

Public Space, Tourism and Mobility: Projects, Impacts and Tensions in Lisbon's Urban Regeneration Dynamics

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Abstract

In the wake of severe economic slowdown during the 2008-2015 crisis, and despite continued constraints on public investment in large scale infrastructure, Lisbon is emerging as one of the most attractive destinations in Europe. Tourism has been driving major spatial, functional and social changes, initially in the city's historical districts, and nowadays exerts impact across a much larger urban and regional area. Tourism, together with new drivers of the real-estate market, is promoting the renovation of formerly vacant or rundown built stock, taking advantage of a rather fragile socio-economic milieu and changing the face of residential, commercial and public space landscapes.

Recently upgraded transportation nodes and extensive improvements on public space have also played a meaningful role in this process. Central government and municipality rationale have underpinned its role in providing accessibility, "attractivity", and "heritage valorisation", aiming to attract young residents after decades of resident population decline. In contrast to considerable public investment in public space and infrastructure, very limited funding or policy has been targeted at maintaining an affordable housing and real-estate market: thus leaving much of the public investment return to the private sector. Criticism of gentrification and "touristification", rising housing prices, and pressure on infrastructure is growing accordingly.

The paper provides insight into aspects of this process, with a focus on the relational aspects of mobility upgrade, public space renewal and inner-city urban regeneration. Several urban projects are mapped and broadly characterised in their spatial and functional relationship with tourism. An interpretative framework that combines them with the forms of territorialisation and the main conflicts and tensions is offered as a contribution to the ongoing discussion. Conclusions point to the complex and powerful role that public space and mobility infrastructure play in the impact of territorialising tourism: as supports for better qualified, multi-scalar and shared urban spaces and as drivers of a more balanced, diverse and socially-inclusive urban tourism development.

Keywords: touristification, mobility infrastructure, public space, urban regeneration, Lisbon

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Introduction

This paper outlines the emerging relationships between tourism and recently developed projects concerning infrastructure, mobility and public space in Lisbon. In the wake of severe economic slowdown during the 2008 financial crisis, and despite continued constraints on public investment in large scale infrastructure, Lisbon is emerging as one of the most dynamic destinations in Europe. Tourism has been driving major spatial, functional and social changes, initially in the city's historical districts, and nowadays exerts impact across a much larger urban and regional area. Recently upgraded transportation nodes and extensive improvements on public space have also played a meaningful role in this process.

In line with other experiences in touristic cities in Europe, such as Barcelona, Berlin or Prague, the *pros* and *cons* of fast-growing tourism are becoming central to critical discussion within the political agenda, in addition to academic and urban planning realms. Its contribution to economic recovery and urban regeneration processes, namely in formerly run-down historical districts, is seen vis-à-vis critics on gentrification and touristification, rising housing prices, and pressure on infrastructure.

Tourism can be approached as an economic activity in which multiple actors are engaged but also as a spatial ecosystem in which public space and infrastructure are structural realms. A brief literature review in this field is outlined in the next part, followed by contextual data on Lisbon tourism performance. The subsequent and third paragraph addresses projects developed in historical Lisbon districts since 2000. The fourth paragraph outlines key dimensions of conflict and tension in public space arising from Lisbon's growing attraction as a tourism destination, while following part offers a discussion on the forms of territorialisation of tourism in Lisbon's historical districts, and their relationship with transportation infrastructure and new mobility practices. Finally, some conclusions and implications for urban planning are drawn in the final paragraph.

Public space and the urban territorialisation of tourism

Research regarding the spatial organisation of tourism reveals relevant linkages with urban development issues. The reverse happens in a clear way as well, by acknowledging tourism activities as major drivers of urban attraction, economic progress and spatial regeneration (Roberts et al., 2017). As a complex field, it requires a critical approach in order to identify realms of conflict and opportunity, to better understand and inform future development, adaptation and policy-making.

Two lines of discussion can help us better understand the relational aspects of tourism and the spatial and infrastructural apparatus of cities:

- The spatial patterns of urban tourism practice and their evolving configurations, in regard to public space;
- The arguments relating to urban regeneration and tourism;

The spatial patterns of urban tourism practice and their evolving configurations

The emergence of tourism as 'mass-phenomenon' came hand in hand with the establishment of the Fordist model of economic expansion and technological progress

based on the associated 'mass-production'¹. In such a model, leisure and vacation became part of a consumer activity, itself geared to the overall industrial, labour and welfare apparatus engineered in the 20th century (Hoffman et al., 2003). A rather clear spatio-temporal duality between work and leisure shapes both the industrial city and the tourist destination. Under this paradigm, cities and their public realm played a subsidiary role as a sort of detour or small extension of other places such as beach areas, resorts and themed enclaves (Judd, 2003). Even in many cities with a long-established tourism reputation, such as Rome, Paris or Vienna, monuments and museums were once the cornerstone of visitor attractions. In these cases, the distribution of visitors, the spaces they occupied and the time they spent there formed an archipelago to be toured in packages, often resorting to pre-arranged schedules and transportation.

That duality between work and leisure, even if rather generic, starts to be eroded as part of a wider post-industrial transition. Not only Fordist socio-economic fundamentals are challenged by increased behavioural individualisation, productive reorganisation and economic globalisation (Ascher, 1995; Castells, 1996), but so are spatial and functional apparatus that supported travel and visitor practices. The extraordinary development of air travel with lowering costs and expanding connections allowed for a much wider horizon (Spasojevic et al., 2018; Vera Rebollo and Ivars Baidal, 2009). The quest for different and unique experiences resulted in the exploitation of new, distant and exotic destinations, but also in the growing competition between cities to stage events and provide various amenities for a highly diverse target market of travellers. Two categories of tourism apparatus may be highlighted:

- the *hypertourism* apparatus (Costa, 1995), in which attractions are devised in themed, enclaved (mega-malls, amusement parks, resorts, casino complexes, completely touristified heritage sites such as Venice) and media-constructed spaces;
- *Territorialised* tourism, in which multi-functional stimuli shape the visitor landscape, where ever-changing relational and sometimes collaborative configurations (Costa and Martinotti, 2003) are established between visitors, city users and residents.

Under these circumstances, the diversification of demand is met by the diversification of offer. In terms of urban spaces, the attraction of monumental sites and classical landmarks is now seen as part of a broader experience, in which places with contrasting characteristics may be featured alongside their having attraction potential. Former industrial sites, old port waterfronts or major railroad infrastructures were some of the most visible faces of post-industrial urban scenarios that were discovered as having considerable potential for tourism (Bhati et al., 2014; Jonsen-Verbeke, 1999; Pardo Abad, 2017). On the other hand, socially deprived, traffic-jammed or services-oriented city centres were rediscovered as places of identity and socio-cultural potential (Tegtmeyer, 2015). Tourism rationales have become increasingly entangled with a more sensitive approach to cultural specificities.

Multi-motivated tourists (Costa and Martinotti, 2003) explore variegated forms of appropriation and interaction in a given place. Previous dualities are blurred as the

¹ Following the definition of Tolliday, Steven and Jonathan Zeitlin (1987) *The Automobile Industry and its Workers: Between Fordism and Flexibility*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1–2.

spatio-temporalities of work and recreation give way to far more fluid intermingling, sometimes staged as multicultural ethnoscapas (Shaw et al., 2004). Imagine visitors coming to town for a conference or a business meeting, sharing a late afternoon drink on a belvedere with a fine view, in the company of a group of local residents meeting with friends who work in the city but live 20 km away in the metropolis. They are later taken to a music concert-hall designed by a renowned architect, where they meet a couple of Asian architecture enthusiasts having a guided tour around the building's less-known intricate spaces. Their guide is an international student connected to a small local operator which organises tailor-made visiting tours (Bryon, 2012) resorting to internet and mobile apps (Femenia-Serra et al., 2018; Lu et al., 2015). All tours start from the newly refurbished marketplace (Dimitrovski and Crespi Vallbona, 2018; Guimarães, 2018), where vegetable and fruit sellers lend their charm and proffer ingredients to their small food stalls and the neighbouring residents.

