCLAVES: AN INVESTIGATION ON THE RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR RESIDENTIAL TERRITORIES Memlük Çobanoğlu Nihan Oya, Akkar Ercan Müge	514
THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORKING PLACE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS: THE CASE OF FASHION DESIGNERS IN ISTANBUL NISANTASI Olçay Gülsen Pelin, Mengin Hande	528
AN INCLUSIVE, MULTILEVEL PLANNING EXPERIENCE TO REGENERATE MILAN METROPOLITAN PERIPHERIES Pezzoni Nausicaa	545
CHARACTERISTIC OF FLEXIBLE SPACE OF TRADITIONAL URBAN STREET UNDER THE CONCEPT OF HEALTHY CITY: CASE STUDY OF MUSLIM SETTLEMENTS IN XI'AN Ren Yunying, Bai Shuaishuai, Wang Ruoyu	555
ASSESSING TERRITORIAL VULNERABILITIES AND SPATIAL INEQUALITIES: THE CASE OF PORTUGAL Marques Teresa, Saraiva Miguel, Matos Fátima, Maia Catarina, Ribeiro Diogo, Ferreira Márcio, Amante Ana	566
GRENOBLE-ALPES AND THE ECOLOGICAL TRANSITION: TERRITORIAL PLANNING IN MOTION Seigneuret Natacha	577
THE SPATIAL DIMENSION OF THE FLEMISH COVENANT OF MAYORS: A COMPARATIVE SPATIAL ANALYSIS ON THE TRANSITION TOWARDS ENERGY NEUTRAL MUNICIPALITIES Van Noordt Anneloes	591
SENSING OLDER PEOPLE'S LIVED EXPERIENCES THROUGH VISUAL IMAGES IN SINGAPORE Yuen Belinda	602
PRIVATIZATION, MARGINALIZATION AND REUSE OF WATERFRONT SPACE IN NEW TOWN - TAKING ZHANGJIANG SCIENCE CITY ZHONGSHI UNIT AS AN EXAMPLE Zhang Shuhan, Zhang Hanghua	613
STUDY ON THE CONSTRUCTION STRATEGY OF GREEN SPACE IN URBAN SHALLOW MOUNTAIN AREA—TAKING XISHAN MILITARY INDUSTRY COMMUNITY IN WULITUN AREA OF BEIJING AS AN EXAMPLE Zhao Xiyao, Zhuang Hang, Lin Qing	633

PA04 Teaching planning for the transition

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN THE PROMOTION OF SOCIO-SPATIAL JUSTICE Álvarez de Andrés Eva, Falleiros Frare Ulises	645
RESEARCHING SCHOOLS VS RESEARCHING WITH SCHOOLS. AN URBAN RESEARCH LABORATORY EXPERIENCE IN AN ITALIAN HIGH SCHOOL Aliberti Francesco, Avellini Elisa	654
RECONFIGURING TEACHING/LEARNING/ACTION/RESEARCH: APPARATUS FOR SOCIO-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION WITH/IN DISADVANTAGED RURAL REGIONS Baxter Jamie	661



Table of Contents

INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING - POLISH PRATICE AND DIDACTIC CHALLENGES Churski Pawel	679
TEACHING URBAN PLANNING THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION PROJECT WITH AFRICAN CITIES IN VERY FAST TRANSITION TIMES De Leo Daniela, Coralli Monica	694
A COLLABORATIVE LEARNING APPROACH TO PROMOTE POSITIVE INTERDEPENDENCE IN A “PLANNING SUSTAINABLE CITIES” COURSE Martinez Javier	699
TRAINING YOUNG PLANNERS AS EXPERTS IN PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES: THOUGHTS AND EXPERIENCES FROM PALERMO, ITALY Picone Marco, Schilleci Filippo	714
CREATING SHARED CONSCIOUSNESS THROUGH COLLABORATIVE EDUCATION: THE CASE OF MUNICIPAL AMALGAMATION IN UKRAINE Vlasenko Iegor, Thomann Urs	721
INCLUSIVE EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING AT GRADUATE LEVEL PLANNING STUDIO: A COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE CASE Waite Imge Akcakaya, Alkay Elif, Becerik Sinem	739
“COLLABORATIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOPS – A JOINT BRAZILIAN-GERMAN TEACHING EXPERIENCE FOR PLANNING IN VULNERABLE AREAS COLLECTIVE LEARNING ON PLANNING FOR INTEGRATION AND TRANSITION” Wolff Almut, Leitão Gerônimo	762
 PA05 Institutional change and regional transition	
THE ROLE AND THE FUTURE OF SMALL TOWNS IN THE CENTRAL ITALY EARTHQUAKE CRATER 2016 AND “THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE POSSIBLE”, PARTICIPATORY WORKSHOP FOR A POST-EARTHQUAKE DEVELOPMENT PLAN IN BOLOGNOLA Baiocco Ruben, Catalanotti Cristina, Ernesti Giulio, Barbiero Massimiliano	773
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. EU AND CHINA'S COMPETING SPATIAL INTEGRATION LOGICS FOR THE WESTERN BALKAN REGION Berisha Erblin, Cotella Giancarlo	779
BUILDING RESILIENCE THROUGH COLLECTIVE LEARNING IN PROJECT-ORIENTED ORGANIZATIONS IN INFRASTRUCTURE PLANNING De Groot Bert, Leendertse Wim, Arts Jos	795
IN-BETWEEN DYNAMICS. TOWARDS A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF SOFT SPACES IN REGIONAL PLANNING De Jong Martine, Hajer Maarten, Hoffman Jesse	810
METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE IN MEXICO: THE INSTITUTIONS Demerutis-Arenas Juan Ángel	832
“THERE IS NO WAY OF SPEAKING LOGICALLY ABOUT THIS MESS”: THE IMPACT OF ACTOR-RELATIONAL DYNAMICS ON INTEGRATED PLANNING PRACTICE Eräranta Susa, Mladenovic Miloš N.	846
REGIONAL INNOVATION AND THE NEW TERRITORIAL GOVERNANCE. FRENCH AND SPANISH CASES García-Nicolás Cristina	858
REGIONAL TRANSITION, TERRITORIAL DIFFERENTIATION, COMPOSITION FOR SUSTAINABLE TRAJECTORY Verpraet Gilles	872
SETTING UP THE NEW PLANNING SYSTEM IN KOSOVO - EVOLUTION AND INFLUENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT Gjinolli Ilir	891
RESPONSIBILISATION IN FISH HABITAT REHABILITATION AND STEWARDSHIP Gregory Kieran, Grant-Smith Deanna	912



Table of Contents

SPATIAL EVOLUTION CHARACTERISTICS AND THE PLANNING COORDINATION MECHANISM OF CROSS-BORDER REGIONS IN RESCALING Huang Yinbo	925
RESEARCH ON REGION GOVERNANCE CHARACTER AND MECHANISM OF SUBURBAN COUNTIES SURROUNDING METROPOLITANS IN CENTRAL CHINA Huang Yong, Sun Xuyang	937
SPATIAL GOVERNANCE AND PLANNING SYSTEMS AND THE CAPACITY FOR PUBLIC CONTROL OF SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT: A EUROPEAN TYPOLOGY Berisha Erblin, Cotella Giancarlo, Janin Rivolin Umberto, Solly Alys	951
ASPERN EXPLAINED: HOW THE DISCURSIVE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF INFRASTRUCTURE PLANNING SHAPED NORTH-EASTERN VIENNA'S URBAN TRANSFORMATION Krisch Astrid, Suitner Johannes	965
“OBSERVING GOVERNANCE FROM THE ‘STREET LEVEL’ AN INVESTIGATION ON FIRST ACCESS SERVICES IN BOLOGNA, EMILIA ROMAGNA, ITALY” Marani Benedetta	985
INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS FOR METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE IN LAC COUNTRIES. THE DIFFERENTIATED EVIDENCE FROM BOLIVIA AND BRAZIL Pioletti Maurizio, Royer Luciana de Oliveira, Urquieta Crespo Patricia	1005
TERRITORIAL PLANNING AND URBAN TRANSFORMATIVE CAPACITIES. PRELIMINARY REFLECTIONS ON THE CASE OF VALENCIA IN SPAIN Segura-Calero Sergio, Peris Jordi	1026
URBAN RENEWAL MECHANISM IN MINORITY NATIONALITY AREAS OF CHINA IN THE NEW ERA Shen Cheng, Zhang Xinyi	1040
GRAND PARIS OR ÎLE-DE-FRANCE? COMPARING TWO INSTITUTIONAL MODELS FOR TRANSITIONING TO SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORT IN THE ÎLE-DE-FRANCE REGION Singerman Ray Rosalie, Maaoui Magda	1051
GOVERNANCE AND POWER IN THE METROPOLITAN REGIONS OF THE RANDSTAD Spaans Marjolein, Zonneveld Wil, Stead Dominic	1058
ADVISABILITY OF REINTRODUCING THE BUILDING CODE DOCUMENT TO CANTON SARAJEVO SPATIAL AND URBAN PLANNING LEGISLATION Tabori Nataša	1081
THE NEW DYNAMICS BETWEEN REGIONAL AND URBAN GOVERNANCE: RURAL AREAS AS CONNECTION ELEMENT Torrìsi Luca	1100

PA06 Methods and technologies for transformative planning

TERRITORY AS MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA AS TERRITORY Aliberti Francesco	1116
TECHNOLOGY READINESS FOR CITIES: THE NEAR-FUTURE CASE OF AUTONOMOUS PASSENGER DRONES Donnet Timothy	1126
THE SYSTEM OF SOCIO-SPATIAL DIVERSITY MONITORING IN THE CITY OF GDANSK, POLAND Gralewska Anna	1133
URBAN PLANNING AND NATURE: PARAMETRIC MODELLING AS A TOOL FOR RESPONSIVE GREENING OF CITIES Lemes de Oliveira Fabiano , Hamdan Dana	1143
MAPPING THE LANDSCAPE OF BEHAVIOURAL THEORIES: SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW (SHORT REVIEW OF) Kwon Heeseo Rain, Silva Elisabete A.	1156



Table of Contents

A TRANSDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE ON CITY TECHNOLOGIES: TOUCHPOINTS BETWEEN INFORMATICS AND URBAN DISCIPLINES Lupi Lucia	1161
TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF UPCOMING CHALLENGES RELATED TO TECHNOLOGY AND DATA USABILITY WITHIN DESIGN PRACTICE. KEY REFLECTIONS FROM A COLLABORATIVE PROCESS IN AMSTERDAM CITY Luque-Martín Irene	1178
LANDSUPPORT, A DECISION SUPPORT SYSTEM FOR TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT Coppola Emanuele, Moccia Francesco Domenico	1192
A KNOWLEDGE-DRIVEN APPROACH TO URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS: DENSIFICATION STRATEGY OF THE CENTRAL PARTS OF BERGEN, NORWAY Roald Hans Jacob, Elric de Koning Remco	1203
SÃO PAULO CITY GIS PLATFORM: GEOSAMPA Seo He Nem Kim, Aguilar Carolina Bracco Delgado de	1217
EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBAN VITALITY AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF AMENITY TYPOLOGIES Sulis Patrizia, Manley Ed	1226
THE MAPPING OF HISTORICAL STREETS ON SOCIAL MEDIA: A CASE STUDY BASED ON IMAGE RECOGNITION AND SEMANTIC RECOGNITION Tang Haoming, Wang Weiqiang	1235
COMMUNITY-BASED DATA FOR A NEW TAXONOMY OF ABANDONED PLACES Garda Emanuele, Saloriani Stefano, Villa Daniele	1247
 PA07 Community-based planning and social innovation	
THE SELF-BUILD HOUSING IN MADRID (SPAIN): 40 YEARS OF STRUGGLE Álvarez de Andrés Eva	1257
NEW ROLES FOR ADMINISTRATIONS, PLANNERS AND CITIZENS IN THE SELF-ORGANIZATION VIEW Belingardi Chiara	1263
TERRITORIAL CONFLICTS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS. A REGENERATION PROJECT FOR THE RESURGENCE OF A COMMUNITY Caruso Elisa, Lingua Valeria	1272
CITIES AND SELF-ORGANIZATION. A DISCUSSION STARTING FROM ROME Cellamare Carlo	1280
THE SERIOUS GAME: A LEARNING TOOL TO ENHANCE THE COMMUNITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF SUSTAINABLE CITIES Cravero Sara, Lami Isabella, Abastante Francesca	1290
RESEARCH ON URBAN COMMUNITY MICRO-REGENERATION FROM PERSPECTIVE OF MULTI-ACTOR PARTICIPATION: THE CASE OF YANGPU DISTRICT IN SHANGHAI Fang Jialin, Yang Guiqing	1302
SENSE OF OWNERSHIP: APPLICATION OF PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH APPROACH IN CULTURAL ECOSYSTEM VALUATION PROCESSES IN CONTROVERSIAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS Fatourehchi Shabestari Akram, Ruth van Roon Marjorie	1323
LIVING SPACE RESEARCH IN TYPICAL RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF SHANGHAI Fu Yingzi, Wang De	1337
TRANSITION REQUIRES COLLABORATIVE WORK. DISCOVERING AND DEFINING ACTIONS THAT SUPPORT SUPERMIXED CITIES Huybrechts Liesbeth, Penninx Inge, Zaman Jan, De Mulder Sophie, Giaretta Federico, Tack Bram	1349
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY PLANNING IN CHINA Jia Shuqian, Cao Kang	1363



