

HOLA SOY GUIRI!



**Design Research on hospitality
in the city of Madrid**

By Lotte Gulpers

Foreword

Hospitality as a human interaction has interested me for quite a long time. Last summer in particular it popped up in my mind, because of a few events.

I've worked in the catering industry the past seven years, as a side job next to my studies. I have learned to welcome guests in a professional and reserved manner. Still I noticed that some people are better at it than others. It doesn't matter how many trainings they attend or how forthcoming they are with their guests. They maintain to have a certain awkward displaced composure covered up with a thin layer of distant friendliness. I would call myself one of them, because I never really saw myself as a naturally hospitable person. At least not with people I don't know very well.

At the end of the summer I went to Sicily, Italy, where I experienced a different form of hospitality. This was my first time traveling alone. There, I did the normal things most tourists do. Walk, swim in the sea and sit in the sun all day. One afternoon I met an elderly man. He approached me and started asking many questions about where I was from and what I was doing there in Trapani, a town on the Island of Sicily. He also gave me tips on places to visit. This openness and friendliness was in a way new to me. He gave this without expecting something in return, other than a friendly conversation. I felt a little uncomfortable and not willing to show the same level of openness.

It is peculiar that I didn't expect this openness without paying for it. It was almost like I waited until the conversation would become uncomfortable. I wondered if this was a personal issue I had.

When the holiday was over and I went back to work I heard that colleagues, friends and even family members sometimes have had the same experience. It might be a part of the Dutch culture, by which I mean that in the Netherlands hospitality is valued in a different way. It might also be a family characteristic, because my parents taught me to be cautious around strangers. It might even be a gender issue, as a woman I have learned to be on my guard around men. Whatever it is, it started fascinating me how some people could have this natural openness and others struggle to be comfortable around strangers.

Hospitality can be experienced in more ways than one, I will divide hospitality into two categories: Corporate hospitality and private hospitality. Corporate hospitality being the form taught and practiced for profits in the industry and private hospitality being the one I described earlier. An unconditional interest in and openness towards 'the other'. For this research I would like to focus on the second form. It seems like this form of hospitality can't be learned and must be intrinsically ingrained in someone's character. I wonder if this is true or if it is possible to become more open.

Before going to Madrid I started with trying to grasp what private hospitality is. I read some books and articles on the subject and I had conversations with friends and colleagues. It seemed like I could never really un-

derstand the meaning of it. So for my time in Madrid I thought of a few methods with which I could test the famous hospitality of the Spanish culture. Perhaps there I could experience private hospitality. My initial plan was to wear a t-shirt where I printed the sentence "Hola Soy Guiri" on. In translation it means: "Hello I'm a tourist", but in fact Guiri doesn't just mean a tourist, it is a pet name Spaniards use for Western European tourists specifically. I expected that while wearing the t-shirts, I would invite strangers to come up to me. I thought that I would be approached in the same way as I was approached by the friendly elderly man I met in Trapani.

When I arrived in Madrid it went a little different from what I expected. Quite some things did happen and I learned a lot from it, but I had to change my initial plan. Which was fine, it made the research better, because I noticed that by becoming more hospitable myself I was able to find out more about it. I needed to learn a little bit of Spanish and adapt to what situation in Madrid.

Later, after going home I also decided to take a look at the future of the city. During the research I noticed that being open in a big city as Madrid, is not always easy to do. I wanted to learn more about how to survive in a rapidly expanding city, in which the residents are subjected to technological and cultural changes.

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“The act of being friendly
and welcoming to guests
and visitors”

- Cambridge Dictionary

Introduction

Hospitality in the dictionary is described as a friendly reception and treatment of guests or strangers. To me this sounds like a flat description, meaning it lacks the many layers and forms in which it is practiced and experienced.

Like it is described in the foreword. I made a distinction between corporate hospitality and private hospitality. The corporate is the form I'm supposed to practice at my work. That includes all the customs and etiquettes in the hospitality industry. This is not the hospitality I want to take a look at for now. I'm more intrigued in the personal, individual or cultural values concerning private hospitality. This form of human interaction is practiced by individuals who don't expect economic rewards in return.

The word hospitality is quickly associated with the hospitality industry. Which doesn't leave much space for what private hospitality actually is. While doing some preliminary research I found out that corporate hospitality is described in great detail, but I couldn't find much on, what I describe as private hospitality. Usually a hospitable individual was described as open and friendly, but why a whole culture is sometimes described in that way and others the complete opposite was never clear. Before leaving for Madrid I wanted to answer some questions first, to define what exactly I would be looking for there:

“Combines curiosity
about the others and
fear for strangers”

- Julia Kristeva (1991)

Why are we hospitable?

People might be hospitable for many reasons. To start hospitality is described as an ethical social activity, which means it is seen as a virtues, desirable way of interacting with others. One origin of why it is seen in this way in western society, could be found in some bible verses:

*Do not neglect to show hospitality to strangers, for by this some have entertained angels without knowing it.
Hebrews 13:2*

This verse is usually interpreted in the following way: Be friendly to people you don't know, because at the end of it all this stranger could be Jesus himself. Which meant that Christians should be hospitable to strangers, because mistreating this stranger could have consequences later. Religion, specifically Christianity form the fundamentals of western cultures. It taught people how to interact and behave towards each other. Another verse is:

*“Do to others as you would have them do to you.”
Luke 6:31*

This verse is also called the golden rule, because it basically dictates how you should treat other people at any time. It flips the conventional quid pro quo method of treating people around. Rather than doing to others what they have done to us, we treat them the way we want them to treat us. These rules of conduct became a fundamental part of culture. Of course they changed and because of geographical and historical differences some western cultures differ in the way they practice this.

Take for example the Dutch culture: The Netherlands lacks fertile soil suitable for agriculture. As a result of this, the Dutch started to focus on trade instead of production of goods. In the seventeenth century this country developed into an international superpower because of trade. To be a successful tradesperson or businessperson you need a certain quid pro quo behavior. So you could state that because of the Dutch trade history the Dutch culture holds different values concerning behavior towards 'the other'.

Why a person or even a whole culture is hospitable comes down to one simple thing: What someone values in life. If it is money, then the person might not be as hospitable as someone who values fallowness or togetherness.

What makes us hospitable?

How we experience hospitality is highly influenced by the level of trust and security we feel. If there is distrust or suspicion it can become a very uncomfortable experience. A person who feels fear for 'the stranger' might not be comfortable in a situation where a person approaches him or her on the street.

Sincerity is also very important. We all probably recognize the situation, where we sensed that an insincere individual had a hidden agenda. An uneven trust balance makes private hospitality almost impossible.

A person might be described as very hospitable, but when the receiver of his or her hospitality doesn't trust it, the situation will probably change into an uncomfortable ordeal. We cannot always change how someone feels about the way you act. So what makes us hospitable for

one person, might make us seem the opposite to the other. This form of interaction has to be understood by both the person giving it and the one receiving it.

Why is the Spanish culture so hospitable?

The research will take place in the capital of Spain. The Spanish culture is known for its hospitality towards visitors from abroad. I have read quite some articles on travel blogs in which tourists described the openness and friendliness they experienced on their trip in Spain. The origin of the famous Spanish hospitality can be explained with multiple reasons. I'll describe two: Religion: Spain is foremost a Catholic country, still quite some Spaniards practice their faith. Another cause is that the tourism industry is the third major contributor to the national economic life. The warm climate attracts travelers for many years and since the 1960s and 1970s the country has been a very popular destination for summer holidays, especially with large numbers of tourists from the western European countries and the United States. The industry around hospitality and tourism was able to grow and develop into a cultural characteristic.

