

# From Planning to Design: The Culture of Flexible Accumulation in Post- Cambio Madrid

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**M**y goal in this paper is to offer some comments about the relationship between cultural production and economic and political transformation at a particularly important juncture in Spain's recent past. I will use a major component of Spain's built environment, architecture and the urban planning that surrounds it,<sup>1</sup> as an example to study this relationship since it represents a particularly significant narrative informed by this transformation. I do not intend to reduce architecture, or any cultural artifact, to a manifestation of language, as has so often been the case in assessments that attempt to gain access to culture from the perspective of post-modern critical theories.<sup>2</sup> We must always keep in mind the role of Marx's silent hand of history in shaping the nature of the relationship between culture and socioeconomic forces. Only in this way can any of our approaches to culture be contributions to a truly context-based cultural studies anchored in the material reality out of which culture is cast.

As a result of the general elections of 1982, the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) assumed power with an absolute majority that allowed it to maintain control over the Spanish national political arena for more than a decade. The PSOE's 1982 electoral campaign slogan and platform of the *Elecciones del Cambio* captured the imagination of a Spanish electorate that desired to put an end to the Francoist era and the stalled centrist-led transition to democracy. The promise of new approaches to old problems struck



a responsive chord in voters who were eager to see the political arena ratify changes that had occurred in Spain's major metropolitan regions several years earlier and which had been percolating in social and cultural fields for even longer.<sup>3</sup>

Particularly important in this political, economic, social and cultural renewal was the shift from using modernity as a frame of reference to examining Spain's new set of circumstances through the optics of what many Spanish and international commentators saw as an emerging postmodern practice. This is not a view that I share, as the body of this essay makes evident. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that for some, postmodernism and postmodernity quickly became discursive shorthand expressions of a purportedly sophisticated Spain on the move, one that took its models from urban centers like Hamburg, London, Paris and New York. It is beyond the scope of this essay to delve into this issue. One need only check the number of translations of the works by major theorists of the postmodern including Jean Baudrillard, Jean-François Lyotard and Gianni Vattimo that were issued during the period to ascertain the extent of the interest in this topic. A persusal of the numerous contributions to the debate over the postmodern which seeped into everything from comics books to religion gives a sense of the extensiveness of the growing discourse of postmodernity in Spain from the late 1970s to the early 1990s.

A great part of the discussion on these issues centered on the urban. The postmodern and its most visible cultural manifestations were, of course, mostly located in and a product of Spain's cities. Precisely, what is missing from the debate and what is needed to accurately assess the postmodern, is a theoretical frame of reference that folds the nature of urban consciousness into a con-

sideration of the condition of modernity and postmodernity.

The work of David Harvey provides just such a frame. In *The Urban Experience*, (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*, (1990) *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (1996) and other essays Harvey builds on the work of other urban theorists, especially Henri Lefebvre, who assert that capitalism reproduces itself through the manner in which it appropriates space.<sup>4</sup> Central to Harvey's idea of the urban experience are the concepts of the urbanization of capital—meaning those processes through which capitalism takes hold and forms the space and time of urban life—and what he terms the urbanization of consciousness. Harvey identifies five primary areas of power in consciousness formation: individualism, class, community, the state and the family. According to Harvey the dynamic interplay of these forces is what forms urban consciousness:

The task for historical materialist interpretation of the urban process is, therefore, to examine how the ways of seeing, thinking and acting produced through the interrelations between individualism, class, community, state and family affect the paths and qualities of capitalist urbanization that in turn feed back to alter our perceptions and our actions. (*The Urban Experience* 231)

Moreover, it is in the urban context that "firmer connections between the rules of capital accumulation and the ferment of social, political and cultural forms can be identified. In so doing I reiterate that the urban is not a thing, but a process and that process is a particular example of capital accumulation in real space and time" (*The Urban Experience* 247). Here Harvey, fol-

lowing Lefebvre, expresses how capital shapes urban consciousness and how that consciousness relates to cultural and social forms, which are both formed by and formative of urban consciousness. The dynamic relationship between space and place is one particularly important ramification of these processes.<sup>5</sup>

Spanish attempts to construct a new urban identity respond to Harvey's conceptualizations in a number of important ways. The role of the state is crucial in the construction and reconstruction of urban Spain in the late 1970s, when the PSOE took control of Spain's major urban centers, and from 1982 forward when the Socialists gained national power. One of the most conspicuous ways this occurred was through architecture and the processes of urban planning that surround it. Architecture becomes one of the most important ways in which these transformations are validated, and one of the most visible manifestations of this new Spain. This is clearly visible in projects to rehabilitate the urban centers of Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Valencia and Seville and public projects linking the center to newer peripheral regions of Spain's metropolitan areas. It is also evident in the construction of new elegant private residences and slick architectural monuments to Spain's re-emerging capitalist establishment most evident in the plethora of new corporate headquarters commissioned during these years. Architects become intellectual heroes and were given a position not unlike that of the artist in the avant-garde movements of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup>

The work of Spanish architects such as Rafael Moneo, Oriol Bohigas, Santiago Calatrava, Francisco Navarro Baldweg and many others have become identified with the image of this new Spain. Their plans and projects captured the attention of ar-

chitectural critics around the world, who see it as distinct and, by extension, qualitatively superior to the architecture of the Francoist regime. Reese chronicles this process by demonstrating how Spanish architecture and architects captivate the international architectural publishing establishment through the late 1970s and 1980s. It may be true that this vision of a new Spanish architecture that breaks with its authoritarian past may not have been historically accurate, as Curtis points out. Nevertheless, it is this vision that takes hold and gains acceptance in large part because this new architectural production is quickly subsumed into analyses of international architectural trends. Most of the theories, and most of the architectural work done in Spain, is seen as falling loosely within the parameters of postmodern architecture.

Ghirado provides an excellent survey of architecture after modernism in which she spells out in great detail the theoretical underpinnings of postmodernism's revolt against the modern. For Ghirardo, Postmodernism in architecture is:

... most commonly understood as a stylistic phenomenon. Yet it should be understood first in the context of what the movement opposed, and second in what it affirmed. The very term—Postmodernism—indicated the distinction enthusiasts for the new approach intended in the early 1970s: an architecture differentiated from and following in the wake of Modernism, which many had begun to assert was anachronistic. (8)

Jencks addresses what postmodernism asserts and what it rejects. What characterizes this new architectural production is its double coding, a term he borrows from Umberto Eco:

To this day I would define Post-Modernism as I did in 1978 as “double coding” the combination of Modern Techniques with something else (usually traditional buildings) in order for architecture to communicate with the public and a concerned minority, usually other architects. (14)

What postmodernism opposes is the Modern Movement’s inability to communicate with the public, its ultimate users and its inability to make effective links with the city and history that caused it to lose favor. For proponents of postmodernism, the Modern movement, with its universal, international style and its efforts at social engineering, had lost its appeal for the users and for producers, the public and the architects. The postmodern offers (according to supporters of the postmodern like Jencks,) an architectural idiom that is more legible, vernacular and pleasing to the eye of the average citizen.

