

Research Article

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Analysis of Lavapiés through its Linguistic Landscape and the Press

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Abstract: The XXth century gateway cities in Europe, such as Madrid, have followed and in-depth population readjustment, due to the arrival of immigrants from all over the world. This readjustment has left traces in the public spaces of the city; and the media have noted this phenomenon as well.

This paper aims at analysing the superdiversity present in Lavapiés, through two different and complementary methodologies: the analyses of the Linguistic Landscape and of press corpora. The analysis of the landscape of the territory will be conducted through a corpus of images or Linguistic Cartography that includes samples of multilingualism present in the area. The press corpora contain news stories, interviews and articles on immigration. These analyses will provide a better picture of the area, in terms of diversity. This paper is part of the Post-conference Special Issue on Language and Migration.

Keywords: Superdiversity, immigration, mass media, Madrid

1 Introduction

The identity construction of migrants is not the mere sum of personal, cultural and social elements. Although it is true that all these characteristics can help construct a social discourse conveyed by the media that sketches and reflects the vital environment of this group. The reflection portrayed by the media helps, in turn, build the image that society shares on immigration. According to the CIS (Spanish Centre of Sociological Research), the image portrayed by the media tends to be negative, since there is an invisible border that undermines the positive contribution of migrants to the host countries. Increased unemployment among locals as a direct result of the increase of immigration is a powerful argument for disliking immigration.

The current paper is part of a larger interdisciplinary project: IN.MIGRA2-CM, devoted to the analysis of how the Spanish and Italian press help construct the “mental imagery” (Gibbs & O’Brien 1990) on migrants shared by society (Guerra 2011; Guerra & Gómez 2010; Gómez & Guerra 2011; Revilla 2011; Saiz de Lobado & Bonomi 2014; Saiz de Lobado 2015; Gallego et al. 2009). In 2016, Maria Vittoria Calvi studied superdiversity in Milan through the analysis of the Linguistic Landscape present in the city, which, in turn, inspired the creation of Lavapiés’ Linguistic Cartography (Saiz de Lobado 2016). Guerra (2018) first analysed this resource through Perceptive Linguistic Theory. When approaching the study of the LL of Madrid, it is important to mention the studies by Castillo and Sáez: pioneers in the analysis of LL in different areas of Madrid (Castillo & Sáez 2011; Sáez & Castillo 2012).

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This paper combines both methodologies: the analysis of a press corpus and of the Linguistic Landscape (LL) of the area, in an attempt to draw a complete picture of immigrant's identity creation and portrayal in a given geographical location: Lavapiés. The fact that the researchers who have conducted this study belong to different but complementary academic backgrounds, Intercultural Communication and Journalism, increases the value of this interdisciplinary analysis.

Immigration has always played a key role when revitalizing the economy. In periods of economic growth, immigration increases due to the need of labour force; whereas in periods of economic recession, unemployment increases and, as a result, there is a deceleration in the arrival of immigrants to the host country. According to the OECD (De la Dehesa 2008; Carrasco & Ortega 2006), there is no empirical evidence that correlates the effects of immigration to wage cuts or the loss of jobs by locals. Conversely, immigration has proven to help aging societies and increase the host country's GDP, not only through taxes, but also by consuming goods and products in the host country.

In 2017, the death rate surpassed the birth rate, according to the *Estudio de Proyección de la Población de España 2013-2023, INE* (Study on the Projection of the Spanish Population); a situation Spain has not faced since the Civil War. By 2050, the government estimates that 30% of Spaniards will be senior citizens – over 65 years of age. Although it is true that the newcomers can help palliate this problem, ageing countries cannot merely rely on them, since immigration flows are far more unpredictable than birth and death rates. The host countries should develop policies designed to increase birth rates (Aldrey & López 2013).

Before moving onto the description of the geographical area of this study, it is important to mention the concept: “ethnic economies”, which can be defined as “an immigrant or minority business and employment sector that coexists with the general economy” (Light et al. 1994: 65). According to Riesco (2010), ethnic economies cover the gap of specific culturally bound products that can saturate quickly, as the number of newcomers stagnates or decreases. It is key to mention that, at least in Lavapiés, ethnic economies tend to market their products to the population at large, not only to a specific group of consumers.

2 Lavapiés

Lavapiés, although not strictly a *barrio*, or at least from an administrative point of view, is one of the areas, together with *El Rastro*, that shape the neighbourhood of Embajadores, in Madrid's city centre. The sociological data provided in this paper will correspond to the administrative neighbourhood, since there are no specific data for Lavapiés.

According to Madrid's City Council, in 2016 -when the images of the Linguistic Cartography (LC) were collected-, 24.6% of the 44,793 citizens officially registered in Embajadores were foreigners. Since Lavapiés is an area within a neighbourhood, and because many of these newcomers are not registered, it is difficult to estimate the exact number. That said, one need only take a stroll up and down the streets of Lavapiés to find a diversity far greater than that of the rest of the neighbourhood; as *El País* proclaims: “Lavapiés es casi la ONU” (*El País*, 28/06/2016).

From the XVIII century onwards, *chulapos*, *majos* and *manolos* –popular demonyms for the inhabitants of the Madrilian neighbourhoods of *Malasaña*, *Chamberí* and *Lavapiés*, respectively, shaped Madrid's *casticismo* or genuine tradition. Lavapiés has neighbored some public figures who have helped create and define Spanish culture, such as: Miguel de Cervantes, Gloria Fuertes, Ramón M^a del Valle Inclán, Pedro de Churriguera or Pedro de Rivera, to name a few. In the 80's, it was a degraded and marginalized area; therefore, it became a perfect enclave for those contesting the capitalist system (Cabrerizo et al. 2015).

Nowadays, it still maintains some of its past anti-systemic essence and still hosts a lot of self-managed activist and cultural centres, such as *Tabacalera* (<http://latabacalera.net/>) and *La Quimera* (<https://www.facebook.com/laquimeradelavapiés.csoa/>), the citizen's initiative *Red de Huertos Urbanos* (Web of Urban Vegetable Gardens, <https://redhuertosurbanosmadrid.wordpress.com/>) that promotes communal gardening in empty or abandoned sites within the city, as well as a number of different associations. All these neighbour-driven initiatives contrast with the growing risk of gentrification in the area (Bernier et al. 2018), particularly since the magazine *Time Out* chose it “The best of the *barrios*”.

