

How to cite this work: Barrado-Timón, D. A., & Hidalgo-Giralt, C. (2019). Golden hordes or mere barbarians? Discourses on tourism, touristification, and tourismophobia in Madrid's Lavapiés neighborhood. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 83, 2824, 1–36. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21138/bage.2824>

---

# Golden hordes or mere barbarians? Discourses on tourism, touristification, and tourismophobia in Madrid's Lavapiés neighborhood

¿Hordas doradas o simplemente bárbaros? Los discursos sobre el turismo, la turistificación y la turismofobia en el barrio de Lavapiés (Madrid)

**Diego Antonio Barrado-Timón** 

[diego.barrado@uam.es](mailto:diego.barrado@uam.es)

**Carmen Hidalgo-Giralt** 

[carmen.hidalgog@uam.es](mailto:carmen.hidalgog@uam.es)

*Departamento de Geografía*

*Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (Spain)*

## Abstract

Like much of Madrid, the neighborhood of Lavapiés has in recent years experienced explosive growth in tourism. In this context, critical discourses are beginning to appear in the press, especially in terms of the development model based on new types of accommodation and technologies that directly connect suppliers to consumers. To counter these discourses, we explore other narratives in defense of this model, which are committed to its development. Our investigation considers whether these discursive constructions are competing for hegemony and, consequently, the ability to shape future scenarios, and to influence the neighborhood's social and

geographical aspects. To this end, a mixed-discourse analysis methodology that embraces both quantitative (Corpus Linguistics) and qualitative (Critical Discourse Analysis) tools has been selected. Our conclusions are that a discursive competition for redefining the terms of the debate around tourism is currently at play in Lavapiés, albeit in an incipient state; and that this debate is impacting the perceived image and reality of this area of central Madrid.

**Key words:** touristification; tourismophobia; discourse analysis; Lavapiés; Madrid.

## Resumen

El barrio de Lavapiés, como el conjunto de la ciudad de Madrid, está experimentado en los últimos años un explosivo crecimiento turístico. En este contexto, están empezando a aparecer en la prensa discursos críticos con el proceso, y, sobre todo, con el modelo de desarrollo basado en nuevas formas de alojamiento y en el uso de tecnologías que ponen directamente en contacto a oferentes y consumidores. Frente a estos, encontramos otras narrativas que defienden dicho modelo, y que apuestan por su desarrollo. La investigación se plantea si dichas construcciones discursivas están compitiendo por la hegemonía, y, en consecuencia, por su capacidad para configurar los escenarios de futuro e influir en la configuración social y geográfica del barrio. Con el fin de responder a esta pregunta se ha optado por una metodología de análisis del discurso mixta, que incluye métodos cuantitativos (Lingüística de Corpus) y cualitativos (Análisis Crítico del Discurso). Las conclusiones son que, aun cuando incipiente, la competencia discursiva por redefinir los términos del debate en torno al turismo existe en Lavapiés; y aun cuando limitado, dicho debate está teniendo a su vez un impacto en la imagen percibida y en la realidad de este espacio del centro de Madrid.

**Palabras clave:** turistificación; turismofobia; análisis del discurso; Lavapiés; Madrid.

Now what's going to happen to us without barbarians?  
Those people were a kind of solution.

C. P. Cavafis, *Waiting for the Barbarians*, 1904

## 1 Introduction

In 1975, Turner and Ash published a book entitled *The golden hordes: International tourism and the pleasure periphery*, in which they performed an analysis of tourism, comparing it with the hordes that have devastated different civilizations throughout history, and that today travel the globe distributing wealth. Decades later, and paraphrasing the Greco-Egyptian poet Cavafis, these

'barbarians', known today as tourists, are still regarded as a solution (and sometimes the *only* solution) to the socio-economic development of certain territories. And the prospect of tourism's delay in arrival, or absence, or decline, or withdrawal (however partial) has led a great many to wonder what will become of them.

We do not intend to deny here the reality and/or potential of tourism as a development vector, which we have supported in other works on the specific case of Madrid (Barrado et al., 2013). But it must be understood that, beyond any quantifiable economic effects, the most common narrative around tourism is in fact a hegemonic discursive construction that has spread the notion of tourism as a technocratic and neutral phenomenon, a socially non-problematic activity, and a "non- or minor issue" (Novy & Colomb, 2016, p. 4). The result is that this narrative has overshadowed other social perspectives, serving agendas and leaders from the international tourism industry (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006).

However, since the 1990s, these barbarians who occupy certain cities and who are temporarily concentrated into certain neighborhoods have ceased to be perceived only (from an etymological point of view) as foreigners who bring prosperity. Today they project a more complex image, and for many residents of affected cities the common meaning of the word 'tourist' takes on weight that conceptualizes them as a problematic people who care not about the effects of their actions on the welfare of others.

Indeed, the intensification of urban tourism in the context of the entrepreneurial city (Blanco-Romero *et al.*, 2018), the strengthening of the neoliberal urban agenda (Novy & Colomb, 2017) and conflicts around the socio-economic transformation of cities (Janusz *et al.*, 2017) have led to the appearance of "critical voices [that] began to disturb and challenge the hitherto almost exclusively boosterist narratives surrounding tourism" (Novy, 2017, p. 60). While in no case can it be concluded that a global revolt against urban tourism is at play (Novy & Colomb, 2017) and although significant studies of very touristic cities have shown that tourist activity still enjoys far greater support than critiques (Janusz *et al.*, 2017; UNWTO *et al.*, 2018), there are indeed works that argue to the contrary, such as that of Blanco-Romero *et al.* (2018) regarding Barcelona. Thus the idea becomes that the prior consensus around urban tourism can no longer be sustained, given that some (many? few?) are currently expressing dissent. Such dissent has been clearly seen in the anti-tourism demonstrations that began in the 1990s in numerous cities around the world (see Colomb & Novy, 2016; Milano & Mansilla, 2018), by groups that see themselves as privately

assuming a considerable portion of the costs of offering a tourist destination at the expense of their own living space (Cabrerizo, 2016).

The result is that, along with the hegemonic discourse around tourism, another avenue has been opened, built and sustained by the various groups that question it, reappropriating and reformulating scientific concepts into terms such as 'touristification' (Rodríguez et al., 2018). The narrative is in fact formed out of a multiplicity of stories from different local actors, resulting in a diverse, complex, and multifaceted body of discourse (Sequera & Gil, 2018).

An assumption that supports this text asserts that there is currently significant discursive competition around urban tourism, confronting its traditional advocates with a very diverse set of social and neighborhood movements. This we seek to verify through analysis, using methods of Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to consider references to tourism that have appeared in the written press over the last fifteen years in regard to Madrid's Lavapiés neighborhood, which we take as our case study.

The objective is to analyze these existing discourses and to establish the conceptual bases with which they compete, deepening their significance from a chronological and ideological point of view. In addition, and based on the premise of "socially constitutive properties of discourse and text" (Foucault, 1972, cited in Fairclough, 2013a, p. 6), we consider whether these discourses on tourism, both positive and negative, have been influencing the perception, symbolism, and social and material reality of the Lavapiés neighborhood.

## **2 Scientific context: the approach to urban tourism, its discourses and counter-discourses**

Scientific inattention to urban tourism was once standard, neglected by urban studies and forgotten by experts on tourism (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Edwards et al., 2008). However, as the cited authors acknowledge, all that began to change in the 1990s, from which time significant research developments began to emerge.

Even when approaches are integrated into the traditional discursive sphere, and while an eminent focus on economics (Ashworth & Page, 2011) continues to predominate, critical perspectives are becoming more and more present. In fact, negative impact analyses are now common, and such have even been recognized and valued by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2018). However, with few exceptions, such criticisms exclude the general political

amendments to the neoliberal tourism model, maintaining a largely technical scope and providing solutions of similar type.

The reason for this can be found in points made by Asworth and Page (2011), when they indicate the weak inter-penetration between tourism studies and general urban theory. A greater commitment in this regard would lead to the understanding that urban tourism is not a “standalone phenomenon that can be separated from its urban context” (Postma et al., 2017, p. 96), but that it should be analyzed “in the context of wider social, political and economic processes” (Novy & Colomb, 2017, p. 8). As a result, other contributing factors to theoretical developments and case studies of diverse urban problems have been incorporated into the discussion on urban tourism, including gentrification, access to housing, privatization of public spaces, changes in business patterns, social movements, etc.

The result is what might be described as an explosion in recent years of studies on the social and geographical impacts derived from the intensification of tourism within the neoliberal urban agenda, as evidenced by any bibliographic search of such concepts as tourism (or urban tourism) and its critical political correlates (touristification) or counter-critiques (tourismophobia).

## **2.1 Response to the hegemonic urban tourist discourse: concerns, concepts, and discursive scales**

The protest against intensification of tourism in highly differentiated cities started to become evident in the late 1990s. While we do not seek to carry out a genealogy of that process here, it has been found that this movement, at least among the large global cities, began in Berlin and Barcelona (Novy & Colomb, 2017), the latter being among the cities that has generated the most literature and that has served to shape the main characteristics of the process (see, among others, Arias & Russo, 2017; Blanco-Romero et al., 2018; Jover et al., 2018; Milano & Mansilla, 2018). From these cities, protest movements spread to other urban centers and neighborhoods around the world, mainly in Europe but also in America and Asia (see Colomb & Novy, 2016; Milano & Mansilla, 2018). These movements are far from uniform, insofar as they may grow out of very different situations and prior contexts of social mobilization (Novy & Colomb, 2017). In fact, the triggers of what has been termed ‘the touristization of social movements’ (Milano, 2018) can be very diverse.