Ghirardo, Harvey and others who have examined critically the premises of postmodern architectural practice have pointed out that what is truly at stake in the formal changes is a radically different view of the relationship between society, space and the built environment. Harvey is very clear on this issue and it is worth quoting him at length, since the way he relates modern planning to postmodern design and his comments on the social purposes of space are crucial to the arguments I make in this essay:

In the field of architecture and urban design, I take postmodernism broadly to signify a break with the modernist idea that planning and development should focus on large-scale, metropolitan-wide, techno-

logically rational and efficient urban *plans*, backed by absolutely no-frills architecture (the austere ‘functionalist’ surfaces of ‘international style’ modernism). Postmodernism cultivates, instead, a conception of the urban fabric as necessarily fragmented, a ‘palimpsest’ of past forms superimposed upon each other, and a ‘collage’ of current uses, many of which may be ephemeral. Since the metropolis is impossible to command except in bits and pieces, urban *design* (and note the postmodernists design rather than plan) simply aims to be sensitive to vernacular traditions, local histories, particular wants and needs, and fancies, thus generating specialized, even highly customized architectural forms that may range from intimate, personalized spaces, through traditional monumentality, to the gaiety of spectacle. All this can flourish by appeal to a remarkable eclecticism of architectural styles.

Above all, postmodernists depart radically from modernist conceptions of how to regard space. Whereas the modernists see space as something to be shaped for social purposes and therefore always subservient to the construction of a social project, the postmodernists see space as something independent and autonomous, to be shaped according to aesthetic aims and principles which have nothing necessarily to do with any overarching social objective, save, perhaps, the achievement of timeless and ‘disinterested’ beauty as an objective in itself. (*The Condition of Postmodernity* 66)

We must understand the reception of Spanish architecture inside of Spain and in the international arena within this context. What is more, the emerging publishing in-

dustry in Spain promoted the image of Spanish architecture and its relationship to the cutting edge of architectural theory and practice around the world. All of this helped to promote the image of a vibrant, creative Spain.<sup>7</sup>

Architects worked with government planners on innumerable public commissions that ranged from public housing to the more than thirty museums and cultural centers built in Spain during the 1980s and 1990s. Architects also built more and more private sector buildings and inexorably transformed the face of Spain's cities. In this way they mimicked the way other urban centers around the world (which were transforming themselves in attempts to compete with each other) to recapture those who had fled the central city. In Spain however, the flight to the suburbs, a phenomenon of post-World War II economic strategies in other countries like the United States, became a major factor in transforming Spain's built environment. In fact, some of the most interesting examples of private sector building in Spain are both renovations of urban dwellings, akin to the phenomenon Zukin studies in *Loft Living* and *The Cultures of Cities*, as well as elegant suburban homes.<sup>8</sup>

The public sector had a lot to gain from this process and did the most to position itself to help in any way it could and to reap the greatest benefit possible from this effort. The promotion of architecture as part of the image of a new Spain was really not very different from similar promotion efforts in other cultural spheres, such as the subvention of films, journals, art and photographic exhibitions or the fashion industry. The Socialists were intent on selling an image of Spain that was marketable at home and abroad and which advanced the agenda sent forth in the electoral platform for the *Elecciones del Cambio*. Martínez

Bouza, commenting on the fashion industry, said that the Socialist government wanted to "generar ídolos and vender España" (49). His comments also apply to other parts of the Spanish cultural arena, including architecture, the most visible part of the built environment.

It is here that we need to step back a bit further, to remove ourselves from the middle of the frenetic processes of building and image construction and contextualize the entire process. To do so we need to refer again to the work of Harvey, who believes that a major transformation takes place in capitalism in the 1970s:

1972 is not a bad date for symbolizing all kinds of other transitions in the political economy of advanced capitalism. It is roughly since then that the capitalist world, shaken out of the suffocating torpor of the stagflation that brought the long postwar boom to a whimpering end, has begun to evolve a seemingly quite different regime of capital accumulation. Set in motion during the severe recession of 1973 - 1975 and further consolidated during the equally savage deflation of 1981 - 1982 (the 'Reagan' recession) the new regime is marked by a startling flexibility with respect to labor processes, labor markets, products and patterns of consumption.... It has, at the same time, entrained rapid shifts in the patterning of uneven development, both between sectors and geographical regions—a process aided by the rapid evolution of entirely new financial systems and markets. (*The Urban Experience* 256-57)<sup>9</sup>

With respect to urban space, the condition of postmodernity brought on by flexible accumulation is equally pernicious. To un-

derstand the construction of urban space in Spain we need to examine how postmodernism is anchored in the transformations of capital that trigger flexible accumulation. To accomplish this we must see postmodernism not as a particular architectural style or movement but as a sociopolitical and economic frame within the dynamics of capital. The marketing of urban spaces in competition with each other often times appeals to an ephemeral sense of history. Harvey labels this “packaging” of historical memory for the purpose of selling place the “heritage industry.”<sup>10</sup> Certainly the number of museums constructed in Madrid and Spain in general and the commodification that surrounds them illustrate the ways in which these tendencies took root in Spain. Moreover, the spaces constructed more often than not become ideolects of the language of a specific architect.<sup>11</sup> These spaces are all linked in some way or another to processes of accumulation from which the architect ultimately cannot disengage himself and over which he ultimately has little control. The attempts to maintain some type of regional autonomy for architecture and urban design (of the type Frampton identifies) are eventually overtaken by forces that begin to shape one urban center into an extension of all others. These centers become slaves to the marketplace and the marketing of urban images in unparalleled ways. As Harvey and others have pointed out, the shaping of space for social purposes that characterizes modernist architectural theory and urban planning cedes to a conceptualization of space as something to be shaped independently of these concerns under postmodern design.

