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Processes of Globalization in Madrid: Indicators and Analysers for a Contemporary Metropolis[1]

Romina Colombo
(Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, UNED)
romcolombo@gmail.com

In a context of intense production and permanent circulation of transnational representations of place identity, urban studies often seem headed toward the search of proof of the metropolitan nature of modernization and the global character of advanced economy. Beyond this, asking what effects of metropolization and what processes of globalization have intertwined with a city's recent history encourages us to look for narratives that can clutter the classic portrait of a global metropolis, filling it with the ambivalences of socio-symbolic aspects — that is, cultural — of everyday life and the contradictions of political and symbolic economies. Drawing on statistical sources, research publications in urban studies and newspapers archives, this article aims to provide quantitative indicators and qualitative analysers from the last three decades, in order to trace a genealogy of today's Madrid.
Keywords: Effects of metropolization, processes of globalization, indicator, analyser.

Introduction

In 1985, the Spanish writer Juan Benet asked the following question: 'I wonder what will be the signature of our time (…) Let's say that I'm talking about the eighties (…). Where is the Baudelaire, Kafka or Wittgenstein who within 60 years will define, through a retrograde transfer, *today's Madrid'* (1985; my translation, my emphasis). Perhaps Madrid does not have representative features as do Paris, Prague or Vienna. Perhaps it has a Pléiade of a different kind. Twenty-five years ago Benet asked this question. A short story by another writer turned the first concert of The Smiths in the city into the milestone of a new urban epoch (Loriga 2010). Meanwhile, at the 1988 *Triennale di Milano* Madrid exhibited its most emblematic urban projects as best metaphor for the city at that time.

The defining elements of the present article collude in this prelude. *Madrid Today* links to the search for representative features, which from the 1980s can be found in two different processes; that of globalization (for example, the arrival of foreign music bands) and that relating to the effects of metropolization (for example, urban policies). This seems to have become an uncomfortable issue for our theoretical imagination, often solved through reference to certain typical features of an iconic economics (Massey 2012a) and through melodramatic or epic narratives (García Canclini 1999). Instead, I prefer to compile, on the one hand, *indicators* — that is, quantitative and methodologically formal features, selected from two main sources: national, regional and municipal statistics and research publications — and, on the other hand, some *analysers*;[2] chosen heuristically as qualitative features, that is

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[2] This concept was extracted from Institutional Analysis, it refers to events, persons, situations, actions, and so on that can reveal new meanings or unexpected and contradictory aspects of a certain institution.

to say, methodologically less formalized and relatively *ad hoc*. The resulting features are presented in four sections. The first describes continuities and discontinuities among residential and productive forms of centrality and peripherality in the metropolitan region; the second introduces the new profiles that have emerged in the Madrilenian labour market; the third describes the faces and histories of foreign presence in Madrid; the fourth relates to the evolution of material and non-material flows that are particularly relevant in the city and its urban culture. A final section discusses the main problems faced in consulting the sources[3].

Territorial Dialectics in a Metropolitan Region

Madrid Sur is a painting by Antonio López, who worked on it for two decades, from 1965 to 1985. In 1964, one year before López started this project, the Metropolitan Area of Madrid was legally created, including 23 municipalities. Over twenty years, the painter would depict the process started by that decision: Madrid was becoming the European city with the highest demographic rate of metropolization (the most eloquent table can be found in Sassen 1991: 43). The population almost doubled, thanks to rural inmigration. If we pay attention to the spatial distribution of that increase, we discover that the metropolitan areas grew much more and much faster than the central town had since the 1960s (Leal and Domínguez 2009); during the 1980s, the latter even showed a negative balance for the first time. In September 1983, a special issue of *Revista de Occidente* announced the 'crisis of the city' (Leal 1983: 182). This was due to a combination of various factors, such as a decrease in the average family size, a fall in the birth rate and especially an increase in the price of housing. Thus, when Spain became part of the European Union in 1986, central Madrid was less populated than in 1970, while in some metropolitan areas, such as the South depicted in López's painting, the population had tripled.