How hospitable are the people in the city of Madrid?

Madrid, the capital of Spain, is a relatively young city. When in 1561 Philip II of Spain moved his court to Madrid it became the political center of the monarchy. The population of Madrid has overall increased since then and around 1970s it has stabilized at about 3 million inhabitants. There was a big boom in the population growth in the late 1990s and the early first decade of the 21st century, because of immigration, mainly after growth in the Spanish economy. This makes Madrid a highly multi-cultural city. Many immigrants came from South

America: Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia and Peru.

Another big group of immigrants are the Chinese. The first large wave of Chinese immigrants came to Spain in the 1920s and 1930s. However, the majority of Chinese residents in Spain arrived around 1980s.

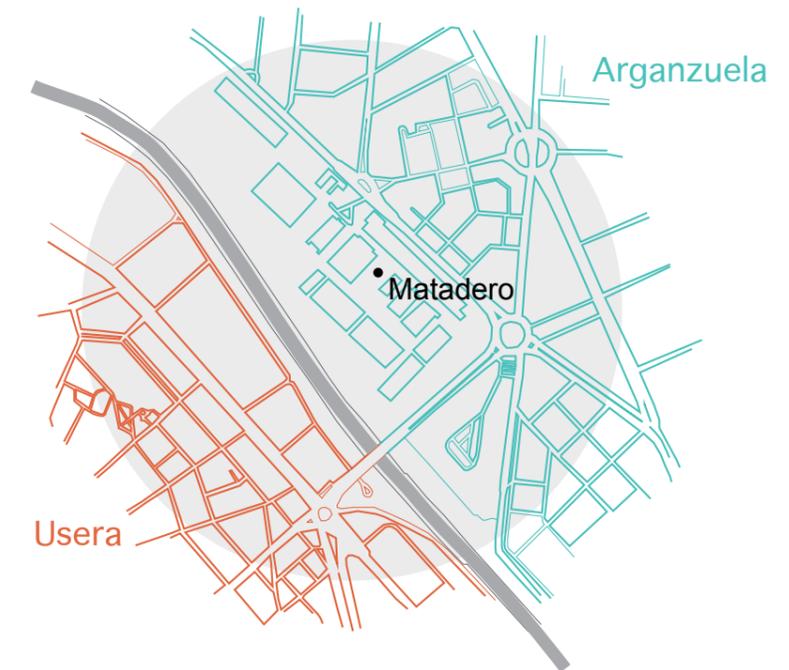
The patchwork of cultures makes Madrid an interesting place to do research on the topic of hospitality. All those different cultures value it in their own way.

The size of Madrid also influences how people, who live there interact with each other. There will be a different way of approaching visitors, then lets say on the touristic coastlines of Spain. Life in a big city with many strangers is usually different from, live in a small town. That is at least what I expect to experience there.

The area in Madrid which I'll be using as research area in the North of the city. The center of the research area is the cultural center Matadero, a former slaughterhouse. Around Matadero is the park called Madrid Rio. The small Manzanares river divides the two neighborhoods connected to the area: Arganzuela and Usera. The last one is a neighborhood where predominately live immigrants. Arganzuela is were predominantly live and work Spaniards.

In the next chapter I'll explain the different methods I used to explore the hospitality of the two neighborhoods and the park.

Research Area



Coordinates center:

40 ° 23'31.105 ° N 3 °41' 52.301 ° W

Area:

A circle around the coordinates with the diameter of 1 km

Methods



How Walking around with a camera. Observing human interaction and hospitality. Taking pictures of interesting sights

Where In the city circle

Why This method explores the research area. This is the outsider method.



How Walking around wearing the Guiri cap and a tourist map of Madrid

Where In the city circle

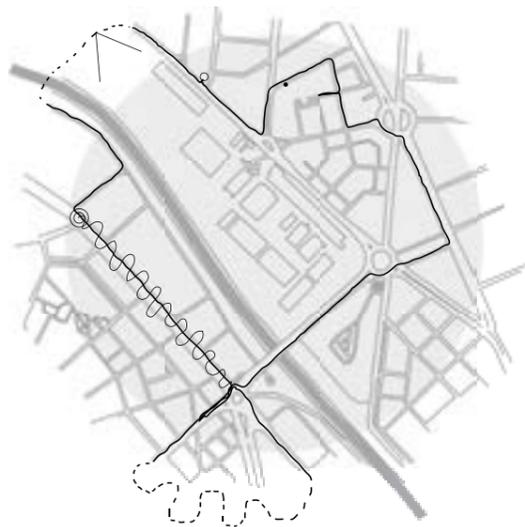
Why This method provokes interaction with locals. It is between insider and outsider



How Walking around wearing the Guiri t-shirts and interviewing people. The interviews are audio recorded

Where At Matadero

Why This method will give deeper insight into what the locals think about hospitality. This is the insider method



Date: 05/10/2017

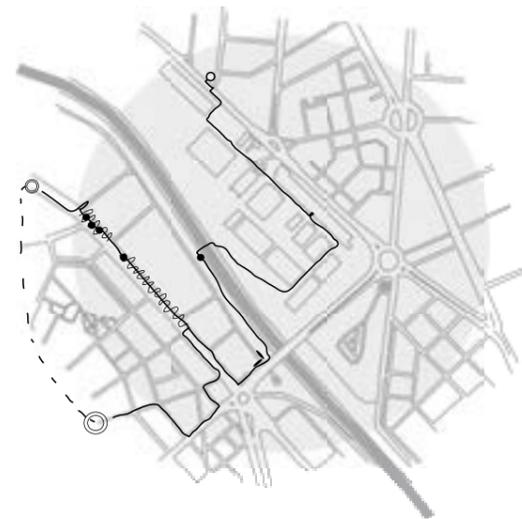
Time: Around 12.00

Observations

12.00 Leaving the apartment to go on a walk with Guntra. We want to explore the city circle. We leave the circle at some moments. We notice that the circle is actually pretty small and you leave it quite easily. The walk takes the whole afternoon. It is pretty warm in the sun during the day. We try to see all the neighborhoods connected in the circle. Arganzuela.. Quieter. Neighborhood where people live and work. More 'expensive' looking.. Usera.. Chinese? Multi cultural. Many people on the street. Busy neighborhood. A lot of interaction.. Benches, terraces, stream of people
View on skate park

Wearing: "Normal Clothes"
Camera

Notes: First walk in the circle.
"Testing the waters"
Exploring the grounds



Date: 07/10/2017

Time: Around 12.00

Observations

12.00 Start from my apartment
Sitting down on a bench in Rio park. Newly build park. I'm looking out over Plaza Rio. Very big shopping center still being build.
People walking by with/without dogs. (I feel ill prepared)

12.15 Getting up. Guy sat down close to me. He is smoking

12.35 Walking
Sitting down on a bench next to newly build playground.
Not open yet. Loud sounds of construction work. Maybe not the best place. People walking by. Parking motor bikes. Construction workers complaining about a broken glass on a truck. Going for a siesta. Benches on the street where people meet. This is not really a good spot with all the loud noises. Some workers start installing a pole behind me.
Leaving spot

