Landscape planning is thus a tool, cultural mediation to generate a critical view of the abuse of the territory and to pose new paradigms of use. Recycling the territorial abuse of the metropolitan peripheries means generating a 'landscape factory" which, in addition to new forms and space, arouses new ethical attitudes in the citizens who inhabit them. As proposed by Gaston Bachelard: "…it is dreamed before contemplated, before becoming a conscious spectacle; all landscapes are an oneiric experience. One only contemplates with aesthetic passion those landscapes that were previously seen in dreams. We have to recognise the prelude of natural beauty in human dreams[7]… If we look at the metropolis in this way, we shall leave behind the cliché that limits and we will be able to glimpse at the possibilities of the kaleidoscope landscape.

1 *The Future Metropolitan Landscape: Conference Reflections*, a collection of reflections resulting from the exhibition at the York Museum of Modern Art "Groundswells" (Febrer 2005).
2 Llop Torné, Carles, Adrià Calvo and Mara Marincioni: "Formes de ciutat al segle XX" in *L'explosió de la ciutat / The explosion of the city, Barcelona*: COAC i Fòrum Universal de les Cultures Barcelona 2004, pp. 346-352. ISBN: 84-96185-18-4, 2004; and "Mocions i lògiques d'intervenció en el projecte territorial renovat en les regions urbanes" in the same publication, pp. 346-379.
3 Lefebvre, H., *Espacio y política*, Editorial Península, Barcelona, 1972.
4 *In the last one hundred years, the urban revolution*, based on the concentration of major cities, has given rise to multiple denominations from a diverse to the traditional city, nuclear. See my article: I Timeline "Nuevas formas de ciudad en los siglos XX-XXI".
5 REBAR, group of creators, designers and activists (San Francisco, EE.UU.) http://www.rebargroup.org/
6 Joseph Rykwert. *La idea de ciudad: antropología de la forma urbana en Roma, Italia, y el mundo antiguo.* Ediciones Sígueme, 2002 (republished from the first edition, 1976).
7 Bachelard, Gaston, *El agua y los sueños: ensayo sobre la imaginación de la materia*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1978.

MOBILITY LANDSCAPES: FROM MULTIPLEX CENTRES TO *LOW-COST* AIRPORTS

Francesc Muñoz

Introduction

The morphology and evolution of the landscape, which always describe the relationships people establish with places, are matters that have habitually been explained as a result or function of how people inhabit the territory. So, the link between a given community and landscape has always been seen in the light of the activities and, consequently, territorial behaviour of a community, especially with reference to two major issues. First, the type of economy and the way in which it exploits the natural resources, or the assets of the territory. Second, the type of settlement and housing construction from which we derive both the population structure and the functional and aesthetic characteristics of the constructed buildings. Accordingly, agrarian and industrial societies have given rise to characteristic landscapes seen as a synthesis of not only the economic or social nature of the inhabitants, but also their underlying historical and cultural foundations. Thus, a strong link has been established between our perception of landscape and a whole series of concepts associated with the idea of place, such as identity, vernacular or local character.

However, the sharp increase in urban development, particularly since the second half of the 20th century, and the present-day characteristic levels at a global scale, raise important questions about the key issues which not only explain the production of landscapes but also what they really mean in terms of what characterises, identifies and differentiates a given society. Many of the questions raised by the urban development of a territory cover dynamics such as the ever increasing importance of the spatial mobility of people, a process which is associated with the production of landscapes that are not only specifically related to managing mobility flows, but also to territorial support for this mobility.

In other words, it is not only the mobility of people which is a key consideration to be taken into account in order to understand how a territory functions, but also that we are witnessing the production of specific landscape typologies related to the manifestation of this mobility. As we are increasingly developing different dimensions to our lives in different places simultaneously, our experience of the landscape is not just related to where we live, but rather a whole series of territories with which we coexist when establishing our mobility itineraries. A wide range of places with specific mobility connotations emerge that are particularly important when it comes to defining concepts such as "living space" or a "feeling of belonging to a place". These landscapes not only stem from the infrastructure that actually copes with mobility —the motorways and airports—; they are also a result of a territorial model which is better explained from the perspective of mobility flows than the levels of population or building density.