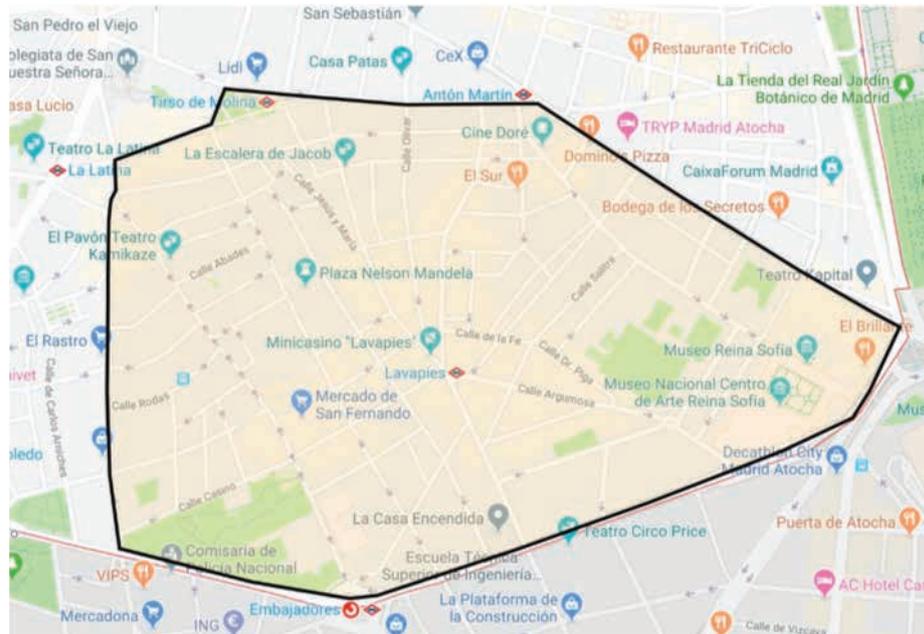


Figure 1. Map of Lavapiés. Source: Google Maps

According to Carlos Osorio in his monograph *Lavapiés y El Rastro* (2014), by the end of the XXth century, many immigrants coming from other continents arrived: initiating the intense mixture of cultures that currently characterizes this *barrio*. It is unique, since it not only harbours over 80 nationalities, but also these newcomers have settled down without conflicts.

Lavapiés is the most intercultural *barrio* of Madrid's central district, and it allows the researchers to analyse the territory from a multi-ethnic perspective, as a “lugar de encuentro entre grupos sociales complejos y diferenciados, que exhibe la condición sociocultural de la vida urbana” [symbolic space or meeting point of complex and different social groups that display the sociocultural traits of urban life] (Ramírez Kuri 2015). This superdiverse enclave exhibits “dinámicas de cambio demográficas y sociolingüísticas que se han manifestado visiblemente en su paisaje lingüístico multilingüe y en los modelos de comunicación y construcción semiótica de su espacio”

[Demographic change and sociolinguistic dynamics that are visibly expressed in the multilingual landscape and in the communication models and semiotic construction of a particular space] (Moustaoui Srhir 2018: 198). According to the same author, this population reorganization can transform old neighbourhoods into strategic, multicultural and multilingual areas: such is the case of Lavapiés, which has become a strategic area to analyse population readjustment processes.

3 Objectives and Methodology

The main purpose of this study is to carry out an exploratory analysis of superdiversity in the area of Lavapiés. Through a combined analysis: the Linguistic Landscape by which the newcomers construct their identities in the public space, and the analysis of a corpus of news stories linked to this specific area, to study the image portrayed by the press. As it has been discussed earlier on, the press shapes the perception that the general population has on immigration and the LL shows the traces of how immigrants have settled down in the area, and have made their own identity visible.

Lippman (1965: 11) metaphorically explains how the analyst that wants to approach the analysis of the public opinion in a given matter, should recognize “the triangular relationship between the scene of action, the human picture of that scene, and the human response to that picture working itself out upon the scene

of action”. If we were to draw a parallelism between the quote and our methodologies, we could argue that the following methodological proposals will cover the study of the scene and the human picture.

3.1 Linguistic Cartography of Lavapiés

Linguistic landscape has proven to be “one branch of Sociolinguistics (...) of “immense interdisciplinary value” (Blommaert 2013: 5) and “a linguistic approach for urban studies” (Leeman & Modan 2009: 336). It can be defined as the “(...) language in the environment” (Shohamy & Gorter 2008: 1) and has actually become the meeting point where local stories meet global design (Edwards & Pérez 2013); therefore a good strategy to analyse the new multicultural population readjustment in Lavapiés.

The *Cartografía Lingüística de Lavapiés* (available at <https://goo.gl/MQp1pr>) includes 141 images or samples of the LL in the area, which will be analysed descriptively and the reader can access while going over Section 4.1. It is a free resource that approaches the user to this new ethnographic reality through a corpus of images, which reveal the linguistic and cultural landscape of Lavapiés.

The corpus of images uploaded to *StoryMap* “maps that tell stories” (<https://storymap.knightlab.com/>), a free software developed at Northwestern University by *Knightlab*: “a community of designers, developers, students, and educators working on experiments designed to push journalism into new spaces” (<https://knightlab.northwestern.edu/>). This software allows the user to upload images and audio files, as well as the geographical location of these items, by entering the coordinates (provided by GoogleMaps) or the street’s address. Once the study is completed, the content can be shared, which makes this resource very useful. When accessing the resource, on the right hand side of the screen, there is an audio file with a short introduction to the Cartography in Spanish, and on the left hand side the map displaying all the samples.

A group of undergraduate students from Translation and Intercultural Communication at the *Universidad Europea de Madrid* collected the images that conform Lavapiés’ Linguistic Cartography, in the months of November and December 2016, as part of an activity about superdiversity in the territory. The students were given the following guidelines: to record all signs of linguistic diversity through pictures that they would then upload, together with their geolocation, to *StoryMap*.

3.2 Press corpora

The second part intends to reveal how the press reflects and shapes the collective image of Lavapiés regarding the immigrant population. Even though in the studies mentioned in Section 1, in which the Spanish press portrayed immigration as a negative phenomenon, both researchers are inclined to believe that news linked to the area of Lavapiés will present immigration in a better light.