This scene reveals different faces of a now usual urban landscape of practices. Post-industrial tourism can thus be metaphorically seen as a sort of bricolage experience (Judd, 2003), either tailor-made for affluent tourists, based on small-scale products available in urban space, or even assembled piece-by-piece by travellers with lower budgets who seek their own path of discovery. Cultural and creative industries intermingle with tourism attractions (Baptista et al., 2018; Jones, 2017), as part of urban competition strategies (Richards, 2014) and alternatives to conventional touristic products (Ebejer, 2019).

The arguments relating public space and infrastructure with tourism and urban regeneration

When conceived as part of urban regeneration strategies, tourism programming becomes closely associated with the various dimensions of urban planning and development control (Shoval, 2018), namely the rules surrounding accommodation and commercial activities, the definition of priorities regarding the public realm (amenities, safety, and landscape quality) and public urban facilities. Additionally, the role of tourism in public policy is engaged with the complex forms of governance and community involvement (Nofre et al., 2018), as well as more recent issues such as climate change (Pang et al., 2013).

As noted by Costa and Martinotti (2003), tourism has acquired a strategic function in local development policies, replacing industry as the economic backbone and employment driver of many cities. In a service-based economy, consumption and recreation are particularly attractive in the redevelopment of former industrial and infrastructural sites. The discourses surrounding environmental awareness, leisure fruition and employment recovery have driven many large-scale interventions to find new uses for such run-down territories. However, when faced with rationales largely determined by market forces, these discourses quickly turn into highly problematic fields of conflict and contradiction (Hayllar et al., 2008; Moufakkir and Burns, 2011; Spirou, 2011; Wilson and Tallon, 2012). Touristification, gentrification and commodification are some of the critical concepts used to triangulate the complex inter-dependency between tourism, urban development and the socio-cultural realm (Cocola-Gant, 2018). Either seen as a panacea to tackle urban distress or as an engine to drive urban

economy, tourism is as prone as any other activity to the limits and thresholds of sustainability. Just as productive activities do, tourism draws on a multi-dimensional set of resources: spatial, environmental, human and cultural. In cities, these resources are hardly managed as a quantifiable and controllable stock. They are interwoven between the material and immaterial (Costa and Martinotti, 2003); they are co-constructed by many players, both locals and outsiders; and they may be reinvented and newly produced just as they may be jeopardised by conjectural and unexpected factors (i.e. the impact of terrorism, socio-political uprisings or natural hazards) (Ingersoll, 2006; Ooi et al., 2018; Yaya, 2009).

Taking urban mega-events as research cases to address patterns of urban tourism, van den Berg *et al* (2002), argued for the existence of a European model that differs from the enclave-oriented American model. Given their social and historical stratification, European cities tend to better intermingle tourism spaces with the ordinary city fabric, making large displacement of residents or cultural friction a less common event. However, even cities such as Barcelona, which boast strong civic engagement and a sensible approach to the public realm (Capel, 2007; Smith, 2005), are seen as victims of an over-exploited resource — its own public realm (Díaz-Parra, 2015; Jover and Díaz-Parra, 2019). In the context of economic slow-down or retraction, the temptation to exploit the city's capital of attraction through a rather de-regulated model which replaces public commitment and strategic investment in key infrastructure with shorter-term and piece-meal initiatives, is a potentially dangerous risk (Jóhannesson and Huijbens, 2010; Tulumello, 2016). Such risk stems from the commoditisation of everything relatable to tourism. Besides what Spirou calls the commodification of pleasure (Spirou, 2011), one may recall other spatialised forms of commodification: networks, infrastructure and urban amenities, and urban space or culture.

The provision of (local) infrastructure and its (global) connection as a support for tourism is probably one such area in which frail balances between commodification and the maintenance of public status are closely associated with the process of decision-making in urban planning. Critics regarding physical, social and economic barriers that impact on individuals' capacity to inhabit and enjoy a culturally rich, shared and democratic public space (Bravo, 2018) points to the unequal socio-spatial development (Saarinen, 2017) that occurs as a consequence of splintered urban networks and infrastructural configurations (Graham and Marvin, 2001): dedicated/premium/segregated links to airports, cruise terminals or to office and R&D campuses with a number of exclusive facilities and urban scenarios.

In multi-functional cities maintaining traditionally high levels of continuity and functional co-existence — exemplified by southern Europe — these splintered configurations seem less likely to appear (Solà-Morales, 2004). Nevertheless, they are still prone to less extreme forms of differentiated infrastructural provision. Dedicated management entities (for example *Parque Expo* — a dedicated company which managed public space and ran urban facilities in the former Expo 98 site in Lisbon, from 1998 until 2014), control accessibility to the inner-city districts via tolls, surveillance, car pollution restrictions or the privatisation of urban infrastructure: a recurrent practice in many cities with a prominent public sector (Mendes, 2013a).

Despite a growing acknowledgement of a much more diversified range of city visitors' interests, a safe, clean, well-kept and well-connected urban environment remains a key

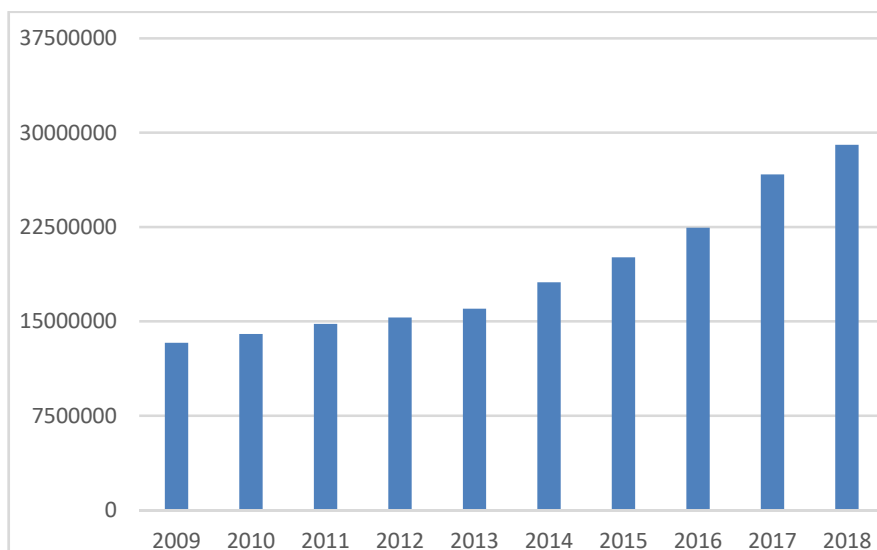
factor in attracting tourists. Specific niches of tourism may also be drawn to peripheral, off-track spaces which are better embedded in a city's local socio-cultural fabric. With this in mind, it is important to highlight Michael Carmona's argument that public space is a highly heterogeneous and diverse mosaic of spatial types, which stands in relation to the equally heterogeneous, diverse and subjective values systems held by its users, critics and policy-makers alike (Carmona, 2015). Carmona's nuanced "new narrative" regarding "good public spaces" (Carmona, 2015:339) as *evolving (sometimes neglected), balanced (positively invaded), diverse (not intentionally exclusionary), delineated (not segregated), social (sometimes insular), free (public or privatised), engaging (embracing consumption), meaningful (often invented), comfortable (confronting scary space), robust (resisting homogenisation)*, shades a more complex perspective — open for contradiction — on the assessment of public space, urban regeneration and tourism triangulation.