Roundabouts, petrol station-shops, multi-screen cinemas or low-cost airports are clear examples of emerging landscapes that raise a key question. If mobility has now become the first order for inhabiting the territory, then it follows that landscapes associated with this mobility can also offer explanations (something which still has not been not sufficiently recognised) concerning the association between individual and place, between community and urbanised space mentioned in the opening paragraph. Perhaps they can explain even more than the landscapes traditionally understood as being responsible for this function of endowing its inhabitants with a sense of their own place and shared history.

1. City and urban development: a history of the 20th century

During the course of the last two centuries, city and urban development has been a continuous process with one particularly important consequence: the city is no longer the exception in a territory where there is no urban development, and has become the most important characteristic feature of inhabited space. Although it is true that a territory may be subject to different degrees of urban development, it is no less the case that non-urbanised, agricultural or natural spaces (which were predominant in the past) have become environments that very often are confined or surrounded by urban stretches, infrastructures and buildings.

The spread of land development for urban purposes was a process which first began, and at a faster rate, in the cities in North Europe which became industrialised cities and had already entered into the dynamics of metropolitan development, particularly in the second half of the 20th century. These images of urban development became the archetypal process of the urban sprawl process with the now familiar features of low residential population density and specialised land use. For their own part, cities in the South of Europe, particularly Mediterranean cities, have preserved an image, that is no less archetypal: urban density, continued building construction density and mixed economic activities and land use. In contrast, the recent development of these compact cities illustrates an urban scenery which is clearly more complex, and which displays alternative urban forms to the compact city and dense population growth. The last thirty years have in fact witnessed a progressive dispersion of the population, activities and types of urban development in global terms throughout the urbanised world. Accordingly, a common metropolitan space has appeared in the majority of these cities characterised by its dispersed structure. This is a territory which combines different spaces, places and landscapes: some have undergone greater urban development, others are less built up, but all of them put to great use by the inhabitants and visitors whose numbers vary depending on the time of the year. Urban life, which in the 19th century was understood as any characteristic of the city and substantially different from life in the countryside, has thus ended up reaching out across the entire territory.

Dejan Sudjic described metropolitan space in similar terms in *The 100 mile city* (1991), in which the peripheries, centres, densely populated areas and the mobility spaces prove to be equally important

when classifying a hybrid territory, and one which has underdone dramatic and discontinuous urbanisation:

> "But in its present form, the old urban centre is nothing more than another piece on the board, with the same importance as an airport, medical centre or museum complex. They are all swimming in a sea of shopping centres, hypermarkets and warehouses, road-stop restaurants, anonymous factories, ring roads and motorway areas."

2. From sub-urban territory to the "subrurban" landscape

Towards the end of the 20th century it was becoming clear that the model for territorial concentration which had typified the shaping of metropolitan landscapes had undergone a radical change. Improvements and new services in transport and communications meant that it was no longer so necessary to concentrate manufacturing in the city spaces. So, the former economic geography of large industrial and duty-free zones was replaced by a network of industrial estates spread across the territory.

From Detroit to Bilbao or Turin to Rürghebeit, the economic model that had engendered landscapes defined by densely populated urban areas and typified by a strong presence of industry, was no longer applicable due to the dramatic changes that not only affected manufacturing processes but also consumer patterns. Almost in complete contrast to those major urban agglomerations where the centre vs. periphery dynamics explained both the economic function and the morphology of the landscape, a new kind of dispersed metropolitan space appeared to such a clear degree that it was already visible in tangible and physical aspects such as urban sprawl itself.

This continuing expansion process of the urban world had in fact been taking place since the 19th century, and always dependent on technology. Transport and communications, in different shapes and forms with the passing of time, created favourable conditions for the progressive dispersal of the work place, consumer spending and leisure spots frequented by city inhabitants. The advent of the train, followed by the car, were key moments in this development. Railways allowed cities to grow in a linear fashion and extend residential and industrial areas beyond the first belt of what was a densely populated city. The car meant that urban life spread to the degree of furnishing areas much further away and allowed for radial suburban growth, chaotic, to one degree or another, depending on the layout of metropolitan motorways. So, the car consolidated the city with suburbs and paved the way for new forms of inhabiting the territory closely linked to daily mobility.

New types of inhabitants, such as the resident or the commuter, reveal an undeniable fact: the living space of urban inhabitants has progressively spread beyond the city limits drawing a picture of variable metropolitan extensions, inhabited in different ways according to the time of day, whether a work day or weekend, and even depending on the week of the month or the month of the year.