13.15 Walking

13.30 Sitting down on a bench close to the metro station of Usera.

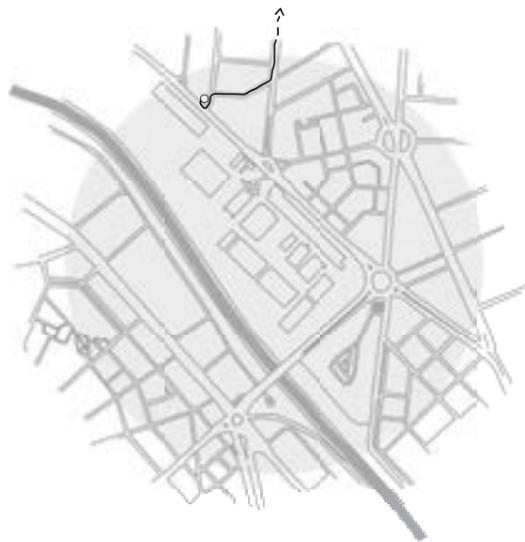
13.45 (way waaay out of the circle)
Busy park in the middle of a neighborhood. Men playing a game, children playing in playground. Immigrants, Chinese, South American. I don't feel completely comfortable. I feel a little out of place. There are mostly men around me. I feel a little stared at. Am I exaggerating? Should I leave. Why don't I feel welcome?

14.00

14.50 Leaving spot
Sitting down on a bench at Matadero. I feel a little done. I should have lunch now.

Wearing: "Normal Clothes"
Camera/notepad

Notes: Mapping "without" tools.
Camera Method
Benches Benches.. So many benches and dirty shitty birds small parrots
Again too easy to leave the circle..To see the context of the Neighborhood



Date: 08/10/2017

Time: Around 00.00

Observations

- 23.30 Leaving Guntra. Taking the Metro to Sol.
- 00.00 Meeting Flo at Sol. Going to Chueca, the gay district in the city center of Madrid.
- 00.45 Drinking a beer in a bar
- 01.30 Leaving for another bar

Not all is well. My jacket got stolen. Luckily no valuables with it. The city center feels a little overwhelming. The "hostility" of the night club makes me wonder if a big place as Madrid is very welcoming at all? Alone I don't feel safe here. My way home was a bit scary..

- 07.00 Leaving for Lavapies metro station.
- 07.30 Arriving home. Happy to be home.

Wearing: "Normal clothing"
No camera, not really a note pad. Experiencing hospitality. My jacket got stolen

Notes: Went out with a girl. She asked me out to go to the gay district in the city center. Towards Metro station / going towards city center
Diving into the unknown > taking a risk "Safeness"
Trust > Life in a big city..
Being invited to go out with a local. Way home was not very comfortable.
Walking home in a dark unknown city.. Which is not a very nice experience..



Observations

I noticed how the benches alongside the streets were places where people met each other. In both Neighborhoods, benches were locations of high levels of human interaction. During the day the ones in the shade provided relief from the unforgiving sunlight. During the evening they became meeting spots for neighbors and families.

Arganzuela



27



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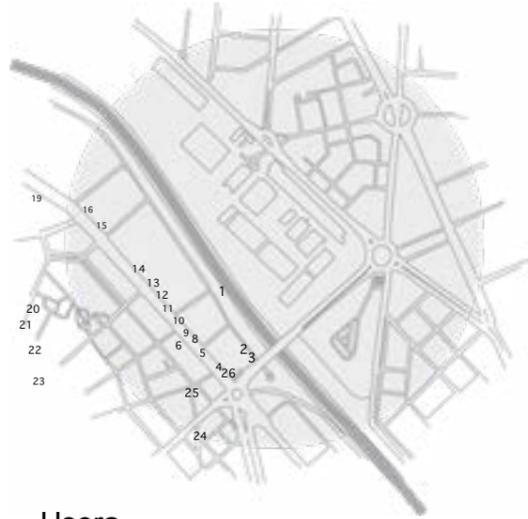
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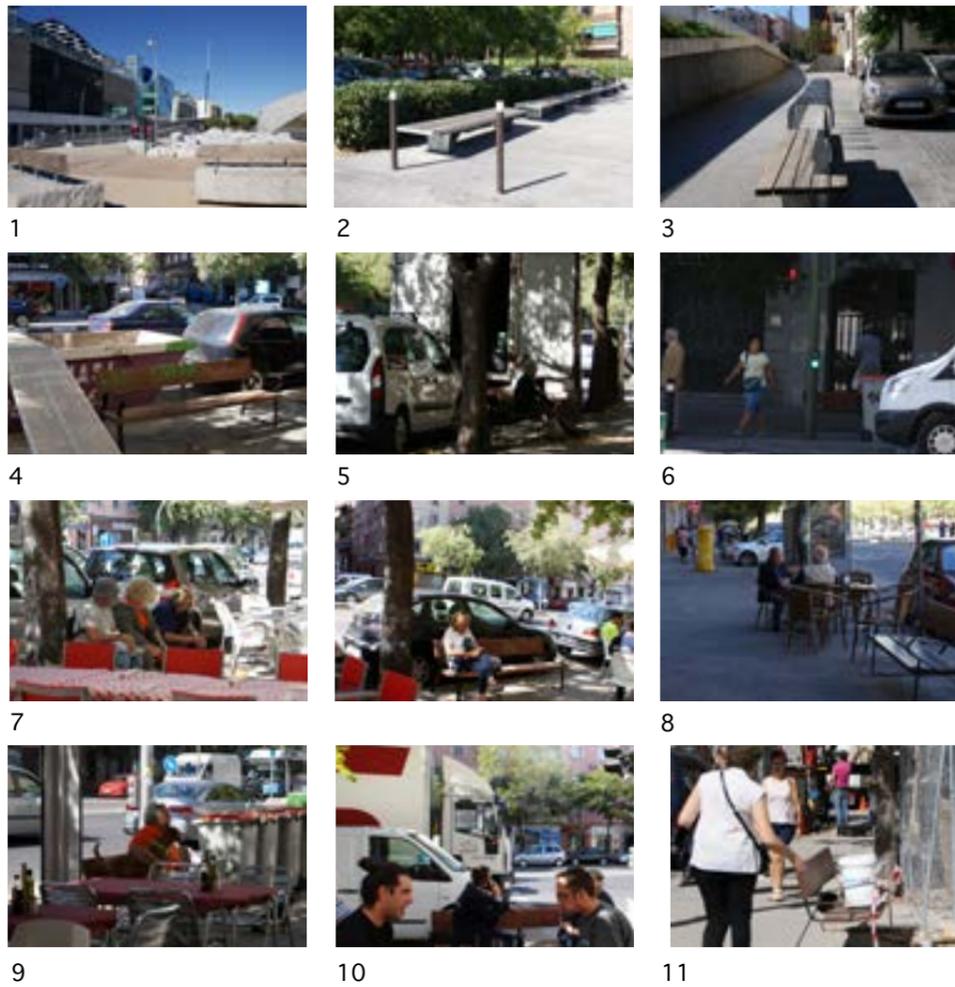
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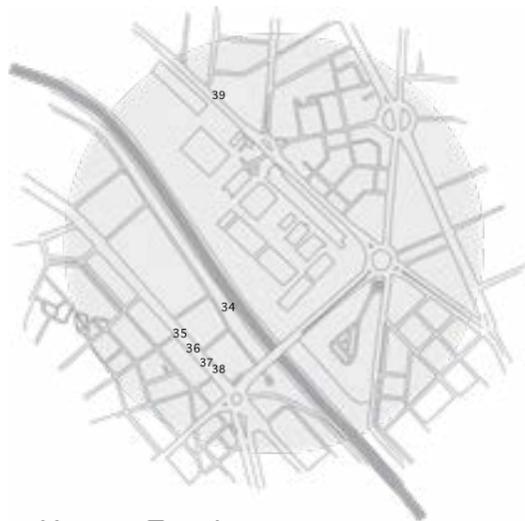