The press has always played a key role when shaping the mental imaginary of society “about social groups and events most majority group members have little direct knowledge about” (Van Dijk 2010: 7). Since immigration in Spain started increasing at the end of the XXth century, a large portion of the population has not yet had direct contact with immigrants. This shows “how indirectly we know the environment in which nevertheless we live (...) whatever we believe to be a true picture, we treat as if it were the environment itself” (Lippman 1965: 4), and how much the public opinion relies in the media, since “‘you read it in the paper every day’ is a well-known move in the argumentative defence of prejudices expressed in conversation” (Van Dijk 2010: 7). The same author points out that the press tends to convey the endogroup-exogroup ideological polarization (Van Dijk 2008: 192), which increases the power imbalance between Spaniards and immigrants.

Both, the General 2010 and 2011 (Saiz de Lobado 2015) and the Lavapiés corpora were collected using Factiva, a global news database and the processed and managed using WordSmith. In order to do so, the researchers used the same set of extensive immigration related keywords. The only difference in this case is that the word *Lavapiés* was also included, and that the period ranges from 1999 up to the year 2016, in which the images of the LC were collected.

The reason behind the use of the same set of keywords is to replicate the 2010-2011 corpus of news, for comparison purposes, in order to analyse if there are significant differences and/or parallels between them. The first one includes news stories at a regional level (Comunidad de Madrid), and the second one is geolocalized in a specific area. Each news story (that include news stories, reports, articles and interviews) will be classified as positive, negative or neutral depending on how they portray or what light they shed on immigration and its actors.

Section 5 will provide a descriptive analysis and discussion on the main results. First, an overall analysis of the main traits of the corpus of Lavapiés, as a complementary methodology to the LC in order to see the entire picture of superdiversity in the area. The second part of the analysis will try to unveil the differences in how each of the corpora portrays immigration. In order to do so, the information has been codified into two variables to find correlations between the geolocalization and the assessment of the news contained in each corpus. The first nominal independent variable codifies the news as belonging to: General corpus=1 and Lavapiés=2 corpus. The second, nominal dependent variable codifies the assessment of the news as: positive=1; negative=2, neutral/ambiguous=3 (Saiz de Lobado 2015). Analysis of a contingency table comprised of the aforementioned variables will allow for the identification of possible correlations, verified by χ^2 tests (p -value < 0.05). Furthermore, the direction and intensity of the trend will be determined, through the analysis of the adjusted residuals (p -value > 1,96 / p -value < -1,96).

4 Linguistic Landscape

The term Linguistic Landscape was first defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) as “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combine to form the LL of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration”. Both authors stress the importance of the linguistic signs contained in places of some degree of official nature, of top-down communication nature. We believe the scope of the definition should be widened; the one provided by Shohamy and Gorter (2008: 1) broadens up the concept: “language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces, that is the center of attention in this rapidly growing area referred to as Linguistic Landscape”. It covers a wider range of means of communication, bottom-up as well, since “it incorporates multimodal theories to include also sounds, images, and graffiti” (Shohamy & Gorter 2008: 4).

In most cases, graffiti do not have the constraints of institutional communication and are a powerful tool of free expression, as one of their main functions is to defy authority. They are seen, therefore, as transgressive semiotics: an alternative mode of communication for those outside the system (Scollon & Scollon 2003; Pennycook 2009). Coulmas (2009) points out that, since antiquity, graffiti have been key when defining subculture, resistance, sacrilege and blasphemy in the public sphere.

Before moving onto the analysis, it is important to point out that the process of identity creation is a process of semantic construction, by which a group of attributes gains priority over others: it is a negotiation (Castells 2010). The degree of visibility of the different languages is proof of “ethnolinguistic vitality” that, in turn, “reflects societal hierarchies” (Pappenhagen et al. 2016: 147) or a power imbalance (Van Dijk 2008, and Van Dijk 2010). The different languages present in the territory are a direct consequence of the presence and participation of people belonging to different linguistic communities and cultures (Barni & Bagna 2016: 60).

This power imbalance is linked directly to bottom-up and top-down communication. ‘Top-down’ LL items include those issued by the national and bureaucracies – public institutions, signs on public sites, public announcements and street names. ‘Bottom-up’ signs, on the other hand, include those that were issued by individual social actors –shop owners and companies – like the name of shops, signs on businesses and personal announcements (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 14).

To sum up, through this cartography we will analyse, on the one hand, whether the signs present in the territory are linked to bottom-up or top-down relations. On the other hand, the linguistic hierarchy, or the power relation of the languages present in the different signs in the territory. The combined analysis

will be a picture of the semiotic construction of the space, as well as the identity negotiation between the languages present.

4.1 Linguistic Cartography: Analysis and Discussion

According to Shohamy and Gorter (2008), Linguistic Landscape collects the language – in a very broad sense- of the environment that for the purpose of this study has been translated into a corpus of 141 images corpus or Linguistic Cartography (Saiz de Lobado 2016) (see Section 3.1.) found in Lavapiés. Even though the main analysis will focus on linguistic signs, in some cases, images will also be considered a source of semantics. As discussed in the previous sections, the study of LL is a starting point to analyse the population readjustment, superdiversity and multilingualism present in the territory.

The samples collected have been grouped in nine different categories (see Table 1): commercial activities amount for 87.2% of the linguistic samples collected, whereas 12.8% depict non-commercial activities.

Table 1: Types of activities

	Frequency	Percentage
Travel agencies	4	2.8
Grocery stores	26	18.4
Others	12	8.4
Fashion accessories	27	19.1
Hair and beauty products	15	10.6
Restaurants	34	24.1
Craftwork shops	9	6.4
Posters	6	4.3
Graffiti	8	5.7
Total	141	100.0

The following subsections will provide a descriptive analysis of the LL samples collected, to analyse this new “sociological semantics” (Halliday 1972) of Lavapiés. Note that the group *Others* includes all the linguistic samples of activities that had less than 3 repetitions. Due to matters of space, it will not be possible to attach all the images that we refer to; however, they are all identified with their corresponding numbers in the LC, which the reader is welcome to check while going over this section.