Turning to the dynamics of landscape production, this dramatic increase in the dynamics of urban sprawl has in effect meant the construction of a territory in which low density residential areas have gone hand in hand with the appearance of suburban landscapes, characterised by the cloning of urban uses of the compact city that have emerged adapted, but at a metropolitan scale. The main outcome of this process for landscape morphology has been the appearance of new typologies of urban space defined by their vocation and capacity to attract, generate and manage mobility flows.

So, economic activities, previously located in the central city and its immediate peripheral areas, are taking up residence in new industrial parks or districts. Service industries or merchandise transport logistics are moving to strategic locations further and further away, as part of a new global perception of a vast metropolitan area. Commerce and leisure are combined in premises such as shopping malls, situated between the predominant urban centres and spaces, and easily accessible by road. They not only offer basic products but also specialise in particular areas of the consumer market, such as furniture and interior design (IKEA), DIY (BAUHAUS) or gardening (AKI), and are complemented with all manner of entertainments and services from travel agencies to gymnasiums. The former urban amusement parks are giving way to large theme parks at a regional level; the decline of the cinema within the city space parallels the success of the new multi-screen cinemas, the "multi-plex spaces", while the new ventures of secondary regional airports, where low-cost airlines operate from, offer alternatives to using major airports, located close to the big cities.

At the end of the 1990s, scholars such as Giuseppe Demateis or the urban geographer Robert Fishmann, explained how this physical dilation of built up areas and, in general, the dynamics of urban sprawl, meant that it would become easier and easier to find metropolitan characteristics in places which historically were outside the scope of urban development processes. Fishmann (1998) even argued for the "end of the city", particularly the "major city". The great metropolis or the major city, the metaphor for the type of metropolitan territory that had been necessary for the development of the Ford economic cycle during the course of the 20th century, was no longer such an important requirement from the point of view of "post-modern capitalist" ventures.

So, on the one hand it was no longer necessary to concentrate either infrastructures, work force or capital and, on the other, advant age was taken of the extension of land for urban uses. This was a territory where medium-sized cities, rather than the major capitals, began to emerge as important urban centres within the framework of the global economy.

The distribution of multiplex centres and the incipient geography illustrated by low-cost flight airports, two of the latest additions to this new suburban landscape, correspond much more to the territorial logic of these medium-sized cities rather than that of major capital cities.

Mulitplex spaces are located at equidistance from medium-sized urban centres or between dispersed suburban fabrics. For their part, low-cost airline companies do not operate from major airports, those which for half a century in Europe had associated national airlines with a given state and were located next to state or financial capitals. Low-cost flight companies operate quite differently. They have searched out regional secondary level airport infrastructures, but which offer optimum conditions in terms of being a potential centre and easily accessible from the road and rail transport networks. Airports such as Reus or Vilobí d'Onyar (Girona) in Catalonia, Treviso in Venice, Gatwick in London or Kosice-Bratislava in Slovakia, are names which now make up the toponymy of this new low-cost flight mobility map.

This surge of activity in regional secondary airports, located outside and at a distance form central urban areas, has become more and more linked to rapid changes in land development leading to an accelerated transformation of the landscape. Agricultural and peri-urban spaces reveal the emergence of a "low-cost" landscape which can be seen around the airports where companies such as Easyjet or Ryanair operate in Europe.

This "low-cost" landscape is where B roads, shopping malls, car parks and incipient residential areas or minor services leave their stamp. Here, we could assign the label "subrurban": a landscape where traditional images of suburbia mix with the vestiges of the still remaining rural landscape, cultural and iconography.

What we have here is a genuine reinvention of urban landscape in the rural context, linked to the role of the airport, not in relation to the central metropolis but rather intermediary cities and territories which have undergone far less urban development. So, a new type of suburban landscape is beginning to characterise these traditionally agricultural spaces whose transformation can no longer

be explained in terms of depending on the city and its growth and the need for physical expansion, but instead in terms of the new nature illustrated by countryside that has already been urbanised.

