

CINEMA AND TOURISM IN LARGE CITIES: THE CASE OF MADRID (SPAIN)

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Resumen: El texto examina las potencialidades del turismo cinematográfico en una gran ciudad como Madrid (España). Se analiza si existe una verdadera demanda, y si la ciudad cuenta con recursos suficientes para diseñar productos competitivos vinculados al cine. Para ello se ha investigado la relación que se da entre ciertas variables sociodemográficas, el conocimiento del cine rodado en la ciudad y la propensión a consumir turismo cinematográfico. La conclusión es, que por el momento, no existe esa demanda, y que resultará difícil construir productos turísticos vinculados al cine que se conviertan en un atractivo principal en la ciudad de Madrid.

Palabras clave: Turismo cinematográfico, cine, turismo, marketing de destino, grandes ciudades, Madrid.

Abstract: This article examines the potential for film-induced tourism in a large city, in this case Madrid, Spain. The authors analyse whether significant demand exists, and whether the city has sufficient resources to design competitive products linked to such tourism. To this end, they investigated the relationship between certain sociodemographic variables, knowledge around films that feature the city as a setting and the propensity to consume film tourism, etc. The conclusion is that, for the moment, there is no such demand, and products designed to make cinema tourism a notable attraction in the city of Madrid will be difficult to build.

Key words: Film-induced tourism, cinema, tourism, destination marketing, large cities, Madrid.

I. INTRODUCTION

Cinema and tourism are among those activities that have had the greatest economic, cultural and social impact since the beginning of the 20th century. Not surprisingly, positive synergies have been fostered and exploited in recent decades between these two fields. Cinema is now used to create tourism products, while destination marketing offices (DMOs) use films — audiovisual products and their elements of production (actors, directors, set locations, etc.) — for the promotion of tourist destina-

tions. Also increasingly common is that, in contrast to the traditional neglect shown by producers for the potential touristic impact of their films (Beeton, 2005), cities or territories, through public film commissions, now compete to attract new production in order to capture not only the direct economic benefits of that activity but the subsequent effects of an enhanced destination image (Connell, 2012; Gámir, 2015). The result has been the progressive appearance in recent decades of relatively consolidated cinematographic tourist destinations.

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Urban film tourism has not attracted the same scientific or economic attention as rural and natural areas, possibly due to the difficulty in differentiating flows and motivations, as well as the low economic and social weight carried by film activity in destinations that are already very complex and diversified; still, ‘a large part of cinematographic production of the 20th and current centuries has set as its scene urban spaces’ (Gámir, 2015, p. 256). This article seeks to alleviate the relative neglect around this topic, using a large city (Madrid) as a case study. Along with a review of an already extensive bibliography, and subsequent theoretical reflections raised by the case at hand, the specific objectives of this research are as follows:

- Check whether there exists in the city of Madrid any real tourist demand for consumption of cinematographic tourism products (and, if necessary, characterise that demand).
- Analyse whether Madrid offers tourist resources around cinematic themes, in order to configure an offering of goods and services sufficient to expand and diversify the city’s current supply.
- Reflect on the potential of exploiting films shot in Madrid to delineate or consolidate a touristic image of the destination, as the city currently lacks the clarity of image that would allow it to position itself more powerfully in international tourism markets.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The relationship between cinema and tourism has not gone unnoticed by the social sciences in recent decades. This attention has resulted in extensive output, both empirical (aimed at evaluating the impact of film tourism on particular destinations) and theoretical (addressing the phenomenon from economic and sociocultural perspectives) (Connell, 2012). The theme has consistently expanded, ranging from pioneering works of the 1990s (Riley, 1994; Riley, Baker & Van Doren, 1998; Riley & Van Doren, 1992) focused on characterising the tourist experience and analysing the impact of film tourism, through omnicomprehensive approaches such as in Beeton (2005), to more state-of-the-art overviews (Connell, 2012; Croy & Heitmann, 2011).