Table of Contents

ENTREPRENEURIAL NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING BASED ON MULTI-STAKEHOLDERS CO-CREATION Jiang Chenhan, Li Chen	1365
EXPLORATIONS ON THE ACTIVATION ROUTE OF GATED COMMUNITY BOUNDARY SPACE BASED ON COMMUNITY MICRO-RENOVATION—A CASE STUDY OF SHANGHAI Kai Xin, Yang Guiqing	1377
“STOP THE CHILD MURDER”: HOW A GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT FOR CHILDREN’S SAFETY FORMED A NEW PARADIGM IN URBAN DESIGN Katsavounidou Garyfallia	1397
URBAN MICRO-RENOVATION BASED ON ACTION RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: A CASE STUDY OF YIFENGLI, HONGKOU DISTRICT, SHANGHAI Li Qing, Lin Ni	1407
“THE ROLE OF ACTIVIST RESEARCHERS IN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING. ANALYSING AND COMPARING INTERNATIONAL CASE STUDIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE” Scaffidi Federica, Franco Monica Lopez, Mottee Lara, Sharkey Megan	1416
NETWORKING COLLECTIVE KNOWLEDGE TO FOSTER CHANGE. THE CASE OF SANSHEROES NETWORK (SAN SIRO, MILAN) Maranghi Elena	1434
LET’S MEET AT THE URBAN COURTYARD! THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN MICRO-SCALE URBAN REGENERATION IN KRAKOW Miskowiec Magdalena	1443
LOST OR FOUND IN TRANSLATION? TRANSLATING INNOVATIVE FORMS OF PARTICIPATION INTO FORMAL DECISION MAKING Ringholm Toril	1456
TRANSFORMATION OF GROWN CITY CENTRES Schaumann Elisabeth, Simon-Philipp Christina	1474
CO-CREATING COLLECTIVE IMAGINATION. HOW TO PRODUCE THOUGHT-IMAGES FOR URBAN REFRAMING? Schreurs Jan E.a.	1485
STREET-LEVEL DEMOCRACY? URBAN PROFESSIONALS AS PARTICIPATORY INNOVATORS IN NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING PROCESSES Van Aanholt Jelle, Spanjar Gideon, De Nijs Karin, Suurenbroek Frank, Majoor Stan	1497
PLANNING FOR TRANSITION AND THE MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMACY Wolff Almut	1514
CULTURAL STAKING: TRANSITION OF THE CORE PUBLIC SPACE OF RURAL SETTLEMENTS Yang Guiqing, Xiao Yinghe	1524

PA08 Theorizing urban change: complexity and ethics

REBUILDING THE PLANNING SYSTEM: THE TRANSITION TOWARDS PROFESSIONAL ANTAGONISM IN THE UPHILL BATTLE OF MADRID NUEVO NORTE Aparicio Angel, Arias Félix	1537
SEX (ROLES) AND THE CITY Belingardi Chiara	1548
MANAGING RELIGIOUS MEGA-EVENT IN A MUNDANE URBAN COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF MUSLIM EID AL-FITR IN HUXI MOSQUE, SHANGHAI Cai Tong, Zhang Ze	1554
THE RIGHT TO HOUSING: FROM OCCUPATION TO TRANSITORY COLLECTIVE HOUSING IN TURIN. THE CASE OF VIA LA SALETTE Cottino Valeria, Gai Veronica, Masetto Annalisa, Sacco Paola	1559
URBAN AGRICULTURE AND THE SOCIAL ROLE OF URBANISM: PLANNING AND ETHICS FOR COMMUNITIES AND TERRITORIES Marat-Mendes Teresa, Cunha Borges João	1569



Table of Contents

TOWARDS POST-HUMAN URBANISM Lapintie Kimmo	1584
COMMUNICATION THROUGH VISUALIZATION: THE PURPOSE, ROLE AND STYLE OF VISUALIZATIONS IN URBAN PLANNING Mikulcik Burcu	1595
DESIGN IN THE ANTHROPOCENE: AN OPENING TO THE OTHER Rispoli Micol	1603

PA09 Transition paths and urban futures

LANDING. THE NEED FOR A RENEWED URBAN VOCABULARY FOR HOSPITALITY (AND THE CITY) Bovo Martina	1615
UNDERSTANDING THE URBANITE-ORIENTED PERFORMANCE OF ECOSYSTEM SERVICE I N PERI-URBAN AREAS: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK Liu Shuang , Li Zhipeng, Yan Kai, Chen Chen	1625
SUSPENDED TERRITORIES AND WINDOWS OF OPPORTUNITY AFTER THE 2016 EARTHQUAKE IN CENTRAL ITALY Francucci Marco Emanuel	1637
LITHUANIA AT THE CROSSROADS: EXPERIENCE FROM THE ‘MAKING’ OF A NATIONAL SPATIAL PLAN Gauce Kristina, Ratkute-Skackauskiene Giedre, Jakutyte-Walangitang Daiva, Neubert Nikolas	1645
BREX CITY: CURRENT AND FUTURE URBANITIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM/REPUBLIC OF IRELAND BORDER Jefferies Tom	1660
BUILDING URBAN FUTURES THROUGH AN EXPLORATORY PROJECT: HOW CAN INNOVATIVE DESIGN APPROACHES BE USED TO REGENERATE URBAN PLANNING ROUTINES? Lavoie Nicolas, Abrassart Christophe, Scherrer Franck	1670
ADAPTATION. A METAPHOR FOR THE AGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE Magnabosco Giacomo, Bertin Mattia, Fabian Lorenzo	1686
QUESTIONS OF JUSTICE IN HYDROLOGICAL EXTREMES: ADVANCED REVIEW Savelli Elisa, Rusca Maria, Di Baldassarre Giuliano	1698
THE STRATEGIC DILEMMA OF AN OPEN AND CLOSED APPROACH OF TRANSITIONAL CHANGE. COMPARING THREE TRANSITION PATHS TO SUSTAINABILITY IN THE NETHERLANDS. Van der Wouden Ries	1710

PA10 Climate proof cities and resilient societies

URBAN RESILIENCE TO DISASTERS: A POLICY CASE FROM TURKEY Adikutlu Selin, Şenol Balaban Meltem	1726
CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACTS IN THREE REGIONS OF GREECE: INTERCONNECTIONS WITH REGIONAL PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AND PLANNING POLICIES Angra Dimitra, Sapountzaki Kalliopi	1734
URBAN GREEN SPACES IN TRANSITION: URBAN SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL RESILIENCE IN THE REGION FRANKFURT RHINE-MAIN—A REVIEW Bilgic Pinar	1754
A STUDY ON ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FLOOD PROTECTION STANDARD - A CASE STUDY OF DALI RIVER BASIN IN TAIWAN Chang Hsueh-Sheng, Katayama Takahiro	1770
CLIMATE JUSTICE AND INTEGRATED FLOODING RISK ASSESSMENT AND MANAGEMENT: A FRAMEWORK AND CASE STUDIES IN USA AND TAIWAN Cheng Chingwen, Chiang Li-Chun, Yao George C., Chou Wen-Jyun	1780



Table of Contents

LAND POLICY TOOLS IN FLOOD RISK GOVERNANCE: THE DIFFERENTIATED EXPERIENCES ARISING FROM THE BASINS OF THE RIVERS EVROS (GREECE) AND SCHELDT (BELGIUM) Delladetsimas Pavlos Marinos, Katsigianni Xenia, Van den Broeck Pieter , Hiergens Ide	1788
STUDY ON COUNTERMEASURES AND SPATIAL POTENTIAL OF CHINA'S COASTAL CITIES IN RESPONSE TO HEATWAVE AND FLOOD HAZARDS Feng Ning, Li Yang	1800
ERRATIC CLIMATE CHANGE PLANNING: THE GOLD COAST'S ALTERNATING TRANSITION Howes Michael, Dedekorkut-Howes Aysin	1821
ENHANCING CITIES' RESILIENCE IN THE FACE OF MULTIPLE CHALLENGES: ON-GOING EXPERIENCES IN ITALIAN AND GREEK CITIES Limongi Giada, Salata Konstantina-Dimitra, Galderisi Adriana	1833
FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF ECOSYSTEM SERVICE : A STUDY OF FUNCTIONAL REGIONALIZATION IN CHIAYI CITY, TAIWAN Lin Chia-Ming, Chang Hsueh-Sheng	1854
RESEARCH ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF "SPONGE CAMPUS" FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF LOW IMPACT DEVELOPMENT - A CASE STUDY OF JIANGPU CAMPUS OF NANJING TECH UNIVERSITY Ling Lin, Dai Shenzhi	1863
CONVENING REGIONAL CLIMATE COLLABORATIVES: A CROSS-COMPARISON OF US CASES Margerum Richard D, Adams Steve, Bruce Josh	1879
SENSING THE CITY: CLIMATE CHANGES AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGIES Fusero Paolo, Massimiano Lorenzo	1889
COOPERATIVE BRIDGES: THE ROLE OF RISK PERCEPTION IN CONSTRUCTION OF RESILIENT COMMUNITIES Monno Valeria, Frisullo Daniela	1895
BEYOND BARRIERS: EXPLORING THE FUTURES OF CLIMATE INFRASTRUCTURE ON THE VENETIAN LAGOON Toro Barragan Vanessa, Chan Collyn, Haney Elizabeth, Mohyuddin Azka, Ocampo Mary Anne, Ofsevit Ari, Purdy Bella, Smith Mary Hannah, Wong Angela	1907
PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE FOR CLIMATE ADAPTATION: THE EXPERIENCES OF THE "STRUCTURE-TERRITORIES" IN LOW AND HIGH DENSITY CITY Serreli Silvia, Sanna Gianfranco, Biddau Giovanni Maria, Spanedda Pier Paolo, Chemli Nesrine	1924
FLOOD: CAN MIAMI LEARN FROM VENEZIA (OR THE OPPOSITE) WASHER CHRISTOPHE	1941
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LOCAL CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION PLANS FOR NATURAL DISASTER RISK REDUCTION IN SOUTH KOREA Yoon Dong Keun, Cho Seong Yun, Choi Yeon Woo, Jang Jung Woo	1952
RESILIENT PLANNING OF CHINESE DELTA CITIES UNDER CLIMATE CHANGE Zhang Xinyi, Shen Cheng	1968

PA11 Urban metabolism and circular economy

CIRCULAR ECONOMY IN URBAN PROJECTS: A CASE STUDIES ANALYSIS OF CURRENT PRACTICES AND TOOLS Appendino Federica, Roux Charlotte, Saadé Myriam, Peupartier Bruno	1981
URBAN METABOLISM AND THE CIRCULAR ECONOMY , THE CAPITAL APPROACH Hunt Peter	1996
LOCAL MANUFACTURING SYSTEMS IN THE PIEDMONT AREA. NEW SCENARIOS FOR AN INLAND METABOLISM Leonardi Maria	2009
RESEARCH ON THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF INTEGRATED URBAN WATER SYSTEM PLANNING BASED ON WATER CYCLE THEORY Liu Feiping, Dai Shenzhi	2025