Since that year, the 'sea of houses disappearing over the horizon', in the words of López (Mazorra 2015), changed the city's growth rate drastically, and by extension the scale of metropolitan influence. Again, a special publication indicates novelty, in this case through the collected voices of town planners. In June 1987, on the eve of the municipal elections, *Alfoz* published a monographic issue dedicated to discussing whether the notion of 'metropolitan area' was still valid, considering that Madrid seemed to have reached a regional status and thus required new urban policies. Until 1980, the rate of urban land growth was twice the rate of demographic growth, but from 1985 to 2007, it was 80 per cent to 170 per cent; the population increase was, however, just 30 per cent. The metropolitan area of Madrid had grown 6 times more than that of Barcelona, while experiencing a similar demographic growth.

[3] Data extracted from research publications are indexed, those from statistical sources are not. The main governmental sources used for Madrid are: Censo Municipal (Municipal Census), Consejería de Asuntos Sociales de la Comunidad de Madrid (Community of Madrid Social Affairs Office), Instituto de Estadística de la Comunidad de Madrid (Community of Madrid Institute of Statistics), Subdirección General de Análisis Socioeconómico del Ayuntamiento de Madrid (General Subdirection of Socioeconomic Analysis of Madrid's City Council). I can be contacted for further details.

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As a result, in 1995 the surface of the urban sprawl exceeded the surface of the compact city (Delgado 2014: 204-206). Within this intensive expansion forms of residential and productive centrality and peripherality (Sassen 2005) can be identified which raise, on the one hand, the question about the links between this suburbanization and metropolitan transformation and the processes of globalization of political and symbolic economies and, on the other hand, the issue of the continuities and discontinuities in the classic models of urban divide between centre and periphery and between the north and the south of the city.

As I have mentioned, until 1985 the southern zones of the metropolitan area absorbed the population in search of affordable housing. But from then on, the focus of those movements started to be the North, the West and the East. This change is attributed to the emergence of *qualitative*, as opposed to just quantitative demands of housing (Leira 2014). The quantitative rise in housing demand had to do with a dramatic change in the average household size: between 1991 and 2001, single person homes grew by 80.1 per cent and two people homes by 40.8 per cent, while homes with 5 people or more decreased by 27.1 per cent (Leal and Domínguez 2009: 85). The stress on the qualitative aspect of the demand, in terms of housing improvement, constituted an unprecedented phenomenon in a city where on average 10 years before, in 1975, families moved 1.1 times.[4] Firstly, these new demands engendered an increase in the number of houses and their prices; by 2006, houses were 6 times more expensive than in 1985. Secondly, they entailed the unprecedented proliferation of residential landscapes marked by single family homes, row houses (Arias 2003) and closed apartment blocks with private community gardens. In these housing complexes metropolitanization meant spatial segregation; a phenomenon diagnosed as typically global which in this case, rather than affecting a low-income population, was experienced by high-income dwellers (Leal and Domínguez 2008).

Thus, Madrid seemed to have lost its classic residential centrality. In 2012, 52.9 per cent of the region's population was concentrated in the central town, while 39.7 per cent lived in the suburban and peri-urban areas (Díaz and Lourés 2012: 119). At the same time, new middle- and high-class domestic imaginaries linked to global signs of distinction did not lead just to peripheral relocations and they were not exclusive of traditional households constituted by a couple and their children. From the late nineties, the arrival of new residents, generally young professionals without children, has changed the social profile of several central districts.

The recent statistics of house moving indicate a renaissance of the 'living in the centre' ideal: from 2004 to 2007, 63.1 of those who lived in the centre and moved house did not leave the centre. In 2005, more than 3 million people lived in the city centre. However, the centre's (particularly the city centre's) gradual demographic recovery is explained largely by the presence of foreign immigrants, who arrived in the late 1990s and settled in the most depreciated areas of the oldest neighbourhoods of the centre or in the working class suburbs. They did so not because of social status but because their communities lived there and because those areas were easy to reach. Therefore, in 2011, almost 55 per cent of foreign

[4] Whereas, in the United States they moved 7 times on average (Leira 2014: 29).

registered residents lived in seven central districts. According to urban studies, these movements of population reproduced Madrid's historical topographic inequality. Leal and Domínguez underline that, even if we cannot talk about polarity *stricto sensu*, 'the map of settlement of social classes in the Madrid region clearly differentiates, for some decades now, the Northwest from Southeast' (2008: 714).