In general, the set of effects caused by urban over-tourism can be gathered into the concept of ‘tourism gentrification’ developed by Gotham (2005) in a study on the French Quarter in New Orleans. For this author, it would be a “heuristic device to explain the transformation of a middle-class neighborhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of

corporate entertainment and tourism venues" (Gotham, 2005, p. 1102). More interesting than the definition itself is the contribution of this concept to understanding the urban effects of an activity that is now global in terms of personal travel and investment flows, but that is ultimately configured locally, with local effects derived from the need to 'consume' a place: "while tourism may be a 'global force', it is also a locally based set of activities and organizations involved in the production of local distinctiveness" (Gotham, 2005, p. 1102).

In this sense, much response and construction of meaning has been concentrated at the local and neighborhood levels, to the extent that it is in these spaces that the effects are most directly felt. This is also related to the new tourist modalities, which do not seek products so much as local experiences ('to experience a place like a local'), together with new ways of inhabiting the city (Quagliari & Russo, 2010) that transgress old borders between the categories of resident and tourist, thereby seriously affecting certain urban areas and the quality of life of their inhabitants.

In any case, what can be observed in many of the demonstrations is that, together with a critique of the effects of tourist conglomeration in cities, a certain amendment to the tourism model has been taking place. This is, at least, the case with the neoliberal tourism model as implemented in recent years (Opillard, 2017), which implies progressive movement toward total commodification of the city and its conversion into what Lloyd and Clark (2001) described as an 'entertainment machine'. This new reality includes not only tourism, but also new forms of non-touristic leisure by the inhabitants of the city themselves (Barrado, 2010; Novy & Colomb, 2017).

As Novy and Colomb (2017) point out in their analysis of various experiences of anti-tourism response, what we observe is not so much a conflict between hosts and guests, as viewed in one already classic book on the social and cultural effects of tourism (Smith, 1989), but rather "struggles over urban restructuring and socio-spatial transformations" (Novy & Colomb, 2017, p. 15). In fact numerous authors note that this response is inserted more generally into the conflict around a citizen's 'right to the city', in the sense enunciated by H. Lefebvre in the 1960s (Arias & Russo, 2017; Blanco-Romero et al., 2018; Novy & Colomb, 2017; Sequera & Gil, 2018). Such a right to the city, coming to some extent from the process of tourism and the appropriation of urban symbolic capital, has been seen as "falling into the hands of private or quasi-private interests" (Harvey, 2012, p. 23).

Although many of the cited texts have included a discursive approach, as might be expected, given the importance of the dispute to concepts and symbols, the truth is that specific analyses of such urban debates are scarce. However, it should be borne in mind that discourses are not merely

limited to reflecting reality, but that they also participate in constructing it (Fairclough, 2013a), which means that discursive competition over urban tourism is part of the social and material reality in the cities and neighborhoods where such activity takes place.

## **2.2 Urban and tourist discourses through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Faced with perspectives that give language a passive role in the configuration of physical-social reality, which would exist independently of communicative aspects, critical theorists assume that discourses are in themselves a social practice, as well as instruments through which actions are developed (Fairclough, 2013b). From this starting point, language and discourses do not only reflect relations of power and domination, but in fact may reproduce them (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) “while remaining curiously transparent or invisible even to the people that use [them]” (Breeze, 2011, p. 497). In this way, they allow the most influential ideologies to be naturalized, appearing as neutral and perpetuating hegemonic situations, according to notions proposed by Gramsci (1975).

Unfortunately, the discursive approach to geographical processes is a relatively recent development, chiefly because critical theory has tended to assume a devaluation of the spatial, relegating it to the dead, the fixed, the anti-dialectic, the immovable. Time, on the other hand, has been perceived as belonging to the rich, the living, the fruitful, or the dialectic (Foucault, [1976] 2007). At the same time, Geography and other social sciences interested in space have considered that territory is “external to language” (Gu, 2012, p. 543) –an objective and discrete entity, regardless of its possible discursive concretion– leading this perspective to be likewise marginalized.

The turning point in consideration of the discursive approach, as several authors have indicated (Hastings, 1999; Lees, 2004; Rydin, 1998; Vuolteenaho et al., 2012), is at the temporal coincidence of the various changes experienced by the social sciences in recent decades, especially around the so-called linguistic (or discursive) and spatial turns. While the former represent the tendency to analyze social phenomena as linguistic constructions, the latter have served to sensitize academics and social scientists to the idea that space and geography matter (Vuolteenaho et al., 2012).

As with space in general, discursive approaches to the city and that which is urban are also relatively late in coming (Lees, 2004), even though “cultural urbanism has largely focused on non-linguistic aspects of culture” (Hastings, 1999, p. 7). In fact it was not until the late 1990s when urban studies experts began to show interest in “how language use might be connected to the

kinds of social, political and economic processes in which they were traditionally interested” (Hastings, 2000, p. 131). However, the reality is that the literature in this regard, although now considerable, still lacks sufficient methodological and empirical weight. This is essentially a programmatic literature that proclaims the importance of discourse analysis for spatial and urban aspects, but that still offers little empirical evidence to prove it (Barrado, in press).

As regards tourism, the reason for its neglect from a discursive perspective (compared to other time categories, such as those linked to production) is possibly due to its traditional isolation within the field of social sciences. As with the spatial point of view, the discursive turn and the assumption that discourse does not merely reflect society but also shapes it, quite like other forms of social action (Pritchard & Jaworski, 2005), began to open the field to reflection on aspects of tourism related to power, ideology, agents, relations of domination, etc.

However, just like the spatial dimension, the discursive approach to tourism suffers from significant deficiencies, mostly in that there has been little communication between academics interested in tourism and specialists in discourse analysis. As a result, connections between these two fields have remained relatively unexplored, both theoretically and empirically (Pritchard & Jaworski, 2005), causing many of these works to be regarded as unsophisticated (Hannam & Knox, 2005).

In any case, it should be noted that the vast majority of analyses, whether theoretical or empirical, generally focus on tourism discourses (productive sector, agents, promotion and marketing, travelers and their stories, images, etc.) but rarely on discourses about tourism, such as those found in the media, which define the terms of debate among broad audiences, using or reworking scientific concepts or else creating new ones. The media are nonetheless essential to establishing ideological constructions, understood as sets of social representations and communities of practice (pro-tourist versus anti-tourist, for example), or groups committed to common goals (Pritchard & Jaworski, 2005) in relation to ‘who uses the city, how, and to what purpose?’.

### **3 Methodology, data, and case study**

In line with the above remarks, our central assumption may be stated as follows: with the emergence and development of social movements in contestation to urban tourism in the Lavapiés neighborhood of Madrid, an anti-tourism discourse is taking place which is competing for discursive hegemony with the (once hegemonic) narrative of tourism as a non-problematic activity. This discursive competition is changing the image of the neighborhood by introducing new symbolic elements, new actors, and new areas of conflict.



Our main objective will be to analyze the discourses that have been developed and enunciated around tourism, and which compete within a specific territorial area. Thus we propose to analyze the moments in which such discourses were created, their greater or lesser presence, their strategies and concepts and, finally, whether any real competition (or the pre-eminence of one over another) is taking place.

### **3.1 Methodology and data**

In order to pursue the analysis presented above, two seemingly conflicting discourse analysis methodologies will be combined: Corpus Linguistics (CL), an eminently empirical and quantitative method, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a qualitative approach of a clearly ideological nature. Although the strategy of combining these two methods is not common, it has sometimes been employed not so much to explore linguistic aspects as to use language in order to approximate social reality (Baker et al., 2008) or urban social studies (Barrado, in press).

From these proposals, a series of corpora (plural of corpus) have been built comprised of texts found in the media that deal specifically with tourism in the Lavapiés neighborhood. A corpus is a set of linguistic data formed by written or oral texts and generally used as a starting point for linguistic description, or to verify a hypotheses about language. In our case, the corpora will be used not for linguistic purposes, but in consideration of the geographical and social reality of urban tourism in the Lavapiés neighborhood.

Specifically, fifteen years of texts (2004 to 2018) have been compiled from the newspapers *El País*, *El Mundo*, *Expansión*, and *Cinco Días*, each instance of which included the two concepts 'tourism' and 'Lavapiés'. This corpus was designated 'C1LavapiésWithTourism' and has been organized and subdivided in various ways in order to analyze the texts more deeply, whether by publication or chronologically (in sub-periods of five years).

Next, a second corpus was developed using the same newspapers and chronological breadth, but in this case searching texts that included only the word 'Lavapiés' (and not the concept of tourism). The internal organization of the corpus is the same the previous and permits the same analysis. This corpus was designated 'C2LavapiésWithoutTourism'.

The comparison of these two corpora ('C1LavapiésWithTourism' and 'C2LavapiésWithoutTourism') aims to obtain information on the image of the Lavapiés neighborhood as presented in the media, especially in terms of the impact that tourism and its processes may be having on that image. Finally, an in-depth analysis of the corpus designated 'C1LavapiésWithTourism' (approximations as a whole, by publication, and by time period) has been undertaken to verify whether a discursive

competition has indeed been operating between the promoters and critics of urban tourism; if verified, this will establish the terms through which said competition has developed.

In order to perform these tasks, the free 'concordancer' software developed by Lancaster University<sup>1</sup> will be used for quantitative analysis. This software allows one to define the frequency with which certain words (nodes) appear in each corpus or subcorpus; above all, it permits the establishment of semantic and thematic connections found in analysis of the collocates that appear around the chosen nodes. Collocates are concepts that appear in close connection with another, co-occurring more often than might be expected by chance. Many collocates only have syntactic significance, such as a syntagma formed by a verb + a preposition. However, semantic and conceptual influences between these concepts can be derived from connections between nouns, adjectives, or certain verbs.

According to theory, the main collocates that surround a given node will denote and connote it semantically; that is, they impregnate it with meaning, thus forming its 'semantic prosody' – "a form of meaning which is established through the proximity of a consistent series of collocates" (Low & Chateau, 2010, p. 756). These collocates form, as Low notes, an "aura of meaning with which it is imbued by its collocates" (cited in Baker et al., 2008, p. 278). In this way, analysis of the discourse can go well beyond simple word-count to more deeply reveal an agent's point of view on the subject in question (such as communities created and the discourses built to defend certain positions).