3. "Part time" territory, culture and landscape

In this new metropolitan context, how the space is inhabited as well as the kinds of corresponding urban experiences, are two clearly interrelated elements. On the one hand, as mentioned earlier, mobility appears as an increasingly important factor when defining how to inhabit the territory. Put another way, it is the temporary use of metropolitan spaces which determines the appropriation of the territory and how we identify with the landscape. On the one hand, a mobile culture, moving from one place to another, is beginning to be confirmed; a culture which is associated with new kinds of cultural behaviour and habits. This is a culture of simultaneity and fast consumption which takes shape in the form of cultural processes such as the increasing and elevated use of the mobile phone, and territorial processes such as the increased number of territories providing support and related to daily mobility. It is within this cultural and territorial stage where the definitions of city and urban society, inspired by — in the words of Giorgio Piccinato (1993)— "the concentrated universe" of the industrial city or density as the principle attribute of urban areas, are clearly inadequate. Consequently, definitions of concepts such as inhabitant, living space, district, community, local culture, and the vernacular etc., are becoming less relevant, and at the very least need to be reformulated in a context where flexibility and mutability in behaviour describe a metropolitan individual that inhabits cities of variable geometric dimensions set against an equally variable geography.

But if this mobility between places is the factor which is increasingly characterising metropolitan life, how can one develop a sense of belonging to one place in a cultural and territorial context defined in this manner?

People inhabit and appropriate different territories, but precisely because of their new mobility models, they do so from the basis of belonging to a place that is analogous and standardised. Although the territories they frequent or inhabit are not the same, the sense of place which they experience is, in contrast, extremely similar and comparable. This is a sense of place which is compatible with the logic of part time. So, in the same way that living space takes physical form based on the portion of territory where one lives, works or visits, the feeling of belonging to a place is also constructed from the basis of segments of living time which are equally fragmented and discontinuous. Both a feeling of place and the time factor reveal a kind of special interaction between the individual and the landscape characterised by certain constant factors; a relationship that would be:

— Independent of legal and administration boundaries.

— Disconnected from the local vernacular characteristics which are related to both the physical and social space, and normally taken into consideration in traditional definitions of place and which would be transmitted or passed on to the landscape.

— Divorced from the common cultural substrata which binds a given community and which would make up the equally diverse character of a specific landscape.

— Free from the implications that have traditionally characterised the city as the space of the *civitas*. In other words, a space suitable to be inhabited in social, cultural and political terms.

Present day metropolitan life already provides examples of these characteristics. This can be seen by looking at how people use spaces such as multiplex complexes or low-cost flight airports, which are already a part of the new social map that comprises places and moments in time defined by multiplicity and flexibility.

4. Redefining living spaces and landscapes for consumption: the multiplex as a metaphor

As stated earlier, the new structure of metropolitan mobility is typified by a global increase in the number of journeys people make and which increasingly cover greater distances. In addition the growing and indiscriminate use of the car has had a clear impact on consumer models and, as a consequence, on lifestyles. It is becoming more and more the case that consumer trends which were traditionally linked to the city, the most densely urbanised territory, are beginning to materialise in sites located between cities which are well linked by the motorway network. From this gallery of spaces that make up these new metropolitan landscapes, a particularly noticeable feature is the leisure areas which act as mobility magnets, capable of amassing large concentrations of the population during very specific time slots (such as weekends), as if they were part-time cities. Spaces such as theme parks, shopping malls or outlet stores, thus temporarily alter population density in metropolitan regions. A hidden cartography emerges on a regular basis at given moments in time, and in this map a conspicuous feature is the new multi-screen cinemas because of their ability to attract metropolitan leisure-seekers characterised by their continuous flow and high visit rates.

An abridged explanation of the genesis of these territorial dynamics, reveals how the first consumer habit affected by this process of clearing commercial outlets from urban centres and relocating them across the territory, was the purchase of essential products. Supermarkets and hypermarkets appeared which then evolved to the extent of becoming major specialised commercial complexes. So, from the original idea of "food shopping" once a week at the hypermarket, consumer habits evolved to the degree of "going shopping", which clearly showed a close association between consumption and leisure, or between time spent shopping and free time.