Much of the literature demonstrates a zeal for conceptualisation. The phenomenon of ‘film/ movie-induced tourism’ is generally defined as ‘on-location tourism that follows the success of a movie made (or set) in a particular region’ (Beeton, 2005, p. 9). To that definition have been added complexities that can affect both the motivating factors (films as well as series, and other audiovisual products) and the activities carried out. In this sense, the list now covers a wide range of on-location activities, performed either at the site of filming or in the place represented. A still wider range of formats and attractions includes specialised theme parks and organised tours to film locations, studios, places connected to celebrities, festivals, premieres, etc. (Beeton, 2005; Connell, 2012; Croy & Heitmann, 2011; Rodríguez Campo, Fraiz Brea & Alén González, 2014).

This defining interest and catalogue of the tourist experience around cinema also extends to the typologies of resources used (Rodríguez Campo et al., 2014), but above all centres on the tourist and his or her experience. The most discussed aspects are motivations for tourism and the main or supporting role that the cinema represents in those motivations (Beeton, 2005; Connell, 2012; Kim & Richardson, 2003; Macionis, 2004; Macionis & Sparks, 2009; Pires-Basañez & Ingram, 2013), leading to a generalised conclusion that so-called ‘purposeful film tourists’ or ‘specific film tourists’ (highly motivated by cinema and seeking a profound experience around it) remain a clear minority (Macionis & Sparks, 2009). Works that have quantified tourists travelling to a destination as influenced by film indicate that such flows range between 4% (Macionis & Sparks, 2009) and 9% (Beeton, 2010), even in the successful and impactful case of the *Lord of the Rings* saga, filmed in New Zealand. The vast majority of tourists instead fall into the category of ‘general film tourists’ (Macionis, 2004), who participate in such activity but were not specifically attracted to a given destination by its cinematic value.

Consequently, a more pertinent question for future study is whether cinema can be considered a true tourist motivator, or at least an intensifier of demand (Bolan & Williams, 2008), or whether it is only a secondary element (Croy & Heitmann, 2011) that redirects tourists to certain resources and/or products but does not attract them from the outset (Macionis & Sparks, 2009; Mitchell & Stewart, 2012; Pires-Basañez & Ingram, 2013).

From the point of view of supply, the most significant and debated issues focus on the economic impacts generated, and on the possibility of management so that film tourism becomes sustainable economically and over time (Connell, 2012). In this sense, Riley et al. (1998) questioned the claim that cinema produces positive economic effects via tourism, given the weak empirical bases of prior case studies, and they called for new evidence. More than twenty years later, this may still be necessary; although numerous case studies have appeared, these are scattered and employ methodologies difficult to compare, probably supporting the claim that ‘vast overstatements are made’ (Croy & Heitmann, 2011, p.190) around this topic.

Connell (2012) and Mitchell & Stewart (2012) note in their works an increase in visits following a premiere, but they recognise that these are temporary, lasting two years at most. On the other hand, there is no shortage of positions disputing the above, noting ‘an increasing body of evidence to demonstrate longevity in film tourism effects (...) thus film tourism does have the potential to create a legacy’ (Connell, 2012, p. 1024). Other authors cite positive impacts on seasonality (Beeton, 2010; Bolan & Williams, 2008) and on the rejuvenation of the destination (Busby & Klug, 2001).

What is not completely clear from the references analysed are factors that, beyond popularity, might move a given film to become a driver of tourist attraction. As Beeton points out, ‘it may be the plot, the characters, the setting, or the three that combine to create a film experience of lasting importance’ (2005, p. 57). In many cases, spectacular

settings or the highlighting of urban icons promote interest and awareness about a destination, and it has even been suggested that ‘stereotypical geographical images pervade films in order to create desired emotional responses’ (Connell, 2011, p. 1021). On the other hand, some authors note that ‘locations need not to be beautiful, nor the storylines positive, in order to attract visitors’ (Riley et al., 1998, p. 932), also indicating that not all types of films or genres have the same capacity for impact (Beeton, 2006; Marzal, 2016).