The recent history of the city's productive spaces also seems to reveal a dialectic relationship between centrality and peripherality linked to the processes of globalization. A bird's eye view suggests that there are only two districts, San Blas and Villaverde, with more than 10 per cent of industrial employment. Most of the workshops and factories built before 1960 were demolished during the last three decades and the areas left to decay. Some were converted into cultural centres, symbolically evoking the contemporary transition from manufacture to cultural industries, in terms of globality as opposed to profitability (the industrial GVA of Madrid is the second in importance behind Catalonia), for manufacture is no longer what links a city with the wider world (Hannerz 1998). Looking out from any flat roof in Ronda de Atocha, one sees the Price Circus cupola in the former factory of the PACISA cookies, the self-managed Tabacalera in the tobacco factory, the Medialab Prado in the Belgian Sawmill and Matadero, a centre for contemporary creation located in the former abattoir of Legazpi. Nonetheless, industrial land kept expanding doubling its size between 1980 and 2005 (Cervera 2014: 281) and including new industrial landscapes in the form of scientific and technological parks (the first one, Tres Cantos, opened in 1988).

Opposed to this industrial activity in the urban scene, Madrid's current panorama could be seen as the best metaphor for its transition to a service economy. Both the skyline (in visual terms) and the services (in economic terms) are currently seen as signs of modernity. Twenty years after the Picasso Tower (1989), the skyscrapers complex of Cuatro Torres Business Area (CTBA) opened as a vertical counterpart to Madrid's horizontality; in 2012, there were 15 million square meters for office space in the CTBA — more than in Paris or Amsterdam. Also the dynamics by which these tertiary spaces are located seem to be determined by a process of decentralization, for in the last two decades most office licenses were granted to businesses moving out of the of the city centre. However, while the most important banks have abandoned the nineteenth-century neighbourhood of the Bank of Spain, since 1999 more than 60 per cent of the establishments and of the people employed in advanced services were concentrated in the so-called Central Almond; that is, the city's economic heart (Méndez and Ondátegui 2007: 160). Of course, its permanence might be related to the agglomeration economies (Sassen 2005), but the true secret of its longevity might lie in the Paseo de la Castellana, the 'great avenue of power', as the writer Rafael Chirbes calls it in a short text dedicated to its genealogy (Chirbes 2004: 274). Thus, the Central Almond seems to persist as a symbolic fruit that feeds corporations and institutions in Madrid.

Social Changes in the Madrilenian Labour Market

With reference to the number of people living in Madrid having grown to 3 million during the last three decades, we are warned that 'the deep transformations in its [Madrid's] demographic structure, *especially in the relationship between population and economic activity*, are hidden behind the apparent stability of the population total count' (Bustos 2014: 87). Paradoxically, changes in the economic activities seem to occur at such speed that statistical classifications have not been able to grasp the reality of the contemporary labour market. In a sense, these statistical difficulties are a good indicator of change. According to the introduction to the last National Classification of Economic Activities (INE 2008), the most preeminent of these difficulties has been the 'the lack of correspondence between the importance of the services sector in the economy and its classification'.

In the case of Madrid's region, 75 per cent of the employed population works in the services sector; this percentage grows to 90 per cent in the city. The so-called *producer services*[5] stand out for their number doubled between 1980 and 1985 (Iranzo et al. 1993: 266); thus they became the most important activity in the services sector. Their growth matched the growth of their main customers, the corporations involved in the practice of global control (Sassen 1991; Leal and Cortés 1995). Notably, almost 80 per cent of the multinational corporations located in Madrid have moved there since 1985 and more than a quarter since 2000. According to the *Forbes Global 500: Cities* ranking, in 2006 Madrid became the 8th city in the world (3rd in Europe) for the number of multinational offices. It is the Spanish city with more foreign-firm offices: in 2012 they were 3.761 (almost 40 per cent of the total in the country), representing 44 per cent of the region's business profits. In 2014, the *Global 500: Corporations* ranking reported that of the 500 largest multinational corporations 8 were Spanish and 6 of them had their headquarters in Madrid.