So, as people spent more and more time in these centres, all manner of options began to be set up to occupy this time: live entertainment or games, nurseries and restaurants. The cinema became part of these dynamics as just another available item, but has ended up taking on a very clear leading role to the degree of giving way to a specific, and most certainly new, space typology: the multiplex centre. This is a leisure space associated with filmgoers and defined by three specific features. Firstly, a wide range of films and showing hours, so that decision-making options are multiplied and much more flexible. Secondly, a large number of screen rooms which take up less space and smaller seating capacity compared to the dimensions and seating capacity of the tradition urban cinema. Thirdly, the possibility of combining going to the cinema with other leisure activities. Accordingly, multiplex centres offer greater choice when it comes to the object of consumption, the cinema, but, above all, when it comes to the place and time. Furthermore, a multiplex space includes multiple options in addition to the cinema. Previously, these leisure alternatives tended to have their own location in the city and spread out across different areas, but in the multiplex space they are concentrated and contiguous.

Multiplex spaces operate like space-time compressors, to the degree that leisure becomes a flexible, ambiguous and elastic space-time. Multiplex spaces perhaps represent a space typology that best illustrates the characteristics of how a territory is used at present because they are indifferent to place and independent in terms of time. This is the perfect metaphor for the landscape production process, equally independent of places and their history, as opposed to metropolitan spaces.

All that is found in multiplex centres is a response to the logic of standardisation and analogy: the tickets for the cinema which include a "happy meal", drinks and snacks to take away, or being able to rely on a wide variety of films, etc. These are features that you can find in any multiplex centre and which offer an absolute guarantee of an analogous behaviour that

can be likewise replicated indefinitely at any other new point in the territory. This is the very same standardisation and analogy we can find at any motorway toll, petrol station-shop or airport. We have mobility landscapes constructed in a discontinuous manner but which share a common nature: the explicit autism as regards place and the implicit recreation of new codes of how society uses space, and directly related to the culture of mobility mentioned earlier.

Low-cost airports are the last and most recent example of the dynamics of landscape production, if only for the spectacular expansion they have undergone and the global levels they have reached, at least in the context of Europe. It is these that I would now like to turn to.

5. A new "low-cost" geography in urban Europe

At present European cities show how urban centrality and accessibility between territories are a source of inspiration for planning policies and strategies, just as much, if not more, than planning growth and expanding built up space. In this territorial context, where mobility management (passengers, goods and information) carries as much weight as the distribution of population density, a new geography is emerging from urban development. This new geography is less dependent on physical distances and much more dependent on the accessibility of transport networks and being able to make connections between multi-modal transport means. In short, the centrality of cities and urban spaces are assessed in relation to these thresholds of accessibility, where motorways, high-speed trains, ports and airports make the territory more or less attractive depending on this network. In this new map of the financial cost of travelling between cities, the impact of the so-called "low-cost" airlines has been a key element to understanding two phenomena which, although nothing new *per se*, do represent an economic, social and territorial dimension hitherto unknown.

First of all, a change in the number of people who travel by plane. While it is true to say that commercial flights have a history of their own, the exponential growth in the number of passengers and the number of flights recorded in European airports, they also reveal a clear "social levelling" of airline passengers. This can be explained to a large degree by the significant number of low-cost operators today and how extremely active they are.[1] Secondly, airports have gained protagonism in the metropolitan space and have become focal points that attract economic exploitation and have brought about strategic growth patterns between different cities.

This effect of centrality is, relatively speaking, more important in the case of regional airports that until now were typically used for summer holiday or national flights. These infrastructures have not only increased their position in airport rankings but have also generated suburban growth, economic activities and transformations regarding land use structures in their surrounding areas. This is a development that further underlines the organising role of the territory which, as stated earlier, is in the hands of medium-sized cities or those outside the more central metropolitan belts -the very territories which are the first choice for low-cost airports in Europe.

6. "Easy-going" culture: low-cost mobility and identity in the "subrurban" landscape

The appearance of low-cost flights should not be considered only in terms of economic perspectives or the transformation of the territory, but also that there is a very clear cultural content. While access to low-cost flights may be the explanation for the expansion of the market of air transport users to include new and more numerous fringes of the population, the cultural elements introduced by low-cost geography to the metropolitan experience deserve to be taken into consideration. With this in mind, I would like to consider three main issues.