Several authors point out that empathy with a particular story and characters allow one to live a vicarious experience that leads to interest in and identification with the setting: ‘the plot and character, fundamental elements of drama, engage the viewer’s imagination and empathy’ (Kim & Richardson, 2003, p. 221). This would explain the touristic success of certain films with an obvious symbolic connection to the place they represent, such as *Notting Hill*, and it connects with the notion posited by Riley et al. (1998) and Beeton (2005) that icons can be visual (as with urban or natural spaces) as well as thematic or emotional. In this way, and as occurs with literature, film tourism becomes a postmodern cultural experience, insofar as ‘the symbolic value of a product (in this case, a landscape, place or setting) often has greater appeal to the consumer than the product itself’ (Connell, 2012, p. 1013).

The relationships between cinema and tourism promotion have been addressed in the literature from two general perspectives. The first, theoretical perspective is oriented

to connections between the process of formation of destination images and the use that can be made of cinematographic images for promotion, and also how this can influence the final image, and decisions made on the part of the consumer. Second, from a more applied approach, numerous case studies have highlighted the various strategies followed by DMOs.

In addition to theoretical approaches that point to the greater credibility of such destination images, because these have not been specifically created for tourism marketing, the differential impacts they may have on the pre-visit and decision to travel have also been considered (Hang & Wang, 2011; Kim & Richardson, 2003). The viewing of a given film increases awareness of the destination and can lead to a more conscious search for information (Hang & Wang, 2011), but above all, it allows the vicarious experience of said destination (Kim & Richardson, 2003) and expands the reasons for attraction.

Regarding more applied aspects, the bibliography focuses on synergies that can be established between DMOs and film promoters. As noted, until recently film producers tended to show no concern for the tourism potential of their films (Beeton, 2005), although chances of success may be greater if such collaboration is considered prior to production of the film (Vagionis & Loumioti, 2011). In this sense, the impulse and change of tendency seems to have derived from the tourist institutions, which are more and more ‘proactive in encouraging producers to film in their locations, and then

proactive in promoting the film location after release of the film (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006, p. 393).

In any case, prior to the transmitted image of a destination, it is necessary to focus on the filmed location. Indeed, 'cinema is a peculiar spatial form of culture' (Connell, 2012, p. 1014) where space 'is never neutral' (García Gómez & Pavés, 2014, p. 11) but is an inherent part of the story. A location that has consistently formed part of filmic history is 'the city' (Gámir, 2015), and often 'the big city', but references to this in the literature on film-induced tourism are relatively scarce. Analysis of some of the most important recent works (Beeton, 2005; Connell, 2012; Croy and Heitman, 2011) offers many examples of case studies in rural or natural spaces, or else analysis of the impact of certain films or series in national or regional terms. However, few studies have focused on urban spaces, and even fewer on large cities.

Beeton explains this mismatch between the importance of the city to cinema and the lack of attention paid by film tourism by pointing out that this modality, in large cities, 'does not create the same level of impact (positive as well as negative), owing to population size, infrastructure, and site hardening' (2005, p. 109). Similar ideas have been expressed by Croy & Heitman: 'It seems that the most important effects [of film-induced tourism] are produced in places which had relatively low pre-film tourist numbers and were relatively isolated from other tourism-induced effects' (2011, p. 190). For their part, Busby & Klug note that large urban centres are complex, 'the

influence of a movie simply being one of several' (2001, p.325).

In addition, in a large city as Madrid it can be difficult to differentiate between the behaviour of tourists and residents in relation to leisure consumption (Barrado, 2008 and 2010), to which the multiple motivations for a visit are added, rarely centring on cinema. Croy & Heitmann go deeper into these aspects, mentioning that in large cities it is very difficult to dissociate tourism experiences from prior images acquired by tourists, so that 'the role of film in tourist motivations may therefore be difficult to determine' (2011, p. 193).