From a generational perspective, over the last three decades the number of top professional figures has grown considerably. The number of executives and managers has tripled, accounting for almost 7 per cent of urban employment; the number of 'professional, technicians and similar' have multiplied by 2.5 times, and currently account for almost 40 per cent of urban employment (their contribution to the whole employment growth is close to 90 per cent). In 1995, Leal and Cortés saw these figures as an indicator of globality, outlining that 'it is in the frame of *this configuration of Madrid as a 'global city*' that the concentration of 'advanced services' can be understood' (Leal and Cortés 1995: 202-203). Classically, this phenomenon is seen to be linked to two factors: a highly qualified population and technological specialization. In this sense, Madrid concentrates the highest number of universities in Spain (15) and of enrolled students (42 per cent; the national average is 28.6 per cent), as well as a fourth of the budget and personnel in Research and Development. While concentrating, advanced services have also undergone processes of inner diversification that have engendered new occupations. Moreover, 1 out of 5 national jobs in creative economy is located in Madrid, representing more than 30 per cent of the region's total employment (doubling Barcelona's share) and having the highest specialization index in

[5] This category lumps together different kinds of occupations (see Sassen 1991).

cultural employment (almost 5 per cent of employed population, while the national share is 3 per cent).

If we abandon the classic indicators of labour composition in favour of an analysis based on the *visible effects*[6] of the presence of these (proto)typical global work features, we discover the link between some recent urban transformations and these 'expression specialists' (Hannerz 1998). The heuristic potentiality of the concentration of cultural centres mentioned in the previous section becomes clearer if we pay attention to the emergence of co-working spaces for new corporate cultures in Madrid's periphery (for example, the Hub Madrid next to Medialab and the Factoría La Nave next to Matadero).

Some identify places for consumption as 'the best example of cultural change in Spain' (Domínguez 2014). For *Le Monde* this is the case with the Fuencarral Market, inaugurated in 1998 as 'the shopping centre for those who hate shopping centres'. It tried to set itself out as the core of the aesthetic avant-gardes in matters of design and fashion and was a milestone in the renovation of Chueca carried out by a gay collective in the 1990s. As things changed over the years, the area became an exclusive commercial hub (in 2015, the Fuencarral Market announced its closure) and a high-income residential area, making an interesting case of gentrification. Somehow, the gallimaufry of brands in Fuencarral Street seems to match the tensions marking the labour conditions of the so-called creative class, profoundly caught between fetishisation and precariousness (Cañedo, forthcoming).

Another revealing mutation is that of the Corte Inglés in Castellana Avenue. In the 1990s, it was a traditional warehouse, a grey concrete building covered by huge posters serving as the city's calendar ('Fantastic summer', 'Golden Christmas', 'Back to school', 'Time for sales'). Lately, this area has changed dramatically. It now includes a glazed skyscraper hosting expensive brands and many of whose floors carry exclusive names, such as 'luxury street' or 'gourmet experience'. One could see in this transformation the evolution of the sumptuary consumption diagnosed by Sassen (1991).

However, the visibility of these features contrasts with statistical reality, according to which it is other features, like those discussed earlier, which arrived later but were prototypical of processes of globalization that have determined key transformations in the labour market. The Observatorio Metropolitano of 2007 states that the 'subsidiary services' account for the most important growth rates between 1995 and 2004.[7] Domestic work (126.1 per cent), commerce and repair (92.3 per cent), the hotel and restaurant industry (69.2 per cent) and personal services (87.1 per cent) were responsible for more than half of employment growth for that period. Only advanced producer services (98.4 per cent) and the building industry (83.5 per cent) presented similar growth rates.[8]

[6] This refers to Sassen's observation on the 'extent to which they, along with the high-income workers, have become a very visible part of city life through distinct consumption patterns, lifestyles and high-income gentrification' (Sassen 1991: 280).

[7] This period of time is particularly important because 'the most critical change in the social structure took place during the second half of the nineties' (Domínguez and Leal 2008: 711).

[8] For example, financial intermediation grew by just 5.4 per cent.