Usura



Usura





Usera - Evening



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35



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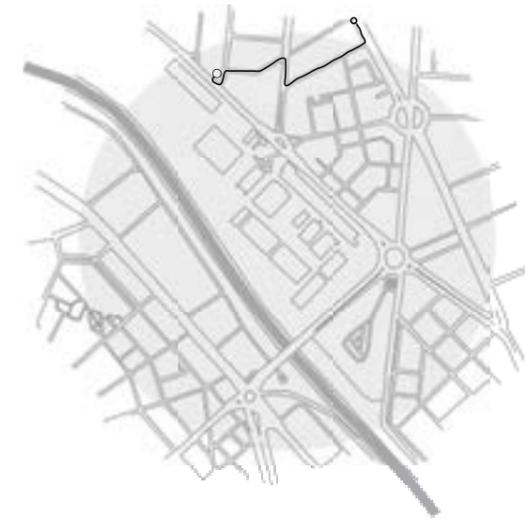
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Arganzuela - Evening



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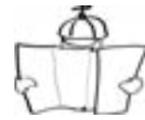
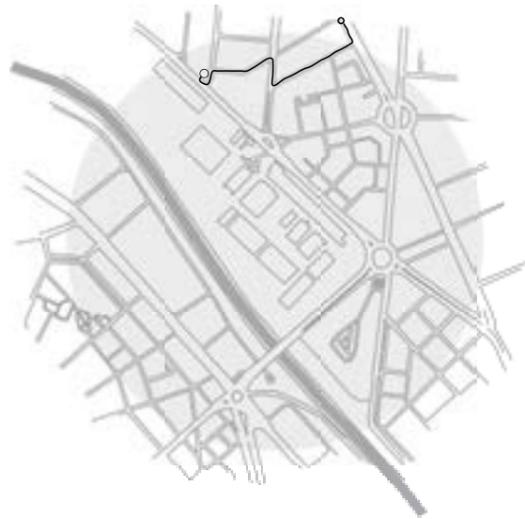
Date: 06/10/2017
Time: Around 20.45

Observations

- 20.30 Leaving house to go out for dinner with Guntra, Caroline and Jelle.
- 20.45 Walking around, trying to find a nice place.
- 20.50 Still walking around. Sometimes stopping doubting what would be a good place to eat and drink some beers.
- 21.00 We sat down on a terrace. Typical Spanish tapas bar. Waiter is an older man. He doesn't come to us directly, when he does we order beer. He brings tapas with the beer. We order extra food.
- 21.15 Food is quite quickly put on our table. We notice a couple sitting next to us. The waiter is very friendly to the couple and especially to the baby with them. The couple start a video chat with a girl and a guy. They show them the baby. They speak to the baby
- 21.20 Baby smiles at Jelle. The man asks where we are from. We answer. He tries to explain to us that they have a daughter living in Germany. He makes a joke and tells us the baby is from Germany. We have a conversation with the couple. They are very proud of their daughter and their grandchild.

Wearing: "Normal Clothes" Being a normal tourist, Guiri Neighborhood is normal. Where people live

Notes: Interests > "proudness" Possible connection to us. Older couple eating out with a small child. Their daughter is married to a German guy. Cute baby. Beer & tapas Couple sitting next to us (Jelle, Caroline, Guntra and me) Out for dinner. Typical Spanish bar in a typical Spanish Neighborhood.



Date: 10/10/2017

Time: Around 11.00

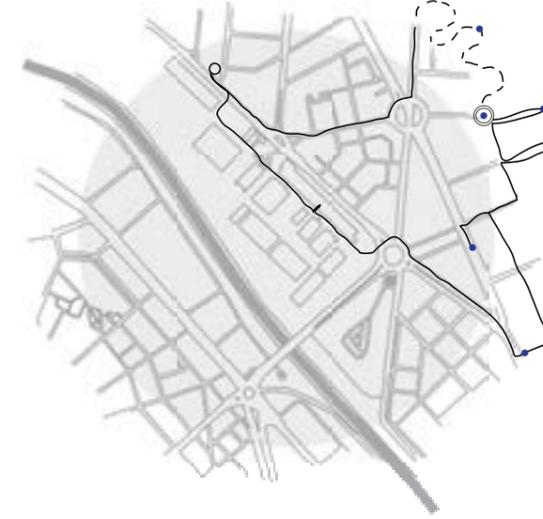
Observations

- 11.00 Starting from my apartment. Sitting down at Paseo the Chopera. Mostly busy bench. During the day this bench is in the full sunlight. It is very warm. Bikes and scooters around me. It is a busy working day.
- 11.10 Getting up. Way too warm here
- 11.18 Sitting down again. Bench in the shade. Was empty, received a call. Put away my camera attracts quite some attention with it. Cap is in full sight now. Put glasses away. Two ladies sit down close to me. In a conversation.
- 11.45 Getting up again.
- 11.55 Sitting down in the shade. Very warm day today. Busy park. Lots of people, lots of interaction. Elderly, teenagers. Woman laughing because of my cap. She seems in a hurry. No conversation started. Oh shit questions..
- 12.20 People getting in and out of the building behind me. Not much action. How to start a conversation? Without "effecting" the research?
- 12.30 Getting up Again someone giggled at me, because the cap. It feels a little uncomfortable wearing this stupid thing. Going home for lunch. On my way home I get a little confused in a street. A man asks me if I maybe need help. I ask him the way to Matadero. He gives me directions and asks where I'm from. In answer and thank him.
- 12.35

Wearing: "Normal Clothes"
Camera and Cap (with hola, soy Guiri) No map!

Notes: Role/Goal of the day
Talk to someone on a bench! Very warm day.. There is no magical way to get people to talk to me.. Sitting in a park with young and old people sitting on benches. Probably residence from the buildings around me.

Do you need my help?



Date: 10/10/2017

Time: Around 13.00

Observations

- 13.15 Start from my apartment. Not bring the cap
- 13.40 "do you need help?": woman on a busy corner. Busy bar with business people. Wearing suits and coat pants. She give directions to Matadero. I thank her.
- 14.00 I follow her directions until I'm out of sight and then I sit down on a bench close to a park.
- 14.10 Elderly man with a harmonica passes by. He is wearing a blue shirt. He asks me if I speak Spanish. "No..." Where are you from is what he asks later. "Hollandia" That is not how you say that. Oops.. The conversation feels a little awkward. He tells me that he has a lot of views on youtube. He records himself playing the harmonica and posts it on his account. Then he leaves. I'm sitting across the street from a high school. Quite a busy place. With people walking by in and out the school.
- 15.00 Woman on her phone sits next to me. After her conversation on the phone she hangs up. "Where are you from?" "los Paises Bajos!" "Hablas espanol?".. Not really. Conversation in English is a little hard. Her English is not very good. I ask why she asked me where I was from. "You look like a tourist" She doesn't know why.. but I do.
- 15.10 Finished conversation and got up from the bench. I walk away. Holding up the map and looking a bit confused.
- 15.20 Guy asks if I need help. I ask directions to Matadero. He gives them and he walks away

Wearing: "Normal clothes"
Cap & Map. Feels very very weird. Some woman started giggling

Notes: Map & Cap
Little bit more action today. But is this really hospitality? "Do you need help?". These conversations are too short Research crisis

- after I thank him. When he is out of sight I walk another way.
- 15.30 I notice a woman wearing a pink shirt walking behind me. When I stop and look at my map she asks if I need help. I ask for the directions to Matadero. She gives them, I thank her. She smiles and walks away. These conversations are too short.
- 15.40 Guy sitting on a terrace asks me if I need help. He ask why I'm there. We have a short conversation. About the project. He doesn't really seem very interested after all. I thank him again for the directions to Matadero.
How weird..
- 15.50 Walking in a newly build neighborhood. Swimming pools in patios.
A guy smoking outside a flower shop asks if I need directions. I must look like a disoriented deer.. Again I ask direction to Matadero. Now I decided to go there..