First, both individual and collective perceptions of physical distances are shrinking as a result of the wide range of mobility possibilities offered by low-cost flights. So, studying questions such as weekend leisure activities, for example, is beginning to provide specific data about how low-cost flight availability has increased the territorial span of non-essential mobility, particularly in the young adult population. The low-cost flight experience in fact fits perfectly with a whole series of young adult iconography which emphasises values such as flexibility, constant change and maximum mobility. Images of this can be seen clearly in advertising campaigns for mobile phones, which are equally aimed at consumers in the same age range. They make reference to an entire cultural universe linked to experiences which range from contact with audiovisual support (videogames being the prime example), to the elevated use of telematics (such as the internet). So, through habits which are starting to become a daily feature, such as using email or a mobile phone, direct contact with "real time" through telecommunications is becoming a part of metropolitan life, existing side by side with the experience of "historical time" of the territory and places.

Second, the low-cost flight experience equally implies use of air transport on a more massive scale. It is quite surprising to review the publicity campaigns and advertisements by airlines in the 1960s, in which the decor is shown almost as if for an interior design spot: somewhere between a waiting room and a cocktail bar lounge. Windows with curtains or smiling uniformed waitresses bearing menus illustrated the narrow consumer market sector covered by passenger airline transport. However, throughout the course of the last thirty years, the growing number of travellers has meant a wider range of user types, particularly due to fixed holidays and recent options to fly to new destinations. The present-day success of low-cost flights has meant the end of this "social levelling" process mentioned above and has taken the limits of air transport to new levels. But, if we look beyond figures themselves, cheap flights have also meant a more familiar use, almost daily and domestic, of the air transport infrastructure which is very similar to the experience characterised by suburban or commuter trains. This becomes evident when we see how users take their own food, travel with gifts they have bought in another place or use the journey as time to work or for personal entertainment thanks to their laptop computer.

Third, the habit of low-cost flying has not been incorporated into the metropolitan experience of individuals as something new or unknown, but rather quite the opposite: it rounds off a wide range of situations characterised by a high degree of standardisation. It is an experience where perceptions of the territory are constructed on similar, and particularly, comparable urban situations. As I mentioned before, all the motorway tolls are used in an analogous manner in the same way that all the airports adhere to one spatial and iconographic design which welcomes a behaviour which is surely generic.

Low-cost flight airports are an obvious response to the logic of this "easy" standardisation, which Easyjet adopted by including the word as part of the company name -a slogan later copied and adapted in all its franchise sales points. This is a standardisation which, as I commented in the case of multiplex centres, illustrates the malleability of time and the ductility of space in physical and real terms.

Finally, low-cost flight airports constitute a new moment in this process which has placed mobility at the centre of the urban experience. Rather than a residual element of density, mobility has now become a way of inhabiting the territory. Mobility is what shapes the space and style of life, assigns new values to how we perceive landscapes, and accordingly determines a feeling of belonging to a place which is just as fragmented (if not more) as the territories on which it is constructed. As regard the specific shape the landscape is taking on, the new "low-cost" culture reveals the emergence of different situations that are transforming metropolitan landscapes: busy airports and a growing hierarchy located "in the countryside"; accelerated changes to

the landscape which affect its ability to represent territories and identify local cultures; a strange hybridisation among the characteristic elements of suburban landscapes and the most basic iconography of an agrarian world which is still present in a countryside undergoing urban development at an accelerated rate; or a relationship between individual and landscape which can be better understood since it has become mobile and changing than all that understood as fixed and stable. These are tendencies which give shape to a new "subrurban" landscape which reveals a new generation of peripheries in European metropolises.

7. Conclusions: society and landscape in mobility territories

On the basis of what has been suggested so far, two final arguments can now be put forward which refer to the way in which we explain the links between society and landscape.

First, at the beginning of this article I posed questions which have a strong bearing on the territorial behaviour of all communities and, therefore, key questions when it comes to understanding the links that are established between a community and a landscape. On the one hand, the type of economy and the ways of exploiting the natural resources which have historically transformed the territory and have given shape to the landscape. On the other hand, the characteristics of housing construction and the corresponding structure of the settlement and the building typology. So, the model, forms and guidelines for mobility which typify the life of a community would be equally important in this explanation about the nature of the landscape seen in terms of a social and cultural construct.

Second, as a consequence of the present-day importance of population mobility within a territory, the emergence and dramatic development of landscapes, directly related to or having strong links with managing and providing support for this mobility, poses a thought-provoking hypothesis which could be formulated as follows: is it possible that the multiplication of mobility landscapes might represent, in reality, a break with the traditional way in which individuals have related to the territory and identified themselves with the landscape?