Lisbon's emerging tourism landscape

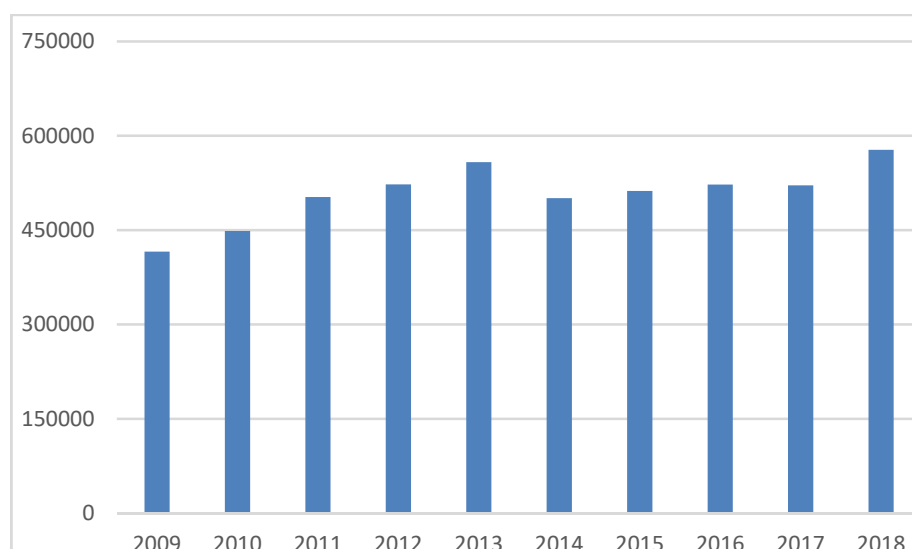
After being host to initial flagship projects which boasted high international visibility, such as the Lisbon 94 - European City of Culture, the 1998 World Exposition and the 2004 UEFA European Championship, Lisbon became an increasingly sought-after tourist destination on the European scene. These projects brought considerable change to the city's infrastructure and spatial amenities, through a strong commitment to the valorisation of urban heritage, public space and cultural venues. International visibility combined with attractive local conditions (relatively affordable prices, mild climate, strong identity, remarkable heritage and landscape sites, friendliness and safety, diversified and cosmopolitan leisure and nightlife offer) resulted in a steady increase in the number of international visitors, visible both in the growing attractiveness of the airport (Graph 1) and the rise in cruise ship passengers in the city's port (Graph 2).

Graph 1. Passenger movement in Lisbon airport.

Source: ANA (Aerportos e Navegação Aérea), commercial movement statistics, 2009-2018



Graph 2. Cruise ship passengers in the Port of Lisbon. Source: APL (Administração do Porto de Lisboa), port activity statistics, 2009-2018

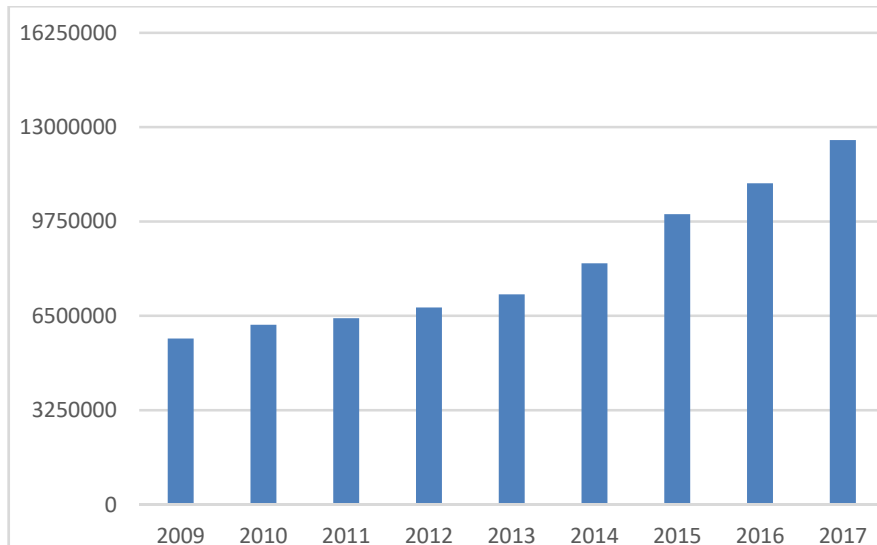


During the last decade, Lisbon's tourism sector has boomed, with overnight stays in the city more than doubling (Graph 3) between 2009 and 2017. This coincided with the emergence of new drivers of tourism on the national and local scene which became major vehicles of attraction: the cruise ship market, the low cost airline operators, and the hostel and short-term rental sectors (JLL, 2015). City-breaks are currently the most important tourism category in Lisbon, and benefit from the easy access, convenience and diversity Lisbon offers, along with a rather unique blend of European and Mediterranean culture. The city's booming touristic performance needs to be viewed in relation to the severe austerity it endured, particularly between 2011 and 2015, in addition to the economic, political and institutional changes that emerged as a result (Seixas et al., 2015; Seixas and Guterres, 2019). During this period, tourism was virtually the only major economic sector in Lisbon in which high growth rates could be observed and as such was a key driver of economic recovery. One of the most expressive signs of this growth is the conversion of residential homes into short-term rental properties (i.e. Airbnb and other platforms) (Graph 4), which has had a powerful impact across the city and metropolitan areas (Fernandes et al., 2019).

Since 2015, the real-estate market has been growing exponentially. Firstly in Lisbon's historical districts, which saw a doubling in housing prices from 2013 to 2017 (Confidencial Imobiliário, 2018), as a result of a combination of various market and legal factors (Baptista et al., 2018; Mendes, 2017), namely: 1) the liberalisation of the housing and commercial renting market (Decree-Law n. 6/2006 of 27 February, followed by Decree-Law n. 31/2012 of 31 August), 2) the introduction of a legal framework for local short-term rental (Decree-Law n. 39/2008 of 7 March and Decree-Law n. 128/2014 of 28 August), 3) the easing of visa exemption for foreign investors willing to invest more than €500.000 (Regulatory Decree n. 15-A/2015).

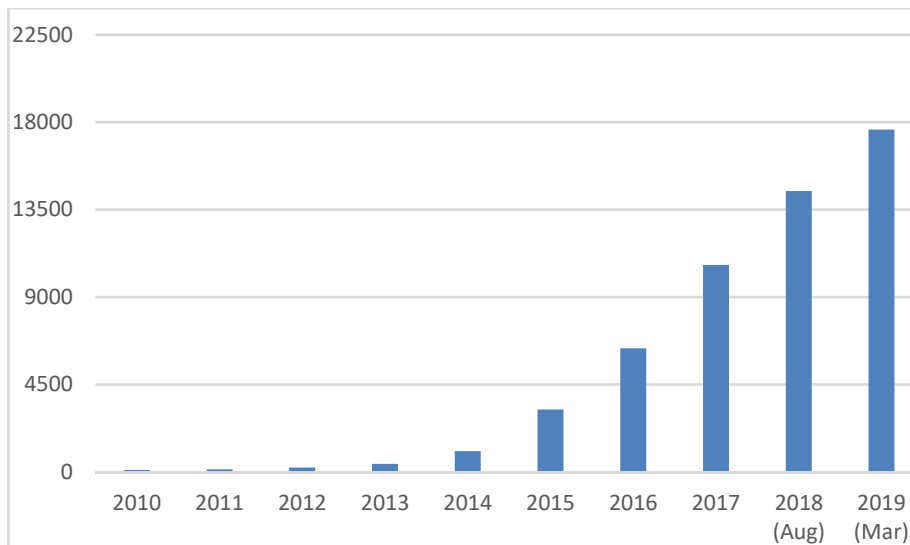
Graph 3. Overnight stays in Lisbon (city).

Source: INE (National Institute of Statistics), hotel overnight stays survey, 2009-2017



Graph 4. Local accommodation (short-term rental) in Lisbon (city).

Source: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2018, urbanistic study of tourism in Lisbon



Tourist offer is still mainly centred on conventional city landmarks, such as the historical districts and the monumental civil parish Belém. But this has also been successfully diversified to include other attractions such as Lisbon's immaterial cultural heritage (*Fado*, popular festivities, creative hubs, renewed impetus on local associations); riverfront and other outstanding landscape sites (the city's belvederes or the nearby towns of Sintra and Cascais); and the less massified activities related to wine production, horse riding, bird watching, and nautical and other open air activities — all of which are gaining prominence in the metropolitan outskirts (Associação de Turismo de Lisboa, 2019).