These data seem to indicate the existence of 'many different work cultures, besides the corporate culture, involved in the work of globalization' (Sassen 2005: 32), and, in the light of their demographic profile, they connect with two decisive factors in the transformation of the active population in Madrid (Duque 2014). The first factor is the extraordinary increase in female activity rate from 34.8 per cent in 1991 to 55.7 per cent in 2008; in absolute terms the number of employed women doubled (Leal and Domínguez 2008: 711). The second factor is the arrival of foreign immigrants, mainly from Latin America and Eastern Europe (De Prada 2008), which accounts for 65 per cent of the employment growth between 1991 and 2011. These groups have entered specialized sectors of the labour market. In 2007, more than 85 per cent of employed women in Madrid (representing more than 40 per cent of the employed population) were concentrated in four areas of activity: their share in the commerce, hotel and restaurant industry (47.9 per cent) and in producer services and financial intermediation (47.3 per cent) was similar to that of male employees; but they were the majority in education and public administration (61.4 per cent) and in domestic work (about 70 per cent). If the analysis is restricted to the services sector, women are the majority only in the sector of personal services (almost 80 per cent). As for immigrants, in 2007, when the migrant population was almost 25 per cent of the employed population in Madrid (whereas the national average was 11 per cent), more than half worked in the services sector and around 20 per cent in the building industry. Their presence (over 50.000) was significant only in personal services, the building industry, the hotel and restaurant industry and non-qualified producer services; thus immigrants seem to concentrate in low wage jobs (De Prada 2008, Leal and Domínguez 2008, Observatorio Metropolitano 2007).

These figures point to a *feminization* and *ethnicization* of certain labour sectors typical of global cities (Sassen 1991). This specialization is marked by important wage inequalities. According to the last survey of wage structure (2012), the female average wage is less than 80 per cent of the male one, which shrinks to 50 per cent in the case of foreign women.[9] This difference is even more striking when we compare the two paradigmatic features of the global labour market in Madrid, at the extremes of the average earning table. We find that the annual average earning of a non-qualified services worker (12,819.51 euro) — a sector employing a majority of women and migrants — is less than 25 per cent of the annual average earning of executives or managers (53,165.69 euro), a majority of whom are Spanish men.

From Pantries to Imaginaries: Migration and Tourism Reshaping a City

The process of *dualization* or *segmentation* (Duque 2014, Méndez 2002, Méndez and Ondátegui 2007, Observatorio Metropolitano 2007), together with the differences in assets — especially fixed-capital assets — that I have described seem to have produced, *de facto*, forms of inequality (Leal and Domínguez 2008) which are spatially captured on the city's map (Sassen 1991, 1997; Leal and Domínguez 2008). Take the Usera district, where the first concert of Lou Reed in Madrid took place on 20 June 1980, where the AC/DC had performed

[9] The average annual income of foreign workers is lower than the annual average income and is 35 per cent less than that of Spanish workers.

some months earlier in the public TV building and where the Ramones would perform a few months later. This is a cultural milestone honoured by the writer Francisco Umbral in his column *Spleen of Madrid* (Umbral 1980). Almost 30 years after its entrance in the international circuits involving world-renowned bands, Madrid affirmed its status in the global music panorama hosting the Rock in Rio festival.

I suggest, however, that something as small as a micro-history starting point, such as Usera, can be seen as a globality analyser with the same analytic power than the so called 'biggest music festival of the world'. Second to the centre, Usera is the district with the highest proportion of foreign population: around a fifth of the registered residents are not Spanish; more than 25 per cent of them are Chinese and it is known as Madrid's Chinatown. These figures are even more eloquent if we take into account the fact that, when Lou Reed first visited the neighbourhood, there were a little more than 36.000 foreign residents in Madrid (45.000 in the whole region), barely 1 per cent of the population, and Spain did not yet have an immigration law. Currently, the demographic share of foreign residents in the city comes to 12.1 per cent, and there are 1.000.000 foreign residents in the region. If we include those who acquired Spanish citizenship over these years, Madrid is on the way to become a city where a quarter of the population is of foreign origin. Most began to arrive in 1996. In five years, the foreign population increased fourfold,[10] and five years later it became almost 10 times larger (20 times the total of 1980), reaching, as I have indicated, the million mark. Meanwhile, a profound qualitative change occurred. Until 1997 the registered foreigners in Madrid essentially came from the European Community (until 1985 more than half originated in the EU) and Morocco, with a small presence of Latin Americans. From 1997, the most important flows came from Latin America, Eastern Europe and China.