Once the analysis supported by CL has been developed, a critical and ideological reading of a portion of those texts selected in the quantitative phase will be carried out using CDA methodology. This step will be crucial in order to deepen identification of the ideological aspects behind the found discourses, thus allowing the agents and their agendas, strategies, and interests to be approximated, along with underlying the power structures (or responses to said power structures).

Finally, it should be noted that although this text is presented in English, the analysis has been carried out on news articles written in Spanish. Therefore, in some cases, reference will be made to morphological aspects of Spanish language that do not exist in English.

### **3.2 Case study**

As noted, the response to urban tourism has largely been focused at the neighborhood level. This has been due to processes linked to organization and to the scale of social and neighborhood

---

1 See #LancsBox <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox/>

movements prior to tourism growth (Milano, 2018), as well as to the geographical logics of urban tourism, which tend to concentrate much of touristic consumption and its socio-spatial impacts into very specific areas of a given city (Barrado, 2010; de la Calle et al., 2018).

Consequently, the Madrid neighborhood of Lavapiés, in the central district, has been selected as a case study for our proposed objectives. No administrative division in Madrid corresponds to this particular denomination; Lavapiés is part of a wider neighborhood known as Embajadores. However, there exists a diffuse and emotional identity (Pérez-Argote, 2010) of the area surrounding its homonymous plaza, constructed through topics and historical and contemporary realities that are more or less clear (Osorio, 2017) and that include aspects as diverse as *casticism* ('Madrid-ness'), folk-tradition, marginality, immigration, multiculturalism, social experimentation, the alternative, etc. (Cabrerizo et al., 2015; Pérez-Argote, 2010).

Of the significant growth in tourism that Madrid has experienced in recent years, a large part of both 'supply' and touristic pressure has been concentrated in the central spaces of the city. Among these, Lavapiés (an historic neighborhood, until recently on the sidelines of tourism) has become one of the most obvious fronts (de la Calle et al., 2018). Compared to places that have long been subject to massive tourist traffic (such as the Royal Palace and environs, the Plaza Mayor, or the Paseo del Prado), Lavapiés has become a disputed space where some of the most advanced capitalistic/economic processes of touristification (such as housing for tourist use, known as VUT by the Spanish acronym, and marketed through platforms like Airbnb) coexist with anti-tourism movements such as 'Lavapiés ¿dónde vas?',<sup>2</sup> ('Lavapiés, where are you going?') which have tried everything from novel forms of social mobilization to cooperation strategies with local institutions in order to mitigate the worst effects of tourism (see Jover et al., 2018; Sequera & Gil, 2018).

In Lavapiés, as in many other urban areas, the battle over tourism is being played out around the geographic materiality of social life (access to housing, rental or purchase prices, use of public spaces, services, noise, dirtiness, or commercial activity) and practices of resistance, as well as around discourse –meaning and symbol– which ultimately shapes the ability to define what the problems are, along with the potential range of proposed solutions. The discursive competition ranges from the ironic 'Manifestación por los derechos del turista'<sup>3</sup> (March for Tourists' Rights)

---

2 See <https://lavapiessedondevas.wordpress.com/>

3 See <https://lavapiessedondevas.wordpress.com/miercoles/manifestacion-internacional-por-los-derechos-del-turista/>

organized by ‘Lavapiés ¿dónde vas?’ to the opposite pole of a poetic Airbnb advertisement<sup>4</sup> dedicated to the city of Madrid. What follows is our analysis of the ways in which this apparent discursive competition around Lavapiés has been reflected in the written press.

## **4 Results: tourism, images, agents, and discursive competition**

The first section of the empirical work is aimed at analyzing the image of the neighborhood as reflected in the studied periodicals, and at assessing whether the appearance of tourism as a reality and a problem has changed that image. We seek to establish whether there are two distinct imaginaries of Lavapiés separated by conflicting discourses, or whether the growth in tourism is being woven into longstanding problems within this space and reflected in its social, cultural, political, and media perceptions.

Thus do we proceed to analyze the Lavapiés neighborhood as a possible discursive battlefield, attending to relevant agents and their positions, in order to assess whether there really is active competition to construct different narratives about tourism and the place in question. To the extent that such a competitive narrative exists, and in accordance with the capacity of each agent to impose itself on a future political agenda, the symbolic, material, and social future of this space will be derived.

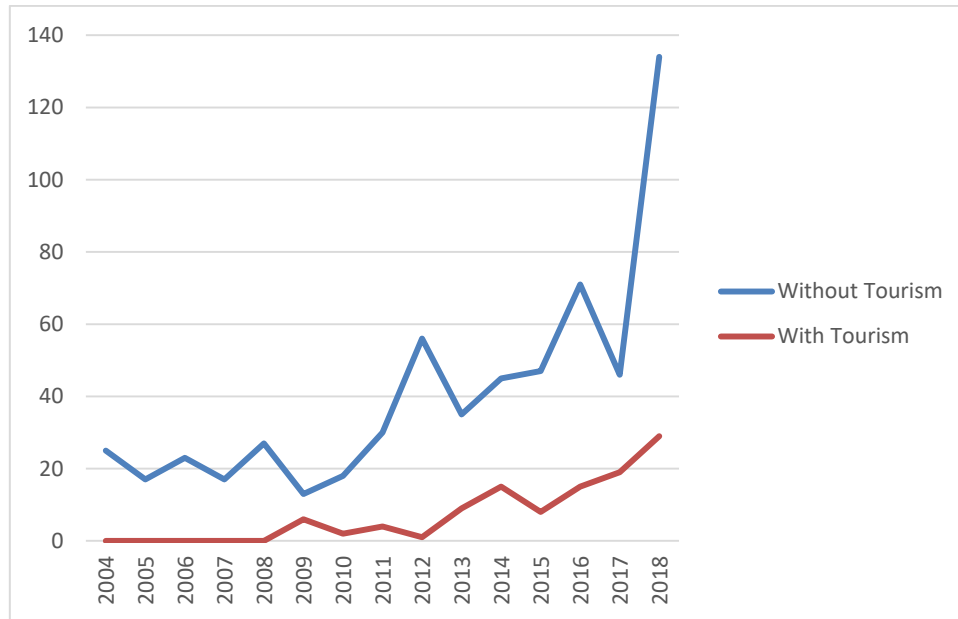
### **4.1 The traditional and tourist image of Lavapiés: tourism as modernization, or as rupture?**

What first attracts attention, as evidenced in Figure 1, is that tourism has only very recently become a salient element in the social life of Lavapiés; this is shown by the fact that during the earliest years under study, the selected newspapers printed no news related to this topic. Only in 2009 did references begin to appear that connected the two keywords (‘Lavapiés’ and ‘tourism’), and these generally indicated positive aspects of the sector and its attempt to strengthen tourism in areas of the city center. This tone was maintained over subsequent years, which saw no or few relevant reports in most newspapers and essentially positive or friendly mentions of promotion or of traditional neighborhood festivities.

---

4 See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1IN2TBeh5EU>

Figure 1. News about Lavapiés (connected to tourism or not) in selected periodicals

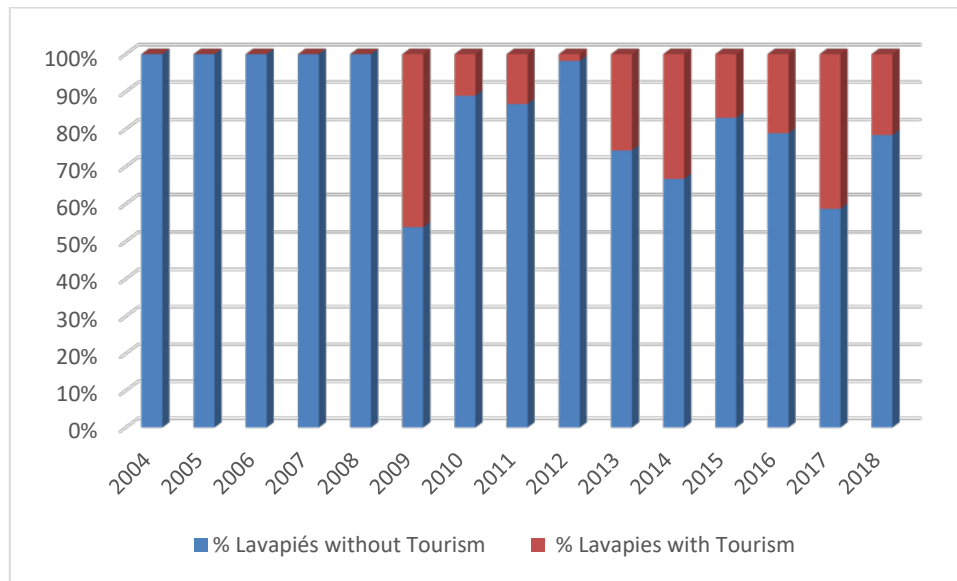


Source: authors' elaboration

A significant change developed between 2013 and 2014, when news about the neighborhood related to tourism increased, representing a sizeable percentage of the total number of mentions (Figure 2). It is interesting to note that, although Madrid was not the first among major cities to suffer this problem and react to it, its chronology of change began not long after that of other, much more touristic metropolises, such as Paris. Ian Brossat, council member of the French capital during the administration of socialist Anne Hidalgo, points out that when he assumed his responsibilities, in 2014, this issue was not yet newsworthy (Brossat, 2018).

But beyond the quantitative change, the interesting thing is that, although maintaining the positive tone (promotion, authenticity, etc.) in several mentions, a certain conflict situation now begins to be reflected, such as the constraints that the neighborhood features create to tourism development (dirtiness, danger) or to conditions fomented by such activity (commercial bubbles, gentrification, expulsion, etc.). This trend has been maintained through the most recent years analyzed, where clear quantitative growth is compounded by conflict around the increased activity, and where the discourse ceases to focus on problems that the neighborhood poses to the growth of tourism, but focuses instead on the problems that such growth can generate in the neighborhood, mainly related to the real estate sector (VUT, bubbles, evictions, gentrification) and commercial activity (market tourism, tourist ghettos, etc.).