To illustrate the processes I have been discussing, I would like to examine one of Spain's most interesting recent movies, Alex de la Iglesia's iconoclastic *El día de la Bestia*

(1995). An analysis of this filmic narrative will allow me to show how urbanized consciousness takes concrete form as a meditation on the nature of modernity and postmodernity in Spain. De la Iglesia's film was released just at the end of the Socialist mandate in Parliament, some time after the party had lost control of the municipal government of Madrid and as such it represents an important meditation on the nature of the urban experience in Spain's capital.

*El día de la bestia*, billed as a “comedia de acción satánica” in the publicity campaign that preceded its commercial release, is certainly a curious film. It narrates the adventures of a priest and professor of Theology at the Universidad de Deusto named Ángel Berriurtúa who believes he can predict the time and place of the apocalypse. He is convinced that Satan will soon end the world and that the finale will occur at midnight on Christmas Eve, in Madrid. Ángel sets out to confront Satan by, as he announces to his confidant in the chapel at the University, doing “todo el mal que pueda” (9).<sup>12</sup> In the next sequence we see Ángel arrive in Madrid. He descends from a bus against the backdrop of the “Puerta de Europa” sign. It is obvious to anyone familiar with the refiguring of Madrid's urban geography in the past decade that Ángel is at the Intercambiadores de Transportes in the wholly redesigned Plaza de Castilla. Looming in the background is one of the Torres de Europa that mark the entrance to Madrid from the north *via* the Paseo de la Castellana. Ángel sets out to find, confront, and conquer Satan and thus pluck humanity back from the brink of apocalyptic extinction. He enlists the aid of a drugged-up, good-hearted heavy metal fan named José María. Together, with the latter playing a kind of Sancho to Ángel's quirky

Quijote, they attempt to save the world. To do so they enlist the aid of Doctor Cavan, the Italian star of an exploitative television show called *La Zona Oscura* that focuses on the supernatural. They embark on a strange odyssey through a completely dystopic version of Madrid much closer to Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* than anything by Almodóvar. In the end, José María is dead after saving Ángel from the clutches of Satan and/or a marauding group of thugs called Limpia Madrid.<sup>13</sup> Ángel has lost his faith and the previously disbelieving Cavan, whom Ángel rescues from the clutches of the Limpia Madrid and/or Satan, has assumed his Quixotic position. By the end of the film, Cavan, who has been replaced in his lucrative television position by none other than El Gran Wyoming, wanders Retiro Park with Ángel, sure that he has saved the world from destruction.<sup>14</sup>

In her introduction to *Refiguring Spain*, Kinder uses *El día de la bestia* along with Almodóvar's *La flor de mi secreto* and Díaz Yáñez's *Nadie hablará de nosotros cuando hayamos muerto*, all from 1995, to signal a transformation in the nature of the Spanish film industry and in the relationship of filmmakers to Spain's recent political past. Kinder sees these three films as endemic of the state of political reality in Spain in 1995 and believes that all prefigure the political changes of 1996 that ended fourteen years of national political rule by the PSOE:

*El día de la bestia* and *Nadie hablará de nosotros cuando hayamos muerto* go much further than *La flor de mi secreto* in condemning the libertarian ethos of a Socialist Spain and in recuperating certain values of a conservative past. Although I am not suggesting that these films or their directors support Aznar and the PP, their severe

attack on the widespread corruption in Madrid and their intense reengagement with Catholicism (however parodic) evoke the kind of mentality that made González's defeat and Aznar's coalition possible. (18)<sup>15</sup>

Kinder reads de la Iglesia's film as a kind of political allegory of the excesses of Socialism. According to Kinder the dark Madrid the director presents is:

... policed by a squad of murderous vigilantes (Limpia Madrid) and colonized by former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's corrupt multinational media. (21)

Moreover, the film reveals the reactionary potential of Basque nationalism associated with militant Catholicism and resistance to centralization:

This insularity is evoked in the very opening shot, where we see the phrase "puerta d'Europa" (sic) written on a wall, a revelation that Madrid's corruption is inextricably linked with the drive toward European convergence. (21)

Kinder is right to relate the film to the political context of Spain in the 1990s. However, if we turn our attention to the dynamics of the construction of space and place that Harvey and others see as central to the understanding of the political geography of capitalism and its construction of urban consciousness, the political assessment we can take from a reading of de la Iglesia's iconoclastic vision of urban life is quite different. If we reread the construction of place and space in *El día de la bestia* we can fully appreciate how this film plots a condemnation of a wider sort. It articulates a vision of urban consciousness that is

cognizant of how capitalism forms space as well as how it intervenes in the dialectical tension between space and place that Harvey masterfully unravels in *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. In this way it contributes to an understanding of how politics is merely one part of the dynamic interplay of forces through which urbanized capital forms consciousness.

De la Iglesia plots Ángel's search for Satan against the cityscape of a Madrid shot primarily at night. Many of the locations, interior and exterior, are iconic of the urban space of a city in Spain. They include a "pensión de mala muerte," a metro stop, a music store specializing in rock music, a heavy metal concert space, and, significantly, a convenience store from the Seven-Eleven international chain that first made its way into Spain in the 1980s. Other locations are more directly identifiable to those who live in Madrid. These include the holiday decorations along the Gran Vía and the interior of the FNAC bookstore in the Plaza de Callao. The most important moments in the film's narrative advancement are the ones in which the action takes place in buildings wholly familiar to any *madrileño* and to most urban Spaniards: the Edificio Capitol and the Torres de Europa, originally called the Torres KIO. These are landmarks whose construction was tied to efforts to link the construction of Madrid with ideas of what a metropolis should look like that circulated through the debates about modernity during the period in which the buildings were constructed. The monuments that de la Iglesia employs are emblematic of Madrid's hopes for itself as a (post)-modern metropolis.

Soon after José María introduces Ángel to Cavan's television show the pair follow Cavan to his apartment where they hold him hostage in an attempt to get him

to reveal the secrets that will allow them to invoke Satan's presence. In spite of Cavan's confession that his television show is a hoax, Ángel insists. Surprisingly (even to Cavan himself) his methods work and Satan appears to them in the form of a Macho Cabrío, the male goat that represents the devil in Satanic rituals. The exterior shots of the building in which Cavan resides identify it as the Edificio Carrión, in the Plaza del Callao on the Gran Vía in Madrid. The building is better known as the Edificio Capitol for the movie theater of the same name that occupied that space for a number of years and for the hotel that still does. It is undoubtedly one of the major architectural symbols of modernity in Spain. It has become such a part of Madrid's urban image that it is used in numerous advertising campaigns and graphic artists have used on everything from postcards to the urban comics that were published in such venues as the ephemeral but influential *Madrid*. The Edificio Capitol is one of the anchors of the first major modernization project in Madrid, the expansion of the Gran Vía from the Calle de Alcalá to the Plaza de España. Susan Larson engages the importance of the Gran Vía and the relationship to urban planning during the period from 1914 to 1936. She demonstrates how attempts at rational urban planning, inspired by more purportedly progressive governments, urban planners and architects, who through organizations like GATEPAC and others inspired by foreign models of urbanization, eventually fall victim to their inability to recognize that urbanization is a process and not a product. This is a lesson that Harvey, drawing on Lefebvre's powerful work, *The Production of Space*, makes a central component of his historical geographical materialism.