By way of answer to this question, and by way of conclusion, I would like to make the following remarks.

We can establish that the relationship between individuals and a given landscape, that which characterises the place where they live and which supposedly should be able to interpret and refer to questions of a social nature such as their own culture and identity, is at present a weak relationship. This is the result of two parallel and simultaneous trends that make up their own system.

First, there is a multiplicity of places and territories which end up forming living space, to the degree that there is a shift from that feeling of belonging to place whose reference is a single landscape, to another multiplied and fractured sense of belonging. This is built on the basis of fragments of space and time of a metropolitan nature which are recognised by perceptive memory precisely from the perspective of mobility and not being there. In other words, it is this very same mobility which links these fragments and appropriates them to shape this new sense of belonging associated with an equally new living space, difficult to delimit but, whatever the case, not determined only by the place where one lives.

Second, the immense capacity nowadays to replicate and clone landscapes in different places means that the association between place and landscape is certainly less clear and has become a cloudy link, or at least easily interchangeable on both sides of the association. Put another way, if it is both possible to recreate any landscape in a given place and the opposite, then any place can host a given landscape. This means that all landscapes can be associated with all places: the replication of beaches from Bali in the Berlin leisure centre *Tropical Island*; the ski slopes inside the *Xanadú* shopping mall in Madrid; the cloning of the streets of New Orleans in the south wing of the *Trafford Centre* shopping mall in Manchester, the formal language of oriental architecture rehashed in fast consumption versions inspired by *One Thousand and One Nights* imposed upon second home urbanisations on the Mediterranean coast; or the standardisation which is clearly visible in the restoration of historical centres and Jewish ghettoes in Eastern Europe, which end up reproducing urban design programmes that are surely similar and predictable. These are but a few examples, different moments in a global sequence of landscapes characterised by the easy, indifferent and common transposition with place.

But if the landscape is no longer peculiar to a place, but rather in some way can flow and manifest itself in a multiplicity of places, then this means that there is no necessity to relate to, appropriate or identify with that landscape in a specific place. In other words, a kind of "relocation" of the process which creates the link between the individual and landscape through place. It is as if the landscapes had gone "on strike" and had resigned from the job they were traditionally assigned.

These two simultaneous processes, the new role of mobility in configuring living spaces and the feeling of belonging to a place that is paradoxically relocated, in fact explain the present-day hypervisibility of mobility landscapes. If, on the one hand, it is mobility which progressively gives meaning to the processes of relationship, appropriation and identification between the individual and the landscape and, on the other hand, the landscapes related to habitation are abandoning their function of explaining the social and cultural content of this relationship, then one could suggest that mobility landscapes, those which are specifically related to the management of mobility flows or providing support for this mobility, are where we now have to search out the way in which relationships are established between society and landscape.

A far cry from marginal stretches, mobility landscapes represent the privileged stage where, at present, the identity of the people and the culture of the places are being negotiated.

1 "Low-cost" flights are certainly not a new phenomenon as they have an obvious precedent in the charter flights which began in the 1960s.

RENOVATING LANDSCAPE PLANNING IN THE NEW METROPOLITAN PARKS

Enric Batlle i Durany

Introduction

Nature in the city, typically in the form of parks, is a prime example of how the popular spirit associates images of longed-for landscapes with public space. Joseph Rykwert, in his article "The garden of the future, between aesthetic and technology",[1] invites us to resolve one of the clearest challenges of our times: "Bring nature to the city, and put nature at the service of the citizen." The relationship between city and nature has lead to numerous examples of public space which are the result of the complexities of literally transporting natural models to the city for public use, or the clear contradiction between these urban uses and the nature areas or images of nature these models attempt preserve. In this article I would also like to highlight this key public space paradigm, and help to find urban, ecological and aesthetic meanings that our future open spaces will require.

Finding a new meaning for open metropolitan spaces allows for planning city projects from the perspective of a new continuity model. We are no longer dealing with the traditional compact city and its streets, squares avenues and parks, but rather a new vision, the dispersed city, where new open spaces can act as a cohesive factor, become accessible and be the new strategy which defines the shape the metropolis takes on, perhaps even resulting in a new stratum which