Date: Not Specific
Time:

Observations

Not specific Close to my apartment there is a vegetable store were I go to buy food. The first time I was in there, the grocer was very friendly and asked me where I'm from. He was quite curious. Every time I went there alone or with others he asked my classmates and me questions, about why we are there, where we are from and for how long we would stay there. There was also another grocer in the store on a busy moment, his English wasn't as good. I didn't really understand him that well.

Wearing: "Normal Clothes" t-shirt..

Notes: Creepy friendliness
Friendly interests
Learning Spanish
Teaching English
Green Shop
Pakistani shop owner
Friendly vegetable grocer

One time I went in alone, Guntra was waiting outside. The grocer started pointing at the fruit and vegetables. He asked how it was called in English. He explained that he tried to learn English, every time we came in he could practice it. That's why sometimes the conversations were so long and he wouldn't stop asking questions. After I told him the name of the fruit of vegetable he would teach me the Spanish word.

The bad thing is that I really really don't remember his name..



Interview questions

- 1 Name
Age
Residence
- 2 What is hospitality for you?
- 3 Have you ever Invited someone you didn't really know for a friendly drink?
- 4 Have you ever Invited someone you didn't really know for a friendly dinner?
- 5 Have you ever Invited someone you didn't really know to your house?
- 6a If you would have to rate the hospitality in Spanish culture?
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much
- 6b Why?
- 7 How hospitable are you?
- 8a Could you give me a situation where you felt very welcome?
- 8b What made you feel welcome?



Name, Age, Residence

| | |
|----------|-------------------------------------|
| Tea | 52, Madrid |
| Jerry | 39, Madrid |
| Mea | 27, Madrid |
| Santiago | 43, Madrid |
| Carlos | 26, Madrid |
| Leonard | 34, Madrid, is form Colombia |
| Thares | 25, Erasmus student from Brazil |
| Fiorinza | 25, Erasmus student from Germany |
| Betty | 25, Madrid |
| Victor | 25, Madrid |
| Bruno | 26, Mallorca |
| Pauline | 22, The Netherlands, is from France |
| Micheal | 26, Madrid is from Huisca |
| Mar | 37, Madrid |
| Paula | 17, Madrid |
| Manuel | 15, Madrid |
| Julio | 28, Madrid |

“To welcome people from other countries. To make them feel like they are at home.”

- Betty, 25, from Madrid

What is hospitality for you?

| | | | |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tea | | | coming from other countries |
| Jerry | Hospitality means to share with people. To share what ever you have and wherever you live. To be a good host. To be kind to people. Hugging other people. | Mar | To make people who are from abroad feel like home |
| Mea | Embracing other cultures. Hugging other cultures. It means that people from other cultures feel welcome | Paula | When you go to a place and they try to make you feel comfortable |
| Santiago | Hospitalidad | Manuel | To be polite |
| Carlos | Madrid is a multicultural city. Hospitality means being friendly to other people, to other cultures. It is nice. | Julio | Kind people and being kind to people. |
| Leonard | | | |
| Thares | To feel welcome in a city as a visitor | | |
| Fiorneza | To feel welcome with other people in a place and a city To welcome people from other countries. To make them feel like they are at home. | | |
| Betty | To make people feel comfortable in a place that is not their place. But try to make them feel at home. | | |
| Victor | This is too abstract. | | |
| Bruno | | | |
| Pauline | It means the ability to welcome someone in a warm way. Understand how to accept people. For example when you are in the street and you see that someone needs help and you help them. You don't look at where he is from, the age, the gender. | | |
| Micheal | How we welcome people | | |

Have you ever Invited someone you didn't really know for a friendly drink?

Tea
 Jerry Yes, sure. I don't know maybe I was drunk. Maybe when I wanted to have good time with some people.

Mea
 Santiago What do you mean? You mean flirting? As a friendly drink.. I wouldn't do that right away. I would do rounds. First me, then the next one and next one. If the next one wouldn't come that's fine. I tend to pay and tread other people.

Carlos Yes, of course. Invited for a beer. When I meet some nice people, we treat each other some rounds

Leonard
 Thares Yes, I think so. I have given rounds in a bar. I also have invited people come with us to a bar.

Fiorneza
 Betty Yeah, in a bar.
 Victor Yeah, sure.
 Bruno
 Pauline Yeah, I did. I think in a bar.
 Micheal Yes, I have. A lot of times.
 Mar No, I don't think I would. Maybe I would.

Paula
 Manuel
 Julio No, never. Maybe in a bar or in a club. I gave some rounds.

Have you ever Invited someone you didn't really know for a friendly dinner?

Tea
 Jerry Yeah, sure. Something cheap. Like a sandwich.. Yeah, I did that once.

Paula
 Manuel Yes, I have. Some friends from friends
 Julio

Mea
 Santiago To share food? That dependence on the situation. It dependence on the situation. I would share in a group.. Like when I pull something out of my bag. But I wouldn't tread someone on a dinner after I had talked to them for just a few minutes.

Carlos Usually no. I would share food. I would not invite people I don't know. When I don't have money I don't invite.

Leonard
 Thares
 Fiorneza It dependence. Do you mean to pay or to just eat together? I have invited to eat together yes, but not to pay. Yeah, I would. I did.

Betty
 Victor What do you mean with friendly. Haha, no only for flirty dinner.

Bruno
 Pauline No, not really. I would do it. I think it would be funny. Eating dinner is quite an intimate thing to do with someone. Maybe with some girls. Not really with other people I didn't really know.

Micheal
 Mar No, I wouldn't do it. I don't have the opportunity to do it

“Home is an intimate place, only for family or friends. Outside, there you see different behavior.”