Table of Contents

THE GOVERNANCE OF THE CIRCULAR ECONOMY: INSIGHTS FROM THE VENETO REGION Church Jon Marco , Lucertini Giulia, Bellinato Giacomo, Guolo Erika, Pizzo Giovanna, Bonomin Giulia	2043
BRINGING WASTE TO THE FOREGROUND OF CITIES. TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE TRANSITION MANAGEMENT IN THE URBAN REGION OF NAPLES (ITALY) Berruti Gilda, Palestino Maria Federica	2064
DATA CENTER AND THE CITY: A POTENTIAL FOR URBAN SYNERGIES Ramos Cáceres Cristina, Sandberg Marcus, Sotoca Adolfo	2072
RETHINKING ORGANIC WASTE STREAMS AS METABOLIC DRIVERS FOR IMPROVING URBAN SUSTAINABILITY AND AGROECOLOGICAL PRACTICES Stempfle Sarah, Tornaghi Chiara, Reho Matelda	2081
PA12 Housing, gentrification and socio-spatial dynamics	
HOUSING POLICIES BEYOND NUMBERS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN PORTUGAL AND ITALY Di Giovanni Caterina Francesca, Antunes Gonçalo	2088
HIGH-DENSITY LIVING IN HONG KONG FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TEENAGERS Hao Pu	2107
REACH HOMES - A CRITICAL EXTENSION OF DWELLING Holden Samuel	2117
IDENTIFYING THE IMPACTS OF UNION STATIONS ON HOUSING PRICE IN KAOHSIUNG CITY, TAIWAN HSU Cheng-Kai, Chen Yen-Jong	2128
THE POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STATE AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES' ACTIVITIES IN RESISTING FINANCIALISATION OF THE HOUSING SECTORS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES Lis Piotr	2136
SUBURBS AND SUBSIDIZED HOUSING IN THE UNITED STATES: WHAT MAKES SOME SUBURBS MORE RECEPTIVE TO LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT HOUSING THAN OTHERS? McClure Kirk, Schwartz Alex	2144
GENTRIFICATION AND COMMUNITY-LED DESIGN: RENEGOTIATION AND LIMITATION OF THE RENT GAP IN THE UK Morton Tom	2168
ICD-AN ALTERNATIVE AFFORDABLE HOUSING INITIATIVE Nautiyal Nidhi	2180
HOUSES BEYOND-THE-THRESHOLD. A NEW PARADIGM OF HOUSING FOR THE THIRD MILLENNIUM Pezzoni Nausicaa	2196
HOUSING DEFICIT AND HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES: IMPLEMENTING COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP IN THE CENTRE OF SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL. THE CASE OF FICA FUND Pioletti Maurizio, Cymbalista Renato	2209
CHICANA NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVISM: GENDER, RACE, AND URBAN PLANNING Sandoval Gerardo, Sosa-Riddell Citlali, Sosa-Riddell Ada	2219
MASS HOUSING, RELOCATION, AND MOTHERS' AND CHILDREN'S RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION: EVIDENCE FROM ANKARA Severcan Yucel Can	2236
"RETHINKING PARTNERSHIPS FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING: PLANNING POLICY DESIGN NEXUS" Tsenkova Sasha	2253
DISPOSSESSION OF THE POOR THROUGH AN URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT IN NARLIDERE IZMIR, TURKEY Uysal Ayça, Arslan Avar Adile	2264



Table of Contents

THE POTENTIAL OF ALTERNATIVE HOUSING INITIATIVES TO ‘TRANSFORM’ THE HOUSING SECTOR: EXAMPLES FROM NEW YORK CITY AND BERLIN Yonder Ayse Nilufer, Brunzema Meta	2280
THE SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND SUPPLY OF URBAN AFFORDABLE HOUSING - AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDY Zhang Xiuning, Yang Fan	2288
PA13 Healthy City Planning: Food, Physical Activity and Social Justice	
EMERGING PLACES OF SOCIAL INNOVATION (POSI). THE CO-PRODUCTION OF SPACE BETWEEN MULTILEVEL STAKEHOLDERS: THE CASE OF PRODUCTIVE URBAN GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE Ardill Nicholas, Lemes de Oliveira Fabiano	2303
HEALTHY NEIGHBORHOODS ALONG AN URBAN TO RURAL GRADIENT Carver Rial	2320
THE IMPORTANCE OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND SPATIAL PATTERNING OF TYPE 2 DIABETES IN PUDONG DISTRICT, SHANGHAI Chen Sijia, Yu Yifan	2334
DOES THE CONNECTIVITY OF URBAN PUBLIC GREEN SPACE PROMOTE USE? AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF WUHAN INNER CITY Dong Yuping, Liu Helin, Zheng Tianming	2346
STUDY OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBAN MICRO PUBLIC SPACE MORPHOLOGY AND MICROCLIMATE Han Shanshan, Song Dexuan	2361
A RESEARCH FRAMEWORK OF URBAN SPATIAL PLANNING REGULATION BASED ON CARDIOVASCULAR HEALTH IN THE CONTEXT OF SEVERE COLD CLIMATE Li Shuyuan, Leng Hong	2373
THE CONSTRUCTION OF PEDESTRIAN NETWORK IN URBAN BLOCKS: A CASE STUDY Li Wenzhu, Sun Tongyu	2383
“THE REPOSITIONING AND URBANISATION OF HEALTH: NEW HEALTHY PLACES ALONG HOSPITAL-CITY-CONTINUUM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTHY CITY PLANNING” Maierhofer Magdalena	2395
PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN FAMILIES DAILY-LIFE OF SUBURBAN AREAS – THE CASE OF RIO DE MOURO, LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA Marques da Costa Eduarda, Franco Pedro, Marques da Costa Nuno	2406
HEALTHY CITY OF TOMORROW Nucci Lucia	2416
SHAPING CITIES FOR HEALTH TO CONTRAST THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE: THE CCHURE PROPOSAL D’Onofrio Rosalba , Odoguardi Ilaria, Trusiani Elio	2423
SUPPLY-DEMAND ANALYSIS OF PARK SERVICES FOR DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS IN COMMUNITY LIFE CIRCLE: A CENTRAL DISTRICT IN SHANGHAI AS A CASE Qiu Ming, Wang Min	2434
WELL-BEING, SOCIAL INTERACTION AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY: ENCOURAGING HEALTHY BEHAVIOURS THROUGH QUALITY URBAN DESIGN Sepe Marichela	2443
URBAN FARMING IN A RAPID URBAN TRANSFORMATION: COMMUNITY INITIATIVES AND POLICY CHALLENGES IN BANDUNG AND YOGYAKARTA Setiawan Bakti, Tuntung Pandangwati Sri	2451
USING SPATIAL AGGREGATION METHOD OUTCOME TO EXPLAIN THE INFLUENCES OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT ON HEALTH PROFILE Shen Yuanyi, Zhong Mengqi, Zhang Qinglai, Bu Jiatian, Yu Yifan	2466



Table of Contents

THE SPACE-TIME RELATIONS BETWEEN PEDESTRIANS AND STREET VENDORS: A CASE STUDY IN SUIHUA, CHINA Sun Ziwen	2473
WALKABILITY IN FLANDERS (BELGIUM): DEVELOPING A TOOL TO SUPPORT HEALTHY SPATIAL PLANNING. Vervoort Peter, D'Haese Sara, Verdeyen An, Van Acker Ragnar	2486
RESEARCH OF AN INDICATORS SYSTEM FOR THE COMPACT URBAN FORM BASED ON THE HEALTHY CITY CRITERIA Wang Yimin, Fu Bin, Zhang Haoyan, Yang Shaoliang, Hu Ying, Lin Zhongjie	2497
WALKING IN SHANGHAI: STREET PLANNING AND DESIGN BASED ON WALKABILITY Xu Xinxin, Zhao Xiyao	2505
THE INFLUENCE OF COGNIZED NEIGHBORHOOD ENVIRONMENT ON CHILDREN'S HEALTH AND OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES: A CASE STUDY OF SHANGHAI Zhai Baoxin, Zhu Wei	2513
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF URBAN HISTORICAL PARKS TO PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AND PUBLIC HEALTH: A CASE STUDY IN BEIJING, CHINA Zhang Sihan, Liu Xiaoming	2522
EXPLORING ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN STREET NETWORKS AND CYCLING FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SPACE SYNTAX: AN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH OF YANGPU DISTRICT OF SHANGHAI Wang Lan, Zhou Kaichen	2535
URBAN RIVER REGENERATION AS A TOOL FOR HEALTHY CITY PLANNING: THE CASE OF SHENZHEN FUTIAN RIVER Zordan Mirna, Villani Caterina, Zou Junyu, Talamini Gianni	2546
TEMPORARILY PEDESTRIANISED STREET IN HONG KONG: GOVERNMENTAL STRATEGY OF IMPLEMENTATION AND TACTICS OF APPROPRIATION Villani Caterina, Cheng Yu Hin, Zordan Mirna, Talamini Gianni	2559
 PA14 Planning for accessibility and sustainable mobilities	
COMPARING IMPLEMENTATION APPROACHES IN MOBILITY INNOVATIONS: THE ECCENTRIC PROJECT IN MADRID Aparicio Angel	2573
SUSTAINABLE AND CONNECTED INFRASTRUCTURE NETWORKS AND URBAN REGIONS – TRANSITION TOWARDS INTEGRATED PLANNING OF URBAN NODES ON TEN-T CORRIDORS Arts Jos, Van der Linden Kevin, Van der Werf Sjaak	2584
CARGO HITCHING AS A TOOL TO TRASFORM THE URBAN MOBILITY SYSTEM. INTEGRATING PASSENGERS AND GOODS TRANSPORTATION TOWARDS A MORE SUSTAINABLE, DESIDERABLE AND EFFICIENT MOBILITY Bruzzzone Francesco	2599
AN ON DEMAND TRANSPORT IN A LOW DENSITY AREA OF PORTUGAL - ALENTEJO Carvalho Carmen	2613
CYCLING TO SCHOOL: EXPLORING KEY FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOL-GOING CHILDREN'S MOBILITY CHOICE TO CYCLE IN TALLINN, ESTONIA Kask Õne, Tan Wendy	2621
HOME PARKING AND COMMUTING: EXPLORING NEW WAYS OF ESTIMATING THE IMPACT OF PARKING ON MOBILITY CHOICES Khazaeian Omid, De Roiste Mairead, Daghlish Toby, Saglam Yigit	2636
ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSE AND NARRATIVES FOR INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN TRANSPORT PLANNING Muhammad Imran	2647
CLASSIFYING GOVERNANCE INITIATIVES FOR AN EFFECTIVE INTEGRATION OF CAR SHARING WITH URBAN PLANNING AND TRANSPORT SYSTEMS Paganelli Luisiana	2661



Table of Contents

THE RELOCATION OF A CIRCUS SCHOOL FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MOBILITY OF ITS PARTICIPANTS Penninx Inge, De Mulder Sophie	2671
USING SNAMUTS TO PLAN FOR CHANGE: THE PLACE FOR ACCESSIBILITY MODELLING IN STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR URBAN TRANSITIONS Perkovic Jana, Stone John	2687
NEIGHBOURHOOD WALKING AS TRANSPORT, OUTDOOR RECREATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH Skjeggedal Terje, Vistad Odd Inge, Thorén Kine Halvorsen	2707
STEERING DISRUPTION: A BACKCASTING APPROACH TO GOVERN THE SPATIAL IMPACTS OF THE DIFFUSION OF AUTOMATED VEHICLES IN TURIN Staricco Luca, Rappazzo Valentina, Scudellari Jacopo, Vitale Brovarone Elisabetta	2722
BEYOND THE PLAN: METHODS OF TRIGGERING LONG-TERM CHANGE IN URBAN AND REGIONAL MOBILITY Förster Agnes , Strobel Eva	2732
ANALYSING THE RELATION BETWEEN TERRITORIAL FRAGILITIES AND ACCESSIBILITY: A FOCUS ON INDIVIDUAL DIMENSION AND NEEDS Vendemmia Bruna	2748
ENHANCING URBAN-RURAL CONNECTIVITY IN NON-METROPOLITAN REGIONS: A METHODOLOGY IN SUPPORT TO DECISION-MAKING Vitale Brovarone Elisabetta, Cotella Giancarlo, Staricco Luca	2756
‘STICKY FLOWS’ AND ‘PRODUCTIVE FRICTIONS’: UNTANGLING THE MECHANISMS OF STREET URBANISM Webb Jamme Hue-Tam	2769
PARKING PATTERN AND INFLUENCING FACTORS OF DOCKLESS PUBLIC BICYCLE: CASE STUDY FROM NANSHAN SHENZHEN Xie Zhaoyang, Liu Kun, Zhou Qingfeng	2796
“IMAGINING THE FUTURE OF MY NEIGHBORHOOD”: RESIDENTS’ PERCEPTIONS OF SUSTAINABLE MOBILITY AND REGENERATION AROUND METRO STATIONS IN THE CITY OF THESSALONIKI Papagiannakis Apostolos, Yiannakou Athena, Zachariadou Panagiota	2811
HOW COULD THE INTEGRATION OF LAND USE AND TRANSPORT IN PLANNING PRACTICE CONTRIBUTE ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE URBAN FORM? – BY A CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF KINGS’ CROSS AND OLYMPIC LEGACY IN LONDON Yue Yufeng, Shi Haochen	2822
BICYCLE–METRO INTEGRATION FOR THE ‘LAST MILE’ IN SHANGHAI Zhang Ze, Cai Tong	2846