Figure 2. Percent of articles on Lavapiés with or without reference to tourism (2004–2018)



Source: authors' elaboration

In the second decade of the 21st century, tourism definitely became a factor of concern in a neighborhood already accustomed to transmitting problematic images. Indeed, our in-depth statistical analysis of the 'C2LavapiésWithoutTourism' corpus, which takes the word 'Lavapiés' as its central node and then analyzes the concepts (collocates) related to it,<sup>5</sup> verifies how many such collocate terms evoke conflict; some of them –such as 'police', 'riots', 'death', 'security', or 'incidents'– maintain very strong statistical connections with the neighborhood's name in the case of news unrelated to tourism.<sup>6</sup>

What has happened vis-à-vis tourism in recent years, as derived from analysis of the 'C1LavapiésWithTourism' corpus, is that new concepts such as 'Airbnb' or 'gentrification' (which had been null or only weakly related to the term 'Lavapiés' in the first years analyzed) have opened new horizons for conflict. Indeed, 'gentrification' appeared in 'C2LavapiésWithoutTourism' with a significant log-likelihood, but it placed low on the list of collocates, meaning there were clearly

5 The analysis performed via the LancsBox concordancer system consists in finding those words that are related to the node (Lavapiés) in a ten-position space window to the right or to the left of the keyword. To verify that this connection between node and collocate is not mere chance, a log-likelihood statistic has been used which is significant above 3.84 at a level of  $p < 0.05$ . The higher the log-likelihood, and the higher the collocate in the list of words related to the node, the greater the connection and, therefore, the greater the discursive relationship between node and collocate.

6 Given limited space, we do not include here the list of Lavapiés collocates in the two main corpora 'C1LavapiésWithTourism' and 'C2LavapiésWithoutTourism'. These are instead included as a supplementary file linked to the text.

other concepts that exerted more semantic influence on the name of the neighborhood. 'Airbnb' does not appear in the 'C2LavapiésWithoutTourism' corpus, but it does appear in 'C1LavapiésWithTourism'.

To this is added the connotation of other important collocates of 'C1LavapiésWithTourism' ('flat', 'living space', 'house', 'apartment') which in principle might be considered neutral, but which qualitative analysis reveals to be conflictive in many instances, commonly reflecting cases such as residents expelled by the rise in prices due to tourist rentals:

In January, the company that now owns the building expressed by burofax its "willingness not to proceed with the renewal of the rental agreement", which expired that day. According to the account, until January he paid 310 euros for his house, a figure that was updated year by year with the Consumer Price Index ("La subida de la vivienda en alquiler dispara los desahucios", *El País*, April 15, 2018).

Also affected have been those who rent part of their home to pay their mortgage:

"I'm homeless in my own home", she said resignedly ("Los usuarios de Airbnb cambian la esencia colaborativa de la plataforma", *El País*, August 2, 2017).

This image around the development of tourism in the neighborhood is, as noted above, a recent phenomenon. If the corpus 'C1LavapiésWithTourism' is temporarily subdivided into five-year periods and the last two (2009 to 2013 versus 2014 to 2018) are contrasted,<sup>7</sup> one can see how the tourist image of Lavapiés in the former is quite close to the more traditional perspective seen in 'C2LavapiésWithoutTourism', where without exception keywords refer to traditional festivities (street fairs of La Paloma and San Cayetano, 'verbenas', 'fiestas', 'recorrido'). On the other hand, keywords in the 2014 to 2018 period ('Airbnb', 'rental', 'housing', 'flat', 'price') clearly highlight the residential conflict over tourist accommodations, as well as contextualization of the process with another, well-known national urban reference: Barcelona.

This negative contribution of tourism to the image of Lavapiés might, in a way, be compensated by a parallel potentiation of certain supposedly modernizing discourses now used as a marketing claim. Thus, in the corpus 'C1LavapiésWithTourism', the first adjective that describes the neighborhood globally is 'cool' (always in English in the original texts), showing a statistically very strong relationship with Lavapiés (fifth place in the selected concepts). This is largely due to the fact

---

7 To make this comparison, we used the Words tool of the LancsBox concordancer, which allows one to obtain the keywords of each corpus that are not keywords in the other.

that in September of 2018, *Time Out* magazine chose Lavapiés as the coolest neighborhood in the world;<sup>8</sup> however, that adjective had already been linked to Lavapiés with both positive and negative connotations.

One concept that serves a function similar to 'cool' in the 'C2LavapiésWithoutTourism' corpus is the adjective 'castizo' (referring to traditional customs of the city, or 'Madrid-ness'), which recognizes the neighborhood as a supposedly unprocessed urban reserve of a certain popular traditional city culture (Osorio, 2017). Interestingly, this term linkage does not appear in the Lavapiés-tourism relationship, despite its obvious potential for a touristic promotional discourse focused on authenticity. It is thus intended to convey an image of modernity to attract advanced metropolitan tourism (Barrado, 2010), supported by enjoyment of a neighborhood being sold as diverse, multicultural, creative, and innovative beyond the resources usually promoted by more classic tourism models.

This disconnection in 'C1LavapiésWithTourism' between tourism promotion and the resources most commonly used for that purpose also occurs with certain large cultural facilities that surround the neighborhood (el Museo de Arte Contemporáneo Reina Sofía, or La Casa Encendida), or with concepts like 'culture' or 'art' (which are nonetheless important Lavapiés collocates in the 'C2LavapiésWithoutTourism' corpus). The only major cultural space revealed to be statistically closely related to Lavapiés in 'C1LavapiésWithTourism' is La Tabacalera (a self-managed social center located in a large 18th-century industrial building on Embajadores Street), providing a clear example of the 'alternative' nuance that appears to inform the tourist imaginary of the neighborhood. However, it is one thing is that a connection exists between Lavapiés, tourism, and La Tabacalera, and quite another that the relationship is peaceful, to the extent that the groups who manage and use this space are well aware of the danger that their own facility presents in enhancing negative processes linked to speculation, as has been observed in similar spaces in other cities (Fraeser, 2017):

The largest space in the Lavapiés neighborhood is in danger of becoming another threat in the touristification cycle ("El centro cultural Tabacalera se opone a compartir edificio con la colección Fontanals Cisneros", *El País*, June 21, 2018).

In fact there is a clear modernizing nuance around the touristic image of Lavapiés that links it not only with the traditional promotional discourse (which defends the economic benefits of the activity)

---

8 See <https://www.timeout.es/madrid/es/noticias/un-barrio-de-madrid-elegido-el-mejor-del-mundo-092118>



but also with aspects related to change, social innovation, and new urban ways of life. However, that does not mean that these processes (relatively real or imagined) are not leading to social impacts in the neighborhood. Therefore, against the discourses of modernization, we find counter-discourses of conflict, and both posit the neighborhood of Lavapiés as a space for dispute among different agents.

#### **4.2. The agents of touristification discourse: who says what in Lavapiés?**

In the following sub-section, analysis of specific discourses will be deepened, and it will therefore be necessary to refer to the agents involved in their construction. First, however, it seems appropriate to consider which agents are involved in the discourse competition, in order to identify their distinct positions from the outset, and subsequently to facilitate their contrast with the scientific argument.

Perhaps more interesting than a simple list of voices included in the corpus would be to distinguish between agents that can be classified as *active* (who construct and emit relatively strong discourses that seek to intervene in the symbolic and the social) and other agents that, by contrast, can be described as *passive* (limited to experiencing consequences of the tourist process, but without the capacity to construct and disseminate meaning around it).

The principal agents issuing discourses are the residents of Lavapiés. But if we refer in this case to active agents that issue strong discourses contrary to the new tourism model, we must focus not on individuals but on neighborhood associations, which have either become touristified (traditional groups forming part of the Regional Federation of Neighborhood Associations of Madrid) or else have been specifically created to work on this problem (like the aforementioned 'Lavapiés, dónde vas?'). It is also necessary to emphasize the many individual emissions from academia and the art world, either as spokespersons for groups or as speakers in their own right, and sometimes sharing an academic discourse.

The clear discursive opponent of these neighborhood tourist associations is Airbnb, which (although it does not appear as an agent with its own voice in the corpus)<sup>9</sup> remains without a doubt the reference for many companies dedicated to commercializing this new accommodation model. This is likewise an active and strong discourse, but, as might be presumed, clearly in favor of the new tourism model and its regulation exclusively through the market.

---

9 In no case does an Airbnb spokesperson appear in the selected texts, unlike many VUT companies that use Airbnb or similar platforms, none of which reaches individual statistical relevance in the corpus. In addition to companies there are also business groups, such as FEVITUR, an association of tourist apartment providers.

Below these are other active emitters that we can qualify as *reformists* or *regulators*. The traditional tourist business groupings stand out here (such as the Hotel Business Association of Madrid), and these defend tourism as a positive activity for the city but seek to limit the intrusion of a new model that clearly undermines their usual practice. Together with these, we must mention the regional and local governments that, although varying politically over time, often issue discourses committed to the regulation (not the prevention or elimination) of the new model, in order to mitigate its consequences for urban spaces and populations. Finally, this group also includes merchants and their associations, which maintain different positions depending on the characteristics of their businesses and whether they are being helped or harmed by the processes of touristic gentrification and 'gourmetization' of the neighborhood.

Finally, among those that we have called passive also appear agents whose discourse focuses on highlighting the consequences that increased tourism has created for them. The majority of these are individual residents of the zone (frequently known by name) who tend to suffer pressure in terms of housing costs, as well as in aspects such as commerce, noise, dirtiness, etc. Finally, although in smaller number, tourists themselves also present particular discourses, complaining of homogenization of the tourist process or, contrarily, celebrating the new possibilities and reduction of costs that new tourist apartments allow.