Vicente Eced and Luis Martínez Feduchi, two of the most important archi-



rects of the period, designed the Edificio Capitol. Interestingly, the latter also designed the film sets for many of the movies that were to be screened in the theater that was a significant component of the building. The multi-use design of the building was new in Spain. The Hotel Capitol was the first in Madrid designed as a series of small apartments. The building was one of the first to combine a movie theater and other public spaces with living and office space. The Capitol Building also introduced a number of structural innovations imported from buildings designed in other countries. The large concrete beams that allow for the great spans of space in the building were imported from Germany. The architects and their collaborators traveled to a number of European cities to examine the latest in building design in general and cinema design in particular to assure that they incorporated all of the latest in technology.<sup>16</sup>

As with many of the other buildings that are part of the various phases of the work on the Gran Vía, the relationship between accumulation and consumption is evident. This is especially true of buildings like the Capitol that were located on street corners. They had a privileged position since passers-by did not have to turn their heads to look at them. Because of this they become prominent spaces on which

to hang large advertisements for products associated with the arrival of modernity, most of them from multi-national corporations. In fact, one could study the evolution of consumption in Spain in the transformations of the advertising that adorns buildings like the Capitol.<sup>17</sup>

In one of the best special effects ever staged in a Spanish film, *de la Iglesia* literally hangs his protagonists on the huge neon Schweppes sign that adorns the front of the Capitol Building. This scene takes place after they have invoked the presence of Satan. With the police at the door of Cavan's apartment, summoned by the latter's girlfriend, their only escape route is out the win-

dow of Cavan's luxury apartment, on the sign hanging on the outside of the building. By so doing the director, through a series of close-ups, medium and long shots that underscore their precarious position, links the protagonists to this important building and the building to the specific place on the Gran Vía that it occupies. This is particularly clear in the long enabling shot.<sup>18</sup>

At the end of the film, after a series of disastrous attempts to unravel the crucial

enigma of where Satan will appear, Ángel is physically and emotionally drained. It is now Cavan (himself the worse for wear after his fall from the Schweppes sign) who discovers where Satan is to appear.<sup>19</sup> Stand-



Edificio Capitol

ing on an overpass Cavan explains exactly what the “casa del diablo” (as he calls it in his broken Spanish) must look like. He then invites Ángel, who is facing him, to turn around and view it. De la Iglesia first films a full frame close-up of Ángel’s perplexed face, followed by a reverse angle of the cause of his consternation, the enormous Torres de Europa that rise out of the redesigned Plaza de Castilla. The next shot is from the position occupied by Cavan and José María. When we see Ángel in the center flanked by the enormous inclining twin towers, he begins to raise his arms as a kind of instinctive imitation of a cross but stops short and inadvertently allows his arms to make the same form as the building. The camera shifts back to a reverse angle filming the three protagonists against the backdrop of the underpass that has eliminated the necessity of traffic flowing around the Plaza de Castilla. The subsequent shot follows Ángel as he moves forward, his arms still inadvertently between the form of a cross and that of the inclined towers of the building. As he does so the camera takes up a long shot of the Plaza and we see in the center the monument to Calvo Sotelo which now stands between the twin towers.<sup>20</sup> The sequence of shots that de la Iglesia employs to film the exterior of the Capitol building (close up, medium, then long enabling shots) is very similar to the way he films Madrid’s twin towers. The long shots situate the two monuments in their place and symbolically link them to the Gran Vía and the Castellana whose redesign they symbolize.

If any design project can qualify as the “casa del diablo,” it is the Torres de Europa (or the Torres KIO as they were originally called) not just because their inclined shape could be construed as Satan’s attempt to have his house imitate the shape of the house

of God, but for how they represent all that went wrong in the history of urbanization in Spain under socialism and the redesign of Madrid in the hands of the governments that succeeded the PSOE in the 1990s. It is here that the dialectic between Spanish and international space and place finds true symbolic representation. It is also here that we can reread the narrative of redesigning Spain in relationship to the political and market forces of flexible accumulation and consumption. The significance of the Torres KIO, as they were still known at the time de la Iglesia shot his film, was not lost on the director.<sup>21</sup>

The inclined twin towers of the Torres de Europa are Madrid’s equivalents of the twin towers of the World Trade Center. They are situated just north of the Plaza de Castilla that had to be redesigned to accommodate them. They form the symbolic northern opening of the Paseo de la Castellana whose southern flank is also graced



**Torres de Europa**

by a redesigned architectural monument, Rafael Moneo’s Atocha train station now called the Puerta de Atocha.<sup>22</sup> They now also form the starting point for the ambitious new plan to reroute and prolong the Castellana all the way to Fuencarral. Images of the plan for this extension adorn the front and back of this issue of the *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies*.

From the 1970s on, the Castellana began to replace the Gran Vía as the central axis of Madrid's urban development.<sup>23</sup> Many of the country's important banks and insurance companies relocated to new buildings along the Castellana designed by Spain's most important architects. They include the Banco Unión, the Bank Inter and the new home for the Unión y la Fénix insurance company whose original home near the Gran Vía is one of the main monuments to the first period of urban planning in Madrid. This transformation became increasingly important in the 1980s as the center of social life began to shift northward. The Corte Inglés department store chain located what was to become its flagship store there. Also contributing to this transformation was the construction of many important centers of commerce there, from the elegant Banco del Bilbao building to Madrid's tallest building, the Torre Picasso, and the fact that at night Azca became one of the centers of Madrid's burgeoning youth culture. Spain's first shopping mall, the Vaguada, which also opened in the 1980s, is only a short bus ride north from the Plaza de Castilla.<sup>24</sup> These projects and others like them are examples of what Harvey calls urban design, not rational urban planning.