- Jerry, 39, from Madrid

Have you ever invited someone you didn't really know to your house?

| | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tea | | |
| Jerry | Yes, I did. But I only invite people that my friends know. Not so quickly someone I didn't really know. Dependence. This is the barrier. Home is a intimate place only for family or friends. Outside, the you see different behavior. When you are young and you live in a rental home, you often invite people you don't really know. When you are older and have a family you don't invite people when you are not sure if it is safe. | Germany. There I have a lot of personal stuff. Here I live in an apartment for just one year. I invited people here in Madrid. Some Spanish friends who stayed for some days at my place, I didn't know them for a long time, maybe two weeks. |
| | | Betty No |
| | | Victor No |
| | | Bruno |
| | | Pauline It dependence. If I didn't know the person. I would rather invite someone I didn't know for a drink in a public place then in my home. We are losing contact with people and spontaneity of inviting someone. We don't really speak to people on the street. When someone starts to speak, we think it is weird. This changed because of social media. |
| Mea | | |
| Santiago | Yeah, That dependence. If a group of friends is coming over and they bring some of their friends. I wouldn't invite them when I really didn't know them. | |
| Carlos | Would you like to come to my home now? It is not normal to invite people to your home here in Madrid. Most people live in small apartments, close to each other. Neighbors don't like it when there is too much noise. These homes are often rentals, so they are not from yourself. | Micheal Girls, yes! Not like.. tourists. |
| | | Mar No, I don't have the opportunity |
| | | Paula |
| | | Manuel |
| | | Julio No, I live with my parents and brother. I wouldn't be able to invite people to my home. They wouldn't like it. |
| Leonard | | |
| Thares | When I have more autonomy at home. I would invite people I didn't really | |
| Fiorneza | It dependence, on the home. My parents live in | |

If you would have to rate the hospitality in Spanish culture? Why?

| | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tea | I don't know. This is hard to say when you are part of a culture. I think you can only answer about your personal hospitality or when you are an outsider. | Fiorneza | Here in Spain people did. Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much There are so many Erasmus students. Spanish people don't want to hang out with us because they know that we leave after a few months or a year. I have experienced more welcoming places in general |
| Jerry | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much Dependence on the situation. I would say Spain is very welcoming, but the situations has to be very safe. | Betty | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much In Spain we are mostly welcoming for tourists. Not for all people. |
| Mea | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much I have known other cultures that are more welcoming but here in Spain we are good at hosting other people | Victor | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much Because I think there is a lot of hypocrisy. There is a sign on the Municipality with "refugees welcome". Most refugees aren't welcome here. The Spanish are welcoming to Guiri's not to refugees. It is not an altruistic hospitality. |
| Santiago | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much It comes from ancient values. The family structure is very important. I think it comes from the Moors. They found it important to treat their guest better than their own brother or sister | Bruno Pauline | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much People are very willing to speak to me. Everywhere I go there are curious people who want to know who we are, where we are from. They are willing to help. |
| Carlos | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much In Spain it is not common to invite people to your home. Other cultures, like US or England it is more common. Here we meet people outside, eat and drink outside. | Micheal | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much Because I think that Spain is more welcoming than other cultures in Europe. If you would compare it to other cultures in the world it is not so much.. There are more hospitable poor cultures. I have some |
| Thares | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much Spain is more welcoming than France for example. I lived there for two years. In France people didn't invite me to their home. | | |

| | |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | friends who are from Senegal and they are very friendly and kind. Spanish people are very open and friendly, but not without borders. I think I'm a typical Spanish person. |
| Mar | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much We try to be very friendly with other people, with guests. It is harder to know this. I don't really know Because I'm from here. I'm not very welcoming because I don't have the opportunity to do so. |
| Paula | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much Spanish people are not very welcoming to refugees. Older people are scared that they would take their jobs. I think I more welcoming. We should welcome them. |
| Manuel | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much I think we are not welcoming to refugees. We should actually feed them and give them a house. |
| Julio | Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much I don't really know, because I'm not a tourist here. So I don't know how welcoming we are. I think we are very nice. We are friendly to tourists. In Madrid we are more welcoming than people in the country, there they are more protective, less friendly. Madrid is multicultural, less afraid of other cultures. I think I'm a typical Spanish person. |

Leonardo Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much
I think Spanish culture is less welcoming then the Colombian culture. At home we are more respectful of strangers and older family members. We have stronger family values and are more friendly. I miss that sometimes.

“(...) Still he invited me to his house. I had a really good time there. I also went to his hometown and met his family. They were very friendly and welcoming.”

- Fiorenza, 25, from Germany

Could you give me a situation where you felt very welcome?

- | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tea | My parents had a hostel in the center of Madrid. Close to Sol. The most friendly people I met there were Danish people. Dutch people were also very friendly but Danish people are called the Spanish from the North. I like to be welcoming, I think it is a duty. Most people call it the Christian way of thinking I think it is normal. It should be normal. The system of wanting something in return changed that. It ruins it. It should make the world a better place | me. She was Taiwanese, but lived in the US for quite a long time. She asked me where I was from and where I was staying. I said that I didn't know, because I didn't have time to plan anything. She said that I wouldn't be able to find anything that night, because it was Sunday, 10 o'clock. She invited me to stay at her place. She was living in an apartment in Manhattan. She just handed me a key and said to me that she would have to work, but that I could stay as long as I wanted. I stayed there for a week and she took me to dinner every night. She was a wealthy woman. That was the most amazing hospitality thing I experienced, quite special for New York. You can still find nice people very where. |
| Jerry | Yeah, a nice experience. One time I was lost in Toulouse in France. I met some people on the street, I couldn't find an address. They took me to their home to call my friends. After I got the right directions they even brought me there. It wasn't that hard, because I speak French. | |
| Mea | Last summer I was traveling on my own. I met some musicians from Prague. I didn't have a place to sleep and they invited me to sleep in their caravan and travel with them for some time. It was a really good experience. | Carlos In Madrid I haven't experienced something like that. I felt more welcome in other cultures, during traveling. Enjoy my life with other people. |
| Santiago | This one time I was in New York. I was sitting in the shuttle bus from the airport to the city. I started talking to this lady sitting next to | Leonard Thares No, I don't really know a good experience. I really like small hostels. The hosts or owner really show you around. They take more time to make you feel like home. I don't know a specific story. |



Fiorneza One time in Argentina, I visited someone I knew. It was a friend, bit not really a good friend. He was a friend of my ex boyfriend. I doubted a little before visiting him. Still he invited me to his house. I had a really good time there. I also went to his hometown and met his family. They were very friendly and welcoming.

Betty In Indonesia. They have nothing there, but still offer you everything they do have. I don't mean just to get money from you, as a tourist. Like at touristic places. In smaller villages and on the street they are generally very welcoming and curious.

Victor In Cuba, a family invited me for dinner. They were very poor but still they invited me for dinner and shared food

Bruno
Pauline In Thailand. I was traveling there with my family when I was little. My dad wanted to take a picture of people in a rice field. So we took the car the whole day into the countryside. At some moment we found a tiny place with a temple. It was really not a touristic place at all. The locals, some monks were very curious and welcoming. They also invited us for dinner. We had dinner in a big room with a lot of people. They

offered it to us because they wanted it, they were curious. You could feel that they didn't want any money for it. They just felt that way, it was natural.

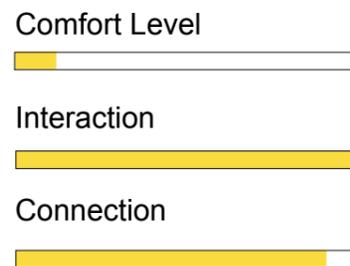
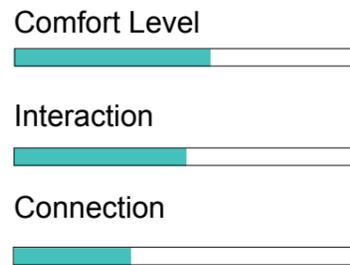
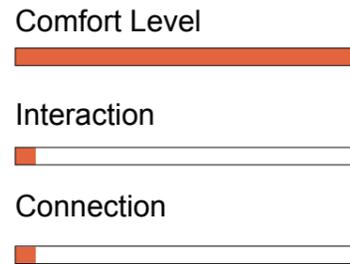
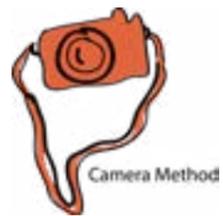
Micheal I don't think I have been in one place where I felt very welcome. I think, maybe Cuba. That trip was very nice. The character of a person would make me feel welcome. If they are very warm, kind and friendly.