#### **4.3 Discourse and counter-discourse: Is Lavapiés the object of discursive competition in relation to tourism?**

As noted in the review of the scientific literature around tourism, a clearly hegemonic positive discourse has for decades been focused on economic factors, and this has become the object of response in certain areas, particularly urban areas (see Cabrerizo, 2016; Colomb & Novy, 2016; Milano & Mansilla, 2018). The existence of this counter-discourse in opposition to the hegemonic demonstrates, as assumed by the CDA, that language can be used both to build power relations and to answer or challenge them (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

In order to verify the existence in Lavapiés of such discursive competition, analysis has been carried out from the 'C1LavapiésWithTourism' corpus, in which mentions of the words 'Lavapiés' and 'tourism' appear together. The nouns 'tourism' and 'tourist' have both been examined, as well as the adjective 'touristic', grouping into one set all morphological variants of gender and number

(necessary in Spanish).<sup>10</sup> As regards neologisms, we have proceeded to group words with minimal variants of form, but which share similar meaning: roughly, ‘touristification and ‘touristization’, which according to the Urgent Spanish Foundation (FUNDEU) refer “to the impact of tourist overcrowding on the commercial and social fabric of certain neighborhoods or cities”;<sup>11</sup> likewise ‘touristizing’, ‘touristified’ and ‘touristed’, active or passive agents of the same process. Finally, the neologism ‘tourismophobia’ has been treated separately. The results of frequencies obtained from the ‘C1LavapiésWithTourism’ corpus and in the subcorpora (derived by periodical and by five-year period) are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Relative frequency (10k words) of tourism-related concepts in ‘C1LavapiésWithTourism’ and its subcorpora<sup>12</sup>

CONCEPTS	C1Lavapiés WithTourism	<i>El País</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	Economic journals	Second Five Years	Third Five Years
<i>Turista(s)</i> – Tourist(s)	16.46	15.12	19.71	26.4	6.59	18.75
<i>Turismo</i> – Tourism	15.86	10.53	22.82	72.71	14.11	15.12
<i>Turístico (a/s)</i> – Touristic (adj.)	22.3	17.96	30.75	99.01	9.88	24.99
<i>Turistificación/Turistización</i> – Touristification/Touristization	3.83	3.64	3.11	26.4		4.8
<i>Turistizador/Turistificados/ Turisteados</i> – Touristizing/Touristified /Touristed	0.48	0.54				0.6
<i>Turismofobia</i> – Tourismophobia	0.67	0.4	1.38			0.48

Source: authors’ elaboration

The first aspect to be noted is that no news mentions were found in which the concepts ‘Lavapiés’ and ‘tourism’ appeared together in the first of the five-year periods analyzed (2004–2008), from

10 It is important to recall that analysis was developed through texts in Spanish. Obviously, English demands no gender or number variations in adjective use.

11 See <https://www.fundeu.es/recomendacion/turistificacion-neologismo-valido/>

12 On the vertical axis, as indicated in the text, are the concepts (in Spanish and English) to be analyzed. On the horizontal are the corpus and subcorpora on which analysis was performed. The first column includes the entire ‘C1LavapiésWithTourism’ corpus, where the words ‘Lavapiés’ and ‘tourism’ appear in association. The remaining columns refer to the different subcorpora derived from that corpus. The first three columns include news collected from the newspapers *El País* and *El Mundo* and the two economic journals analysed (*Cinco Días* and *Expansión*). The last two columns include the chronological divisions of the corpus ‘C1LavapiésWithTourism’: the second (2009–2013) and third (2014–2018) five-year periods. The data reflects the frequency of the given terms in each of the corpora per 10,000 words.

which we surmise that media concern, and consequently the transmission of this potentially conflictive reality to society as a whole, was very minor until late in the first decade of this century.

As expected, the concepts that register greater presence are the traditional nouns and adjectives: 'tourist', 'tourism', and 'touristic' (Table 1). More detailed analysis shows significant greater frequency of the collocates in the subcorpora of the third five-year period than the second, suggesting that not only there was more news about tourism in Lavapiés at the end of the period, but that it focused more clearly on this activity and did not treat it in a circumstantial or secondary way, yielding a greater relative presence of key concepts. That is, tourism has become a real and specific issue for the neighborhood. Something similar might be said of the terms' greater frequency in the economic journals than in other categories, although the low quantitative significance of this corpus makes generalization problematic.

It is important to note that, strictly speaking, these words (tourist, tourism, and touristic) are not necessarily connoted; that is, they do not suggest complementary meanings in addition to the main one (in terms of the positive or negative perception of the issuer of discourse in relation to the mentioned activity). Obviously, this does not mean the words cannot be used to construct distinct or even contrary discourses, as any quick qualitative approach can confirm.

Thus, for example, positive promotional discourses about Lavapiés are commonly seen in conjunction with other areas of the urban center, such as Malasaña or La Latina. In such mentions, the center of Madrid is often regarded as a reserve of 'the traditional':

The route he has been following for three years, 'The Madrid of *las verbenas*', is a campaign developed by the Tourist Board of the City Council, with which he intends to show [...] the most "cool" side of the capital ("Chulapos, limonás y chotis en el Madrid de las verbenas", *El Mundo*, August 13, 2010);

To the contrary, the city center is sometimes presented as a diverse, creative, and innovative space that experiments with new ways of consumption and, above all, new types of consumers:

'Madrid plays off', the third of the new programs, focuses on the most innovative touristic offerings. 'A city that is constantly changing and renewing. These routes fit with concepts linked to new urban cultures, the latest trends, or avant-garde movements that surprise visitors and people from Madrid alike. ("Botella promocionará el patrimonio cultural con el Real Madrid como reclamo", *El Mundo*, April 24, 2012).

But in these discursive constructions, apparently neutral in terms of the vocabulary used, tourism can also be critically valued as a driver of changes that, although not entirely negative, may be perceived nostalgically as losses:

There are more and more tourists and fewer traditional shops. “There are very few traditional businesses, it’s a shame...” (“Aquí venían Ramón y Cajal y Gregorio Marañón a afeitarse”, *El País*, December 26, 2018).

And this transformation may lead, sooner or later, to social conflict:

These are the places that become fashionable, where the price of housing rises, and from which the poor are forced to leave to make way for the rich. On the face of the process what you see is something like the hispterization of the neighborhood: the new residents are young, creative, and modern, and the big beards bloom along with tourists... (“Cuando aparece el primer cupcake ya podemos hablar de gentrificación”, *El País*, September 16, 2016).

These criticisms, arising from discourses that are not clearly partisan, tend to focus on forms of consumption linked to the neoliberal economic model, and to ongoing technological change, rather than on tourism in general. From this can result new ways of organizing production where the socio-spatial impact on the neighborhood is far greater than that of traditional tourism:

Airbnb has revolutionized the way we travel: individuals making internet contact around the supply and demand of accommodation has created a new way of conducting tourism. But the success of this global phenomenon in historical centers is causing serious problems that threaten to disfigure the essence of its purpose. More and more, cities are gearing up for war (“Bienvenido Mr. Airbnb”, *El País*, May 1, 2016).

In any case, the true discursive competition in large cities as a whole seems to have focused on the creation, propagation, and attempted generalization of new concepts that, much more than simply denoting a phenomenon, also act to connote it, as clearly occurs with the ostensible opposites of touristification and tourismophobia. Our first observation (Table 1) is that their appearance is restricted to the last of the five-year sub-periods, indicating the relatively recent transfer to Lavapiés of strong and competitive discourses around tourism (already present in the media in other regards to other places). Therefore this debate is a recent development in Lavapiés from the perspective of those less directly concerned with the problem.

Beyond the quantitative approach, a qualitative reading demonstrates that it is fundamentally around these concepts and their meanings where significant discursive competition over how tourism is affecting the Lavapiés neighborhood is being established among the various agents involved.

Touristification, as defined by FUNDEU, is an apparently neutral concept referring to “the impact of tourist overcrowding” in certain areas. Here the Spanish noun *masificación* (overcrowding) seems to imply a negative impact, and the term has in fact been employed by those agents who maintain the most critical discourse in defining the process that certain urban spaces are experiencing.

On the other hand, ‘tourismophobia’ also appeared as a reactive concept to such critical discourse, which may be the first evidence of a discursive competition that seeks to impose the essential terms of the debate. As noted by Medela et al. (2017), the term was generalized in the media in 2017, at least in Spain, before the anti-tourism demonstrations began (mainly in Barcelona). In any case, the word already existed and was previously used in discussions of urban tourism in the social field, as well as in the academic. Manuel Delgado, an anthropologist at the University of Barcelona, used it in a blog in 2015, calling it “a variant of xenophobia”.<sup>13</sup> In more recent years it has largely been used to disqualify the resistant response to the neoliberal tourism model as an irrational act”.<sup>14</sup>

In relation to Lavapiés, the term ‘tourismophobia’ does not so clearly appear as a partisan discourse, but is used more aseptically:

...a dislike of the activity of traveling for pleasure (“Recetas para frenar la turismofobia”, *El Mundo*, June 25, 2017).

In addition, the same report indicates that said term refers to other neologisms such as gentrification and touristification, evidently admitting that this aversion is not irrational, but rather a response to the rejection generated by prior processes and negative effects. One interviewee points this out; when asked to define tourismophobia, he answers:

It’s not hate for the tourist, or the ‘other’, but the cry of many people against a tourist model that only seeks to increase visitor numbers and profitability, even if that means subversion of rights such as housing, rest, dignified work, etc. It’s a social protest. (“¿Hasta cuándo podremos vivir en el centro de las ciudades? Así nos afecta la turistificación”, *El País*, March 22, 2018).

---

13 See <http://manueldelgadoruiz.blogspot.com/2015/03/salvemos-nuestros-turistas.html>

14 An entry in the Spanish Wikipedia (accessed June 14, 2019) clearly gives a negative, irrational, and violent character to tourismophobia: <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turismofobia>. At the time of reading there was no entry in the English Wikipedia for the concept, perhaps underlining its importance to the debate in Spain.