4.1.1 Travel agencies

All the travel agencies included in the LC (Samples: 6, 7, 15, 35) are Arab names, transcribed into the alphabet, and make 2.8% of the sample. All of them, but Sample 35, include Spanish in their signs. Sample 6 is both multilingual and multilocal, since three languages are used (Arabic, Spanish and English) and three different –and very extensive- part of the world are mentioned: Asia, Africa and Latin America.



Figure 2: Sample 6

According to the results obtained by Calvi (2018) in a similar study conducted in Milan, geographical locations and the use of different languages are a tactic to make immigrants feel identified, and to privilege these linguistic and cultural groups, as the main commercial target, although, as pointed out by the same author, it is not the most common strategy.

4.1.2 Grocery stores

One of the larger groups of samples that accounts for 18.4% of the overall activities, includes grocery stores (Samples: 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 40, 54, 55, 57, 66, 70, 73, 80, 86, 90, 92, 103, 127, 129, 131, 134, 136, 138). Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, English, Bengali and French are the languages present. The most widespread language in this group is Spanish, due to commercial and practical reasons: as a way of approaching the largest number of customers (Calvi 2018: 162).

This contrasts with the samples (20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 66, 134, 136, 138) that contain the word *halal*, directed, as in the case of the travel agencies, to a specific group, without ruling out the rest of the population (Moustaoui Srhir 2018). These samples also show that an increasing community of consumers of specific products is growing in the territory. In fact, Moustaoui Srhir (2018: 218) believes that “el uso del árabe en el PL madrileño no se podría considerar únicamente un proceso de configuración y representación lingüística del espacio, es también un proceso de interacción y negociación de diferentes identidades y formas de pertenencia” [The use of Arabic in the Madrilian LL should not be considered only a process of linguistic representation and configuration of a given space; it is as well a process of interaction and negotiation between different identities and ingroups].

Figure 3: Sample 138 (currently in page 471). As seen in Figure 3, this butcher’s does not specify –through linguistic signs-, that customers can only buy *halal* meat in this establishment. This is one of the cases, as mentioned earlier, in which visual language produces semantics that are not conveyed by words: if one pays close attention to the picture listing the animal meat they sell, pork is missing. It is also worth noting that, by using the word *carnicería* in Spanish, this business becomes a perfect example of interaction with all types of customers, together with process of identity creation and negotiation in the area.

4.1.3 Others

This eclectic group comprises 8.4% of the overall activities; those that presented less than three repetitions: cultural associations, electronics, houseware, a flower shop, the chemist’s, a launderette and internet cafes.

The previous *halal* butcher’s example contrasts with Sample 24: a multilingual bakery store. In this case, the owners have used multilingualism, and, hence, interculturality, as a business strategy.



Figure 3: Sample 138

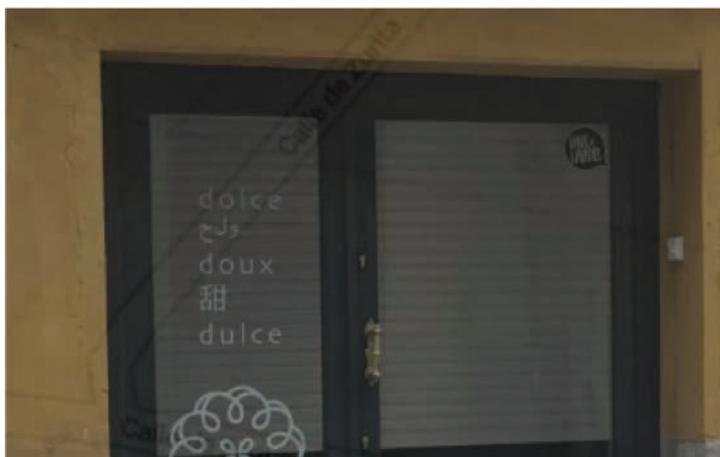


Figure 4: Sample 24

This example –not the only one- is evidence of the gentrification process rather than of the immigration related LL. As mentioned in the previous section, *Time Out* chose Lavapiés as one of the coolest neighbourhoods in the world, mainly due to its multiculturalism. Businesses not related to ethnic economies are taking advantage of the new population readjustment as a tactic to attract customers.

This would be the case as well of Figure 5: a launderette. Some years ago, together with the massive increase in tourism and spread of vacation rental apartments, launderettes started appearing in the neighbourhood –note that, culturally speaking, the vast majority of Spaniards have washing machines at home.

In this case, once more, linguistic diversity is used as a business strategy, not targeted to the specific communities that speak those languages. That is the case, as well, of Sample 72, a sign at a coffee shop that reads “my home” in several languages.



Figure 5: Sample 51

The previous cases are not examples of ethnic economies or identity creation and negotiation; however, it is interesting to see how multiculturalism has become a business strategy. Such as the notorious advertising campaigns by *Benetton*, where interculturality was the main marketing strategy.

Figure 6, the chemist's, even though it is not part of the ethnic economy, differs from Sample 51 and 72. In this case, the Spanish owners of the establishment use both Chinese and Arabic, iconically, in order to “reconoce(r) y legitima(r) su existencia” [recognize and legitimize their existence] (Moustaoui Srhir 2018: 216), thereby acknowledging the diversity present in the area.



Figure 6: Sample 9

4.1.4 Fashion & accessories

This group is one of the largest; it accounts for almost 20% of the LC samples (7, 30, 39, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 68, 93, 94, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105, 113, 117, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 128). Spanish is the most prevalent language, followed by Chinese, present in 60% of the images depicting fashion and accessories stores, mostly wholesalers. The remaining 40% include Bangladeshi and Senegalese stores. The most interesting image in this group is Sample 99, a dressmaking shop. The sign portrays the colours of the Senegalese flag –another example of identity negotiation through visual language- and the name of the shop in French *Khalifat Couture*.



Figure 7: Sample 99

The name is very revealing: on one hand, it is in French, the official language of Senegal, one of its many colonial legacies; similar to what happens with shops from Latin America. On the other hand, the world *Khalifat* is extremely culturally bounded, since it refers to the territory governed by leaders who practise Islam, the most spread religion in Senegal.