Mar I lived in Amsterdam for some time. I worked in a hospital there and they were very helpful and friendly there.

Paula Polite people would make me feel welcome.

Manuel Nice and friendly people would make me feel welcome.

Julio I don't know. While traveling in Italy and Germany I met some very friendly people. They were friendly to tourist. They gave me directions when I got lost.



Results

Using the three different methods helped me to slide into the Spanish hospitality. The first two methods provided me with little insight into the subject. They gave me more an overview of the research area. The last method, the t-shirt/interview method helped me with providing a context for the Camera and Cap & Map method. While speaking to the people I met on the street I was able to understand their behavior, which I observed earlier. I will go in to detail for every method.

The camera method gave me the opportunity to experience the circle as an outsider, an observer. If I would have to give this experience the name of a role I would say I really felt like a typical tourist. I didn't interact with the people around me on the street or on the benches sitting next to me. I felt disconnected. It made me feel uneasy at some moments, because I was usually aware of the people around me, but they didn't seem to notice me at all time. This method felt safe for me personally.

I didn't have any problems language wise, simply because I didn't speak with anyone. This method didn't give me any deep insights in the hospitality of the culture. I didn't experience any hostility, but taking into account that the research area is actually a place where people live and work, there was also not really any touristic hospitality. I really felt like a visitor, someone who would be there for a short period of time, without leaving any trace. I was able to observe behavior pretty well.

At some moments I noticed that the benches alongside the streets were places where there was a lot of interac-

tion. Mostly between locals, sometimes between tourists and locals. I also noticed that the park was busy during the weekends and it was used mostly during leisure hours. I saw people exercise, talk and meet with families or friends. I also saw people come together for play and other social activities.

Then after some time, I realized if I wanted more information about private hospitality, I would need another approach. After exploring the research area with the Camera Method I needed a different method to trigger others to interact with me.

While using **the Map & Cap Method** I was able to interact with people I ran into on street. Usually this method felt like a performance. Still it didn't feel like I gathered much in depth data with this method.

Practicing this method is a harder then it seems. There is a certain unexpectedness needed, too much meddling would change the interaction into an interview. I would call the role a traveler. A traveler differs from a tourist because a there is more interaction and a greater interest for the local culture. Someone who travels a lot and still stays in places for a certain amount of time. They don't become insiders or locals. The traveler is not that well connected to the culture and experiences some problems with the language. Something I experienced as well.

I usually had superficial interactions, easily filled with a quick, superficial conversation. They were usually about simple things like finding my way, which foods I should try in a restaurant, who I was or why I was visiting Madrid, etc. Again I didn't get an in depth insight of the

private hospitality of the Spaniards, but there was a start.

I was surprised by how helpful the people that approached me wanted to be. Still I don't think this is the essence of private hospitality. It felt more like a hospitality out of sympathetic reasons. I touched the surface, but I didn't grasp it yet. The Spanish hospitality is mostly developed and directed at for the western European tourist. I suspected that the Spaniards approached me because I took the role of the tourist and they assumed I needed help. I needed a different approach again, I wanted to question why they behaved the way they did. This experience of being approached sparked my interest.

The t-shirt/Interview method gave me the most in depth insight and the most interaction, so also the most problems with the Spanish language. Especially with some older interviewees. Some interviews were not useful, because sadly I couldn't obtain any data from them. While interviewing people I could place the findings from the other methods in a cultural context. Hearing from the locals was a crucial last step I had to do in Madrid, but it was also pretty hard for me. Approaching strangers and asking them questions, felt like I was stealing their time.

During the interviews I started handing out tangerines, because I noticed it opened up the interviewees a bit faster and they could do something in the meantime. Which meant that they wouldn't focus only on me. The last question, when I asked them to describe a pleasant experience left them usually with a smile on their face. Which meant I could finish the interviews on a positive note. Describing these stories reminded them of a pleasant experience they had with other people or other

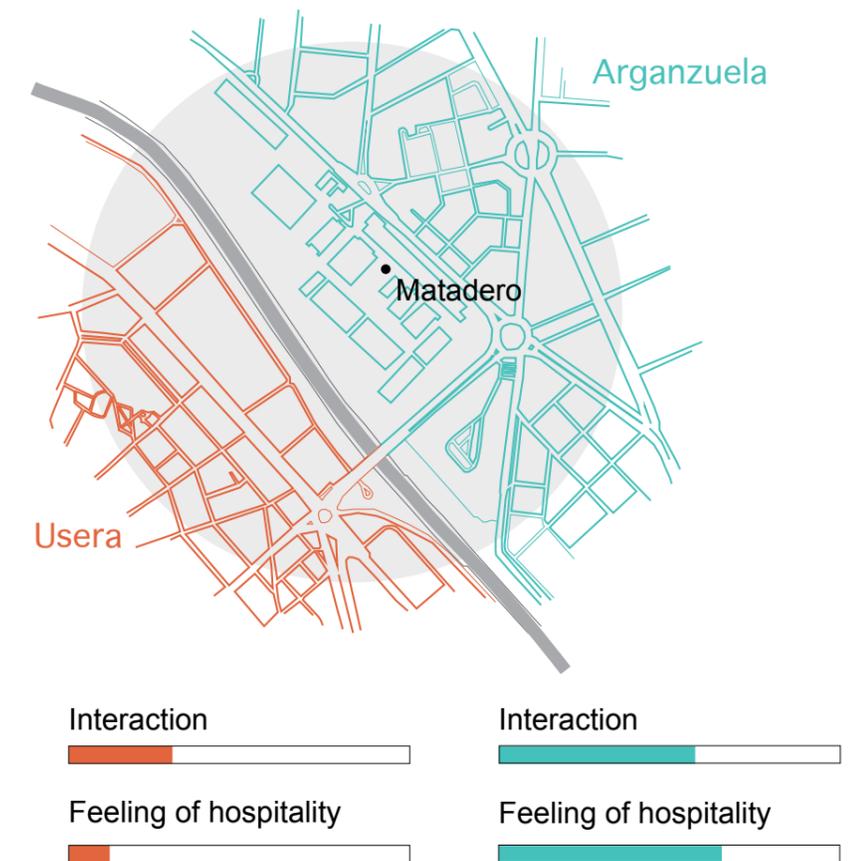
cultures. What surprised me about the interview findings was that quite a lot of young Spaniards told me that the Spanish culture wasn't really hospitable at all. They told me that Spanish culture is only hospitable to 'the Guiri', the tourist. They expressed concern that refugees and less privileged strangers were not always welcomed with the same openness and friendliness.

This city of Madrid was not described as a very hospitable place, the level of private hospitality really depended on the individual values or desires. Don't get me wrong, most of the interviewees I spoke with said Madrid is a friendly touristic place, but the Utopian level of hospitality I described was not unconditional and depended on the context. "it depends.." "That depends on.." Were the answers I received the most. Safeness, trust and comfort needed to be sorted out before openness or friendliness was offered. Then even only outside, on the streets, because the home is intimate place for many Madrilians

This all makes sense of course. City life is not always safe, which I also experienced when my jacket got stolen and I had to go home while feeling cold. It was also expressed that current political en technological development changed the interaction between the stranger and the local. There was more retention, more complacency. "The other will probably help". "I'm okay, I don't need anything". But this was not expressed that much. I also didn't experience it either.