In any case, not using tourismophobia as a strong discourse against the response to tourism does not mean that a tourismophobic discourse is absent from the context of central Madrid. Thus, a representative of one company dedicated to VUT management asserted:

An activity that creates jobs is being demonized [...]. Confronting the problems that this phenomenon may be creating [... the interviewee] defends the improvements that this can bring to neighborhoods like Lavapiés and to the tourism market (“El efecto en cascada de los pisos turístico en Madrid”, *El País*, February 25, 2018).

But if anything seems clear, it is that agents who emit strong critical discourses rejecting touristification are not criticizing tourism in general. What is contested is a certain model defined by the potential of new technologies and, above all, a neoliberal paradigm whose effects in relation to the city are directly associated with real estate bubbles.

The touristification of the city center is a very serious expression of a much broader phenomenon, which is the financialization of housing in the Community of Madrid. (“Lavapiés, contra los pisos turísticos”, *El Mundo*, September 27, 2017).

That is to say, given what can be derived from the word *masificación*, criticism of touristification is not so quantitative as it is qualitative in view of a tourist model that intensely pressures the very urban space that hosts it. Opposition to such a model (rather than to the sector) is practically unanimous among the various agents that sustain this critical discourse, ranging from neighborhood associations, tenants, and traditional merchants to groups specifically created for this struggle, like ‘Lavapiés, ¿dónde vas?’, one of whose members claims:

It’s not the tourists but the speculation that bothers us (“El alquiler vacacional resta más de 5000 viviendas en el centro de Madrid”, *El Mundo*, May 6, 2018).

A similar position is supported by traditional tourism agents, and specifically hotel associations whose business model is threatened by new products and ways of marketing. In fact, the Hotel Business Association of Madrid calls for regulation, not only in economic terms but also urban, in order to protect fair competition and the appearance:

of areas of central Madrid such as Puerta del Sol and Lavapiés [...]. We are defending a different model, a model of sustainable tourism (“El sector hotelero de Madrid advierte del incremento de la ‘turistificación’ en Madrid”, *Expansión*, July 9, 2017).

What the approach of these hoteliers implies is not only a defense of the traditional model, but possibly that tourism is still discursively considered to be a “non- or minor issue” (Novy & Colomb,

2016, p. 4). Therefore, and even when a certain overlap occurs between this discourse and that defended by social and neighborhood movements, both are responding to significantly different interests and city models in relation to the sector, insofar as the most critical perspective, even while avoiding a total rejection of tourism, does seek to discuss its effects:

Lavapiés, ¿dónde vas? demands a moratorium, “to think about what kind of tourism we want [...]” (“El efecto en cascada de los pisos turístico en Madrid”, *El País*, February 25, 2018).

In addition to the identification and definition of the terms of conflict, there is a parallel discussion about effects and processes. Discussion around these effects uses such terms as renewal, diversity, wealth, and freedom, to invest and to travel —as claimed by advocates of the new touristic and urban model who employ a strong discourse— in opposition to concepts like expulsion, inequality, speculation, homogenization, or the right to the city —as posited by strong critical discourses. In this sense, the reflections contained in the article ‘*Luces y sombras en Lavapiés*’ (‘Lavapiés lights and shadows’) are meaningful, following classification of that neighborhood as ‘the coolest in the world’. Although with significant reluctance in the face of possible future effects, at least one respondent celebrated the nomination as a reflection of the neighborhood’s

conglomeration of races, trends, social and political and cultural movements, theaters, bookstores, art galleries, amazing shops, street music, restaurants and bars where poets, musicians, artists, immigrants, and life-long residents live together (“*Luces y sombras en Lavapiés*”, *El País*, September 26, 2018).

Nevertheless, it seems clear that (at least part of) this idealized image is both a boosterist discourse on Lavapiés and the product of an already advanced gentrification process in which tourism and urban leisure in general have played a large role. On the other hand, the second person interviewed in the cited article emphasizes the nomination as a “discursive strategy [...] to legitimize bubbles”, which ultimately

hides the fact that these areas are suffering from strong segregation processes (“*Luces y sombras en Lavapiés*”, *El País*, September 26, 2018),

Simultaneously, these processes turn the neighborhood into a thematic park in the service of a touristic image:



“Lavapiés has become a holiday resort with local flavor,” according to yesterday’s crude demonstration by the Lavapiés, ¿dónde vas? network (“Lavapiés, contra los pisos turísticos”, *El Mundo*, 27 de septiembre del 2017).

The solutions that arise are themselves obviously diverse and conflicting. On the one hand, defenders of the neoliberal model trust exclusively in the market, suggesting (in the cases of a VUT management company and the Idealista real estate website) that a market readjustment will surely happen sooner or later, and inevitably many owners will begin to rent their homes to tenants, not to tourists. This is not the opinion of other agents, who oscillate between proposals for regulation (both economic and urban, for housing, licenses, permits, etc. –according to the Hotel Business Association of Madrid and various social groups) and a total ban or at least a restriction of the process, as is currently being attempted in cities where

to regulate means to restrict (“La pasividad del Ayuntamiento y de la Comunidad ante el crecimiento de Airbnb”, *El País*, February 26, 2018).

In any case, due to inaction or neglect by both the regional government (which has greater powers) and City Hall, the number of tourist flats as well as purchase and rental prices continue to increase, although the latter cannot be attributed to tourism alone. We are therefore faced with a phenomenon that, although not very old, has been experiencing sharp acceleration in recent years.

Will the successful neighborhood die and become a clone of other neighborhoods and cities in the global village? (“Reflexión cinéfila sobre Lavapiés”, *El País*, August 3, 2018).

This question, posed by one interviewee in one of the selected articles, remains without clear answer. However, among the many social actions developed by agents to advance their objectives in the neighborhood vis-à-vis tourism, the discourse that each is able to impose on others will carry essential weight. The ascendancy of one or another discursive framework, which will never be absolute, will derive at least in part from those solutions that are considered legitimate.

## **5 Discussion: between the scientific and social debates**

This section reflects on certain issues that, as part of the scientific debate around the new tourist model in urban centers, have also become subject to discussion among the various agents involved in the Lavapiés neighborhood, as discovered in the developed corpora.

As mentioned earlier, the appearance of the concept of touristification meant that gentrification had risen significantly in the list of Lavapiés collocates; and as derived from analysis of the

'C1LavapiésWithTourism' corpus, the two concepts are statistically related to one another in a very strong way. In effect, the noun 'gentrification' has a stronger statistical relationship with 'touristification', surpassed only by purely functional words like prepositions or articles. The term 'touristification' has a similar connection with 'gentrification', surpassed only by the substantive process. This means that, when in recent years in Lavapiés there has been talk of touristification, there has also been talk of gentrification, and vice versa.

The question that underlies analysis of the corpus, and which is also significant in the scientific literature, is whether the concept of touristification should be understood simply as a specific form of gentrification. From the definition of one of the aforementioned seminal texts in this regard (Gotham, 2005), it appears that touristification is a type of gentrification initiated, or at least driven, by tourism and its correlates. What is assumed in the literature is that, in general, touristification coexists and relates to gentrification so long as tourism in cities is not an isolated phenomenon, as was traditionally been thought (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Edwards et al., 2008), but that it is linked to broader revitalization strategies that seek to attract both capital and certain residents and tourists into urban centers (Cocola-Gant, 2018).

The majority of agents in Lavapiés who present strong discourses of a critical nature around tourism assume a direct relationship between both phenomena, but they also establish nuances. In the first place, because it is considered that the tourist phenomenon in its most recent model is the spearhead of gentrification (at least in some areas of central Madrid):

"Lavapiés, Malasaña, or Chueca have been gentrified through tourism" ("Más Rastro y menos Palacio Real", *El Mundo*, October 30, 2017);

This further indicates that the effects of

gentrification (which replaces the traditional inhabitants with wealthier ones) [are distinguishable from those of] touristification (which swaps residents for tourists) ("Luces y sombras en Lavapiés", *El País*, September 26, 2018).

And this appears to be similarly perceived in scientific literature, when speaking of "substitution of residential life by tourism" (Cocola-Gant, 2016, p. 7).

Nor can touristification be separated from new ways of inhabiting the city, which means that certain cosmopolitan residents and tourists (Quagliari & Russo, 2010) coincide in consumption patterns as well as in the geographical characteristics of the space where they consume. It is a very complex task, both theoretically and empirically, to separate 'new ways of inhabiting' from the outright

gentrification of urban areas such as Lavapiés, and from the progressive conversion of such areas into a kind of 'entertainment machine' (Lloyd & Nichols, 2001) that serves the both new social classes (at least during leisure time) and tourists with urban behavioral patterns. The fact that some of these new inhabitants later criticize the worst effects of tourism is picked up by the strong counter-critical discourse as a particular hypocrisy:

It is a very curious phenomenon, because the new inhabitants, who set trends, come in search of cheap housing and a neighborhood with authentic flavor [...] until it becomes populated with hipsters, flower shops, restaurants with mismatched dishes [...] and it loses all its authenticity and is filled with tourists... ("Auténtico, gentrificado y con turistas", *El Mundo*, June 9, 2014).

It is clear that certain forms that touristic gentrification assumes, such as 'commercial displacement' (Cocola-Gant, 2018), cannot be exclusively attributed to tourism. In fact, the many mentions in the Lavapiés corpus of 'gourmetization' is indeed a complex consequence of explosive touristization, but also indicative of profound changes in distribution, consumption, and leisure patterns, as well as the growing sophistication of cultural industries such as gastronomy. Within this context, the old food markets of Lavapiés (San Fernando and Antón Martín) and their progressive conversion into cultural tourism and leisure spaces (Crespi & Pérez, 2016), combined with food festivals such as Tapapiés, also find themselves at the center of the discursive target due to their effects within the space and society of the neighborhood.