The Torres KIO or Torres de Europa are the best example of this.<sup>25</sup> The original plan for the building dates from the mid-1980s. The architectural design was entrusted to the architectural firm of Burgee, Johnson and Associates known for their design of large buildings. Perhaps their most famous and controversial work is the firm's initial entry into the realm of the grand postmodern, the AT&T Tower in New York. The elaboration of the plan for the work, the first inclined high-rise towers ever designed, was entrusted to Leslie E. Rob-

ertson and Associates. LERA is the New York-based structural engineering firm that has engineered the majority of the world's tallest buildings, including the Torres Picasso in Madrid.<sup>26</sup> Luis Armada Martínez-Campos mentions the Torres de Europa and the redesign of the Plaza de Castilla as one of the keys to the transformation of Madrid for the events surrounding the city's role as cultural capital of Europe in 1992. *Madridileños* less than affectionately refer to the building as the *entrepiernas*. Others are even less generous in their assessments.<sup>27</sup>

Were it only a matter of the design of a single ugly building, perhaps the Torres de Europa project would not have had such an impact on the urbanization of consciousness. What makes this particular project so important is that it evokes so many of the processes involved in the urbanization of capital and the urbanization of consciousness under flexible accumulation. Perhaps the geometric similarity between the shape of the building and the cloven hoof of satanism is only coincidental. At any rate, it made it very easy for de la Iglesia to make one of Madrid's most controversial design projects in recent years into the site of the "casa del diablo."

When the Socialists assumed power in 1982, Spain's economy had not yet recovered from the effects of an almost decade-long recession that shook the world. This recession, triggered by the lifting of controls from financial markets, the collapse of the world-wide housing market and the petroleum shortages is what Harvey signals as the onset of a new form of accumulation in which capitalism has to become more flexible in order to survive.

The Socialists soon began an economic program plucked whole cloth from neoliberal economic theory. Curiously, one of the first financial actions of the PSOE,

the expropriation of the RUMASA holding company of the rogue financier Ruiz-Mateos, sent shock waves through the financial establishment. The government's subsequent financial policy jolted the hearts of the card-holding members of the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), the labor union tied to the Socialist Party and potential homeowners. Over time, many union members saw their jobs begin to evaporate when by the end of the financial boom Spain experienced in the latter 1980s company after company went into *suspensión de pagos*, the Spanish equivalent of Chapter 11. Potential homeowners saw their possibilities of home ownership or even of renting a decent living space evaporate as land and home prices skyrocketed during the building boom fueled by new, more aggressive capitalist policies.

To jump-start the economy the Socialists opted for an economic strategy based on privatization and internationalization. Etchezarrate's introduction to *La reestructuración del capitalismo en España* as well as many of the other contributions to this volume detail this process.<sup>28</sup> Smith provides another recent approach to the same topic written in English. Deregulation of rents and the reduction of subsidized housing starts left the housing industry completely in the hands of market capital. As Sánchez reports,<sup>29</sup> this was to be the lasting legacy of Miguel Boyer, the PSOE's first Finance Minister. The popularly termed Ley Boyer of 1985 substantially changed the nature of the housing industry in Spain. Coupled with the privatization and internationalization of the economy, these policies had tremendous repercussions. Vázquez reports that between 1984 and 1990, foreign investors poured 3.6 billion pesetas into the Spanish economy and that by 1990 they accounted for ten percent of Spain's Pro-

ducto Interior Bruto, the Spanish GNP. The Socialist policy was partly motivated by the desire to incorporate Spain into the European Community as quickly as possible. Vázquez outlines why foreign investors found Spain so tempting.<sup>30</sup> Many owners and boards of directors of Spanish companies found the offer of cash for their companies too compelling to resist in Spain's difficult financial environment, and, caring nothing about the fate of their Spanish workforce, quickly sold out. In Madrid, this speculation with the price of housing and office space and land in general saw prices increase dramatically between 1983 and 1990.<sup>31</sup>

It is this climate that led to the Torres KIO disaster. The internationalization of Spain's economy plays an important role here. The key player is the Kuwaiti Investment Office (KIO) housed in London, and its man in Spain, the Catalan equivalent of America's infamous junk bond brokers, Javier de la Rosa. KIO was an invention of the Kuwaiti royal family. By the end of the 1970s the royal household was cognizant of the fact that in order to assure the perpetuation of their fortunes for their heirs they needed to find revenue sources other than petroleum. The world's more flexible financial markets provided an avenue to find the investments that would produce this capital. They set up office in London and, under the direction of Fuad Kaled Jaffar, set about achieving heir goal. By 1989, Kuwait's income from its overseas investments exceeded petroleum revenues for the first time. Given the nature of the world's economic markets, this trend might have continued unchecked. The unforeseen invasion of Kuwait by Iraq put an end to this. Enter Javier de la Rosa, the son of a developer in Barcelona cut from the cloth of the protagonists of Vázquez Montalbán's *Los*

*mares del sur* (1979). His father absconded and moved abroad after projects in Barcelona failed. The younger de la Rosa quickly assumed the position of power in the banking industry in Spain. By the mid-1980s de la Rosa had run the Banco Garriga Nogués, a subsidiary of BANESTO, at that time one of Spain's most powerful banks, into the ground. He ran the bank some 8,000 million pesetas in debt, only the first of the *agujeros negros* (black holes) that de la Rosa would amass for the companies he would manage. In 1984 de la Rosa approached officers of KIO to convince them to invest in Spain. Through a series of dealings that involved buying shares in undervalued Spanish companies and selling them at enormous profits from which he pocketed huge commissions, de la Rosa made KIO into an important player in the Spanish financial world. By 1987, as Martínez de Pablo explains, de la Rosa and the KIO investments in Spain were sending shock waves through Spain's financial community. KIO was buying up major interests in Spanish banks and thus foiling the efforts of some of the country's more staid and established bankers to broker their own advantageous mergers.