I visualized the findings from the methods in three maps of the city circle: The Tourist, The Traveler and the Researcher

Interaction & hospitality



During the research I noticed a correlation between the level of interaction I had with my surrounding and the level hospitality I experienced. I felt most comfortable in Arganzuela because I was approached more by helpful strangers



Photography by Felipe Gabaldón, 2010
La Gran Vía, a busy shopping street in the center of Madrid

Hospitality in the future city

Before I conclude the research I want to add some information I gathered after coming back from Madrid.

While walking around in the streets I started thinking about what role hospitality would play in future cities. There were some concerns expressed during the interviews, for example that technology makes us less interactive and connected. We feel less involved with the people living close to us. Another reason for me to explore this subject a bit further is that I'm interested in how this future city will look like.

A place to experience

My notes start from the debate we had with the urban planner and researcher Zef Hemel after a lecture he gave at school, this was before we left for Madrid. He wrote a book about his view on the future of big cities. He describes how in the city behavior will change and he told us that he expected that it would become a place to 'be in', a place to visit and no longer a place to live in for a longer period of time. This development was already visible and the example he used were the many Airbnb apartments replacing homes where people used to live. Temporarily living somewhere changes the way people interact with their surrounding. People will be less attached to the place and to the people around them. Contemporary life in western society dictates that traveling is no longer a luxury, but a necessity, a norm.

The sociologist Zygmunt Bauman named this transfor-

mation liquid modernity. This is the characterization of today's highly developed global societies as the development of modernity rather than as an element of the succeeding era known as post modernity, or the post-modern. Late modernity is marked by the global capitalist economies with their increasing privatization of services and by the information revolution. Life in this modernity is described as light and liquid, meaning it is gather based on flexibility and change then on solid and stable.

The nomadic lifestyle

What he means by this is that people will 'live on short terms'. We move, we travel and explore the world beyond any boundaries. This nomadic style of life, is where you would live for some time in a city, work and form loose relationships, but when the job is done, or the place doesn't feel interesting anymore, you will travel on. This development crosses cultural boundaries, creating extraterritorial 'Nowwherevilles' or substituted communities, a temporary formation of a civil but loosely connected community. These places look 'culture-free' or better it would have a global cultures providing comfort for people with all kinds of backgrounds. The fragile existence of these formations can quickly fall apart, because there is no true sustainable connection between them. We tend to be afraid of the strange and unfamiliar while at the same time feel attracted to it. 'The strange' is only acceptable in the safe and clean version, a recognizable version. The surrounding shouldn't be too strange, because it takes time and effort to get used to it. Something we don't have. We always experience our surrounding from our own point of view, with our own cultural bias and values. Which is completely logical and to be expected.

If relationships are only temporary we tend to not open up or invest much of our time in it. The interaction is different in a long term relationship. To be able to communicate with strangers, we use a way of interacting the sociologist Richard Sennett called Civility. A polite but distant 'mask' covering up genuine emotions and feelings. We become everyones 'friend' but no ones friend. This makes make everyday live and everyday interaction as easy as possible.

Culture as a product

The nomadic inhabitants of these future cities provide a culture that is watched as a spectacle. Local life is sold as a product of the region. It is not an exchange of culture but rather a consumption of culture. This is not a new development, Dean MacCannell started writing about the commercialization of culture and local life in the seventies of the last century. It creates a distant between the traveler and the local person. Dividing the real from the fake, cleaning it up and package it so it doesn't look too difficult to understand. Now, the expectation Zef Hemel described is that the consumption of cultures would shift from a touristic activity to an everyday activity.

What remains is the question how these communities actually cope with living with 'difference'. Strangers you routinely meet and mix with stop being a part of the spectacle. Then the cultural boundaries really disappear and changes the stranger into a individual human being.

“I don’t think someone can become more hospitable, just like that, I experienced it as a practice.”

Conclusion

I experienced this research as very insightful, but also quite confronting. I described in the foreword that I sometimes struggled with being hospitable to people I didn’t know. I feel more comfortable when I don’t have to approach strangers. The role of the researcher and interviewer was difficult for me. Still I managed, by handing out tangerines, to become more comfortable in the situation. This experience of the research, the fact that by becoming more open I gathered better information surfaced an underlying question. A question that actually started this research.

Can someone become more hospitable?

I cannot directly answer this question with a ‘yes’, because I first need to explain some things. In my experience The Map & and Cap required a more open posture than the Camera method. Otherwise I would not have been approached as much. I also felt more open and comfortable in the role of the interviewer after some time. It felt a little like an act, because after that part of the research was concluded I didn’t feel more hospitable than before.

During some interviews I sensed that some interviewees wondered if I started the conversation with an ulterior motive, this happened mostly when I was speaking with a male. This made me uncomfortable in some conversations.

I don’t think someone can become more hospitable, just like that, I experienced it as a practice. It takes time to



Interviewing in the bright Madrilian sun.

settle in the role of an 'friendly stranger'. An open mind is also needed for the fact that people can have a different point of view and to don't feel threatened by that.

Other insights

Spain was an interesting country for this research. Looking back, I went to Madrid with an expectation of visiting a very hospitable place. I had in mind, almost a fairy-tale like image. I expected to be approached by curious Spaniards who treated me, like the spectacle I treated them. I hate to admit it but I did.

Now I know hospitality in Spain works a bit different. Most of this famous friendly openness is directed at tourists from Western European countries, 'the Guiri'. The atmosphere in the city center was also very different, from the atmosphere in the research area. Most of the tourists visiting Madrid stay in the center, close to all the touristic places. The research area I used was a neighborhood where people mostly lived and worked. Sporadically I saw and spoke some tourists, who visited Matadero and the park around it, but most of the time I spoke with locals.

Mostly young people expressed their discontent with the fact that the Spanish hospitality is almost only directed at the Western European tourist. They felt that refugees and immigrants were left out. One Colombian man I spoke with emphasized this. He told me that there was a big difference between the hospitality he knew from home and the hospitality he experienced in Madrid. There was less attention for family, specifically for the elderly family members. He described the life he lived in Madrid as faster than the one he lived in Columbia. Fast-

“A touristic city feels more like a product you consume, than a place where you live.”

er in the sense that people didn't really enjoy a friendly conversation.

I noticed that hospitality was mostly found outside on the streets of Madrid. I saw a lot of interaction on the benches on the sidewalks. During the day, the benches in the shade were used to hide from the burning sun and in the afternoon they became places where families and neighbors came together. The interviews gave me an insight into why: The first one is the climate, when it is warm people live mostly outside. Another reason were the homes of Madrid. Houses were usually quite small and not owned by the people living in it. A home is a private place for family and close friends. Madrilians share their living space with a lot of neighbors, so producing too much sound is quite easy.

City living affects the willingness to be open to others. The anonymity leaves you open to develop anxiety or indifference for other people's lives. Cultural differences in a multi-cultural city affect the willingness to be open to strangers, because learning and accepting these differences takes time. I noticed how tourism affected the city. A touristic city feels more like a product you consume, than a place where you live.

The only way to trigger people into being hospitable to strangers is to show how it would improve the life in a city. It comes down to individual values and fears.

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