It should be taken into account that the displacement of long-term established residents in a neighborhood is indeed a function of changes in the housing market, but also of other transformations in neighborhood dynamics, including aspects such as the "upgrading of commercial services, but also of use of private and public areas of the neighborhood as a space for entertainment and consumption, including nightlife" (Cocola-Gant, 2015, p. 19). This set of processes is being produced in Lavapiés, a place where

parties start up on most nights; the crowds swarm through plazas looking for a place on the terraces of Argumosa Street, or at a table in one of the Indian restaurants on Ave María ... ("Luces y sombras en Lavapiés", *El País*, September 26, 2018).

Clearly this second set of processes affects residents of Lavapiés differently in terms of numerous social, cultural, and economic aspects. The consequence is that opposition emerges not only between residents and tourists, but also between 'advanced consumers' (whether tourists or not)

and groups that lack the economic capacity, the leisure time, and the socio-cultural interests that new shops, services, and activities on offer are intended to cover.

This segregation among residents in Lavapiés, classified according to their distinct ways of living, is reflected in the corpus according to the agents mentioned. Thus we find significant differences between those drivers of strong discourse who oppose these types of processes and others (like some merchant associations) who make an effort to separate touristification and gentrification from what has been called gourmetization, being perhaps unclear on the potentially negative, polyhedral effects of each:

Does this event (Tapapiés) increase gentrification? “That’s unstoppable,” according to the Association of Merchants in Lavapiés. “What needs to be stopped is tourism and tourist apartments. We want a neighborhood where people live...” (“Pinchos sostenibles en Lavapiés”, *El País*, October 19, 2018).

The question that should be asked, to complete this reflection, is: what kind of people do you *want* to live in Lavapiés?

Another debate like that around the role of gastronomy exists in relation to art and culture. However, in this case, the discussion is not reduced to economic factors but reaches greater complexity, to the extent that, even if art and culture may contribute in some way to the processes of gentrification and touristification, they have also contributed greater social density, and to the creation of a significant theoretical and conceptual background that is useful for resistance.

As professor, critic, and activist J. Carrillo (one of the individualized agents mentioned above) points out: since the 1980s, there have emerged in Lavapiés new artistic movements and processes, and these have often been interwoven with the social movements and collective struggles of the time, such as the occupation of disused buildings by ‘squatters’ (Carrillo, 2018). This fact in turn caused the ‘aestheticization’ of certain social movements (Delgado, 2013), and the subsequent potential creation of positive symbols for tourist attraction and new forms of cultural consumption has become an object of discussion around Lavapiés. Although in this case “the proliferation and attraction of the culturally precarious to the neighborhood contributed, along with other factors such as immigration, to maintaining diversity of use and of the neighborhood’s own economic life.” (Carrillo, 2018, p. 142). Still, the cited author asks:

Was this the origin of what gave Lavapiés the cool character that led to gentrification? It may be, but it is far from clear. (“Cuando Lavapiés tomó conciencia de barrio”, *El País*, March 9, 2018).

## 6 Conclusions

In relation to the theoretical assumptions that support this text, in terms of the existence of a discursive competition around tourism and its effects, our first conclusion is that this activity has indeed been the subject of debate in Lavapiés for a relatively short period of time. As such, there have emerged contrasting perspectives advanced by common interest groups, with constructed agendas and interests, but as yet no clear set of discourses and counter-discourses has been articulated in the sense of replicas and counter-replicas that disseminate to the entire public sphere. Nor has the use of neologisms or re-signified words been clearly developed in order to support strong discourses.

Undoubtedly, the most structured discourse informs the critical perspective, largely because the agents supporting it were already present, deriving from numerous prior neighborhood struggles and from activism in relation to housing, jobs, social integration, feminism, culture and art, etc. The result is that, as in other cities, these social agents have become touristified (Milano, 2018), engaging the current concern with their previous discourses and strategies. This does not preclude the possibility that, from such pre-existing magma, specific agents (more or less individualized) may have emerged, such as individuals with academic and technical backgrounds (mainly sociologists and urban planners), and specialized associations, as in the case of 'Lavapiés, ¿dónde vas?'

Although glimpses of it can be discerned, the counter-critical discourse has not as yet developed clear strategies in line with tourismophobia, attempting to disqualify the opposition to the new mass tourism as irrational. The reasons for this may be diverse, including that in Lavapiés (unlike similar spaces) there been no action that can be described as violent, while distinctions between traditional tourism and the new tourism model have clearly developed, separating the effects of one from the other and, therefore, nuancing their valuation.

As a result, there has been no homogeneous discourse from the part of the tourism sector, but rather at least two: one represented by the new tourism model, which in the case of Lavapiés is formed by companies and VUT managers; and the more traditional, exemplified by the Hotel Business Association of Madrid. The latter seek 'sustainable' tourism in Lavapiés and criticize the new accommodation models and their effects, which does not constitute a strong discourse in line with the tourismophobic argument.

On the other hand, the agents involved in the creation and management of VUT seem to have opted for a naturalization strategy common to market ideology (Gounari, 2006): an inevitable 'must' that discursively separates the causes from human decision, and that therefore disclaims

responsibility for possible consequences. Even so, there is already a strong and very well organized discourse in Madrid in defense of the new tourist model (not yet directly focused on Lavapiés), as evidenced by the 'Madrid Aloja' association and the reports that it collects on its website, the main page of which provides a magnificent example of the naturalization strategy: "Madrid tourism. Adapted to reality"<sup>15</sup>.

As for the image of the neighborhood, it cannot be said that discourses on tourism have transformed it radically. They have simply been folded into pre-existing debates, both in relation to the conflict around local problems and in relation to the motivations for attraction and for visiting.

In this last sense, in relation to the image being sold, it is worth highlighting one that pretends to be the most advanced, linked to the modernity of space as a field of social experimentation. This strategy is consistent with the new consumer that it intends to attract, but it contradicts the fact that much contestation arises from the very social magma being sold as an attraction.

In any case, the contradiction in this regard is twofold, given that these new inhabitants of Lavapiés and these social movements are each partly responsible for the discourse on Lavapiés as an attractive or 'cool' environment; therefore, they form part of the cause behind the process of touristification that they criticize. This effect has been observed in many other places where, starting from an ideological environment that celebrates multiculturalism and diversity, such diversity is simultaneously recognized as a potential market product (Almeida *et al.*, 2008) whose success will almost inevitably result in a progressive tendency towards homogenization via social expulsion.

**Acknowledgments:** The authors would like to thank the anonymous reviewers at *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* for their valuable contributions and suggestions, which made possible significant improvements to the original text.

**Authorship statement:** The authors declare no conflict of interest. The authors contributed equally to this paper and are listed in alphabetic order.

---

<sup>15</sup> See <http://madridaloja.org/>

## References

Almeida, C. A., Belhassen, Y., & Caton, K. (2008). Reimagining Chinatown: An analysis of tourism discourse. *Tourism Management*, 29(5), 1002–1012.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2008.01.002>

Arias, A., & Russo, A. (2017). The right to Gaudí. What can we learn from the commoning of Park Güell, Barcelona. In C. Colomb, & J. Novy (Eds.), *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City* (pp. 247–263). London, Routledge.

Ashworth, G., & Page, S. (2011). Urban tourism research: Recent progress and current paradoxes. *Tourism management*, 32(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2010.02.002>

Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., Khosravini, M., Krzyżanowski, M., McEnery, T., & Wodak, R. (2008). A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse & society*, 19(3), 273–306. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926508088962>

Barrado, D. (2010). Gran ciudad y turismo en la transición postindustrial: nuevos y viejos procesos, nuevas y viejas teorías. El ejemplo del área metropolitana de Madrid. *Scripta Nova*, 14. Retrieved from <http://revistes.ub.edu/index.php/ScriptaNova/article/view/1623>

Barrado, D. (in press). The meaning and content of the concept of the social in the scientific discourse on urban social sustainability. *City and Community*.

Barrado, D., Palacios, A., & Hidalgo, C. (2013). El turismo, una actividad esencial para la economía madrileña. In J. Vinuesa, D. Porras, J. de la Riva, & F. Fernández (Coord.), *Propuestas para la Revisión del Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de 1997. Reflexiones a propósito de la Revisión del Plan General* (pp. 317–336). Madrid: Grupo TRyS. Retrieved from <https://repositorio.uam.es/handle/10486/13683?show=full>

Blanco-Romero, A., Blázquez-Salom, M., & Cànoves, G. (2018). Barcelona, Housing Rent Bubble in a Tourist City. Social Responses and Local Policies. *Sustainability*, 10(6), 2043. Retrieved from <https://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/10/6/2043/pdf>

Breeze, R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and its critics. *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPrA)*, 21(4), 493–525. Retrieved from <https://journals.linguisticsociety.org/elanguage/pragmatics/article/view/3654.html>

Brossat, I. (2018). *Airbnb. La ciudad uberizada*. Pamplona: Katakak.

Cabrerizo, C. (2016). *La ciudad negocio: turismo y movilización social en pugna*. Madrid: Cisma Editorial.

Cabrerizo, C., Klett, A., & García, P. (2015). De alianzas anómalas a nuevos paisajes políticos. Madrid, Lavapiés y otras geografías de lo común. *URBS. Revista de Estudios Urbanos y Ciencias Sociales*, 5(2), 163–178. Retrieved from [http://www2.ual.es/urbs/index.php/urbs/article/view/cabrerizo\\_klett\\_garcia](http://www2.ual.es/urbs/index.php/urbs/article/view/cabrerizo_klett_garcia)

Cabrerizo, C., Sequera, J., & Bachiller, P. G. (2016). Entre la turistificación y los espacios de resistencia en el centro de Madrid: Algunas claves para (re) pensar la ciudad turística. *Ecología política*, 52, 78–82. Retrieved from <https://www.ecologiapolitica.info/?p=6775>

Carrillo, J. (2018). *Space invaders. Intervenciones artístico-políticas en un territorio en disputa: Lavapiés (1997–2004)*. Madrid: Brumaria.