4.1.5 Hair and beauty products

The following samples (4, 11, 13, 16, 23, 31, 71, 74, 76, 108, 110, 111, 118, 133, 137) correspond to businesses specialized in beauty products and cosmetics, as well as hairdresser salons. These are another example of ethnic economy focused on the newcomers, closely linked to the butcher's specialized in halal meat or the travel agencies.

Almost 90% of the samples include Spanish. In addition, several samples refer to different cultural and ethnic groups through geolocalization, for instance, in the case of Sample 74 (*cosméticos afrolatinos, americanos, europeos*) or Sample 76 (*afrolatino* and *amiricano*).

These businesses are key to understanding how superdiverse Lavapiés has become. The arrival of residents who come from many different parts of the world, and hence, belong to different races, has widened the concept of skin tone –in Spain, different shades of white, mostly -, and the exact same goes for hair products. All these shops have specific products to cover the new diversity present in the area.

Sample 4 is one of the few establishments in which Spanish does not appear. In this case, the Bangladeshi is the language used in the LL of this male hairdresser salon. The salon is clearly targeted to a very specific group and, in fact, the visual language is revealing: a picture of Shahrukh Khan –a famous Bollywood actor- as a business strategy.



Figure 8: Sample 4

4.1.6 Restaurants

This is the largest group of activities recorded in the Linguistic Cartography and accounts for 24% of the overall amount (Samples: 2, 3, 10, 19, 26, 36, 53, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 69, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 96, 97, 102, 106, 107, 109, 115, 132). The language that registers a larger number of repetitions is Spanish, present in 85% of the samples. Followed by Bengali, English, Italian, Arabic and Chinese.



Figure 9: Sample 60

A particular well-defined group of consumers visit these restaurants: the “diversity- seekers” (Blockland & Van Eijk, 2010). This group finds the interaction with members of different social backgrounds or cultures, positive and a learning experience. However, it is important to mention that this interaction does not usually translate into a higher level of social commitment. Therefore, this group of consumers can be directly linked to the gentrification process of the area. If one is to pay attention to the clientele in each of these restaurants, one will mostly find Spaniards and tourists, except in the cases of Italian and Senegalese establishments,

which leads the researchers to believe that, in these specific cases, the food served is genuine and not accommodated to the local palate.

In this case, it is interesting to point out that Bengalis run most restaurants advertised as Indian. When asked about the reason for this in several establishments, the unanimous answer was that it is a marketing strategy, since Indian food is more famous than Bengali food –although the dishes are very similar. According to the census for the year 2016 –in which the images of the Linguistic Cartography were collected–, in the area of Embajadores, 2, 449 Bangladeshis were inscribed versus only 56 Indians.

A very popular event that, in turn, reflects once more how businesses use superdiversity and interculturality as a marketing strategy is *Tapapiés: Lavapiés' Intercultural Festival of Tapas and Music*. Since *tapas* are little bites that go alongside a drink, it is an easy way to make sure that all bars and restaurants serving food can take part in the competition.

In fact, even the press corpus that is going to be analysed in this study echoes the event: “*Fusión de sabores y culturas en el Tapapiés más internacional*” [Fusion of flavours and cultures in the most international Tapapiés] (ABC, 19/10/17).

4.1.7 Craftwork shops

Another type of business that proliferates in Lavapiés are craftwork shops that amount to 6.4% of the total (Samples: 18, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 112, 121, 135). These are ethnic economies, mainly focused on customers outside their cultural group. All the linguistic signs are in Spanish, and, since most shops sell Native American products, we can once more see the legacy from old colonial times, although this time, the footprint is Spanish and not French, as in the case of Figure 7, Sample 99.



Figure 10: Sample 38

In this specific case, as Guerra points out (2018: 135), *Asturkech* (Sample 38) would only be understood –by a Spaniard– as a combination of Asturias and Marrakech.

4.1.8 Posters

This group amounts to 4.3% of the total percentage (Samples: 14, 48, 63, 67, 82, 141). Only two are in Spanish: the first one (Sample 67) advertises an African concert; whereas the second one (Sample 141) informs about a demonstration against foreigner detention centres and calls for fellow citizens to take part in it. Samples 14 and 82 advertise two different festivities in Bengali and Sample 40 a social event, via a poster in Arabic. Finally, Sample 63 shows a poster in Arabic that has been ripped and, therefore it is illegible. Note that posters mostly address a specific cultural and linguistic group, not the general population.



Figure 11: Sample 63

Sample 63 reflects how ephemeral these type of signs are. This is closely linked to the fact that they are bottom-up communication strategies, not issued directly by the authorities and, hence, not placed on billboards. In fact, they tend to use spaces illicitly to post their material.

4.1.9 Graffiti

Last, but not least, graffiti: 5.7% of the total activities registered in the LC (Samples: 5, 41, 42, 43, 44, 109, 139, 140). As discussed in previous sections, graffiti do not have the same constraints as official communication strategies, since they are, mostly, bottom-up communication strategies.

This first group of graffiti (Samples: 5, 109, 140, 42) comprises three graffiti with a combination of images and words. As seen in Figures 13, 14 and 15, the language of the text is not relevant, since the images are self-explanatory.



Figure 12: Sample 5

This Figure portrays a humanoid figure drowning in the sea, together with the legend: “Way to Europe” (English original). This graffiti protests against the death of immigrants who try to cross de Mediterranean

from Africa and Asia every year and, by extension, against the European and national policies regarding this matter (Arango et al. 2018).



Figure 13: Sample 140

Sample 140 is a graffiti of the current Head of the Spanish State with the Joker's smile drawn on his face, accompanied by the text: "*Bienvenidos refugiados*" [Welcome Refugees]. Technically, he is a first generation Spaniard, since both his parents were refugees.



Figure 14: Sample 42

This stencil graffiti portraying the caravels used by Columbus on his way to America on a sea that seems to be crying, or perhaps bleeding, accompanied by the legend "*Nada que celebrar*" [nothing to celebrate]. This brings us back, once more, to colonization times, although, instead of conveying those traits by using Spanish or French – as discussed in Sections 4.1.4. & 4.1.7. – they do so by the means of transportation used to arrive to the New World. This graffiti has appeared several years in different locations, since, by definition, it has the advantage of being easy replicable.