One aspect addressed in the literature is the difference between films in which the city goes unnoticed, or which present a city in the abstract, as opposed to those that make the city a protagonist, even including its name in the title. In addition, among the latter, there is the essential difference between cities that possess and are capable of transmitting clear and identifiable images to all viewers, as opposed to those that do not possess such. In fact, as pointed out by García Gómez and Pavés (2014), a common way of presenting the city onscreen is metonymically, through urban landmarks that (in ideal cases such as the Eiffel Tower as a representation of Paris) make references to the city's name redundant.

As pointed out by Riley et al. (1998), urban landmarks can become authentic icons, whether abstract or tangible, which as a result of the success of a given film (and tourism promotion) can become focal points of tourist attraction. In any case, a significant

difference must be drawn between certain urban landmarks transformed into cinematographic icons which (like the Eiffel Tower) were already recognised before, and those spaces or urban elements that acquired iconic status only after having appeared in one or more movies.

III. METHODOLOGY

The objectives of this work have been pursued through a case study methodology chosen to allow observance of the complexity of a large urban tourist destination such as the city of Madrid. As Beeton (2001) points out in a similar work, large urban tourist destinations are difficult to analyse by way of other experimental and/or scientific methods of research used in the field of tourism.

In order to obtain primary information, a structured survey was conducted in Madrid between 3 and 12 July 2016 (a period of maximum tourist influx); about 400 visitors were surveyed, 50% of whom were domestic tourists and 50% foreign. The method of random sampling was applied in several strategic tourist zones of the city (the Prado and Thyssen museums, the Plaza Mayor and Plaza de Oriente, Callao and Chueca, and Puerta del Sol). The sample guarantees 95% reliability with a maximum error of 0.05 in the estimates made for the different qualitative variables included in the questionnaire.

The data were collected by means of an electronic questionnaire in English and Spanish by way of digital tablets, administered by previously trained interviewers. The

questionnaire was designed to gather information about the socioeconomic profiles of the visitors, the organisation of the trip, aspects related to the knowledge of films shot in Madrid and the identification of areas and icons transmitted in such films, as well as the actual and potential consumption of tourism products linked to cinema.

With the resulting information, descriptive statistics were generated of the sociodemographic variables and the trip characteristics of the respondents. Likewise, bivariate techniques such as Spearman correlation and contingency tables were applied to identify possible patterns of interest in the practice of film tourism in urban destinations such as Madrid. Aspects analysed were the following: the valuation granted to the existence of an offering of cinematographic tourist activities and products in large metropolitan areas; the degree of association of urban spaces with scenes from films shot therein; the influence that knowledge of films made in the city might have on the decision to travel to that destination; and the willingness to consume tourist products linked to the cinema, which could ultimately have an effect on the volume of tourists that the destination receives.

All this information was complemented, during the months of January and February 2017, with a series of personal interviews by way of a semistructured questionnaire given to: various public actors (from the 'Madrid Destino' DMO and the film commission of the regional government); agents of relevant private film and tourism sectors (managers of three tourism travel agencies operating in Madrid, film producers and the

president of the Association of Audiovisual Production Professionals); and an expert in tourism and guide for the Almodóvar cinema route in Madrid. These interviews were conducted in order to deepen knowledge of the reality of film production, the influence of cinema on urban and tourist images and the current situation of film-induced tourism in Madrid.

IV. MADRID: A POSSIBLE FILM TOURIST DESTINATION?

Madrid, the third most populous city in the European Union, brings together a varied set of tourist resources that allow the development and consumption of numerous tourist typologies (heritage and cultural, sports, fair- and congress-related, gastronomic, business and shopping), thus representing a mixture of modernity, culture and tradition as well as a benchmark in international tourism. In fact, Madrid is ranked the sixth tourist city in Europe (European Cities Marketing, 2017), with more than 17.8 million overnight stays, and fourteenth among the top 20 international destination cities in terms of overnight visitor spending (Global Destination Cities Index, 2016), ahead of such cities as Hong Kong, Sydney, San Francisco, Munich or Berlin, with an annual expenditure by tourists of more than US \$8 billion.