PA15 Planning, Law and Property Right: in the face of transitions

RIGHT TO THE CITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND CANADIAN CITIES Agrawal Sandeep	2853
“TRANSPPOSITION OF ADVOCACY EXPERIENCE AS TRIPLE-LOOP SOCIAL LEARNING IN ALBANIA: FIGHTING HPPTS IN PROTECTED AREAS FROM THE VJOSA RIVER BASIN TO THE CANYONS OF OSUMI” Bekteshi Arba, Misho Erinda	2857
MONITORING AND ENFORCEMENT OF SHORT-TERM RENTALS RULES. MISSION IMPOSSIBLE? Calor Inês, Magarotto Mateus	2868
COMMON VALUE: TRANSFERRING DEVELOPMENT RIGHTS IN THE FACE OF CLIMATE CHANGE CHALLENGES Dyca Besmira	2878
URBAN-LEGAL PARADIGMS SUPPORTING POST-MILLENNIAL EVICTION: THE ROLE OF THE COURTS IN DISPLACEMENT PRACTICES Jahn Verri Fernanda	2895



Table of Contents

RESEARCH ON THE IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISM OF PRIVATELY OWNED PUBLIC SPACE - PLANNING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PUBLICLY TRANSFERRED LAND IN FUZHOU CITY 2008-2017 Jiang Hong	2909
LEGITIMACY CRISIS OF THE VILLAGE PLANNING IN CHINA AND ITS RESOLUTION Li Yanqun, Geng Hong	2916
LAND USE PLANNING, TOURISM INTENSIFICATION AND REGULATION OF SHORT TERM COMMERCIAL VISITOR ACCOMMODATION: THE CASE OF EDINBURGH McCarthy John	2932
EVALUATION OF THE LAND VALUE CAPTURE (LVC) EXPERIENCE IN THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL Nobre Eduardo	2940
UNINTENDED OUTCOMES OF THE MARKETIZED HOUSING AGENDA IN SWEDEN: THE TROLLS THAT NEVER WERE INVITED WHO WE NOW HAVE TO DEAL WITH Norén Bretzer Ylva	2948
NEOLIBERAL GOVERNANCE AND ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION IN KARABURUN PENINSULA, IZMIR, TURKEY Özcan Cive Yagmur, Arslan Avar Adile	2964
MASTERS IN TRANSITION? Rezac VIT	2977
IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL AND TECHNICAL INFRASTRUCTURE IN TURKISH SETTLEMENTS Subasi Gulden, Sence Turk Sevkiye	2985
 PA16 Tourism, public spaces and urban cultures	
INTERRELATION BETWEEN INCLUSIVITY OF PUBLIC SPACES AND SOCIAL COHESION: METAMORPHOSIS OF A HISTORICAL PARK IN ANKARA, TURKEY Akkar Ercan Müge, Oya Memlük Nihan	2998
WHERE THE STREETS HAVE NAMES Barbieri Lorenzo	3005
TRANSITIONAL APPROACH FOR ENHANCING PLACE-BASED AND COLLABORATIVE POLICIES, TOWARDS AN EVOLUTIONARY DIMENSION OF COHESION POLICY Bevilacqua Carmelina, Cappellano Francesco, Ou Yapeng	3016
SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURAL TOURISM IN HISTORICAL REGIONS: A CASE OF SHAOXING ANCIENT CITY BASED ON POI DATA Cai Tong	3029
“WHAT ELSE?”: COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISM-LED URBANIZATION IN SPITI, INDIA Chakravarty Surajit	3038
HOW WELL CAN PRIVATELY OWNED PUBLIC SPACES (POPS) FACILITATE SOCIAL INTERACTIONS IN TAIPEI CITY? A CASE STUDY OF THE COMMUNITY RESIDENTS’ DAILY LIFE Cheng Wen-Chi, Chao Tzu-Yuan	3061
ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH OF URBAN STREET FUNCTIONS BASED ON GIS: A CASE STUDY OF XUHUI DISTRICT, SHANGHAI, CHINA Dai Luning	3075
BY NO PLACE TO PUBLIC SPACE: A NEW RESOURCE FOR CAPUA De Biase Claudia, D’Agostino Irene	3084
THE IMPACTS OF SHARING PLATFORMS FOR TOURISM ON SPACES AND COMMUNITIES: THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF PLACEBASED REGENERATION PROCESSES Daldanise Gaia, Esposito De Vita Gabriella	3103
READING THE CITY THROUGH THE LENS OF URBAN STANDARDS. THE CASE OF PONTICELLI, EAST NAPLES Franzese Alessia	3120



Table of Contents

ANTIFRAGILE PRACTICES TO DESIGN SOCIAL DIALOGUE IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPACES Galimberti Beatrice	3131
RESEARCH ON MULTI-LEVEL PUBLIC SPACE SYSTEM PLANNING STRATEGY IN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BLOCK BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF “COLLAGE CITY” - TAKING BEIJING MOSHIKOU HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BLOCK AS AN EXAMPLE Gao Yu, Wang Ziyao, Zhang Yunlu	3146
URBAN PUBLIC SPACE DESIGN FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ENVIRONMENTAL BEHAVIOR - A CASE STUDY OF THE ROUND-CITY-PARK IN XI'AN Gu Taiwei	3157
THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL IN IMPROVING COHESION AND SPATIAL JUSTICE Su Yuqian, Guo Yuchen, Wan Lu	3164
MUSEUM OF LONDON - A CITY MUSEUM IN TRANSITION Hebbert Michael	3174
SUITABLE RENEWAL AND SPACE ORGANIZATION METHODS OF HISTORIC TOWN IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD: A CASE STUDY IN CHINA Hou Wenjun, Ge Tianyang, Yang Jianqiang	3192
THE STUDY ON SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS FOR AGING COMMUNITIES IN TOURISM-ORIENTED HISTORIC DISTRICTS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SPATIAL TERRITORIALITY Hu Ying, Lin Zhongjie	3201
SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AND PUBLIC SPACE - A CASE STUDY OF SKEPPSHOLMSVIKEN 6 IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN Jonsson Anna-Paula, Haas Tigran	3211
SUPPRESSING URBAN CREATIVITY: DISPLACEMENT OF THE ART SPACES OUT OF THE MAINSTREAM CULTURAL SCENE OF ISTANBUL Kahya Guzin Yeliz	3226
ALTERNATIVE URBANISM IN THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRE: A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON THEORY AND PRACTICE Akl Ameera, Kamvasinou Krystallia	3237
RESEARCH ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF URBAN PUBLIC SPACE VITALITY BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL RESOURCE SHARING--TAKING TIANLIN COMMUNITY IN SHANGHAI AS AN EXAMPLE Li Qianwen	3249
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CULTURAL PLANNING AS AN APPROACH TO BUILD CREATIVE CITIES Kattimani Raghavendra	3261
RECORDING, EVALUATING AND MANAGEMENT OF TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE, THROUGH A DECISIONMAKING MULTI-CRITERIA ANALYSIS Linaki Eleni	3268
THE RESEARCH ON FORMATION MECHANISM OF THE RURAL RED CULTURE TOURISM INDUSTRY CLUSTER AND APPLICATION --- REFLECTIONS FROM THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE “REVOLUTIONARY RESORT” XIBAIPO TOWN AND “GREEN DOT” DASHI TOWN Liu Shiqi	3274
“A STUDY ON THE DEVELOPMENT TREND AND TRANSFORMATION OF SHANGHAI AS A CREATIVE CITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY” Ma Xiaojiao , Wang Weiqiang	3287
UN HABITAT'S PARTICIPATORY INITIATIVE TO PUBLIC SPACE DESIGN INVOLVING RESIDENTS, REFUGEES AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES: THE CASE OF NABAA', BOURJ HAMMOUD, LEBANON Mady Christine	3299
ALONG THE RIVER CORMOR, RE-LINKING LANDSCAPES AND PUBLIC FACILITIES IN THE REGION FRIULI VENEZIA GIULIA Cigalotto Paola, Marchigiani Elena	3312
WHO LIVES HERITAGE: INVESTIGATION ON THE IMPACT OF TOURISM FLOWS AND HERITAGE PROTECTION IN THE USE OF PUBLIC SPACE Amato Chiara, Mondelli Francesca Paola	3335



Table of Contents

PUBLIC SPACE AS PROTEST SPACE: BETWEEN VISIBILITY AND INSECURITY Neumann Ute	3346
URBAN REGENERATION AND (OVER) TOURISM IN CHINA: EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE TRACKS IN SUZHOU'S HISTORIC CENTRE Nolf Christian, Wang Yiwen, Liu Mengchuan	3362
UNBALANCED DEVELOPMENT AND PERIPHERALISATION PROCESSES: A TESTING PHASE TO MAP STUDIES Oppido Stefania, Ragozino Stefania	3381
THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND ACTIVE LIFE-STYLES IN OLDER ADULTS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE LOCATION OF CARE SERVICES IN PORTUGAL Santinha Gonçalo, Wolf Jan, Costa Catarina	3394
NEGOTIATED PUBLIC: INVESTIGATING THE STREETScape OF BEIJING'S OLD CITY Sun Wenwen	3400
STUDY ON THE CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGES OF STREET CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES IN MINGCHENG DISTRICT OF XI'AN Tian Bowen, Lei Yumen	3408
EXPLORING PORT-CITY RELATIONSHIPS THROUGH EVENT-LED URBAN REGENERATION Tommaschi Enrico	3423
SPACES FOR TOURISM, VENICE PLANNING TOPOGRAPHIES Velo Luca	3435
THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF HISTORIC DISTRICT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SPATIAL PRODUCTION: A CASE STUDY OF TIANZIFANG, SHANGHAI Xu Hui	3444
CHARACTERISTICS IN THE SPACE RESHAPING OF CREATIVE CLUSTER DURING GENTRIFICATION: THE CASE OF TIANZIFANG IN SHANGHAI Yang Yi	3452
PRIVATIZATION, MARGINALIZATION AND REUSE OF WATERFRONT SPACE IN NEW TOWN - TAKING ZHANGJIANG SCIENCE CITY ZHONGSHI UNIT AS AN EXAMPLE Zhang Shuhan, Zhang Hanghua	3461
"PRELIMINARY STUDY ON THE RENEWAL STRATEGY OF THE NEW ESTATE FOR WORKERS:FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PLACE-MAKING" Zhang Yuwei	3481

PA 17 Urban and Regional economics of transition

WOMAN LABOR IN TRANSITION PROCESS FROM AGRICULTURE TO INDUSTRY SECTOR Çetin Reyçan	3496
IS THERE A HOUSING SHORTAGE? A POST-KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS APPROACH TO THE FINANCIALISATION OF HOUSING IN ENGLAND Grace Richard	3507
THE ROLE OF TAIWAN'S INDUSTRIAL DIVERSITY IN REGIONAL EMPLOYMENT GROWTH - A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON DIGITAL ECONOMY INDUSTRY AND CULTURAL INNOVATION INDUSTRY Huang Chung-Chun, Lin Cheng-Yi	3523
FINANCIAL OR SOCIETAL RETURNS? EXPLORING THE AMBIGUOUS ROLE OF INTERMUNICIPAL ENERGY COMPANY FLUVIUS IN THE ENERGY TRANSITION IN FLANDERS Juwet Griet, Deruytter Laura	3536
EXAMINING THE REGIONAL SPATIAL SPILLOVER EFFECT OF HOUSING PRICE IN TAIWAN - AN APPLICATION OF HOUSING PANEL DATA Chen Yen-Jong, Tuan Pi-Wen, Liang Yung-Han	3553
USING VALUE-ADDED HIERARCHY METHOD TO ANALYZE INDUSTRIAL SPATIAL PATTERN IN THE BACKGROUND OF ECONOMIC TRANSITION -- A CASE OF GUANZHONG PLAIN URBAN CLUSTER IN CHINA Wang Xueyan, Zhou Yeyuan	3565