Sample 109 only portrays a word: “*exilio*”. Even though it lacks an image, it has been included in the first group since it is a word easily understood in most languages and refers to the immigration process. This graffiti can be read from several different perspectives. The first one, of the newcomer who was banished from the country of origin; the second, of the Spaniard who has to emigrate in order to find a job, due to the country’s economic situation. The third, of the neighbours who have to move out of the area due to the increase of prices, as a direct effect of the gentrification process.

This first group describes the entire immigration process from a critical bottom-up perspective: how the colonization process started –which increased the socio-economic differences between countries- the banishment of one’s land, newcomers attempting to arrive in Europe and, finally, the first generation of Spaniards.

The second group includes three samples of text in Arabic, without images, which translate: Sample 41, “down with the world”; Sample 43, meaning is in the exile of meaning; Sample 44, “I write over the clouds my family’s testament”. These poetic sentences are an example of bottom-up communication; it is important to point out that specific linguistic community are the target of these messages, not the population at large.

The last group only includes one multilingual graffiti: Sample 139, located in the northern border of Lavapiés. This is the only graffiti that show signs of top-down communication masqueraded as bottom-up.



Figure 15: Sample 139

Meaning that it was probably developed with some institutional support as a sign of how multiethnicity is now the norm in the area, not just the exception (Moustaoui Srhir 2018), either by the local trade associations or by the City Council as a measure to attract visitors to the area. The errors regarding the aliphatic script (Moustaoui Srhir 2018) – which are unnoticeable by the locals- the fact that it is not targeted to immigrants or a symbol of identity creation or protest, and its presence over time, make the researchers believe that is not an unauthorised drawing, therefore it is not entirely bottom-up.

The descriptive analysis of the Lavapiés’ LC has shown that, 84.4% of the samples contain the Spanish language, as expected, since most businesses are targeted to the population at large (Garcés 2011). Actually, even though some activities linked to specific products –whether a plane ticket or *halal* meat-, groups – associations- or protest signs, are in languages other than Spanish, this is not the norm. Their presence merely hints at the complexity inherent to the internal dynamics of migrant enclaves (Torres Pérez 2008).

However, none of this changes the fact that immigrants in Lavapiés, have been, for some years now, “potential generators of urban socio-economic development” (Rath 2017: 9).

Another key finding in this new urban development that has arrived hand in hand with the process of gentrification and of diversity-seekers are the marketing strategies that boost the businesses in the area by promoting Lavapiés’ interculturality and superdiversity.

5 Immigration and the press

The previous studies mentioned in Section 1 have proven that the press helps build the image of immigration and its context, mainly through stereotypes and prejudices (Gallego et al, 2009; Revilla, 2011), “que ayudan a las tipificaciones y [a las] categorizaciones” [that help classify and categorize] (Moreno, 2012, 19), and function as “elementos de regularidad” [regularity elements] (Evans-Pritchard 1961 in Moreno 2012: 19). The image projected by the media is key when shaping the attitude of the host country that, in turn, will be defined through the sociological characteristics of the agents involved (the press, for instance), as well as the social and economic context of the country or region (Cea D’Ancona & Valles 2011).

However, although the press can influence the readers, they will never be “totalmente subyugado(s) por el medio” [entirely subjugated by the media] (Peñamarín 1997: 26). Since the public is not a product of the press, they are both “se desarrollan en procesos mutuamente constructivos” [developed in mutually constructive processes] (Gonzalo Abril in Andrade 2013: 93).

Back in the eighties, the approach of the media towards immigration shifted slightly, due to the publication of manuals and style guides that recommend the media not to use discriminatory terms that can potentially generate conflict. These guidelines also suggest the use of positive stories or situations linked to immigration that narrate the coexistence between the locals and the newcomers in the host country (Israel Garzón 2006).

The UNESCO initiated this shift in approach through The International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism (1983), “representing 400.000 working journalists in all parts of the world”. Both Principle III “The journalist’s social responsibility” and Principle VIII “Respect for universal values and diversity of cultures” reflect guidelines that the media have not fully implemented. Following the lead of the UNESCO, several non-profit Spanish associations have also tried to modify how the press portrays immigration: *Manual de estilo sobre minorías étnicas del Colegio de Periodistas de Cataluña* [Style guide on ethnic minorities, by the Association of Catalan Journalists]; *Manual recopilatorio de buenas prácticas periodísticas de Harresiak Apurtuz* [Good journalistic practice compilation, Harresiak Apurtuz]; *Guía práctica para periodistas: Igualdad de trato, medios de comunicación y comunidad gitana, Fundación Secretariado Gitano (FSG)* [Practical guide for journalists: equal treatment, mass media and the gypsy community, Gypsy Secretariat Foundation]; *Herramientas para un tratamiento mediático adecuado de la inmigración. Guía didáctica y propuesta de espacio web dirigida y coordinada por el Observatorio de la Diversidad en los Medios (MUGAK/SOS RACISMO)* [Tools for the adequate treatment of immigration in the media. Didactic guide and web proposal directed and coordinated by the Observatory of Diversity in the Media (MUGAK/SOS RACISMO)], to name a few. Their main aim is to erase stigmatization in the media discourse and, instead, promote a discourse committed to immigration and cultural diversity, key to creating a more inclusive society.

The following section will analyze how the press portrays immigration in Lavapiés: the particular geolocalization of the scene where the events contained in the corpus took place. We will then move on the comparison of the general corpus of Comunidad de Madrid (2010-2011), from here onwards, General corpus (Saiz de Lobado, 2015) and the corpus of Lavapiés (1999-2016). It is important to mention that the General corpus sheds a negative light on immigrants, who were portrayed as either victims or perpetrators and linked to illegal actions. Few news stories dealt with matters of social integration, or the daily lives and realities of these immigrants.

5.1 Analysis of the press

Lavapiés is portrayed as having a traditional multiethnic, as well as gentrified, image, depending on the sociological or journalistic stand: it can switch from a host neighborhood for the newcomers to a postmodern gentrified one. “Este pedazo de Embajadores se está aburguesando. Como Malasaña o Chueca antes, vive una eclosión cultural que ha atraído a profesionales liberales” [This chunk of Embajadores is becoming gentrified. Such as in has already been the case of Malasaña or Chueca, it is experimenting a cultural blooming that has attracted liberal professionals] (“Lavapiés, un señor barrio” [Lavapiés, quite the *barrio*], *El País*, 25/07/2014).