The development of public space and mobility infrastructures in Lisbon

Between 1995 and 2010, Lisbon's metropolitan infrastructure went through a stage of transition which could be defined as the layering of a 'connective fabric' (see Santos, 2012). This fabric was established through; 1) the multi-scalar recombination of various mobility, supply and communication networks; 2) the development of well-connected patches of urban development bridging or regenerating spatial and functional gaps in the metropolitan fabric; and 3) the introduction of complex intermodal transport nodes. A new stage may be identified, beginning in 2008, that combines considerable improvements in public space in consolidated parts of the city with the economic and social impacts of tourism and visitors. In the last five years, new mobility solutions, mostly associated with online and smart phone apps have also made their way into the city, defining new forms of relationships between public space, mobility and social practices.

The connection of metropolitan nodes in the central districts

In the meantime, transformations at a local level in the city of Lisbon began to be sensed as the underground system was expanded and connected to the railway, the airport, and to river and bus terminals via a number of new intermodal stations. Public space qualification and urban renewal projects started to be programmed in the areas adjacent to these new stations, taking a role in the framing of a better balanced and cohesive urban structure.

Baixa-Chiado underground station was also an important landmark which brought the new network to the hitherto declining commercial heart of Lisbon. It offers two entrances: one in the downtown district (*Baixa*), and the other on the *Chiado* hill. Above the station, one of the most cherished department stores that had burnt down in the late 1980s — as the result of declining commercial tradition — was refurbished as a new shopping mall: remarkably maintaining the building's urban and architectural integrity. The station and shopping mall became popular links between the districts' lower and upper levels, driving a lasting commercial revival, for Lisboners and tourists alike.

Specifically relevant to tourism, the downtown and riverfront transport hubs of *Terreiro do Paço*, *Rossio*, *Cais do Sodré* and *Santa Apolónia* played a key role in redefining the city's urban flows. Originally, these transport hubs were simple river traffic and railroad line terminals, without proper connection to other urban networks. In the late 1990s, the terminals were connected to the underground network, defining the first step towards establishing an efficient mobility network in central city districts. More importantly, they provided a qualified spatial apparatus for commuters, city users and tourists in some of the noblest areas of the city, such as the riverfront and the city's main plazas. A new cruise ship terminal was recently constructed at *Santa Apolónia*, a project that allowed not only the requalification of its surrounding spaces, but also the opening of the terminal's terrace which functions as an outstanding belvedere which is open to the public (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Lisbon's new cruise ship terminal in Santa Apolónia. Source: author

The investment in these transport nodes was a meaningful departure from decades of very limited public and political concern with the commercial and urban attractiveness of Lisbon's central districts. On the other hand, especially since 1998, public space and other urban amenities have also been systematically upgraded and renovated, offering the infrastructure needed to support residential, working and tourist city users. Public space, together with heavy mobility infrastructure, can be said to be a key driver of urban regeneration in central Lisbon. The following section briefly outlines this recently upgraded public space system.

The improvement in the public space system associated with urban attractors

With most of housing in central Lisbon in private hands, the municipality's investment in urban regeneration is mainly focused on infrastructure and public space. This focus also stems from national and EU guidelines, in which public funding in recent years has been directed towards environmental qualification and the promotion of soft mobility. Such approaches, in which physical interventions are prioritised can be better described as urban revitalisation initiatives (Balsas, 2007; Mendes, 2013a). During the late 1990s and early 2000s national policies on urban development included a line of investment in the upgrade of spatial, environmental and mobility systems in several cities (Ministério do Ambiente e do Ordenamento do Território, 2000; Secretaria de Estado do Ordenamento do Território e das Cidades, 2008). According to Baptista (2013), this investment — labelled POLIS programme for urban environment — is embedded in a Welfare State rationale:

its focus on public-led intervention, public space for public use, and disciplining of private developers, makes sense in the context of a state apparatus that was still thinking of itself as “modernizing” toward a “European” welfare ideal already in decline elsewhere in the EU and the world at large. With its impetus to extend the benefits of modern city living to a greater number of urban citizens, to fix urban problems, and to use the powers of the state to redistribute social goods and stimulate social cohesion, the Polis Programme constitutes an exemplar of state intervention within a welfare logic that seeks to be a corrective to the logics of capitalist accumulation.

Baptista, 2013: 600.

From 2008 onwards, and according to new EU funding guidelines, the national urban policies framework was adapted in order to foster social cohesion, inclusion and local partners' involvement criteria. In Lisbon, the Municipality established the following policy priorities; the reversion of a four-decade-long demographic loss trend; the attraction of younger inhabitants; and the promotion of inclusion, innovation and creativity through strategic initiatives (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2009a), urban planning (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2012) and local interventions (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2015a, 2009b, 2008; Mendes, 2013b).

Along with the major restructuring and expansion of the underground network in the late 1990s came the opportunity to redevelop major plazas and squares. *Rossio* and *Praça da Figueira* were the first to be renewed, with underground parking spaces, new pavements, lighting, furniture and trees, and a more generous approach to pedestrian space. Commercial urbanism projects with considerable public funding were implemented in the *Baixa* historical district, although with limited impact (Porfírio and Guimarães, 2017). Following a first generation of piecemeal interventions (Balsas, 2007), a more consistent and systemic approach to public space improvement can now be detected, especially since 2006 (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2016, 2008; Comissariado para a Baixa-Chiado, 2006; Salgado, 2012). *Frente Tejo*, SA, a specific purpose public agency, has been established by the Government to lead a large-scale urban revitalisation project in the riverfront area (Conselho de Ministros, 2008).

This process has been extended to include other open spaces, defining an increasingly coherent network of qualified public spaces, in which one can trace three main systems:

- the riverfront system: *Santos – Cais do Sodré – Ribeira das Naus* (Figure 2) – *Terreiro do Paço – Campo das Cebolas – Santa Apolónia*;
- the garden and belvedere system: *Príncipe Real – São Pedro de Alcântara – Portas do Sol* (Figure 3) – *Graça – Senhora do Monte*;
- the street and square system: *Santa Catarina – Bica – Chiado – Baixa- Rossio – Martim Moniz – Mouraria – Castelo – Alfama*

The upgrading of these systems over the last twenty years (Figures 4 and 5) has had a clear impact on the spatial attractiveness of some of the city's most outstanding places, but more importantly, it has established a continuous and coherent public realm. Other than the UNESCO listed monuments in Belém civil parish (Jerónimos Monastery and Torre de Belém), Lisbon's best touristic offer lies in the diversified character of its urban fabric — from its sensual relationship with topography to its dialogue with the Tagus river. What is more, the overall upgrade of these public space systems has had a clear impact on everyday life in central Lisbon and sparked a sharp increase in the commercial and leisure-related offer.



Figure 2. The renewed Ribeira das Naus riverfront (2019). Source: Author.



Figure 3. Mixed-use public space on the rooftop of a parking silo in Portas do Sol belvedere, one of the most prominent tourist spots in Lisbon. Source: Author.