Cheong, S. M., & Miller, M. L. (2000). Power and tourism: A Foucauldian observation. *Annals of tourism research*, 27(2), 371–390. [http://doi:10.1016/S0160-7383\(99\)00065-1](http://doi:10.1016/S0160-7383(99)00065-1)

Cocola-Gant, A. (2015). Tourism and commercial gentrification. In *Proceedings of the RC21 International Conference on "The Ideal City: Between Myth and Reality, Representations, Policies, Contradictions and Challenges for Tomorrow's Urban Life"* (pp. 27–29). Urbino, Italy. Retrieved from <https://www.rc21.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/E4-C%C3%B3cola-Gant.pdf>

Cocola-Gant, A. (2016). Holiday rentals: The new gentrification battlefield. *Sociological Research Online*, 21(3), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.4071>

Cocola-Gant, A. (2018). 17. Tourism gentrification. In L. Lees, & M. Philips, M. (Eds.), *Handbook of gentrification studies* (pp. 281–293). Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Colomb, C., & Novy, J. (Eds.). (2016). *Protest and resistance in the tourist city*. London: Routledge.

Crespi, M., & Pérez, M. (2016). Los mercados de abastos y las ciudades turísticas. *Pasos*, 14, 401–416. Retrieved from <http://www.pasosonline.org/es/articulos/910-crespi>

de la Calle Vaquero, M., Calzada, E., & de Miguel, S. (2018). Concentración y desconcentración de la actividad turística sobre el espacio urbano. Reflexiones en torno a Madrid. *Polígonos: Revista de geografía*, 30, 143–170. Retrieved from <http://revpubli.unileon.es/ojs/index.php/poligonos/article/view/5690>



- Delgado, M. (2013). Artivismo y pospolítica. Sobre la estetización de las luchas sociales en contextos urbanos. *Quaderns-e de l'Institut Català d'Antropologia*, 18(2), 68–80. Retrieved from <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/QuadernselCA/article/view/274290>
- Edwards, D., Griffin, T., & Hayllar, B. (2008). Urban tourism research: developing an agenda. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(4), 1032–1052. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2008.09.002>
- Fainstein, S., & Gladstone, D. (1999). Evaluating urban tourism. In D. Judd, & S. Fanstein, (Eds.), *The tourist city* (pp. 21–34). New Haven, USA, Yale University Press.
- Fairclough, N. (2013a). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2013b). Critical discourse analysis. *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 9–20). London: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (2007) [1976]. Questions on geography. In J. Crampton, & S. Elden (Coord.), *Space, knowledge and power: Foucault and geography* (pp. 173–182). Aldershot, Ashgate.
- Fraeser, N. (2017). Fantasies of Antithesis—Assessing Hamburg's Gängeviertel as a Tourist Attraction. In C. Colomb, & J. Novy (Eds.), *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City* (pp. 320–339). London, Routledge.
- Gotham, K. F. (2005). Tourism gentrification: The case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter). *Urban studies*, 42(7), 1099–1121. <http://doi.org/10.1080=00420980500120881>
- Gramsci, A. (1975). *Cartas desde la cárcel*. Madrid: Cuadernos para el diálogo.
- Gounari, P. (2006). Contesting the cynicism of neoliberal discourse: Moving towards a language of possibility. *Studies in Language & Capitalism*, 1(1), 77–96. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/409731/Contesting\\_the\\_Cynicism\\_of\\_Neoliberal\\_Discourse\\_Moving\\_Towards\\_a\\_Language\\_of\\_Possibility](https://www.academia.edu/409731/Contesting_the_Cynicism_of_Neoliberal_Discourse_Moving_Towards_a_Language_of_Possibility)
- Gu, Y. (2012). Discourse geography. In J. Gee, & M. Handford (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 541–557). London: Routledge.
- Hannam, K., & Knox, D. (2005). Discourse analysis in tourism research a critical perspective. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 30(2), 23–30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2005.11081470>

- Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. London: Verso books.
- Hastings, A. (1999). Discourse and urban change: introduction to the special issue. *Urban studies*, 36(1), 7–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098993691>
- Hastings, A. (2000). Discourse analysis: what does it offer housing studies? *Housing, Theory and Society*, 17(3), 131–139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14036090051084441>
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F. (2006). More than an “industry”: The forgotten power of tourism as a social force. *Tourism management*, 27(6), 1192–1208. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.05.020>
- Janusz, K., Six, S., & Vanneste, D. (2017). Building tourism-resilient communities by incorporating residents’ perceptions? A photo-elicitation study of tourism development in Bruges. *Journal of Tourism Futures*, 3(2), 127–143. Retrieved from <https://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/full/10.1108/JTF-04-2017-0011>
- Jover, J., Berraquero-Díaz, L., Barrero-Rescalvo, M., & Jiménez-Talavera, A. (2018). Turistización y movimientos urbanos de resistencia: experiencias desde Sevilla. In C. Milano, & J. Mansilla (Coord.), *Ciudad de Vacaciones. Conflictos urbanos en espacios turísticos* (pp. 403–438). Barcelona: Pol·len Ediciones.
- Lees, L. (2004). Urban geography: discourse analysis and urban research. *Progress in human geography*, 28(1), 101–107. <https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132504ph473pr>
- Lloyd, R., & Nichols Clark, T. (2001). The city as an entertainment machine. In *Critical perspectives on urban redevelopment* (pp. 357–378). Emerald Group Publishing Limited. Retrieved from <https://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/abs/10.1016/S1047-0042%2801%2980014-3>
- Milano, C. (2018). Overtourism, malestar social y turismofobia. Un debate controvertido. *Pasos*, 16(3), 551–564. Retrieved from [http://www.pasosonline.org/Publicados/16318/PS318\\_01.pdf](http://www.pasosonline.org/Publicados/16318/PS318_01.pdf)
- Mansilla, J., & Milano, C. (2018). Introducción a la ciudad de vacaciones. Apuntes sobre turismo y malestar social en Barcelona. In C. Milano & J. A. Mansilla (Coord.), *Ciudad de Vacaciones. Conflictos urbanos en espacios turísticos* (pp. 19–80). Barcelona: Pol·len Ediciones.
- Meyer, M. (2001). Between theory, method, and politics: positioning of the approaches to CDA. In R. Wodak & R. Meyer (Coord.) *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 14–31). London: SAGE.

Milano, C., & Mansilla, J. A. (Coord.) (2018). *Ciudad de Vacaciones. Conflictos urbanos en espacios turísticos*. Barcelona: Pol· len Ediciones.

Novy, J. (2016). The selling (out) of Berlin and the de-and re-politicization of urban tourism in Europe's 'Capital of Cool'. In C. Colomb, & J. Novy (Eds.), *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City* (pp. 66–86). London, Routledge.

Novy, J., & Colomb, C. (2016). Urban tourism and its discontents: an introduction in Europe's 'Capital of Cool'. In C. Colomb, & J. Novy (Eds.), *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City* (pp. 1–30). London, Routledge.

Opillard, F. (2016). From San Francisco's 'Tech Boom 2.0' to Valparaíso's UNESCO World Heritage Site. In C. Colomb, & J. Novy (Eds.), *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City* (pp. 129–151). London, Routledge.

Osorio, C. (2017). *Lavapiés. El Rastro*. Madrid: Tempora, Barrios de Madrid.

Pérez-Agote, A., Tejerina, B., & Barañano, M. (2010). *Barrios multiculturales: relaciones interétnicas en los barrios de San Francisco (Bilbao) y Embajadores/Lavapiés*. Madrid: Trotta.

Postma, A., Buda, D. M., & Gugerell, K. (2017). The future of city tourism. *Journal of Tourism Futures*, 3(2), 95–101. Retrieved from <https://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/full/10.1108/JTF-09-2017-067>

Pritchard, A., & Jaworski, A. (2005). Introduction: Discourse, communication and tourism dialogues. In Jaworski, A. y Pritchard, A., eds- *Discourse, communication and tourism* (pp. 1–16). Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications.

Quagliari, A., & Russo, A. (2010). Paisajes urbanos en la época post-turística. Propuesta de un marco analítico. *Scripta Nova*, 14(323). Retrieved from <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn/sn-323.htm>

Rodríguez J., Sánchez, A., Salguero, O., & García, E. (2018). Gentrificación y turistificación en los barrios, 'turismofobia' en la tele y hegemonía de la marca Granada. In C. Milano, & J. Mansilla (Coord.), *Ciudad de Vacaciones. Conflictos urbanos en espacios turísticos* (pp. 327–362). Barcelona: Pol· len Ediciones.

Sequera, J., & Gil, J. (2018). Resistencias contra la ciudad turística. Airbnb en Madrid. In C. Milano, & J. Mansilla (Coord.), *Ciudad de Vacaciones. Conflictos urbanos en espacios turísticos* (pp. 189–222). Barcelona: Pol· len Ediciones.

Smith, V. L. (1989). *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Turner, L., & Ash, J. (1975). *The golden hordes: International tourism and the pleasure periphery*. London: Constable & Robinson.

UNWTO, Centre of Expertise Leisure, Tourism & Hospitality, NHTV Breda University and NHL Stenden University Eds (2018). *Overtourism? Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions*. Madrid: UNWTO.

Vuolteenaho, J., Ameen, L., Newby, A., & Scott, M. (2012). *Language, space, power: Reflections on linguistic and spatial turns in urban research*. Helsinki: Collegium for Advanced Studies. Retrieved from

[https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/38583/13\\_01\\_intro.pdf?sequence=1](https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/38583/13_01_intro.pdf?sequence=1).

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: SAGE Publications.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory and methodology. *Methods of critical discourse analysis, 2*, 1–33. Retrieved from [https://us.corwin.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/24615\\_01\\_Wodak\\_Ch\\_01.pdf](https://us.corwin.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/24615_01_Wodak_Ch_01.pdf)