It is an area of contrasts, where many immigrants have settled down and have developed a sense of belonging towards the host neighborhood that, in order to become fully recognized needs to be acknowledged by the environment. This, in turn, will be reflected in the image portrayed by the media when reporting information linked to this particular area.

The press discourse makes a clear-cut difference among tourists, immigrants and neighbours (“Turistas, inmigrantes, vecinos... así es el barrio más multicultural de Madrid” [Tourists, immigrants, neighbours... this is the most multicultural neighbourhood of Madrid], in “Escenas diarias de Lavapiés” [Daily scenes in Lavapiés] *El País*, 13/07/2016). Therefore, establishing a metonymically originated duality that translates into us versus them (Van Dijk 2008, and Van Dijk 2010), through the nominalization and distortion of migrants. *Inmigrantes* seem to refer only to those who come from different parts of the world to improve their life standards, and exclude those who migrate within the same country. There is also a distortion of the term by their perceived socioeconomic standing: the country of origin of immigrants will always be linked to worse socioeconomic standards than those of Spain. The lemma *extranjero* [foreigner] does not present the same connotation, although, when pluralized into *inmigrantes* [immigrants] or *extranjeros* [foreigners], the generalization diminishes the subject’s individual identity.

Another common negative metonymization presents immigrants as *sin papeles*, which indicates the invisibility of a person who has no rights, no protection and lives in extreme vulnerability (Casero Ripollés 2007). This nominalization appears 15 times in the General corpus (Saiz de Lobado, 2015) and 5 times in the corpus of Lavapiés.

The term *mantero* that has negative and pejorative connotations, originated, once more, as a metonymization of the seller of the illegal business *Top manta* or the street trading of counterfeit products. The term *top manta* is very interesting from a linguistic perspective, since it indicates the goods placed on top of a blanket, with strings attached in case the sellers need to fold it quickly, if the police shows up. Even though the RAE (Royal Spanish Academy) only includes *mantero* as the person who makes blankets, this new definition has quickly become widespread, and implies lack of safety and it is linked to illegality. Unfortunately, it helps create identity, since the people, mostly men, who are involved in this trade tend to be black Africans. As proof of the amount of immigrants now engaged in this type of trade, is the existence of a trade union of Madrid’s *manteros* and *lateros* (immigrants who illegally sell cans of beer on the streets), that was created in 2008 and provide support to the newcomers (<http://manterosylaterosmadrid.org/>).

This corpus also presents an inclusive discourse of approval towards immigration, as the following examples show: “En una apuesta por integrar a los ‘vecinos inmigrantes’ que en los últimos años se han asentado en el corazón de Madrid” [In an effort to include ‘immigrant neighbours’ that in the past years have settled in the heart of Madrid] (*ABC*, 3-VIII-2000); “Vecinos de este barrio han tratado de impedir en las últimas semanas que detuviesen a un par de inmigrantes a los que les habían echado el guante” [In the last few weeks, member of this neighbours have tried to stop two immigrants being detained who had already been nabbed] (“Un manual antirredadas” [An antiraid manual], *El País*, 23/07/2011). “Vecinos de Lavapiés se enfrentan a la policía al proteger a un inmigrante” [Neighbours from Lavapiés confront the police to protect an immigrant] (*Levante*, 28/05/2012). These last episodes are related to the police raids that took place in Lavapiés after the 2012 Spanish Act on immigration was reinforced.

As we can see, this duality in the portrayal of immigrants in this area is strengthened throughout the corpus: on the one hand, some texts reflect an environment of unhealthy coexistence: “Y hablaban los vecinos (españoles) sobre los abusos de los inquilinos (inmigrantes) que no respetaban las mínimas condiciones

de salubridad” [And the (Spanish) neighbours talked about the abuses by the tenants (immigrants) who did not respect basic health standards] (*Diario Información*, 7/09/2011). On the other hand, there are texts about inclusive coexistence thanks to neighbour associations: “Unos 30 grupos de vecinos trabajan por la convivencia con y entre inmigrantes” [Around 30 groups of neighbours are working towards coexistence with and among immigrants] (*El Mundo*, 21/05/2000).

This positive or negative polarization of the information comes from the coexistence in the same space of groups who belong to different nationalities. According to their editorial approach, the newspaper will then choose not only which side to reflect, but a specific genre as well, in order to convey the information. Each of the genres offers a different vision of the events, since they each allow for a different structure of the accounts.

News stories are the genre with a higher degree of representation in the corpus and provide several sociological variables that are sometimes linked to the nationality of the subjects who are involved in the events, particularly in the early years of the corpus: “Muere el inmigrante magrebí apuñalado el sábado en Lavapiés” (*El País*, 19/08/2002) [Maghrebian immigrant dies after stabbing in Lavapiés on Saturday]; “Los inmigrantes chinos pagan fortunas en efectivo por locales comerciales en Lavapiés” [Chinese immigrants pay fortunes in cash for shops in Lavapiés] (*El País*, 16/06/2003). These apparently subtle traits can lead to a new discursive racism (Van Dijk 2005). Others portray immigrants as *verdugos* [executioners] or *víctimas* [victims] of *persecución policial* [police persecution] and *redadas* [raids], related to police or legal matters. Those that refer to cultural or social matters (regulation and assistance to immigration) turn the subjects into direct participants in the life of the *barrio* and, hence issue a more inclusive discourse.

The second type of genre, which includes articles and interviews, brings the reader closer to stories in which migrants have overcome adversity and have less presence in the corpus of Lavapiés than news stories. For instance: “Desmontando los peores mitos sobre la inmigración” [Dismantling the worst myths on immigration] (*La Vanguardia*, 10/04/2015), making the reader empathize with the subject: “Omar es un joven senegalés que llegó a España hace años como muchos otros inmigrantes africanos: cruzando el estrecho en un peligroso viaje en patera. [...] Su gran memoria le permite retener cifras, nombres y textos complejos que recita en las obras que representa junto a su grupo del multicultural barrio de Lavapiés” [Omar is a young Senegalese who arrived to Spain several years ago as many other African immigrants: crossing the Strait on a very dangerous journey aboard a boat. [...] His great memory allows him to retain figures, names and complex texts that he then recites in the plays he performs with his multicultural Lavapiés theater group]. Articles and interviews, which are more elaborated genres than news stories, take into account the precedents and contexts surrounding the events and their sources are the subjects of the informative piece. Therefore, the content of these genres tend to mitigate the variables that link immigration to the criminalization of the individual that, in turn, can lead to racism in the neighbourhood.