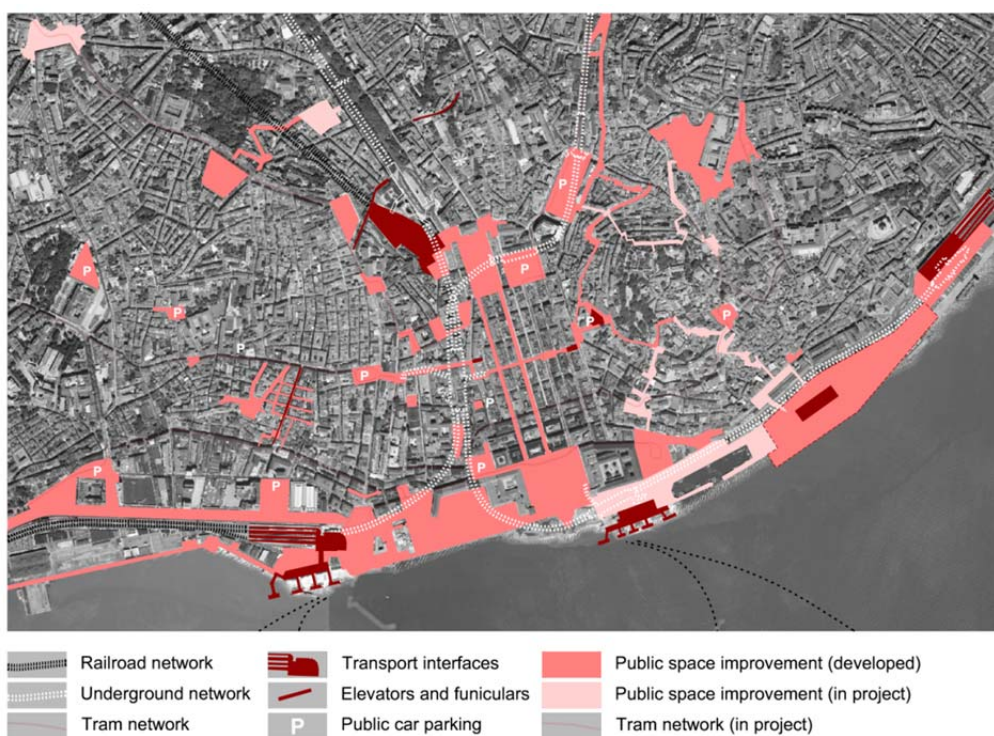


Figure 4. Public space and transport infrastructure projects in central Lisbon, since the year 2000. Source: Author.

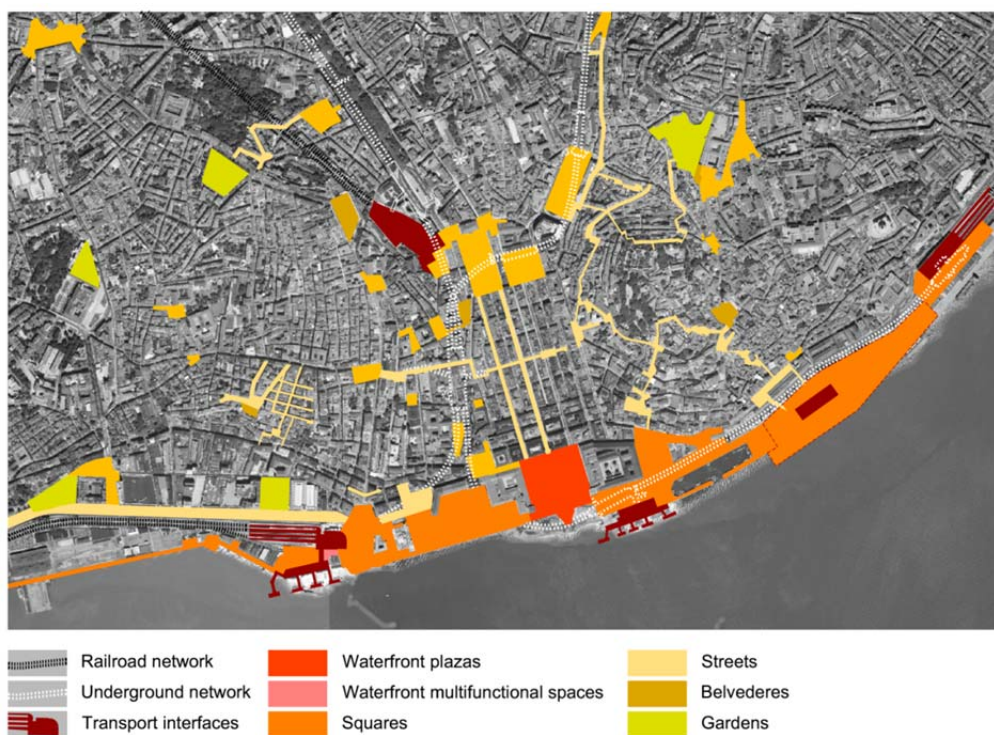


Figure 5. Types of public space and transport infrastructure projects in central Lisbon, since the year 2000. Source: Author.

In fact, most of these public space improvements were accompanied by the development of food and beverage establishments and some fashion retail stores. This commercial profile reveals a clear prevalence of visitor-oriented commerce, either from outside (tourists) or from metropolitan areas. The reinforcement of pedestrianised spaces was accompanied by the building of several multi-level parking areas, some of them located under large squares, in a process that was not exempt from controversy (Balsas, 2007). As with the patterns of commercial change, these parking facilities were mainly targeted at visitors. The appropriation of these renewed spaces didn't necessarily translate into benefits for local residents or traditional city uses — as discussed in the following chapter. Notwithstanding an undeniable urban spatial qualification, these improvements were also the drivers of a new pattern of use and flow, in which tourism and leisure were clearly favoured in terms of urban amenities or the involvement of local communities.

Two cases in which the management of public space and urban facilities were directly shaped by the tourism and leisure industry are the refurbishment of Ribeira Market and an open marketplace — the setting of a thematic food and music offer in Martim Moniz. The former, a prominent 19th century wholesale market was partially franchised in 2014 to *TimeOut*, the renowned travel and entertainment publisher group. Since then, it has been running part of the market and has made considerable efforts to promote architectural renewal: offering a food court in which trendy food, animation and events can be enjoyed. Its visitors now comprise a mix of city users, with a strong presence of tourists and other visitors to the city. The same happened to the central space in Martim Moniz square, a rather awkward space resulting from urban renewal demolitions in the mid-20th century. Between 2012 and 2018 it was refurbished and transformed into a *fusion market* by NCS, a local music and entertainment production company. Here, food, beverages and animation were interwoven with ethnic themes that reflected the diverse origins of the people living around that area. Although they proved successful in attracting numerous visitors, both projects have remained largely detached from the surrounding neighbourhood and the people: the vegetable, fish and flower traders in Mercado da Ribeira, who lend their character and charm to the migrant atmosphere in Martim Moniz. In either case, despite maintaining its openness and some of its functional rationale, public space was privatised to some extent.

Since 2018, Martim Moniz has been subject to a new discussion regarding its future, after the private franchise failed to meet its contract requirements. The proposal put forward by the Municipality and the franchise for a new layout, featuring modular containers designed to house food and entertainment venues within a fenced precinct to be closed at night, faced strong opposition from various civic movements (Gomes, 2019; Público, 2019a). Under that pressure, the Municipality reversed its initial proposal and is currently looking for less commodified, fenced and privatised alternatives.

The link between downtown and the uphill districts

Part of a wider strategy to revitalise Lisbon's historical fabric, the mechanically assisted link between downtown (*Baixa*) and the uphill castle districts is being developed by the Municipality (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2009b). This new mechanically assisted link stems from a 130 year old Lisbon tradition of installing funiculars and elevators as part

of its transportation system, allowing for mobility across its steep hills and valleys. The project provides an alternative and easily accessible pedestrian path through a sequence of linear spaces connected by free and publicly accessible lifts, a funicular, and mechanised escalators. The lifts are embedded in existing buildings which were renewed and refurbished with the aim of not only establishing vertical connections, but also accommodating new and attractive activities. The overall project is made up of five paths: *Baixa*, *Alfama*, *Mouraria*, *Graça* and *Sé*.

Baixa path has already been finished and consists of two components; 1) the renewal and adaptation of three existing buildings to accommodate the lifts: a former market which has now been turned into a multi-level structure featuring a retail supermarket, an art gallery and creative industries offices, an open air terrace with outstanding vistas, a restaurant, and a public car-silo (with 196 parking spaces mainly for residents from the neighbourhood). In addition, two old residential buildings provide space for a visitor welcome and interpretation centre, facilities for the local town hall and residential apartments on upper floors; 2) the qualification of the linear sequence of public spaces along the paths, connecting the underground station and commercial streets of *Baixa* with the lift buildings, the existing squares at mid-level hill and the castle premises. The *Mouraria* and *Alfama* paths have already been partially implemented with simpler solutions, such as the introduction of escalators and a small lift in a refurbished building. A more ambitious plan for a funicular will link *Mouraria* with *Graça* square and belvedere, one of the main touristic spots in the upper hill area.