Table of Contents

SP 18 Transition histories

PROGRESS IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY: PLANNING, BUILDING AND MANAGING THE MODERN URBAN INFRASTRUCTURES IN COIMBRA Calmeiro Margarida	3580
BACK TO THE PAST? TRAM CITY, MOTOPIA AND LIGHT RAIL COMMERCIALISM IN CANBERRA Fischer Karl Friedhelm, Weirick James	3590
ALBERTO SARTORIS: TRANSITIONS TO A POSSIBLE URBAN UTOPIA (1922-1989) Gavello Cinzia	3602
TWENTIETH CENTURY TECHNOCRACY - A TRANSITION ABORTED Hebbert Michael	3613
RE-POSITIONING AFTER THE FALL OF THE GERMAN WALL: WORLD TRADE CENTERS DEVELOPMENT IN CITIES OF THE FORMER GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: ROSTOCK, DRESDEN AND FRANKFURT (ODER) Leconte Uta	3627
THE TRANSITION URBAN PLANNING HISTORY OF LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA Marat-Mendes Teresa, Cunha Borges João	3635
NAPLES IN TRANSITION: A MULTIDIMENSIONAL DECISIONMAKING PROCESS FOR THE NAPLES PORT AREA SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT Cerreta Maria, Regalbutto Stefania	3656
WHITE REVOLUTION: PLANNING SOFT TRANSITION TO STATE SOCIALISM Zaferani Azadeh	3669

SP 19 Urban tourism, neighbourhood change and social conflicts

PLACING SLUMS IN THE GLOBALIZED TOURIST CITY: A PERFORMATIVITY AND ACTOR-NETWORK APPROACH Altamirano Eugenia	3683
WHOSE HERITAGE? CHALLENGES COMING FROM TURNING CITIES AS TOURIST PLACES Calmeiro Margarida, Gonçalves Adelino	3698

SP 22 Planning and designing green infrastructures

GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE: FROM BENEFITS TO PLANNING Alberico Simonetta, Vayr Paola	3707
THE ANIENE RIVER: A GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE TO SET UP A METROPOLITAN STRATEGY D'Ascanio Romina, Palazzo Anna Laura	3720
MILTON KEYNES: THE "FOREST CITY" Forget Malaury	3728
WHEN CONSTRAINTS BECOME ASSETS IN THE DESIGN OF BLUEGREEN INFRASTRUCTURES: AN INSIGHT FROM TWO CASES IN THE WESTERN PART OF FRANCE (LOIRE RIVER BASIN) Fournier Marie, Bonnefond Mathieu	3741
FARMING IN A CITY WITHOUT FARMLANDS. CADASTRAL MAPPING OF AGRICULTURE IN TURIN AND EARLY ASSESSMENT OF MULTIFUNCTIONALITY VIABILITY Greco Mirko	3749
LANDSCAPE AND ECOLOGICAL NETWORKS IN URBAN PLANNING: TECHNICAL STANDARDS FOR IMPLEMENTATION La Riccia Luigi	3771



Table of Contents

NATURE-BASED SOLUTIONS: NEW CHALLENGES FOR URBAN PLANNING Longato Davide, Geneletti Davide	3785
--	-------------

ECOSYSTEM SERVICE EVALUATION FOR LANDSCAPE DESIGN: THE PROJECT OF A RURAL PERI-URBAN PARK AS A NODE OF THE LOCAL GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE Allocco Marco, Murgese Davide, Quaglio Giorgio, Salizzoni Emma	3793
--	-------------

SP 23 Land development and management in post-socialist countries

ÚZEMNÍ PLÁNOVÁNÍ VS. GENERALBEBAUUNGSPLANUNG: A COMPARISON OF PLANNING CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES BETWEEN THE FORMER CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC Arzmi Azmah	3802
--	-------------

TOWARDS COMPREHENSIVE AND INTEGRATED LAND MANAGEMENT PRACTICES IN ALBANIA. HOW CAN THE NEW PARADIGMATIC SHIFT IN LAND USE PLANNING AND GROWTH MANAGEMENT FOSTER A POSITIVE IMPACT ON LOCAL FINANCES AND THE TAX BASE? THE CASE OF MUNICIPALITY OF TIRANA. Dhrami Kejt, Imami Fiona	3818
--	-------------

APPLICATION AND VERIFICATION OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS SPATIAL ZONING MODEL IN NEW TOWN LOCATION SELECTION Zhao Yujing, Leng Hong, Yuan Qing, Sun Pingjun	3839
---	-------------

SP 24 Home sharing. short-term rentals affecting local housing markets

BUILT COMMONS: RECLAIMING THE SHARING ECONOMY Petkova Ioana	3854
---	-------------

SP 25 Dynamic change, uncertainty and planning for adaptivity

SPONTANEOUS LIVING SPACES – DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS IN PEMBA (MOZAMBIQUE) A TYPO-MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS IN CHANGING URBAN ENVIRONMENTS Del Bianco Corinna	3865
---	-------------

SP 26 Space, citizenship and identity: the eu-mena region

THE JERICHO GATE PROJECT: PLANNING CHALLENGES AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES AROUND A MEGAPROJECT IN THE OLDEST CITY IN THE WORLD Isayed Mohammed	3883
--	-------------

SP 27 The role of the local in improving cohesion and spatial justice

THE PLA DE BARRIS: A REMARKABLE CASE OF PLACE-SENSITIVE TERRITORIAL POLICY Peverini Marco	3898
---	-------------

THEMATIC VILLAGES AS THE EXAMPLE OF NEO-ENDOGENOUS LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AREAS Tobiasz-Lis Paulina	3908
---	-------------

SP 28 Friendly spaces and mobility for ageing

ELDERLY PEDESTRIANS, AGED >65 YEARS, DURING WINTERTIME - ATTITUDES TOWARDS WALKING OUTDOORS, SAFETY EQUIPMENT AND EXPERIENCES OF FALLS. A COMPARISON WITH HEALTHY ADULTS. Berggård Glenn	3921
---	-------------



Table of Contents

OLD AGE-RELATED STEREOTYPES, INCLUSION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ‘AGE APPROPRIATE’ NEIGHBOURHOODS Fabian Carlo	3925
FRIENDLY AND ACCESSIBLE PUBLIC SPACES: THE VENETIAN CASE Revellini Rosaria, Tatano Valeria, Condotta Massimiliano	3934
MOBI-AGE: PROMOTING URBAN MOBILITY IN AGEING POPULATIONS Ribeiro Anabela, Bastos Ana, Brandão Alves Fernando, Cruz Sara, Cunha Inês, Martins João Pedro	3946
IS ACTIVE AGEING A REALITY FOR LOCAL POLICIES? A DISCUSSION BASED ON THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT Fernandes Alexandre, Santinha Gonçalo, Diogo Sara, Forte Teresa	3955

SP 29 Emerging spatialities and eu policy instruments: cases and perspectives

EU URBAN STRATEGIES 2014-2020: EXPLORING THE FUNCTIONAL AREA APPROACH Fioretti Carlotta, Pertoldi Martina	3966
HOW TO CONNECT FREIGHT LOGISTICS, PERSONS MOBILITY, AND SPATIAL PLANNING IN AND BETWEEN URBAN REGIONS? PERSPECTIVES FROM DIFFERENT EUROPEAN URBAN NODES ON TEN-T CORRIDORS Linszen Raymond, De Bruijn Martijn, Poppeliers Ricardo, Arts Jos	3980
THE PLA DE BARRIS: A REMARKABLE CASE OF PLACE-SENSITIVE TERRITORIAL POLICY Pezerini Marco	3992

SP 30 Facing migrants exclusionary urban policies

LANDING: HOW PRACTICES OF TEMPORARY HOSPITALITY CHALLENGE URBAN SPACES AND POLICIES Bovo Martina	4003
URBAN INCLUSION OF REFUGEES AND VULNERABLE MIGRANTS IN PORTUGAL Leiria Viegas Sílvia	4014

SP 31 Learning loops in the public realm. Enabling social learning in communities to tackle the challenges of cities in transition

TRANSPPOSITION OF ADVOCACY EXPERIENCE AS TRIPLE-LOOP SOCIAL LEARNING IN ALBANIA: FIGHTING HPPS IN PROTECTED AREAS FROM THE VJOSA RIVER BASIN TO THE CANYONS OF OSUMI Bekteshi Arba, Misho Erinda	4024
A PARTICIPATORY APPROACH TO SOCIETAL COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS (SCBA) AS A WAY TO START THE DEBATE ON TRANSFORMING RESIDENTIAL SUBDIVISIONS Custers Lieve, Devisch Oswald, Huybrechts Liesbeth	4035
EVIDENCE-BASED URBAN DEVELOPMENTAL: BEYOND THE URBAN ANECDOTES. THE NEED OF GOING BEYOND ANECDOTAL KNOWLEDGE IN URBAN PLANNING Forsemalm Joakim, Johansson Magnus	4044
CO-CREATION A WAY OF SUPPORTING DEVELOPMENT OF NEIGHBOURHOODLEVEL TRANSPORT INNOVATIONS Haufe Nadine, Großmann Astrid	4058
LEARNING THROUGH CO-CREATION: HOW TO SOLVE URBAN PROBLEMS WITH CITIZENS Keseru Imre, Pappers Jesse, Evans James, Astbury Janice, Condotta Massimiliano, Ravetz Joe, Scanagatta Chiara, Macharis Cathy	4068
PARTICIPATORY SENSING WITHIN CO-CREATION: IMPROVING THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT. THE VERONA CASE INSIDE THE LOOPER PROJECT Condotta Massimiliano, Scanagatta Chiara, Borga Giovanni, Ruggeri Paolo, De Maria Michela, Peron Fabio	4083



Table of Contents

SP 32 Planning and biodiversity

SOIL ECOSYSTEM SERVICES ASSESSMENT TO SUPPORT LAND USE PLANNING - APPLICATIONS IN ITALY AND A REFLECTION FOR THE FUTURE	4102
Assennato Francesca, Strollo Andrea, D'Antona Marco, De Fioravante Paolo, Cavalli Alice, Munafò Michele	
SPATIAL PLANNING IN VIEW OF NEW CHALLENGES: LAND TAKE AND SOME EVIDENCE FROM GREECE	4115
Thoidou Elisavet, Foutakis Dimitris	

SP 34 Spatial tensions: urban microgeographies for changing cities

MOTIONLESS MOVEMENT - THE BRAZILIAN URBAN CRISIS FROM THE CREATION OF THE MINISTRY OF CITIES TO THE GREAT PROTESTS OF 2013	4127
Andrés Roberto	
FEAR AND SEGREGATION: ANXIETY BEYOND THE GATED COMMUNITIES. THE COSTA RICAN CASE.	4139
Barrantes Chaves Karla	
LOFTS DISTRICTS IN MILAN. OVERLAPPING TENSIONS BETWEEN USES AND REGULATIONS. INSTRUMENTS FOR URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN	4147
D'Armento Stefano	
DESIGN EXPERIMENTATION IN A CONTEXT OF CULTURAL DIVISION: THE CASE OF AHMEDABAD	4159
Gualdrini Giovanni	
RESISTING GENTRIFICATION. SOCIO-SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF THREE WORK PLACES IN BRUSSELS	4172
Lenna Verena, Martin Sanchez Luis Antonio	
URBAN CRISIS STORYTELLING: IDIOMS AND FORMS OF CITY'S EQUILIBRIUM INTEGRATING THE UNCERTAINTY	4185
Pietropaoli Martina	

SP 36 Acsp-aesop special session: learning from Arnstein's ladder: from citizen participation to public engagement

ENGAGING NON-CITIZENS IN AN AGE OF UNCERTAINTY: LESSONS FROM IMMIGRANT-SERVING NONPROFITS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY	4196
Lee C. Aujean	
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY: AN EVOLUTION OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN SERBIA	4218
Peric Ana	