Journalism has proven, once more, to be a system that classifies reality through the choice and the assessment of the information, influenced as well by news relevance and current affairs (Aguinaga 2001).

In order to compare both corpora –seen Section 3.2.- the news stories, articles and interviews have been classified according to their assessment: positive, negative or neutral.

As we can see from Table 2, the observed results on the assessment of the news between both corpora are diametrically opposed.

Table 2: Corpora

Lavapiés (n=236)	General (n=287)
Positive assessment 49.1%	Positive assessment 31.4%
Negative assessment 36.8%	Negative assessment 49.1%
Neutral assessment 13.9%	Neutral assessment 19.5%

The number of positive news is almost 18 points higher in the corpus of Lavapiés, whereas the higher percentage of negative assessments is present in the General corpus, as expected.

The observed results led to the search of correlations or associations between the variables to verify the trend presented by the observed frequencies. The results obtained from the contingency table χ^2 test (p-value < 0.05) between the variables show that there is a correlation between the General corpus and news with a negative assessment of the main event (adjusted residuals value= 2.7) and the corpus geolocalized in Lavapiés with a positive assessment of the event (adjusted residuals value= 4.1). The strongest relation in the study -as seen from the value of the adjusted residuals- is between the corpus of Lavapiés and the positive assessment of the news in which the information is contained, in turn validating the hypothesis that the geolocalized corpus sheds a more positive light on immigration.

6 Conclusions

As mentioned in Section 3, the main objective of this paper is to carry out an exploratory analysis of superdiversity in Lavapiés through two complementary methodologies that have helped draw a comprehensive picture of immigration in this territory. On the one hand, the first methodology involved the study of intercultural traits, identity construction and negotiation, through the analysis of a corpus of images that captures the LL of Lavapiés, in order to unveil “the linguistic dynamic, as a symbolic representation of the power relations and statutes of the various players in the field (...)” (Guilat 2016: 173). On the other hand, the second one studied how the press shapes the social mental imaginary of the population at large (Cea D’Ancona & Valles 2011), through the analysis of a corpus containing news related to immigration and geolocalized in Lavapiés. This corpus was then compared to the General corpus, which acted as a control group, in order to analyse if the corpus of Lavapiés presented differences in the portrayal of immigration.

In fact, these two methodologies represent both sides of the coin in terms of communication: the samples contained in the LL -if we were to look at the entire picture, not the specifics- are linked to bottom-up communication strategies; whereas the press, which can be considered an institution, would be linked to top-down communication strategies. In this case or context, both strategies are developed in mutually constructive processes. Therefore, the combined analysis will reflect a more complete picture of the population readjustment process in the area. The use of information technology has played a key role when collecting the samples and processing data, since gathering both image and text corpora is an arduous and time-consuming task that has been speeded up and simplified thanks to the use of smartphones to record the LC and to the use software such as: Knightlab, SPSS, or Factiva.

As seen in Section 4.1., the analysis of the LC has unveiled several relevant conclusions. Most business activities target the population at large, therefore the Spanish language is present in 84.4% of the samples. These commercial activities have been divided into three groups: ethnic economies run by and specifically targeted at immigrants, which provide specific products and services, such as *halal* meat, hairdresser products and salons or travel agencies (see Sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2. and 4.1.5.). Others, the least common and not part of ethnic economies, owned by locals who use a multilingual signs in order to acknowledge and welcome diversity (see Figure 6). Finally, those businesses that are not ethnic economies, neither want to address the newcomers: they simply use multilingualism and multiculturalism as a marketing strategy (see Figure 5).

Non-commercial activities recorded in the LC include posters and graffiti. The first group addresses specific cultural and linguistic groups, whereas the graffiti collected are targeted at the population at large, and are bottom-up communication strategies, largely of a critical nature. However, it is worth pointing out that Sample 139 (see Figure 15) reflects a top-down strategy, although masqueraded as bottom-up, since it is a commercial graffiti and not an unauthorised sign of protest.

This study is easy to replicate and has also proven to be a valuable activity for students to develop intercultural awareness. The ephemeral character of the LL is both an inconvenience and an advantage for the researchers, since the socio-economic environment of these dynamic areas can rapidly change, providing new information directly spurring from the source, but making the updating of the databases very complex, since each sample should be linked to a particular date and location.

The analysis of and comparison between the corpus of Lavapiés and the General corpus (see Section 5.1.) has confirmed the hypotheses that the news contained in the geolocalized corpus present a more lenient –or less negative- discourse on immigration. Positive news present a significant correlation with the corpus of Lavapiés, whereas negative news present a strong correlation with the General corpus. The news stories, articles and interviews act as containers of information, therefore, their assessment is key to determining the context in which information on immigration is present. The analysis has unveiled as well that, unfortunately, the initiatives developed in order to shift how the press portrays immigration do not seem to be fully enforced. Even in the corpus of Lavapiés we still find negative metonymizations such as *sin papeles* or *manteros*, the clear-cut difference between immigrants and foreigners, as well as the use of the nationality of the subject –when it is not relevant to the event. These metonymizations reveal culturally bound lexical units that introduce the reader to the mental imaginary of the Spanish society on immigration (Saiz de Lobado 2015).

Finally yet importantly, both analyses have unveiled an interesting result regarding the process of superdiversity development in Lavapiés: the process of gentrification.

Festive and commercial expressions of cultural diversity are gaining popularity in (...) Europe's gateway cities. The fact that they attract the attention of mass tourists and have become economically significant underscores the emerging connections between the new service knowledge economy, and immigrants as potential generators of urban socio-economic development (Rath 2017: 3).

This last quote only reflects, once more, the complexity of the area, where locals, immigrants, tourists and diversity-seekers meet; where interculturality and multilingualism have become marketing strategies that value diversity and have turned this *barrio castizo* into a gentrified and globalized area.

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Abbreviations.

Linguistic Landscape: LL , Linguistic Cartography: LC

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