What the powerful KIO group needed was a building befitting the stature of its position in the Spanish economy and one that would earn it a tremendous return through the rents it would charge for the prime office space located there. This is what gives rise to the plan to build the twin towers to the north of the Plaza de Castilla. Enter the two Albertos—Alcocer and Cortina—married to the Koplovitz sisters, the adopted heirs to the Corte Inglés fortune of Ramón Areces. The land they possessed around the Plaza de Castilla was transferred to KIO in exchange for the right for their powerful construction firm Construc-

ciones y Contratas being awarded the construction contracts for the Torres KIO project.<sup>32</sup> This was only one of the deals between KIO and the Albertos. By 1989, as Sánchez (1989) reports, this relationship between the Albertos and de la Rosa had soured and the contract was let to other builders.<sup>33</sup> This was only one of the scandalous high-profile economic deals that kept KIO, their towers and their agent de la Rosa on the front pages of the popular press. Little by little, the scandals began to seep into the domain of the public sector and a number of increasingly scandalous and sometimes libelous reports and books were published that linked the government to these scandals. Javier Pradera is a more dispassionate observer. The editor of *Claves de la razón pragmática*, he is not suspect of being a right-wing rumor monger bent on undoing the substantial gains that socialism did indeed produce in Spain. He argues that it was the PSOE's economic scandals that finally did the party in and eroded the confidence of the Spanish electorate in its ability to govern. The names de la Rosa and KIO were consistently linked in one way or another to these scandals. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that locally, the towers were very controversial.<sup>34</sup>

By the end of the Gulf War the wheels began to fall off of KIO. Kuwait needed its investment funds to rebuild the country. When officials began to examine the books, especially those related to Spain, their hearts and their pocketbooks began to drop. They found that their man in London had paid scant attention to what was going on in Madrid, and that their man in Madrid had run up massive commissions for his services and massive debts for the corporations he managed for the royal family. One by one they began to go belly up, invoking *suspensiones de pagos* and exacerbating the prob-

lems the Spanish economy suffered as the boom of the 1980s ended. By 1992, the relationship between KIO and de la Rosa was over. KIO finally sued de la Rosa, whom *Cambio 16* less than affectionately dubbed J.R. in honor of his similarity to the wheeling and dealing protagonist of *Dallas*. He somehow managed to avoid prosecution. By 1993, as San Segundo and Casado report, the twin towers, whose unfinished shells were prominent parts of Madrid's cityscape and whose image graced the pages of so many popular magazines in connection to the de la Rosa, KIO and financial scandals, were on the auction block. In fact, their major financial backer, the CAJA-MADRID, which would eventually purchase the towers, suggested tearing them down at one time.

J.R. had his fortune, his yacht and his private jet. It would be several years before he would be jailed on charges related to other misdeeds and several more years before his case would be ready to come to trial. Economic scandals as well as the political ones that would finally lead to defeat at the polls in 1996 rocked the PSOE. Madrid had its unfinished twin towers adorning the entrance to a city that the culture of flexible accumulation and consumption began to make look more and more like every other European and American city. The Gran Vía, the central axis of modernization and rational urban planning, is replaced by the remodeled Castellana crowned by the Torres de Europa, shaped by a process of postmodern urban design.<sup>35</sup>

It is here that we need to return to de la Iglesia's film. As Ángel sets out to confront Satan, his colleague warns him that "nuestro enemigo es poderoso y acabará con nosotros al menor descuido" (11). Ángel may or may not have vanquished Satan as Cavan proclaims at the end of the film. The

very fact that he makes this statement while sitting near a statue of Satan in Retiro Park makes this possibility seem even more remote. But if they did not do in the devil, Ángel's evil deeds do produce at least one positive result: he wipes out all of the members of the Fascist Limpia Madrid whom he mistook for Satan in his encounter in the Torres KIO.

I would argue that the enemy that de la Iglesia confronts is not *El Maligno*, but powerful and unchecked capitalism of flexible accumulation and the effects it produces through the way it urbanizes capital and consciousness in turn. In this way *El día de la bestia* functions as the kind of contestatory urbanized consciousness that Harvey believes is necessary if we are to combat the excesses of capital.<sup>36</sup> At stake is the answer to the question: whose city is it? Who controls the version of the metropolis that is internalized through the processes of urbanizing consciousness under capital? Moreover, what role does architecture really play in this process and who benefits from it? In "The Invisible Political Economy of Architectural Production," Harvey, writing about the London Docklands project, one of the most well-documented and most controversial examples of how rampant accumulation skews urban planning, makes comments equally applicable to the Torres KIO construction fiasco:

... buildings also exist against a backdrop of that moving stream of money, of capital accumulation and overaccumulation, of imperatives to reconstitute urban space to absorb surplus capital, all in ways that bear little or no relation to human need but which submit entirely to the dictates of human greed. Learning to visualise the background space in these terms giving it equal impor-

rance (as positive negative space) to the foreground appears to me to be the first step towards a critical architecture, an architectural discourse which opens up the invisible for inspection. (427)<sup>37</sup>

In *El día de la bestia*, the relationship between capital and urban consciousness de la Iglesia presents serves as an antidote to the hegemonic version of this relationship that underlies the discourse of postmodern urban design.

Far from being the conformist vision of Spain that Kinder posits, de la Iglesia's film is truly radical. It articulates the processes that contribute to the urbanization of consciousness at a particularly important juncture in Spain's history. It is a resistance to the kind of political thinking that attributes all responsibility for Spain's ills to the policies of the central government in Madrid and the corruption that ensued from those policies. While the Socialists bear blame for their policies that made land speculation profitable, others hold a great responsibility as well. By the time the movie was made, we must remember, the right had held the reins of local government in Madrid's municipal government as well as the government of the Comunidad de Madrid for some time. The parallelism between the actions of Limpia Madrid and scenes of police brutality early in the film surely point out that changes in the government in the city of Madrid and tensions between it and the Socialist-controlled national government also located there form as important a part of the urban consciousness of Madrid and Spain in the 1990s as did the reprehensible actions of the GAL. One need only to peruse Villoria's *Así cambiamos Madrid*, a hagiographic account of the wonders that the Partido Popular

wrought in Madrid when it assumed power in the late 1980s, to see how the PP's vision is easily transmuted into the perverse actions of a group called Limpia Madrid. *Así cambiamos Madrid* also brings into sharp focus how the politics of urban growth was inseparable from the nature of capital accumulation described by Harvey. The root of the problem, whoever held the reins of government, remained flexible capital and its effects.