Although some preliminary plans and projects began at an earlier date, the formal proposal to implement these mechanised assisted paths in Castle hill was approved in 2015 (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2015b). In its justification, social exclusion and territorial isolation were presented as being major weaknesses, along with a more general framework to promote sustainable mobility, pedestrian mobility and a more qualified public space in historical and touristic areas.

The conflicts and tensions in tourism-mobilised public space

The programmatic rationale of the projects presented in the previous chapter includes concerns such as social inclusiveness, accessible mobility, mixed-use development, heritage, and public-realm based urban-regeneration — namely in urban areas in old city districts diagnosed as being socially and physically frail. These concerns, however, need to be discussed adopting a critical perspective regarding their relationship with the changing social, economic and real-estate landscapes in touristic areas in Lisbon, as implementing improvements often has contradictory effects. In this chapter, an outline of four cases of conflict and tension emerging from public space and infrastructural improvements are discussed:

- the residential and commercial gentrification of historical districts;
- the overload of transportation and mobility infrastructures;
- coexistence with new mobility services in public space;
- the impact of strategic global infrastructures on the city.

The impact of residential and commercial gentrification on historical districts

Despite city-wide improvements in public transportation, Lisbon's old neighbourhoods were faced with an elderly, low income and sparse residential population. Tourism has been the main driver behind recent renovations, a process best exemplified by the massive introduction of short-term rental or *local accommodation*, operating under online platforms such as *Airbnb*. Larger facilities such as hotels have also been affected. Moreover, the real-estate market has made substantial gains from the attraction of foreign investment, which does not necessarily translate into new residents (Público, 2019b).

Emerging arenas of conflict mainly result from the incremental change in housing ownership and use in regard to the existing population. Traditional residents share a strong cultural and place-specific identity, in which public/private frontiers and privacy thresholds are managed through subtle codes of conviviality (Mendes, 2013b, 2012, 2011). These codes are under pressure (Rodrigues, 2010) and are often seen as being disrupted by new visitors and tenants. Rising housing prices are translating into diverse forms of gentrification and resident replacement (Mendes, 2017; Pacione, 2001). Short-term apartment rentals in historical buildings are replacing lower-income tenants, who had previously benefited from decades of rent-freezing. Neighbourhoods known for their quiet and charming atmosphere have been flooded with new gourmet groceries, trendy tea houses and fancy boutiques, along with ubiquitous souvenir shops (Expresso, 2015). This process can be framed in the specific modalities of gentrification associated with tourism, heritage exploitation, and commercial and leisure development (Bures and Cain, 2008; Salgueiro et al., 2017; Young and Markham, 2019). Conflict and protest have also emerged (Público, 2016a; Seixas and Guterres, 2019) and follow many of the known trends in international tourist cities (Bruttomesso, 2018; Jover and Díaz-Parra, 2019; Litvin et al., 2019; Shoval, 2018).

Tourism and foreign investment have also sparked a trend in building renovation which has been acknowledged as paving the way for essential architectural maintenance and a much needed boost to the local economy. Recent opinion studies among residents showed a meaningful share of positive views (over 85%) regarding the recent touristic dynamism of Lisbon (Associação de Turismo de Lisboa, 2019). However, its repercussions cannot be gauged simply in terms of residents vs. outsiders. The complexity of the urban condition, especially in a metropolitan core such as Lisbon's central districts — in the wider context of globalisation — requires a far more open consideration as to *who* counts as a Lisboner (Lestegás et al., 2018; Seixas et al., 2015).

The controversy regarding the unbalanced process of urban renewal and gentrification can be framed under a widely acknowledged literature. Atkinson's (2004) approach to the pros and cons of *urban renaissance*, as defined by Rogers (1999) and Roberts and Sykes (2017; 2002), continues to offer useful insight. On the positive side, he highlights the benefits of physical renewal, the social mix and the deconcentration of poverty enclaves; on the negative side, he identifies the impact of the dislocation of residents, the loss of affordable housing stock, the rise in local conflicts, evictions and criminality, the loss of a local population and changes to local services (Atkinson, 2004; Bures and Cain, 2008; Wilson and Tallon, 2012). Kohn (2013) also stresses the need to widen the

territorial scope in which the locally-felt impacts of gentrification are framed: taking socio-political arrangements and organisational apparatus into account. From his perspective, impact assessment cannot be seen as separable from an ideological framework, in which public intervention is extremely bound by a privately led and market-driven societal matrix.

In the Portuguese context, research conducted by Balsas (2007) is also helpful, as it identifies contextual specificities for the processes of urban renewal in the cities of Lisbon and Oporto. He identifies: 1) the scale of urban dereliction in many historic district buildings, 2) the absence of legal tools allowing Municipalities to deliver consistent urban regeneration, 3) the perception that investment in public space is more easily delivered and politically sustained than investment in privately-owned built stock, and 4) the least demanding organisational apparatus with the capacity to deliver public-space renewal and improve public facilities. This tradition of giving public space a prominent role in government-led action stems from a strong corpus of urban design and urban planning literature. In line with authors such as Gregotti (1981), recent studies stress the infrastructural capacity of public space to provide a territorial structure and a coherent system of 'collective spaces' (Marinoni 2006, Neuman and Smith 2010, Hauck et al. 2011, and Santos 2012).

The overload of transportation and mobility infrastructure

Emerging from decades of poorly developed mobility networks, Lisbon's major improvements in transport systems overshadowed other less visible trends of overload. The extension and interconnecting of major railroad, underground, river traffic and airport networks in the city increased its overall capacity significantly, despite the considerable challenge posed by private cars and individual motorisation. Pressure resulting from the number of private cars in circulation is the result of limited transportation offer at the metropolitan scale and highly dispersive land uses. Major employment and commercial attractors are also dependent on car accessibility. On the other hand, various restrictions imposed on car traffic and car overload in the city's central districts often disrupt local drivers' needs in terms of individual mobility and parking, thus transferring rather than lowering the overall pressure in the system. Aside from the large-scale infrastructures, such as the airport and its limitations in terms of future expansion, other local infrastructures are facing increasing levels of overload as a result of tourism development. Some major attractions in Lisbon are precisely associated with traditional modes of transportation, as is the case for three funiculars and one lift dating from the late 19th century, and an *ex-libris* fleet of yellow tram cars. Riding them without a previously purchased ticket is now almost three times more expensive than before. Long queues, delayed stops in popular locations and overloaded vehicles push local users away. Yet, they are crucial in maintaining this ageing network in terms of financial sustainability, after many years of line closing and replacement with bus lines.

As previously seen, mobility investments are targeting the connections in central districts, especially in hilly areas, together with the upgrading of public and pedestrian space. However, the interesting side of this investment is being confronted with growing conflict from new forms of transport, especially tailored for tourists (Bloomberg

Business, 2015; Público, 2015, 2014): *tuk-tuks* that run and park in the city's narrow streetscapes, the tour buses that collect and leave hundreds of cruise ship passengers in central squares to embark on local excursions or enjoy dinner at one of the many *fado* restaurants, the queuing taxi cars waiting for the opportunity to shuttle tourists, the congested airport facilities, and the ageing train cars crowded with tourists going to and coming from the towns of Cascais and Estoril and their beaches.

While legitimised by a consensual discourse on public space improvement, many initiatives led by the municipality — discussed above — resulted in conflicting side effects in other areas of the city. Restrictions placed on the circulation of private cars in central city areas, aimed at decreasing air pollution, serve to exemplify this. Traffic restrictions in outstanding sites such as *Baixa* and *Terreiro do Paço*, diverted urban traffic to neighbouring districts which, in turn, failed to accommodate the increased pressure. Additionally, the surge of new amenities attracted visitors, often using their own cars, from other parts of Lisbon including its metropolitan area. This phenomenon can be seen especially at night and during weekends, when public transport becomes a far less convenient alternative.