The visitor profile in Madrid is characterised by adults (age 36 to 55) and young people (age 18 to 35), and by professionals with medium or high income levels, whether travelling as a family, as a couple without children or in groups of friends

seeking leisure, cultural heritage and gastronomy, and with an average stay of about two nights. In 2017, the city received more than nine million travellers in commercial tourist accommodations, concentrated in the high season from April to September. Madrid is a destination that attracts both domestic (46%) and foreign (54%) tourists, the latter mainly from the EU (the UK, Italy, France and Germany), America (Argentina, Mexico, Brazil and the US) and Asia (China and Japan) (National Institute of Statistics of Spain, 2018).

IV.1. Madrid in the cinema and its tourist projection

The city of Madrid, in comparison with other major capitals, has gone relatively unnoticed by international cinema in recent decades. However, many well-known national directors have filmed there, including Oscar winners José Luis Garci (1982), Fernando Trueba (1983), Pedro Almodóvar (1998 and 2002) and Alejandro Amenábar (2004). In the 20th century, Madrid welcomed many international directors of stature, including Orson Welles, David Lean, Sergio Leone, Richard Lester, Nicholas Ray and Franklin Schaffner, as well as Steven Soderberg, Jim Jarmusch and Terry Gilliam in the current century. However, with significant exceptions, Madrid is not easily recognisable in the work of these or other directors — in a great many classic films, Madrid serves to reflect other urban realities, or indeterminate cities where the action takes place. In very few cases is Madrid expressly identified in films of international repute, as in *The Bourne Ultimatum* by Paul Greengrass.

When asked about the presence of Madrid in cinema, all agents interviewed cited multiple examples where interesting representations of exteriors appeared in filmic and urban terms, but with a clear consensus that cinematic representations of the city's most iconic and symbolic areas remain few. So far, the cinematic image of the city has not been consolidated, and even less has it been applied to commercialisation of Madrid as a destination. Furthermore, the difficulty of filming in the streets of Madrid is significantly high; broad avenues that might yield urban images linked to modernity (Gran Vía or La Castellana) or else zones of particular beauty in the historical centre (the Las Letras or Austrias neighbourhoods) have been discounted by producers not so much for economic reasons but due to administrative and logistical difficulties.

These difficulties, together with the lack of elements or landscapes clearly recognisable at the international level, which might act metonymically as a representation (García Gómez & Pavés, 2014), have limited Madrid to few great productions of international repute. And yet the versatility of this destination, along with the quantity and quality of workers in its audiovisual sector, has driven its supplementary use, as compared to other cities (Gámir, 2015). The result is that few spectators, least of all international ones, are able to recognise filmed locations and icons as belonging to Madrid. Thus any possible offering of film tourism would attract only the most specialised tourists, and not those who seek to recognise (and see themselves in) familiar and symbolic settings.

This limited symbolic presence of Madrid contrasts with the considerable weight of its film industry. Within greater Madrid are more than 1,500 companies linked to audiovisual activity, producing nearly 4% of regional GDP and generating 24,000 jobs (Hosteltur, 2016a). These figures reveal both the importance of film production and the probable direct and indirect benefits generated within the territory, and they could be taken as documenting subsequent induced effects via tourism (Riley et al., 1998).

Among recent actions carried out by the regional government to promote the film industry is Law 4/2014 (21 December), which provides for: exemption from fees for the occupation of public domain spaces in film and television series shoots; an informative website; a catalogue of locations (with photos and videos of spaces seen as suitable or likely for filming); and creation of the 'Film Madrid' promotion office.

For its part, the municipal government of Madrid, aware of the importance of film production to promoting the city's image (authorising 9,575 shoots in 2015), has presented new plans to promote the audiovisual sector. This includes tripling the budget for attracting film and series production and creation of the Film Office (in September 2017), in charge of managing local shoots and municipal film policy (Hosteltur, 2016b). In addition, there appears to be a clear commitment to promoting film tourism in the city, insofar as this film commission is linked to the 'Madrid Destino' DMO. That organisation has been developing content related to the city in cinema, currently visible in the touristic route known as 'A

Walk through the Madrid of Almodóvar' (see www.esmadrid.com/madrid-de-almodovar), which escorts visitors through the streets, squares and parks of Madrid to appreciate film locations and other sites associated with that well-known Spanish director.