While de la Iglesia may not vanquish the capitalism of flexible accumulation, he at least confronts it. Moreover, he contextualizes capital in such a way as to obviate the modern/postmodern distinction in a way very similar to Harvey. The two periods of modernization in Spain that I have addressed here are subsumed as movements of different phases of the urbanization of capital just as is the process of urban planning/design that underlies them. During both periods, progressive governments fell far short of social expectations. More conservative governments performed equally poorly. In both cases, these planners fell victim to confusion between process and product or were unable to stop the inexorable mechanics of the capitalism of flexible accumulation. If the urban is a process, as Harvey and Lefebvre believe, then the construction of buildings does not solve problems, but neither does the failure of previous attempts at rational planning obviate the need for careful planning. If the planning during the first stage of modernity was deficient in thinking that rationalized plans and their execution would solve the problem, the lack of planning, or better said, the subservience of planning to the demands of flexible accumulation during the 1980s and 1990s (planning's permutation into urban design) is even more dangerous. Under flexible accumulation, the enemy has

grown even more powerful, and with that power: "acabará con nosotros al menor descuido." What is even more terribly pernicious, however, is that the space in which alternative culture can operate has been greatly reduced. All cultural artifacts are in danger of being rapidly turned into simply another commodity. Even the most radical can be domesticated by capital.<sup>38</sup> As Harvey points out repeatedly in his writing the cause of this is simply the fact that any challenge to capital needs capital to exercise its right to challenge it. This is ultimately the fate of *El día de la bestia*. De la Iglesia's filmic challenge to the discourse of postmodernization itself enters the realm of the circulation of culture as a highly successful commodity.<sup>39</sup> In this way the money it earned wears off some of the rough edges of its challenge to capital. Perhaps the protagonists at the end of the film who wander the Retiro, unsure if they are heroes or not, are symbolic of the nature of de la Iglesia's product. Ángel and Cavan's impossible dream is to vanquish Satan while de la Iglesia strives to present that quest in a medium that, ironically, can never escape the tentacles of capital's formation of the urban.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The relationships between architecture, planning, politics and economics are complex. Space does not permit a detailed evaluation of planning issues. There is a growing body of work that treats this subject, although little of it shares the theoretical richness of works like Hall, Harvey, Ghirardo, Zukin and others. Terán provides a useful introduction to the subject from a Spanish perspective. The collective volume *El malestar urbano en la gran ciudad* offers a number of interesting case studies. Issues of urban planning and its impact are central in the most important journal of urban studies produced in Spain in the late 1980s and early 1990s, *Urbanismo*, a publication of the Colegio Oficial

de Arquitectos de Madrid. Moix and Zulaika mention planning in their studies of architecture and politics in Barcelona and Bilbao respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Ghirardo and Harvey, 1990 deal with postmodern architecture and linguistic based critical models at length. See especially Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* 66-99.

<sup>3</sup> Villarós provides a useful reading of these cultural transformations. Hooper is also informative.

<sup>4</sup> Harvey is not without his critics, which is not surprising given the way he remains faithful to the essence of materialist thought in an era in which it is under attack on a number of fronts. In this he is not unlike Eagleton in *The Illusions of Postmodernity*. Short provides a balanced view of the continued importance of his work. Gregory speaks to the important role of both Harvey and Lefebvre in the construction of what Gregory calls geographical imagination and offers a balanced assessment of Harvey's work.

<sup>5</sup> The tension between space as an abstract concept and the concreteness of a particular place, between the universal and militant particularism is always central to Harvey's writing. It is particularly important in *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*.

<sup>6</sup> Harvey makes this assertion in *The Condition of Postmodernity*.

<sup>7</sup> The role of publishing in promoting the culture of the cambio is one that requires considerably more attention than it has received to date. The production of slick new journals that promote these changes, but are themselves objects to be designed to attract consumers in ways that previous Spanish journals had not.

<sup>8</sup> Lorente Lorente, Rico, Gámez Blanco and Hernández Hernández all address the issue of museums and centers of culture and as sites of commodification in ways similar to those raised by Ghirardo, Harvey, Philo and Kerns (*Selling Places*) and Zukin. Three issues of *Arquitectura y Vivienda* issued over a period of five years discuss a number of the issues addressed in this paragraph. They are *Madrid Capital* (6, 1986), *Nuestros Museos* (26, 1990) and *Madrid Pública*, 30 (1991). The journal *Urbanismo*, mentioned



above, contains a wealth of information about projects in Madrid and other Spanish urban centers.

<sup>9</sup> Harvey has backed away from his assessment that flexible accumulation represents a sea of change in the nature of capitalism, and in fact does not even employ the term in *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Nevertheless the effects of a more flexible and even more predatory form of capitalism is central to this later book.

<sup>10</sup> Philo and Kerns and Zukin, Ghirardo, and Hall all study this phenomenon from a variety of perspectives.

<sup>11</sup> Antonio Fernández Alba is the most perspicacious of Spanish commentators of this issue.

<sup>12</sup> All quotes from the movie are cited from the screenplay by the author and his collaborator Jorge Guerraicachevarría. The other priest cautions Ángel: "Nuestro enemigo es poderoso. Acabará con nosotros al mejor descuido. Es posible que haya escuchado nuestra conversación." Significantly, in a moment of dark humor that sets the tone of the film, as Ángel asks the older priest: "Padre ¿podremos soportar esta cruz?" (11). As they begin to exit the church, Ángel stoops to pick up some papers he has dropped and his confidant is crushed by a huge cross that adorns the front of the chapel.

<sup>13</sup> This group practices its own brand of brutish "ethnic cleansing" by killing the homeless. It appears several times in the movie. There is reason to agree with Kinder's assessment that the group is a veiled reference to the Government's support of the GAL's involvement in the illegal war against ETA. The group also functions as a reference to the idea that rightist governments of the late 1980s and 1990s in Madrid had about "cleaning up" the city and making it safe for citizens.

<sup>14</sup> Significantly the Retiro scene is filmed with the statue of the "Ángel Caído" prominently in view. As Savater indicates in his introduction to the screen play, Madrid is the only European city "que se adorna con una estatua dedicada al Maligno, ese tremendo monumento al ángel caído a cuyos pies—o mejor a cuyas pezuñas—

acaba la película" (6).

<sup>15</sup> While these films are critical of socialism and its legacy Kinder believes that to maintain their global appeal:

... they retain a radical surface of outrageousness, consistent with the hyperliberated stereotype Almodóvar popularized during the Socialist era. It was this stereotype that helped initiate the financial recovery of a broad-based belief in the stability of a democratic Spain, one that could withstand an occasional swing to the right. (23)

<sup>16</sup> Urrutia contains a wealth of information about the building.

<sup>17</sup> On the façade of the Edificio Capitol have hung signs for important international firms like Camel, Grundig, Schweppes, and now Benetton, the Italian owned international chain of clothing stores.

<sup>18</sup> Crucial here are two shots that de la Iglesia positions soon after he films the trio beginning their descent down the sign. The first is a long enabling shot situating the building in its entirety in its place on the corner of the Gran Vía. The second shot is almost identical, but in it the camera draws back to allow for an even greater contextualization of the building.