These figures can explain why I chose Usera as a 'psychogeographic' globality analyser, just like, say, Kilburn High Road (Massey 2012b). As one goes through Amparo Usera Street, one's senses are touched by smells, images and sounds that twenty years ago were unknown in Madrid. In less than two blocks there are two restaurants announcing 'bandeja paisa', 'tamales', 'sancocho', 'ají de panza' and 'silpancho'; three telephone booths where conversations are held in Arabic, Polish and Chinese, foreign languages that are replicated in several shop signs (a hairdresser, a restaurant, a travel agency, a lawyer's office and a supermarket). A bar offers 'doner kebap', another announces 'burguer', and there are three cold cuts shops (all with Spanish surnames on the awning) and several shops selling imported food. When I enquired, I discovered that the shops ran by Spaniards have gradually started selling previously unfamiliar products, from spices to cereals and vegetables, from meat cuts to electrical appliances (for example, rice cookers). Far from being casual, these conversations on the openness to 'the other's kitchen' can be read as analysers of a *personal* (Radice 2009) or *domestic* (Nava 2006) *cosmopolitism*, belonging to an everyday experience of otherness which is globalization *too* (Beck 2002).

This openness in terms of products on offer was not exclusive of the districts with high rates of foreign residents or of gourmet markets, where it seems to be related more to cooking

[10] In 1980 they were 365.000, eight times the initial number.

sophistication than to cosmopolitanism. The Día supermarkets, a Spanish chain founded in Madrid in 1979 that introduced the concept of 'discount' in Spain, have no establishments in Usera or in gourmet markets but they offer, among other products, dulce de leche, curry and plátano macho. Apart from the supermarket chains, 70 per cent of small format food shops in Madrid are managed by foreigners (the national average is 22 per cent) and sell products from their countries of origin.

The normalization of foreign food products cannot be explained in terms of foreign or gourmet consumers. The British owner of a tea shop that opened in Fernando el Católico Street in 1996 is convinced that the emergence of significant tea consumption in Madrid occurred when 'people from Madrid started to travel, and they discovered what a good tea was, and they started to ask for it here. Here they couldn't have a good tea; here tea was considered like a medicine, this is why you could not find it in herbalist shops. That wasn't good'.[11] People from Madrid have increasingly started to travel: currently Madrid has the highest share of travellers in Spain; in 2011, 71.1 per cent of Madrilenians travelled, while the national average was 56.7 per cent. But people also travelled more to Madrid. While in 1980 Madrid hosted 2.7 million tourists (1 million coming from outside Spain), in 2012 it hosted more than 13 million, a third of which were from foreign countries. In these global times, tourism is producing cultural changes in Madrid, from its pantries, which currently stock a huge variety of tea brands, to the iconography of urban imaginaries. The artist Tom Lavin emphasizes in his video-essay *Madrid?* the city's conversion into a global centre of touristic attraction through a 'symbolic restructuration', namely 'zonification' (Lavin 2015). Lavin identifies visually this process in the evolution of the touristic maps produced by the local government: the city is no longer a whole traversed by iconic buildings; it is, instead, a market of specialized zones destined to selective consumption according to tourists' tastes and lifestyles. This conceptualization of the city seems to embody the conversion of experiences into products which is typical of advanced economies (Pine and Gilmore 1999). From 'premium Madrid' to 'alternative city'; the tourist office website carries new ostentatious imaginaries of the capital.

Investing, Circulating, Moving: Madrid through its Flows

The visibility of Madrid's touristic image contrasts with the invisibility of its flows, which have suffered very important quantitative and qualitative transformations.

The Direct Foreign Investment (FDI) is the global form of capital flows. From 1988 to 1994, following Spain's entry in the European Union in 1986, the FDI rose to 151.6 per cent. Then, the creation of holdings in 1995, which benefited from a privileged fiscal regime, and the amalgamation in 2001of the national stock markets in a single one located in Madrid, allowed Madrid to get 59 per cent of the FDI made in Spain.[12] That amount represented 1.7

[11] Mrs D, the owner of a food shop in Montréal, offers the same explanation to the emergent demand of foreign products (Radice 2009: 149).