SP 37 Smart cities and regions informing the energy transition

THE NOTION OF SOCIOTECHNICAL SYSTEM IN THE PLANNING PROCESS OF A SMART REGION	4234
Balest Jessica, Garegnani Giulia, Pisani Elena, Secco Laura, Vettorato Daniele	
SPATIAL-BASED SCENARIO ANALYSIS FOR THE SMART ENERGY TRANSITION	4242
D'Alonzo Valentina, Vettorato Daniele, Zambelli Pietro	
THE ENERGY JUSTICE TOOL SUITE: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY AND COMPREHENSIVE METHOD FOR ENERGY TRANSITION TERRITORIALIZATION	4250
Henriot Carine, Artis Amélie, Molines Nathalie, Seigneuret Natacha, Antaluca Eduard, Lamarque Fabien, Martin Ewa	



Table of Contents

SMART ENERGY TRANSITION: EVALUATION OF CITIES IN SOUTH KOREA	4261
Lim Yirang, Edelenbos Jurian, Gianoli Alberto	
REVIEW OF DISTRICT HEATING SYSTEMS IN ITALY FOR FUTURE ENHANCEMENT	4278
Teso Lorenzo, Dalla Mora Tiziano, Romagnoni Piercarlo, Gasparella Andrea	

SP 38 Maritime spatial planning (msp) in europe: challenges in transition

CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES OF MARITIME SPATIAL PLANNING. PRINCIPLES AND PLANNING PARAMETERS	4295
Rampavila Mary, Avgerinou – Kolonias Sophia	
MANAGEMENT PLANS OF NATURA 2000 SITES AND COASTAL LAND USE PLANS: A STUDY CONCERNING AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO MANAGEMENT OF COASTAL ZONES IN THE SULCIS AREA (SARDINIA, ITALY)	4305
Leone Federica, Zoppi Corrado	

SP 39 Shrinking cities and sustainability

DIALECTICAL UNDERSTANDING ON URBAN SHRINKAGE AND GROWTH IN CHINA: TAKING THE OLD INDUSTRIAL BASE CITIES IN NORTHEASTERN CHINA AS AN EXAMPLE	4316
Hu Qimin, Yang Fan	
A STUDY ON CHINA'S COUNTY SPORTS CENTER PLANNING STRATEGY FROM SMART SHRINKAGE PERSPECTIVE	4329
liang Bin, Wang Yang	
DEINDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBAN SHRINKAGE. ACHIEVING URBAN SUSTAINABILITY IN FORMER INDUSTRIAL CITIES IN FRANCE: THE CASE STUDIES OF NANTES AND SAINT-OUEN	4338
Toura Varvara	
DISCUSSION ON THE FACTORS OF SUSTAINABLE URBAN GROWTH IN SHRINKING REGION: CASE STUDY OF EUCALYPTUS HILLS IN THE CITY OF SAKURA DEVELOPED BY THE PRIVATE DEVELOPER YAMAMAN	4357
Uemura Tetsuji	
TIME SERIES OF URBAN SHRINKAGE ELEMENTS IN COALEXHAUSTED CITIES: A CASE STUDY OF TWO TYPICAL CITIES IN NORTHEAST CHINA	4380
Zhang Jie, Zhao Zhiqing, Li Peilun	

SP 40 Regional design: impacts on territorial governance and planning practice

FUELLING ENERGY-TRANSITION WITH REGIONAL DESIGN-ATELIERS	4393
Kempenaar Annet, Pleijte Marcel, Van Buuren Michael	
LAND TAKE AND REGIONAL PLANNING: PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN REGIONS	4400
Wahrhusen Nina	
REGIONAL STRATEGY DESIGN – ADDRESSING TRANSFORMATIONS IN MULTIPLE WAYS	4410
Wirth Timo Matti	

SP 41 The darker sides of smart city development

DIGITAL PARTICIPATORY PLANNING TOOLS HELPFUL SIDE AND SIDE EFFECTS	4430
Shahin Anas	

WHOSE HERITAGE? CHALLENGES COMING FROM TURNING CITIES AS TOURIST PLACES.

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Abstract: The tertiarisation of society along the second half of the 20th century and the correlated growth of culture and leisure industries created an unprecedented pressure for change on historic centres, creating paradoxical relations between tourism, heritage preservation and urban development. This model of development provided a more intense cross-cultural confrontation, with the corresponding differences in recognition of heritage(s) values. This paper intends to discuss the transformation of heritage from 'shared heritage' into 'consumer good' cross-checking its effects on middle-sized cities Portuguese. The desertification, abandonment and degradation of the old areas created the challenge of their repopulation and their reuse. In turn, tourism has provided reuse of buildings and built new social and cultural dynamics, making it necessary to discuss how can one preserve the values and meanings of historic centres, and for whom. Recently, the Portuguese government has created fundamental changes in housing, rental and rehabilitation policies, with specific financial and legal instruments. However, their effects have not prevented the emergence of local challenges in housing law because of tourism, nor have they contributed to the promotion of new social constructions associated with heritage(s) understood as shared heritage(s). That is, public investment has not been able to enhance the heritage of the historic centres as good of public interest. For its part, the 'touristification' shows it has the power to catalyse its rehabilitation but implies changes that we intend to discuss focusing the perspective of who visits and who lives and assessing the losses and the gains for the communities.

Keywords: shared heritage, heritage-led development, urban rehabilitation, tourism

Introduction

The newest international urban planning policies defend a change in development from the urban expansion model to a densification model, evoking the return to the city. (UN, 2016) The purpose is to reduce the urban sprawl and create sustainable, inclusive and resilient cities, which requires a shift of urban policies to reinforce urban cohesion that needs, in its part, an increase urban rehabilitation.

However, the ancient urban districts, especially since the eighties, were abandoned by the urbanisation policies focused on urban expansion and got decayed. This process is unsustainable but also represents a threat for our understanding of ancient cores as centres of identities, since with the loss of their inhabitants, which have switched the traditional areas for the new modern neighbourhoods built on the peripheries, with larger streets and more comfortable houses, we assist to a loss of significance and importance in urban identity.

Besides the new agendas advocating the return to the city and the need to shift urban development to a rehabilitation model, in Portugal, the 2008 economic crisis contributed to foster these desired tendencies. The

media and the governments defunded the idea that the solution to the crisis would be the investments in buildings rehabilitation and tourism. (Diário Imobiliário, 2016). Consequently, a new wave of interventions in the old cores is taking place, mainly the rehabilitation of buildings for housing and hostels. However, they are being made without any integration into strategic planning for the development of cities, as advocated by technicians and researchers. Many of them applied questionable criteria, and despite regenerating some ancient areas, they are also contributing to their desertification by the abandonment of the few inhabitants that still live in these areas. Due to the pressure caused by tourism or by new social classes, mostly foreign investors, inhabitants are leaving and/or protesting. This change of user from inhabitants to tourists creates new challenges regarding the authenticity and integrity of this heritage.

This paper, focusing on the case of Coimbra, a medium size city, whose university was inscribed in the world heritage list, in 2013, discusses the rehabilitation policies being put in place in Portugal in the last years, trying to understand the real impacts of those interventions and the contribution of tourism to the rehabilitation and revitalisation of the old urban districts. Moreover, it claims that local cultural heritage led development may integrate tourism as an added value.

Urban development and decay of the ancient cores

Cities in Portugal, like in the rest of Europe, have suffered an unprecedented expansion in the last five decades. Due to some political weaknesses and wrong options of urban plans, together with the ease of accessing bank credit to build residential neighbourhoods on the outskirts, many cities doubled their perimeter. The new urban areas solved some of the housing shortages and created easily accessible services and equipment, but at the same time contributed to the gradual abandonment of the ancient neighbourhoods.

The simultaneity of the development model of the last five decades focused on growth, the excessive restrictions of building interventions due to heritage policy, and the lack of private investments to improve the living conditions on old urban districts led to the weakening of its physical and socioeconomic framework.

In addition to these factors, the displacement of trade and services to more accessible areas or large shopping centres built on the outskirts has also contributed to the same effect. Progressively, the old districts, centres of identity, were abandoned and occupied only by the elderly and the poor.

Some urban rehabilitation programs were created to control the raising problems of the old districts, including the provision of financial incentives and the financing of the rehabilitation of degraded housing. Alongside the implementation of these programs, most of the municipalities made some improvements to urban infrastructures and public spaces.

However, as shown by the fragile condition of most historical centres, these policies had very few results, except for rare cases of success, such as Guimarães, although using different methodologies. The reasons for this are several, but they are related to an understanding of urban rehabilitation as a policy associated with safeguarding historic nuclei, with a protectionist purpose only. This purpose made sense in response to the urban transformations of the 19th century but at the end of the 20th century and today, the pressures in the city have changed. Today the city and the country population is sharply decreasing, and the most concerning problem of the ancient areas is the abandonment and the desertification.

Moreover, the interventions carried out within these rehabilitation programs were restricted to building rehabilitation and requalification of the public spaces, always limited to the preservation of its image, disregarding the most significant weakness, the lack of people and the need to attract people.

Today the challenge is to attract people and maintain the liveability of the ancient cores; however, this can become even more difficult when we consider the demographic projections for Portugal, marked by a low birth

rate and an ageing population. According to the National Statistical Institute (INE) by 2060, the Portuguese population will have decreased around 40 per cent (INE, 2014). With this framework, the question might be who will use this heritage? Moreover how? How will it be appropriated?

The previous models of urban management policies proved to be ineffective in attracting people and containing desertification, likewise the consequent degradation of the physical and social environment.

Tourism, rehabilitation and urban transformation

The World Tourism Organization (WTO) defines Tourism as "the activity of persons travelling and staying in places outside their natural environment for [...] no more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes." (WTO, 2005) Although not a new activity, it has developed mostly after the Second World War with the stabilisation of the middle class and in recent years it has grown more sharply, mainly because of the increase of low-cost airlines, which have made air travel accessible to a higher number of people.

As for cultural tourism, ICOMOS defines "all forms of tourism that allows visitors to get an experience of the cultural aspects of the place of destination, their way of life, gastronomy, topography, environment, cities and towns, as well as their sites historical, cultural and artistic performances." (ICOMOS, 1999) In this sense, culture and heritage become a factor of differentiation, attracting people and investments, and through tourism becomes an economic catalyst.

Today cultural tourism has crucial importance for the economic development of some countries, namely Portugal, directly promoting sectors such as hotels, restaurants and handicrafts, but also for the preservation and valorisation of cultural heritage as a distinguishing factor of each city.

In fact, in recent years, in Portugal, tourism has been seen as an opportunity for development and enhanced some changes in urban policies. The first measures were local and municipal initiatives and limited to sectorial actions, improving public space, rehabilitating some monuments and creating a set of cultural events to attract visitors.

At the same time, the government has encouraged private investment in rehabilitation through tax incentives and by a set of political measures, mainly putting into force the New Urban Rehabilitation Legal Regime (2014), which has simplified the rehabilitation process¹, and streamlined the New House Rent Law² and the first Lodging Law³. Also, some other initiatives such as the strategic promotion of tourism with marketing operations stressing the country's excellent conditions, with rich landscapes, good weather, but most importantly the

¹ The first Urban Rehabilitation Law (RJRU) was approved by Decree-Law 307/2009, of October 23, amended by Law 32/2012, of August 14 and by Decree-Law 136/2014, of September 9. Also noteworthy is the publication of Decree-Law 53/2014, of April 8, which creates an exceptional and temporary regime applicable to the rehabilitation of buildings or fractions built for at least 30 years or located in Areas of Urban Rehabilitation.

² The New House Rent Law was approved by Law no. 6/2006, of February 27 and amended by Law no. 31/2012, of August 14, by Law no. 79/2014, of December 19 and Law no. 42/2017 of June 14.

³ The first legal regime governing local lodging was Decree-Law no. 128/2014. This decree was the subject of the first (small) amendment in April 2015, with Decree-Law no. 63/2015.

climate of peace and security, and the affordable costs of living for most European countries. Finally, and the most contested measurement was the encouragement for foreign investment, by tax reduction for those who decided to live and invest in the country⁴. This measure enhanced a wave of building rehabilitation works in the ancient cores. Despite the advantages of the investments, this contributed to the rise of property prices and encouraged the abandonment of the local population that could not afford to live in the ancient areas.