<sup>19</sup> Significantly this revelation occurs while he is in his TV studio, the one linked to the urban reality of Madrid through a huge photo of Silvio Berlusconi that adorns the wall. Berlusconi, the Italian medio mogul, who would subsequently become assume elected office in Italy, was the owner of Telecinco, one of Spain's first private television stations. The link between the media and urban planning is an important element of my narrative that, for reasons of space, cannot be developed here.

<sup>20</sup> The relocation of the monument was one of the transformations of the Plaza de Castilla done to make way for the towers.

<sup>21</sup> In the screenplay the director provides the following comment. "El cura levanta la cabeza y mira hacia dónde le señala CAVAN.

Delante suyo ve las gigantescas TORRES KIO. Como Sabrá el lector, aún están en proceso de construcción" (77).

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting that the Atocha station is the one definitively recognizable building in a film by another Basque director, Imanol Uribe's *Días contados*, 1994, based loosely on the urban novel of the same name by Juan Madrid and published in 1993.

<sup>23</sup> The popular *Time Out Madrid Guide*, for example, devotes an entire page to what it calls "Madrid's great artery" (89). That feature includes a picture of the Torres de Europa spanning the Plaza de Castilla.

<sup>24</sup> The Vaguada project itself was highly controversial. Herrera de Elera speaks to the effect of projects like la Vaguada.

<sup>25</sup> While Hall has a different explanation of the causes of this change from planning to design, one with which I cannot agree, his fundamental study of urban planning in the twentieth century documents how the role of urban planning is diminished under flexible accumulation.

<sup>26</sup> A description of the firm's substantial engineering accomplishments and descriptions of their most important projects can be found at <http://www.lera.com>. That four of these projects are located in a country the size of Spain says something about the role of architecture in the formation of Spain's urban consciousness.

<sup>27</sup> Urrutia mordently comments that the only elegant building in the Plaza de Castilla is the water tower that dates from the 1920s. Significantly the water tower is visible over Ángel's shoulder in those shots just before he discovers the Torres KIO. Broughton is equally critical "Madrid dispone de algunos ejemplos de la mejor arquitectura reciente en España, pero con las Torres KIO se rebaja a lo peor" (244). Both Broughton and Hooper point out just how embedded the towers have become in Madrid's urban consciousness. They also figure prominently in Almodóvar's *Carne Trémula* (1997) and Almenábar's *Abre los ojos* (1997).

<sup>28</sup> See the contributions by Albarracín, Catalán, González I Calvet, Martínez de Pablo and Montes.

<sup>29</sup> "La vivienda de precio libre es la que reina en el mercado. De más de 140.000 viviendas de protección oficial construidas en 1985 se ha pasado a poco más de 30.000 en 1990." (54).

<sup>30</sup> Vázquez writes:

Tres son las razones que han facilitado la inversión extranjera en España. Primero la perspectiva del crecimiento, sobre todo una vez que se entro en la CE. Segundo, que las empresas han resultado baratas de comprar. Y, tercero, que el diferencial de inflación y tipos de interés entre España y casi toda Europa convierte la inversión y sobre todo la especulación, en un negocio seguro. Por ejemplo, endeudarse al 4 por ciento de interés en Alemania para comprar un inmueble en el centro de Madrid que se revaloriza a un 10 por ciento anual. (48)

<sup>31</sup> Surprisingly, although the building boom ended by the beginning of the 1990s, prices did not fall. See Sánchez (1991) for details.

<sup>32</sup> As Sánchez (1989) also points out, there was a great deal of concern that the project get underway immediately:

Nadie duda de que KIO va a hacer un auténtico negocio con las famosas torres, que destinará a alquiler de oficinas. Las obras necesitarán dos años para levantar en la Plaza de Castilla la que ya se conoce como 'Puerta de Europa.' Por eso deberán iniciarse con urgencia en los primeros meses del año 1990. No hay tiempo que perder. La mayor demanda de oficinas en Madrid se producirá en el 92. (50)

Of course the events already sketched intervened to change the pattern of housing demand, and, as I will explain below, the towers were not ready for occupancy until 1996 by which time they were in hands other than those of KIO which went belly-up long before.

<sup>33</sup> This led to a series of skirmishes between de la Rosa and the Albertos. It played out prominently in *Cambio 16* and other venues in Spain's print media. Jiménez Sánchez in his study on political scandals in Spain reflects on the role of the media in reporting them.

<sup>34</sup> Imaculada Sánchez writes:

El tremendo volumen de la edificación prevista—dos torres gemelas de 27 pisos, mas otros dos edificios de 12—provocó una polémica sin precedentes en el Gobierno municipal. La alcaldía de Juan Barranco, favorable a la obra, tuvo que luchar contra la oposición airada de Izquierda Unida, del Centro Democrático Social, de los vecinos de la zona, que ven en el proyecto un caos circulatorio y un peligro para la seguridad ciudadana del barrio, e, incluso, del propio Eduardo Mangada, consejero de Política Territorial de la autonomía madrileña. (50)

It took KIO one year of negotiations to get final approval from the city government for the project. KIO had to agree to pay 3,000 million pesetas for the remodeling of the Plaza, including the building of the Intercambiador de Transportes. This, as mentioned earlier, is where Ángel descends from the bus at the beginning of de la Iglesia's film. The neighborhood associations continued to oppose the project. In fact in 1993 *Cambio 16* ran an interview with Margarita Botija, president of the San Cristóbal Neighborhood Association in which she alleges that agents of de la Rosa offered her 200 million pesetas in cash for her apartment as a payoff for having the association back off its opposition. The project, nevertheless, went forward.

<sup>35</sup> It is a fitting anecdotal footnote to this story that the Torres de Europa is one of the only buildings in Madrid to have its own web site, <http://www.puertadeeuropa.es>. When I visited the site I filled out the request for more information about the building and submitted my request as instructed. I have yet to re-

ceive a response.

<sup>36</sup> He spells this out best in "Possible Urban Worlds," the concluding section of *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*.

<sup>37</sup> Enguitia and Vergara writing in the second issue of the important journal *Urbanismo* dedicate substantial space to major works of international urban design in London, Baltimore and Berlin that also receive attention from Hall, Ghirardo Harvey and others.

<sup>38</sup> Steven Duncomb demonstrates this brilliantly in his recent book on zines as does Thomas Frank in *The Conquest of Cool*.

<sup>39</sup> Proof of this can be seen in the fact that after de la Iglesia's success with his two alternative films, *Acción mutante* (1992) and *El día de la bestia*, de la Iglesia was asked to direct *Perdita Durango* (1997) set in Mexico with a budget that far exceeded the sum total of the funds he had to film his two Spanish films.

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