[12] Catalonia, the next FDI destination, received 13.9 per cent.

per cent of the total worldwide FDI.[13] On the one hand, Madrid's status as financial capital explains the city's specialization in financial services, representing more than 10.8 per cent of the municipal GVA and almost 5 per cent of its employed population, both features doubling the national ones (4.6 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively). On the other hand, such a status has allowed a current trading volume of half-billion euro, more than 200 times the trading volume in 1984.

Compared to 1984, three times more elaborated products and two times more food and drinks have recently entered the region (Naredo and Frías 2003: 93). This can be explained by two processes. First, the rise of consumption in the region, whose commercial density (in terms of surface per 1.000 inhabitants) is three times the European and Spanish average. Second, and more importantly, the change in the flow of merchandise has to do with the enormous development of the logistic sector in Madrid; in 2008 the Madrid region accounted for 60 per cent of the international flow of merchandise circulating in Spain, for 33 per cent of the national one, for almost a fifth of national employment in this sector and for half the national billing and logistics total (De Santiago 2008). These processes benefited from a gigantic infrastructural network, from logistics centres (the Mercamadrid, the Dry Port of Coslada and the Centre for Merchandises Transport) to highways.[14]

The growth of commercial activities and road network has had an impact on a very important metropolization analyser; namely, urban mobility. Shopping trips are a good indicator of cultural changes and continuities in the contemporary city; according to the last Mobility Survey in 2004 (CRTCM 2005), 15 million such trips take place in Madrid daily. Back in 1988, the Mobility Survey of that year already underlined that 'the most prominent variations affected shopping and spare time mobility' (Táuler 1992: 87-88). Over the last few decades, these dynamics have affected several aspects. Shopping has decreased (daily trips have gone from 14.8 per cent to 6.8 per cent), especially regarding the purchase of food; in 2010, more than half of households purchased food just once a week or once a month, whereas only 14.6 shopped daily (formerly the most common frequency). This considerable decrease is an interesting analyser of the effects produced by the incorporation of women into the labour market, the expansion of packaged products, the development of online shopping and, essentially, the emergence of supermarkets and hypermarkets. In 1975, the opening of the first hypermarket, the Jumbo in Pío XII Street, marked the birth of a new culture of domestic consumption. The reports from the checkout workers on Jumbo's 20th anniversary would support this view. One worker said, 'it was a crowd, a complete invasion. Nothing happened as we expected. People were used to the small neighbourhood grocery shops. They picked all the products and then had to leave half of them because they hadn't brought enough money with them; this caused very long queues at the cash registers'. Another recognizes that 'during the last two decades people from Madrid have acquired a "hypermarket culture" which facilitates my work' (Niño 1995). Following Jumbo, other large hypermarkets were

[13] During that period, Italy got a similar amount of FDI.
[14] Road transport of merchandise has expanded to the point that Madrid is now the European region with more kilometres of highway per inhabitant (Gago 2014).

opened in the metropolitan area near the highways; they specialized in selling food, furniture (Leroy Merlín in 1989, IKEA in 1996), sports equipment (Decathlon in 1996) or electronic appliances (Media Markt in 1999). Shopping centres also started to appear. The first one, La Vaguada opened in 1983; it was followed by the more than 130 that currently operate in the region, a fourth of which is located the central town.

The location of large stores in the periphery, and the kind of shopping they offer, also relate to the issue of mobility. While in 1988 75 per cent of shopping trips were made on foot and 7 per cent by car, in the 1990s there were districts where the use of the car for shopping had risen to between 25 per cent to 50 per cent, reaching 74 per cent to 95 per cent in the more external metropolitan crowns (López de Lucio 2002: 30). Interestingly, from the nineteenth century, trends in mobility show continuity in the centre's commercial importance. The last Land-use Plan Revision underlined how trips made not for work to the central town would increase with distance from it, suggesting that the city centre attracted the suburban population for shopping, spare time or personal matters (Área de Gobierno de Urbanismo y Vivienda 2013). The centre has become a focus for shopping and, while the majority of antique shops are located there, the frenetic dynamics of obsolescence and renewal in fashion have made of it the district with more recently opened shops.