This policy had more significant effects in Lisbon and Porto the most prominent and more accessible Portuguese Cities. In fact, in these cities, most of the rehabilitation interventions were focused on the construction of luxury housing, much of it for foreigners. Between 2010 and 2016, the numbers of foreigner people living in Lisbon increased from 43 142 to 53 470 (INE |SEF/MAI, PORDATA, 2011). Moreover, the prices of housing for rent increased and for acquisition increased up to 25,2% depending on the area of the city (Idealista, 2017). The abandoned of these districts and the gentrification process is becoming a severe social problem in the two major cities, Oporto e Lisbon. Also raises the issue of the authenticity of these heritage areas where the population that forms the basis of its identity and local culture tends to disappear or to be replaced by tourists.

Besides, these interventions are based only on the economic impacts of tourism and made for the tourist to see. Also, the focus is to preserve the exterior image and renewing all the interiors, in some cases even disregarding the urban pattern by connecting several buildings to increase the building area and changing the typology and the structure of the buildings. Although called rehabilitation, these new processes have nothing to do with the urban rehabilitation that experts have come to define and to advocate. However, they are the result of processes of adaptation and urban transformation that need further reflection and problematization, because they are more than design options and demand a new responsible urban policy.

The rise of the housing prices caused social protests, contesting the municipal policies or the lack of them. They required “the urgent adoption of a national and municipal housing policy that favours and stimulates leasing, public and private, with rights and duties, security and stability”.

Coimbra. Alta and Sofia World Heritage

Coimbra is an excellent example of the difficulty of maintaining and attracting population to its old nucleus. On the other hand, after the inscription of its University in the World Heritage List in 2013⁵ (UNESCO-WHC, 2013), the city faces an exponential increase in the number of tourists and have begun a new dynamic with the rehabilitation of buildings in the ancient core.

⁴ We highlight some measures to attract foreign investment, such as the very favourable tax regime for Non-Residents (since 2009) and Real Estate Investment Funds, as well as the Golden Visa or Residence Permit for Activity program of Investment. The effects of these measures were most pronounced in Lisbon and Porto.

⁵ On the basic criteria (ii) Exhibit an important exchange of human values over a given period of time, or within a particular cultural area, on the development of architecture, technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design (iv) Offer an outstanding example of a type of construction and of an architectural, technological or landscape ensemble, which illustrates significant periods of human history. (vi) Be directly or tangibly associated to events or living traditions, ideas, beliefs or artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (UNESCO-WHC, 2013)

However, like all other cities, urban sprawl was responsible for the desertification of the ancient areas of Coimbra, in fact between 2001 and 2011, the population decreased around 20,4% in the four ancient parishes (Almedina, Santa Cruz, São Bartolomeu and Sé Nova), decreasing from 17 538 inhabitants to 13971 inhabitants.⁶ The opening of commercial areas in the new peripheral zones fostered this expansion, which resulted in the closing of the traditional commerce that characterized the Baixa, the old commercial district, situated by the river. Also, the construction of two university campus in the peripheral zone of the city fostered the displacement of students from the Alta area, that is, foundation hill where Coimbra's University is seated.

The desertification and the degradation of the ancient areas fostered some municipal interventions mainly in public spaces, improving the pavements and creating stairs or by technical and financial support to the owner who intended to rehabilitate their houses, framing these interventions in national support programmes. However, these incentives have not been able to reverse the depopulation trend.

In addition to these interventions, the municipality began to envisage a plan that would safeguard the ancient core and promote urban rehabilitation. In 2003 while the city staged the Portuguese Cultural Capital event, the municipality requested the University a detailed study of the physical and social characteristic of Baixa, to drawn up a plan. However, and despite this survey, the plan was never drawn up.

After years of abandoned and without policies, in 2012 was finally approved a strategic plan for urban rehabilitation of this, and another two areas, one for the riverside and another for Alta, including the University hill and the surrounding buildings. This strategic plan proposed a set of six objectives and defined a set of 30 structuring projects for urban rehabilitation. Meaningfully, two of the six objectives referred to the promotion of cultural heritage and tourism. The objective number five proposed *valuing the cultural heritage*, planning the rehabilitation of some monuments and particularly the revitalization of Rua da Sofia (a street built in 1537 to set the University) and the development of tourism, proposing an increase in the number of hotels in a specific area and the creation of facilities for tourists. (Parque Expo, 2012)

One year later, in 2013 the University was inscribed in the List of Mundial Heritage, and since then, the city faces a sharp increase in the numbers of tourists. This tourism has allowed the development of a set of private investments. However, at the public level, the approved plan and the structuring projects already built have not been able to encourage change and captivate more residents or even prevent the departure of existing ones.

While private investments are limited to the economic profit and do not question who lives in and who uses the ancient core, creating services for tourists use. Thus, the old residential buildings have given place to new lodging houses, like hotels and hostels. Only in four years, between December 2013 and December 2017 the capacity of lodging increased from 2348 beds to 3873 beds, this increase was sharper in the numbers of local accommodations, from 23 to 197 while the number of hotels increased from 19 to 20 hotels.⁷

⁶ The reduction o the numbers of inhabitants is not exclusively of the ancient parishes, but the decrease is much sharper, in the entire city the population decreased from 148 443 inhabitants to 143396 inhabitants, around 3,4%. (INE, 2011)

⁷ In December 2013 there were registered 23 local accommodations with capacity to accommodate 106 guests, while in December 2017 there were registered 197 local accommodations with the capacity for 1408 guests. Hotels, in 2013 were 19 with the capacity to accommodate 2301 guest and in December 2017 there were 20 hotels with the capacity to 2561 guests. (TURISMO DE PORTUGAL, 2017)

Similarly, the number of souvenir shops is increasing and replacing the local commerce and sell the same products sold in any souvenirs shop of any other Portuguese city, with no relation with the city, its unique values or its traditional products such as porcelain.

At the same time, the municipality has encouraged tourism by replicating attractions and events. Some are promoting the local culture, such as fado's recitals, gastronomy fairs and local folklore performances, others less typical, such as the mediaeval or handicraft fairs that are taking place in other cities.

However, the increase in tourism has led to the rise in the rents price and lead to the detachment of residents of these areas. Even the student rental market, which in the Alta of Coimbra was very important, is today at risk. The buildings occupied by students are giving place to local accommodations for tourists, and students are looking for housing in the periphery, next to the new university campus.

It is time to rethink what is happening and act before it is too late to do something. Tourism can and shall remain a driving force of Coimbra's development. However, local authorities must prevent the loss of the resident population. Otherwise, the old core might become an open-air museum or a large lodging facility.

Some notes and recommendations

Cities are much more than places of living, production, storage and socialising, they are attractive and consumer goods, mainly because of its distinguishing features and its built heritage. Tourism has become an essential activity for many cities. However, once tourism is primarily an economic activity, it should be considered that the city and its heritage by becoming a consumer product, must respond to the expectations and motivations of the market. In this sense, cities tend to become artificialized constructions (Ashworth, G. J. and J. E. Tunbridge 1990), such as thematic parks, replicating actions and models, such as "street markets", "ethnic neighbourhoods", "medieval fair" that we must counteract.

In the current competitiveness between cities, every city must be attractive, especially medium-sized ones (Gomes, 2012), however in a scenario of demographic decrease more than attract tourists; the older urban districts must attract residents. The resident population is the base of the ancient cores' identity and heritage.

The challenge is to establish a global vision for the city future and then define a policy and management framework for the city and its heritage that can articulate the various agents and articulate the development of tourism with housing, the central function of all cities.

Heritage-led development can be a driving force of local pride, enhancing the character of the neighbourhoods and increasing the attractiveness of a place to invest and live (Barrera-Fernandez, 2016). Besides, it is also necessary to reinforce rules for housing and local accommodation, ensuring the dynamics and variety of functions in these areas, thinking mainly in the more permanent residents; in their quality of life, in their needs, in their jobs, in their daily lives. Investing in public transport and urban mobility, in schools, in green spaces, in support for the elderly, in civic centres, in cultural spaces of proximity, create housing incentive programs with credit lines for those who want to live in these areas and develop areas of conditioned leases.

Also, drive policies that include those who inhabit and create this heritage, creating forums meetings, measures to listen to the needs of the residents as the participatory budget, among other initiatives. Moreover, involve the

<https://rnt.turismodeportugal.pt/RNET/Registos.ConsultaRegisto.aspx?Origem=CP&MostraFiltro=True>

communities in the advantages of tourism, for example, by preparing and sensitising the population so that they can be the tourist guide, showing the visitors their neighbourhood.

Moreover, the urban planning and management policies cannot be limited to the old centres but need to recognize the city as a whole, with a holistic understanding. Nonetheless, more than traditional urban preservation policies is required an integrated approach that involves physical, economic, social and environmental initiatives, in particular, consists of the integration of residents into decision-making processes, ensuring consistent governance, shared and inclusive.

Only in this way, it will be possible to respond to the new challenges that desertification and tourism are placing, especially since the nomination of Portugal as the best European destination for the third year (Santos, 2019). This designation promises an increase in tourism which can only be sustainable with local management and policy capable of driving the transformation of the current urban development, and then "people [will] have rediscovered their land after a long time." (Távora, 2003)

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Authors' Index (page numbers)

A

Abastante Francesca	1290
Abe Hirokazu	2
Abrassart Christophe	1670
Adams Steve	1879
Adikutlu Selin	1726
Agrawal Sandeep	2853
Aguilar Carolina Bracco Delgado de	1217
Akkar Ercan Müge	514, 2998
Akl Ameera	3237
Alberico Simonetta	3707
Aliberti Francesco	654, 1116
Alkay Elif	739
Allocco Marco	3793
Altamirano Eugenia	3683
Álvarez de Andrés Eva	645, 1257
Amante Ana	566
Amato Chiara	3335
Amirshekari Razno Salma	315
Andrés Roberto	4127
Angra Dimitra	1734
Antaluca Eduard	4250
Antunes Gonçalo	2088
Aparicio Angel	1537, 2573
Appendino Federica	1981
Ardill Nicholas	2303
Ariani Camilla	327
Arias Félix	1537
Arslan Avar Adile	2264, 2964
Artis Amélie	4250
Arts Jos	795, 2584, 3980
Arzmi Azmah	3802

Asai Yuka	2
Assennato Francesca	4102
Astbury Janice	4068
Avellini Elisa	12, 654
Avgerinou – Kolonias Sophia	4295
Aydin Gizem	21

B

Bai Shuaishuai	555
Baiocco Ruben	773
Baioni Mauro	352
Balest Jessica	4234
Barbanente Angela	35
Barbieri Lorenzo	3005
Barbiero Massimiliano	773
Barrantes Chaves Karla	4139
Bastos Ana	3946
Baxter Jamie	661
Baykurt Burçin	410
Beattie Lee	315
Becerik Sinem	739
Bekteshi Arba	2857, 4024
Belingardi Chiara	1263, 1548
Bellinato Giacomo	2043
Berggård Glenn	3921
Berisha Erblin	951, 779
Berruti Gilda	2064
Bertin Mattia	1686
Bevilacqua Carmelina	3016
Biddau Giovanni Maria	1924
Bilgic Pinar	1754
Bleil de Souza Clarice	21



Authors' Index (page numbers)

Bonnefond Mathieu	3741	Chang Hsueh-Sheng	1770, 1854
Bonomin Giulia	2043	Chao Tzu-Yuan	3061
Borga Giovanni	4083	Charalambous Nadia	375
Bovo Martina	1615, 4003	Chemli Nesrine	1924
Brandão Alves Fernando	3946	Chen Chen	1625
Bruce Josh	1879	Chen Sijia	2334
Brunzema Meta	2280	Chen Yen-Jong	2128, 3553
Bruzzo Francesco	2599	Cheng Chingwen	1780
Bu Jiatian	2466	Cheng Wen-Chi	3061
<hr/>			
C			
Caccamo Alessio	488	Chiang Li-Chun	1780
Cai Tong	1554, 2846, 3029	Cho Seong Yun	1952
Calmeiro Margarida	3580, 3698	Choi Yeon Woo	1952
Calor Inês	2868	Chou Wen-Jyun	1780
Camprag Nebojša	209	Church Jon Marco	2043
Cao Kang	1363	Churski Pawel	679
Cappellano Francesco	3016	Cigalotto Paola	3312
Caruso Elisa	1272	Condotta Massimiliano	3934, 4068, 4083
Carvalho Carmen	2613	Coppola Emanuele	1192
Carver Rial	2320	Coralli Monica	694
Casaulta-Meyer Simona	196	Costa Catarina	3394
Catalanotti Cristina	773	Cotella Giancarlo	779, 951, 2756
Caudo Giovanni	352	Cottino Valeria	1559
Cavalli Alice	4102	Cravero Sara	1290
Cellamare Carlo	1280	Cruz Sara	3946
Cerreta Maria	3656	Cunha Borges João	1569, 3635
Cerutti Federico	21	Cunha Inês	3946
Çetin Reyca	3496	Custers Lieve	4035
Chakravarty Surajit	3038	Cymbalista Renato	2209
Chan Collyn	1907		
Chandler Alan	172		