Sharing public space with new mobility solutions

In the wake of the various improvement projects being carried out since 1998 in Lisbon, a clearer perspective on public space as a fundamental urban structure has been acknowledged by municipal policies. This perspective informed not only the historic city districts and high-profile waterfront areas, but also other meaningful spaces across the city and its newer districts. The idea of public space as a multifunctional system has been driving the development of a continuous and networked chain of renewed urban spaces of varying natures, such as the transformation of street paving, square and plaza requalification, reorganisation of street parking, and improved accessibility for people with mobility disabilities. This strategy has also intersected with green space and the ecological structure, defining new green corridors through the city and connecting more densely built areas with large parks and open space facilities.

Associated with this physical change, considerable investment has been targeted at creating cycle paths to promote more sustainable mobility patterns. Initially seen in Lisbon's mobility policies as a mode of leisure, the bicycle is now widely acknowledged as an everyday possibility to cope with travel demands in the city. Municipal investment in shared bikes, many of them with electrical engines, has driven new practices and habits, especially in areas with better cycling infrastructure. However, being a step-by-step and expensive process, there are still large areas of the city which are not served by safe and convenient services and infrastructure. Critics exposed the overlapping of such offer with already existing and good public transport networks, namely the underground and major bus routes operating within the central city street structure, leaving large residential areas without adequate services. Habits are nevertheless changing, and growing shares of residents, workers and students are becoming bicycle users. Conflict surrounding private car parking and protests regarding limitations to car traffic (Público, 2016b, 2016c) have, on the other hand, highlighted the controversial nature of these interventions and their political implications.

Another field of change associated with conflict and tension is the recent introduction

of shared electrical scooters, in 2018 (Figure 6). With up to eight private operators and around 5000 scooters available for ride, their presence in Lisbon's streets is seen as a clearly two-sided issue. The scooter is considered an efficient and alternative mode of short-distance travel which makes use of improved street spaces. However, it is also a source of considerable nuisance, more precisely, abusive parking practices and scooter overcrowding in specific locations which makes coexistence with pedestrian spaces difficult (IOOnline, 2018). Unlike the shared bicycle network, designed to serve predominantly city residents — with a registration and annual fee system —, electrical scooters are open for everyone, and tourists and occasional visitors are some of their main users.

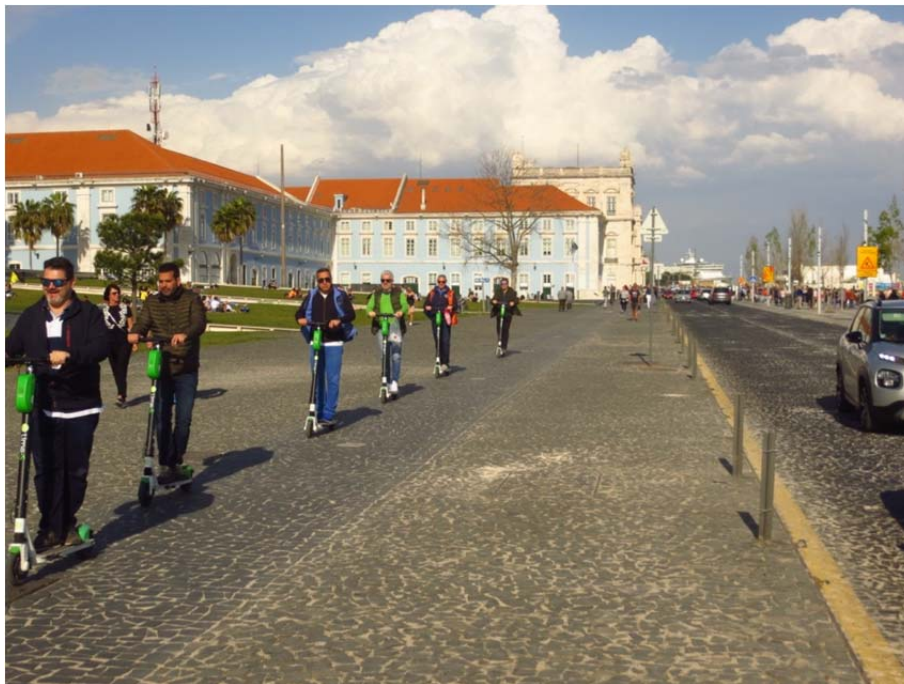


Figure 6. Shared electrical scooters in Ribeira das Naus. Source: author

The intersection of physical and digital realms of navigation is clearly one of the most important aspects of contemporary tourism practices (Femenia-Serra et al., 2019; Lu et al., 2015). Its impact in Lisbon's public space is clear and still in its initial stages, but one thing seems to be clear: the rationale, design and regulation framework on which recent public space improvement projects have relied, have not anticipated some of these new trends, confirming the need to pursue further debate and assess the opportunities, conflicts and implications inherent in the digital departure in public space design.

The vision behind strategic infrastructural investments

A critical area, in which future development is being reassessed under wider political visions, is related to the large-scale metropolitan infrastructures, such as the airport and the maritime port. Their management and long-term vision strategies are defined by central government, with little institutional input from local municipal or metropolitan

actors. However, they have important repercussions for the evolution of the country's capital city. The role tourism and its stakeholders play in this equation is critical. Two examples reveal this dilemma.

Firstly, after a five-decade-long debate regarding the development of a new, large international airport 40 km from Lisbon, current decisions point to a dual airport system due to be fully operational by 2028 (ANA - Aeroportos de Portugal/Vinci Airports, 2018) consisting of: the improvement of existing facilities, taking full advantage of their capacity by expanding the terminal and reorganising runways, along with the building of a new low-cost passenger terminal in an existing air force base in Montijo on the south bank of the Tagus river, 25 km from Lisbon. Arguments in favour of building a whole new facility have highlighted the site's capacity for expansion and a geo-strategic position (Lisbon as a new hub for Africa and South America) and its role in rebalancing spatial development in the Lisbon metropolis. However, despite major concerns regarding safety and noise, the location of Lisbon's airport in the middle of city along with its ease of access and effective connections — which enable convenient short-break visits — have been part of a major argument to maintain its operation.

Secondly, is the example of Lisbon's port which is a multi-terminal port consisting of various locations along both banks of the Tagus river. The port is at a cross-roads in terms of securing the future of city terminals. With major cargo terminals located in very central areas of Lisbon, the competition for scarce space-resources is having a direct impact on port and municipal decision-making. Unlike many other waterfront cities, Lisbon has maintained a vision of a working port city, favouring the maintenance of cargo operations in the city. This approach has not been consensual which has resulted in considerable debate and claims regarding the need to return unused port spaces to the city, or even to relocate large container terminals to other locations.

Vast areas of landfill have been redesigned as multipurpose public spaces. Significantly, nearly all of them have been shaped mostly for leisure and outdoor entertainment. To a more limited extent, cultural, commercial and scientific facilities have also been developed along the riverfront. This model is closer to the Mediterranean tradition of a strong public space rationale in post-industrial waterfront regeneration, distant from other well-known Anglo-Saxon experiences based on commercially-oriented strategies. Under this rationale, the maintenance of diverse port activities on varying scales is seen as a fundamental component in maintaining the multifunctional economic profile and the identity condition of a port city.