Finally, over the last two decades the information flow has increasingly affected Madrid, which now has the highest internet penetration in the country. According to the General Media Study (AIMC 2014), in one month almost 70 per cent of Madrid's population accessed the internet; this in a country where in 1996 internet penetration was barely 1 per cent and in 2000 was less than 15 per cent. According to the last Telefónica Report on the Information Society (Fundación Telefónica 2015), people accessed the internet to check emails, seek information on goods and services, read the news and, at least in a 66 per cent of cases, to use social networks. In a majority of the cases, access was gained through a smartphone, making this the leading instrument for accessing internet in Madrid, where 98.2 per cent of households have a mobile phone (the highest share in the country).

The evolution of electoral promises makes a very interesting analyser of this information flow in contemporary Madrid. In the 2003 municipal elections, the star promise of the governing party was the extension of the subway and its night opening times, whereas in 2015 the star promise was the extension of free wi-fi throughout the city. These promises seem to appeal to different urban imaginaries. On the one hand, they appeal to fantasies of unlimited mobility in time and space (Highmore 2005: 119) and of inclusion in urban life; note that in 2003 'not having a subway' summarized the real and symbolic distance from the city. On the other hand, they appeal to a fantasy of total connectivity that transcends both the space-time mobility of the body and the (real and symbolic) territory of the city, invoking a scale of chronotopic overflowing (Cruces 1997) which is par for the course in a global metropolis.

Synecdoche and Fetish, or the Difficulties of Portraying a Global Metropolis.

When revising the literature on urban studies, globalization and metropolization, one finds it difficult to identify the *strategy of synecdoche* (Massey 2007) underlying the various sources, be they institutional publications or research productions. This determines the statistics and casuistry of what are chosen, in each case, as discriminatory indicators. A problem lies with fetishist pathos of many sources conforming to Madrid's globality painting a picture in keeping with what De Certeau said about the concept of 'city' serving 'as a totalizing and almost mythical landmark for socioeconomic and political strategies' (De Certeau 1988: 95). Take, for example, an interesting interpretation of the FNAC building in Callao Square. Emblematically, Gonick (2010) describes its appearance in Pedro Almodóvar's movie, *The flower of my secret* (1995), with the image of the protagonist right next to the FNAC sign reading thus: 'the new economy of multinational corporations appears writ large across the Spanish silver screen, meshed with the undeniably Spanish face of Marisa Paredes. Two Madrids merge into one: the Madrid of Almodóvar, whose profane imaginings of his capital city make frequent reference to its camp traditions of the bullfight and flamenco, superimposed upon the landscape of the 20th century corporate Madrid' (2010: 26). Even if this reading were possible, there are others, to be found not in the present but in the thick layers of the past, which can make of that place a chronotope for *other* spatio-temporalities, *also* constitutive of Madrid's globality. Long before Almodóvar's movie, the building was the core of a photograph taken by Cas Oorthuys, who portrayed the streets of Madrid in 1955. In the photograph, the building by Gutiérrez Soto houses the first Galerías Preciados, a traditional Spanish department store. The transition from it to FNAC in 1993 was repeatedly evoked by the participants in the exhibition held on this French shop's 20th anniversary in terms that raised questions on the lack of ambivalence in the abovementioned readings. Apart from representing a global multinational's landing where an 'undeniably' Spanish shop (the Galerías Preciados) was, for Madrilenians the arrival of FNAC also meant access to foreign literature and music on a scale and a variety unknown at that time to the general public.

This stresses to the importance of inscribing indicators and analysers into frameworks that problematize, as opposed to reifying, the concepts of globalization and metropolization. On the one hand, this implies treating them as effects and processes which essentially bring about a rupture of locality: 'items which make up the fabric of our everyday lives … can no longer be located locally' (Featherstone 2002: 4). On the other hand, this requires linking them not only to a new organization of the economy, but also to a redistribution of cultural diversity (Hannerz 1998). Perhaps this is the epistemological potentiality of data and cases: if we want to build bridges between the 'yet diffuse' notion of global and the 'more known' concept of city (Sassen 2007), rather than cementing the syntagm 'global city' the interesting thing to do is to determine the tensions on which it remains standing.

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