Authors' Index (page numbers)

D	
D'Antona Marco	4102
D'Onofrio Rosalba	2423
Daglish Toby	2636
D'Agostino Irene	3084
Dai Luning	3075
Dai Shenzhi	1863
Dai Shenzhi	2025
Dai Shuyuan	410
Daldanise Gaia	3103
Dalla Mora Tiziano	4278
D'Alonzo Valentina	4242
D'Armento Stefano	4147
D'Ascanio Romina	3720
De Biase Claudia	3084
De Bruijn Martijn	3980
De Fioravante Paolo	4102
De Groot Bert	795
De Jong Martine	810
De Leo Daniela	694
De Maria Michela	4083
De Mulder Sophie	1349, 2671
De Nijs Karin	1497
De Roiste Mairead	2636
De Strobel de Haustadt E Schwanenfeld Lorenzo	352
Dedekorkut-Howes Aysin	1821
Del Bianco Corinna	3865
Delladetsimas Pavlos Marinos	1788
Demerutis-Arenas Juan Ángel	832
Deruytter Laura	3536
Devisch Oswald	4035
Dezio Catherine	49
D'Haese Sara	2486
Dhrami Kejt	3818
Di Baldassarre Giuliano	1698
Di Giovanni Caterina Francesca	2088
Diogo Sara	3955
Dong Yuping	2346
Donnet Timothy	1126
Donvito Giacinto	327
Dyca Besmira	2878
E	
Edelenbos Jurian	4261
Elric de Koning Remco	1203
Eräranta Susa	846
Ernesti Giulio	773
Esposito De Vita Gabriella	3103
Evans James	4068
F	
Fabian Carlo	3925
Fabian Lorenzo	1686
Falleiros Frare Ulises	645
Fang Jialin	1302
Fatourehchi Shabestari Akram	1323
Feng Ning	1800
Fernandes Alexandre	3955
Ferreira Márcio	566
Fioretti Carlotta	3966
Fischer Karl Friedhelm	3590
Forget Malaury	3728
Forsemalm Joakim	4044
Förster Agnes	360, 2732



Authors' Index (page numbers)

Forster Julia	182	Gianoli Alberto	4261
Forte Teresa	3955	Giaretta Federico	1349
Fournier Marie	3741	Gjinolli Ilir	891
Foutakis Dimitris	4115	Gonçalves Adelino	3698
Franco Monica Lopez	1416	Grace Richard	3507
Franco Pedro	2406	Gralewska Anna	1133
Francucci Marco Emanuel	1637	Grant-Smith Deanna	912
Franzese Alessia	3120	Grassini Laura	35
Frieling Katharina	360	Greco Mirko	3749
Frisullo Daniela	1895	Gregory Kieran	912
Fu Bin	2497	Großmann Astrid	4058
Fu Yingzi	1337	Gu Taiwei	3157
Fusero Paolo	1889	Gualdrini Giovanni	4159
<hr/>			
G			
Gai Veronica	1559	Guo Yuchen	410, 3164
Galderisi Adriana	1833	Guolo Erika	2043
Galimberti Beatrice	3131	<hr/>	
Gang Liu	119	H	
Gao Yu	3146	Haas Tigran	3211
García-Nicolás Cristina	858	Hajer Maarten	810
Garda Emanuele	1247	Hamdan Dana	1143
Garegnani Giulia	4234	Han Shanshan	2361
Gasparella Andrea	4278	Haney Elizabeth	1907
Gauce Kristina	1645	Han-Liang Lin	460
Gavello Cinzia	3602	Hao Pu	2107
Ge Tianyang	3192	Haufe Nadine	4058
Geddes Ilaria	375	Hebbert Michael	3174, 3613
Gedikli Bahar	389	Henriot Carine	4250
Geneletti Davide	3785	Herzog Lavinia	488
Geng Hong	2916	Hiergens Ide	1788
Giambruno Maria Cristina	49	Hoffman Jesse	810
		Holden Samuel	2117
		Hou Wenjun	3192



Authors' Index (page numbers)

Howes Michael	1821	Kamvasinou Krystallia	3237
HSU Cheng-Kai	2128	Kask Örne	2621
Hu Qimin	4316	Katayama Takahiro	1770
Hu Shufen	62	Katsavounidou Garyfallia	1397
Hu Ying	2497, 3201	Katsigianni Xenia	1788
Huang Chung-Chun	3523	Kattimani Raghavendra	3261
Huang Yinbo	925	Kempenaar Annet	4393
Huang Yong	75, 937	Keseru Imre	4068
Hunt Peter	1996	Khazaeian Omid	2636
Huybrechts Liesbeth	1349, 4035	Krisch Astrid	965
		Kwon Heeseo Rain	1156
<hr/>			
I		L	
Imami Fiona	3818	La Riccia Luigi	3771
Isayed Mohammed	3883	Lamarque Fabien	4250
<hr/>			
J		Lami Isabella	1290
Jahn Verri Fernanda	2895	Lanini Luca	433
Jakutyte-Walangitang Daiva	1645	Lapintie Kimmo	1584
Jang Jung Woo	1952	Lavoie Nicolas	1670
Janin Rivolin Umberto	951	Leconte Uta	3627
Jefferies Tom	1660	Lee C. Aujean	4196
Jia Shuqian	1363	Leendertse Wim	795
Jiang Chenhan	1365	Lei Yumen	3408
Jiang Hong	2909	Leiria Viegas Sílvia	4014
Johansson Magnus	4044	Leitão Gerônimo	762
Jones Zachary	85	Lemes de Oliveira Fabiano	2303, 1143
Jonsson Anna-Paula	3211	Leng Hong	2373, 3839
Juwet Griet	3536	Lenna Verena	4172
<hr/>			
K		Leonardi Maria	2009
Kahya Guzin Yeliz	3226	Leone Federica	4305
Kai Xin	1377	Li Chen	1365
		Li Cong	95



Authors' Index (page numbers)

Massimiano Lorenzo	1889	Nolf Christian	3362
Matos Fátima	566	Norén Bretzer Ylva	2948
McCarthy John	2932	Nucci Lucia	166, 2416
McClure Kirk	2144		
Meijer Johan	236		
Memlük Çobanoğlu Nihan Oya	514	O	
Mengin Hande	528	Ocampo Mary Anne	1907
Micelli Ezio	132	Odoğuardi Ilaria	2423
Mikulcik Burcu	1595	Ofsevit Ari	1907
Misho Erinda	2857, 4024	Olçay Gülsen Pelin	528
Miskowiec Magdalena	1443	Oppido Stefania	3381
Miyake Saki	2	Oppio Alessandra	49
Mladenovic Miloš N.	846	Otsuka Noriko	2
Moccia Francesco Domenico	1192	Ou Yapeng	3016
Modica Marcello	147	Oya Memlük Nihan	2998
Mohyuddin Azka	1907	Özcan Cive Yagmur	2964
Molines Nathalie	4250		
Mondelli Francesca Paola	3335	P	
Monno Valeria	1895	Pace Michela	172
Morton Tom	2168	Paganelli Luisiana	2661
Mosetto Annalisa	1559	Palazzo Anna Laura	3720
Mottee Lara	1416	Palestino Maria Federica	2064
Muhammad Imran	2647	Papagiannakis Apostolos	2811
Munafò Michele	4102	Papallas Andreas	375
Murgese Davide	3793	Pappers Jesse	4068
		Pechhacker Julia	182
		Pellegrini Paola	132
N		Penninx Inge	1349, 2671
Nautiyal Nidhi	2180	Peric Ana	4218
Neubert Nikolas	1645	Peris Jordi	1026
Neumann Ute	3346	Perkovic Jana	2687
Nigro Silvia	488	Peron Fabio	4083
Nobre Eduardo	2940	Pertoldi Martina	3966



Authors' Index (page numbers)

Petkova Ioana	3854	Rezac VIT	2977
Peuportier Bruno	1981	Ribeiro Anabela	3946
Peverini Marco	3898, 3992	Ribeiro Diogo	566
Pezzoni Nausicaa	545, 2196	Ringholm Toril	1456
Picone Marco	714	Rispoli Micol	1603
Pietropaoli Martina	4185	Roald Hans Jacob	1203
Pileri Paolo	49	Romagnoni Piercarlo	4278
Pioletti Maurizio	1005, 2209	Roux Charlotte	1981
Pisani Elena	4234	Royer Luciana de Oliveira	1005
Pizzo Giovanna	2043	Ruggeri Paolo	4083
Pleijte Marcel	4393	Rusca Maria	1698
Polić Darko	209	Ruth van Roon Marjorie	1323
Ponzini Davide	85		
Poppeliers Ricardo	3980		
Purdy Bella	1907		
Q		S	
Qiu Ming	2434	Sá Marques Teresa	499
Quaglio Giorgio	3793	Saadé Myriam	1981
		Sacco Paola	1559
		Saglam Yigit	2636
		Salata Konstantina-Dimitra	1833
		Salizzoni Emma	3793
R		Saloriani Stefano	1247
Ragozino Stefania	3381	Sandberg Marcus	2072
Ramos Cáceres Cristina	2072	Sandoval Gerardo	2219
Rampavila Mary	4295	Sanna Gianfranco	1924
Rappazzo Valentina	2722	Santinha Gonçalo	3394
Ratkute-Skackauskiene Giedre	1645	Santinha Gonçalo	3955
Ravetz Joe	4068	Sapountzaki Kalliopi	1734
Regalbuto Stefania	3656	Saraiva Miguel	566
Reho Matelda	2081	Savelli Elisa	1698
Ren Xiang	75	Scaffidi Federica	1416
Ren Yunying	555	Scanagatta Chiara	4068, 4083
Revellini Rosaria	3934	Schaumann Elisabeth	1474



Authors' Index (page numbers)

Wolf Jan	3394	Zaman Jan	1349
Wolff Almut	762, 1514	Zambelli Pietro	4242
Wong Angela	1907	Ze Zhang	444
<hr/>			
X			
Xiao Yinghe	1524	Zhai Baoxin	2513
Xie Zhaoyang	2796	Zhang Hanghua	613, 3461
Xu Hui	3444	Zhang Haoyan	2497
Xu Xinxin	2505	Zhang Jie	4380
Xu Xiwei	290	Zhang Qinglai	2466
Xueyan Wang	301	Zhang Shuhan	613, 3461
<hr/>			
Y			
Yan Kai	1625	Zhang Sihan	2522
Yang Fan	2288, 4316	Zhang Xinyi	1040, 1968
Yang Guiqing	1302, 1377, 1524	Zhang Xiuning	2288
Yang Jianqiang	3192	Zhang Yunlu	3146
Yang Shaoliang	2497	Zhang Yuwei	3481
Yang Yi	3452	Zhang Ze	1554, 2846
Yao George C.	1780	Zhao Xiyao	633, 2505
Yiannakou Athena	2811	Zhao Yujing	3839
Yin Xi	290	Zhao Zhiqing	4380
Yonder Ayse Nilufer	2280	Zheng Tianming	2346
Yoon Dong Keun	1952	Zhong Mengqi	2466
Yu Yifan	2334, 2466	Zhou Kaichen	2535
Yuan Qing	3839	Zhou Qingfeng	2796
Yue Yufeng	2822	Zhou Yeyuan	301, 3565
Yuen Belinda	602	Zhu Wei	2513
<hr/>			
Z			
Zachariadou Panagiota	2811	Zhuang Hang	633
Zaferani Azadeh	3669	Zonneveld Wil	1058
		Zoppi Corrado	4305
		Zordan Mirna	2546, 2559
		Zou Junyu	2546





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