A framework for discussion

The impact of tourism on public space and urban infrastructure is a challenge too complex to grasp and anticipate. These urban systems are in a constant state of flux, reacting to changes occurring on multiple scales — from global economic climate, to national regulatory environments and local urban planning guidelines. Moreover, tourism and public space are not only defined by physical and spatial elements (streets, buildings, facilities), but also by the collective interplay of individual, corporate and institutional agents, making them two of the most dynamic and subjective dimensions of urban life. As such, political and urban planning rationales involving public space, infrastructure and urban regeneration are required to cope with a continuous process of adjustment,

reaction and anticipation, managing short-term impacts as well as preparing the city for longer-term scenarios. On reviewing the main arguments from chapter 2, it is clear that (urban) tourism, especially in southern Europe, is considerably connected to processes of territorialisation: meaning they cannot be detached (either as a process or a spatial phenomenon) from the city's structural and morphological layers. Following this line of thinking, chapter 3 identified specific projects in which very powerful and long-term forms of territorial shaping — those associated with infrastructure — were implemented in Lisbon, as part of an overall urban and metropolitan development rationale that goes well beyond tourism and its management. Finally, chapter 4's outline of critical and conflictive issues regarding fast and significant changes that occurred in Lisbon as a result of growth in tourism offers an overview of a highly dynamic process that brings with it not only social and economic tensions but also new challenges, in addition to opportunities for mobility.

With this in mind, the discussion regarding the interfacing aspects of public space, tourism and mobility requires a framework in which one can identify: 1) the spatial components of public space and mobility infrastructures, 2) the main forms of territorialisation to which they relate, 3) the most significant links they have with touristic practices and rationales, and 4) the conflicts and tensions they are subject to under considerable pressure from growth in tourism. Table 1 provides an overview of this framework, applied to the case of Lisbon. It can be seen as a simple and adjustable basis for a more complex and comprehensive discussion, that would go beyond the scope of this paper.

Table 1. Framework for discussion: public space and mobility infrastructure in regard to urban tourism development

	Forms of territorialisation	Relationship with tourism	Conflictive issues
Public space renewal			
Waterfront	Incremental requalification, associated with transport interfaces, main urban spaces and former port/industrial landfills. Linear continuity rationale.	Major attraction: landscape value, leisure, commercial and cultural spaces.	Loss of productive and logistic capacity (port) due to pressure from leisure and commercial claims for waterfront space.
Street and square system	Incremental requalification, associated with main urban spaces, defining preferential pedestrian areas. Public space network rationale.	Comfort and urban landscape quality; heritage value; potential for commercial regeneration.	Residential and commercial gentrification; touristification of public space; disruption of local convivial practices.
Green corridors	Combination between ecological and infrastructural systems; alternative public space network.	Path continuity and accessibility of urban parks; landscape value.	Safety; high maintenance costs; natural hazards.
Bicycle paths	From leisure (main parks and waterfront) to city-wide network; associated with street requalification projects and green corridors.	Support for alternative mobility solutions.	Safety regarding pedestrian and car traffic coexistence.

Assisted/mechanised paths	Discrete interventions associated with the requalification of streets and built structures.	Comfort and convenience; accessibility of major urban and heritage attractions.	Overload; residential and commercial gentrification in areas with improved accessibility.
Urban facilities/attractors	Diversification of offer; spatial commodification; in combination with public space requalification.	Commercial attraction (i.e. food markets).	Privatisation of management; commercial gentrification.
Transportation infrastructure			
Underground, railroad and river boat interfaces	Multi-modal integration; combination with public space requalification.	Convenience and accessibility in inner-city and metropolitan destinations.	Passenger overload; ageing fleet and lack of maintenance.
Airport	Planned maintenance and optimisation of existing airport; construction of new complementary airport on the south bank of Tagus river.	Convenience (proximity and connection to city centre); growing air travel market.	Overload and difficulties for expansion; limited impact on metropolitan cohesion.
Cruise ship terminals	Concentration of cruise ship movement in new facility; easy connection with underground and public transport.	Convenience (proximity and connection to city centre); stable/growing cruise market.	Concentrated crowding; pollution; traffic congestion; landscape impact.
Marinas and leisure port facilities	Reconversion of old docks; in combination with sport and commercial uses.	Attraction of nautical tourism market.	Congestion; limited space; tension between regular/occasional users.
Cargo port terminals	Accessibility and logistic integration; technology and space requirements and; navigational conditions.	Not relevant.	Spatial barrier; traffic nuisance.
Public elevators and funiculars	Integration of historical districts into public space system.	Major attraction: heritage value.	Overload; tension between regular/occasional users.
Parking facilities	Underground space under main squares and plazas; in combination with public space requalification.	Limited; rent-a-car convenience in congested city centre.	Conflict between car restriction policies and improved provision of parking space.
Shared bicycle docks (public system)	Main street axes and public transport interfaces in central districts. In combination with public space requalification.	Limited: targeted at resident/regular users.	Size/impact on public space.

Mobility services			
Buses and trams	Street coexistence; limited dedicated spaces for bus/tram lines; historical tram lines particularly adapted to hill street structure.	Major attraction: historical trams; accessibility of main tourist and cultural facilities (i.e. Belém, Castle hill, Bairro Alto).	Overload; tension between regular/occasional users.
Tuk-tuks and other touristic vehicles	Concentration of services in urban attraction areas (historic districts, waterfront).	Convenience, flexibility and experience differentiation.	Traffic congestion; lack of parking space; noise and pollution.
Shared electrical scooters	Specific service areas according to operator.	Convenience and flexibility.	Inappropriate parking in public space; safety.
Shared bicycle system (private)	City-wide service area.	Convenience and flexibility.	Inappropriate parking in public space.
Shared bicycle system (public)	Combination with public space requalification.	Limited: targeted at resident/regular users.	Lack of flexibility (parking docks).

Taking Lisbon as a testbed for understanding meaningful relationships between urban tourism, mobility and public space, one can identify various critical points which can be of interest to a more general discussion. Three main aspects can be highlighted: 1) the role of physical improvement in public space in contributing to social and economic change in older parts of the city, 2) the role that the development of metropolitan mobility infrastructure played in the reorganisation of central city public space system, and finally, 3) the impact of emerging public space practices associated with new users, technologies and economic frameworks in everyday city life.

Conclusions

The paper outlined the major features of change that occurred in Lisbon during the past two decades, regarding the improvement of public space, mobility and infrastructure, in tandem with tourism and urban regeneration dynamics. Starting from a conceptual framework for these issues, it offered a discussion on the critical and problematic aspects such change currently entails, namely those associated with the processes of touristification and gentrification.

When considered as common ground, mobility and public space are key contributors to positing the city as a value in and of itself. Instead of competition-driven rationale, in which cities are seen as *quasi-enterprise* entities² fighting for a prominent position in the global arena, the argument for a strong relationship between public space improvements and the upgrade of trans-scalar metropolitan connectivity can be seen as a socially aware

² In the meaning of Madureira and Baeten (2016:362) in “that the attention of local policy-makers turned from emphasizing the management and delivery of public services and local welfare promotion, towards emphasizing the need for local economic promotion and place marketing to attract companies, investments and (creative, wealthy) inhabitants”.

approach. As far as urban planning is concerned, public space upgrades and improved mobility connections form part of a robust network of shared spaces and thus remains a valued approach to a democratic and socially equitable city.

In an overall assessment, the development of urban infrastructure in central Lisbon over the last 20 years has been able to deliver considerable improvements to that shared system of streets, plazas and transport interfaces — bringing together very diverse strata of urban users and linking multiple spaces and scales. Unlike other approaches in which infrastructural and public space development occur under a rather focused economic rationale, Lisbon's initiatives have maintained relatively high levels of concern for various strata of city users, going beyond the strict duality of tourists vs. residents. In fact, Carmona's (2010) claim that conceptualising and assessing public space is a task subject to multiple and diverse value rationales, seems particularly relevant to Lisbon's case. Despite strong evidence that they contributed to or facilitated processes of gentrification and touristification, recent projects addressed cherished places in the city which were longing for renewal and qualification. Despite an obvious increase of these processes in the inner city, urban public space and mobility infrastructure policies and projects provided a resilient basis for urban regeneration, improving both access to and the quality of the urban landscape. If undesired trends are to be fought, then other realms of urban policy (i.e. housing and real-estate regulation, heritage and conservation, economic and tax policy, private development control, investment incentives), not to mention (capitalist) economic and societal models, must be brought into the discussion.

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