In any case, it seems that the scope for institutional and business activities to enhance synergies between the film industry and tourism remains very broad. While Madrid is home to a very high percentage of national productions, as well as the nation's audiovisual sector, the city cannot yet claim powerful cinematic images for prospective promotional use. According to the interviews conducted, the film industry itself is willing to promote, as far as possible, any impact that its output may bring to generating and consolidating an image of the city. The assumptions that film producers are not interested in secondary impacts (Beeton, 2005), or that the collaboration tends to be spearheaded by tourist and film promotion agencies (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006), do not appear to be entirely true in the case at hand.

IV.2. Perception of potential consumers

The socioeconomic profile of the sample of surveyed tourists presents a distribution without significant differences in age groups or the gender variable, although men predominated (61%) compared to women, due to the way in which the sample selection was made. Regarding the origin of tourists, 29% were from countries of the European Union, mainly from places that traditionally opt for Spain and Madrid as

tourist destinations (Germany, the UK, Italy, France), along with a significant number of Portuguese and Greeks. Among non-EU tourists, those from Ibero-American countries (particularly Mexico), Japan, Russia and China were predominant, with all these groups gaining importance in recent years. Among Spanish tourists, twelve of the seventeen autonomous communities (regions) were represented, most notably Andalusia (34.5%), Castilla-La Mancha (17.5%) and Catalonia (14.5%).

More than half of visitors surveyed had attended university, 17.5% claimed professional training, the same proportion had completed primary studies and the remaining 13% had completed secondary school. The relative weight of women at the primary level was higher than that of men, who accounted for a higher proportion at the university level. Sixty percent (mostly men) were employed, 27.5% were retired and just 12.5% were unemployed, a higher proportion being women. Their professions were very mixed: computer scientists, students, civil servants, doctors, businesspeople, bank employees, professors and waiters, among others; the highest among occupations was homemaker (at 19.5%).

This was the first visit to Madrid for 58%, mostly in the case of foreign tourists (EU 47%, elsewhere 34.5%); 16.8% had visited the destination more than seven times (mostly Spaniards, 95%). Visitors were staying in Madrid three to four days on average (53%), whether in hotels (73.5%) or at friends' houses (14.5%), and only 12% were not sleeping within the city. The daily expenditure of those surveyed ranged from

over €250 (35%), especially for those from the EU, to as low as €100, with Spanish tourists most often spending up to €150 per day (80%). The reasons for visiting were many, including leisure and relaxation (16.8%), visits to family and friends, shopping, business, urban culture and others; the combination of leisure and relaxation, shopping and urban culture ranked highest (24.3%).

The vast majority (92.5%) had not consumed activities or tourist products linked to the cinema, confirming that film tourism in Spain remains very minor (Millán, García & Díaz, 2016; Oviedo-García, Castellanos-Verdugo, Trujillo-García & Mallya, 2016). Of those who had previously consumed some product of film-induced tourism and therefore claimed some knowledge of such experience, the cities of Barcelona and Sevilla were most mentioned at the national level, and New York at the international level. There were also references to this type of experience in small and medium Spanish cities, including Cádiz, Almería and Llanes.

Just 1.3% of the total number of respondents indicated that film tourism was a motivation for visiting Madrid, but not the main motivation, confirming what has been indicated by most of the literature on this subject (Busby & Klug, 2001; Croy & Heitmann, 2011; di Cesare, D'Angelo & Rech, 2009; Macionis & Sparks, 2009; Oviedo-García et al., 2016; Pires-Basañez & Ingram, 2013). Still, despite this low consumption, 94% considered this type of product quite interesting, and 97% would consume it if it existed. Therefore, the vast majority of visitors to Madrid would fall into the category of potential 'general film tourists' wishing

to participate in film tourism activities during their stay (Macionis, 2004).

Movies shot in Madrid represented a minor proportion of motives for travel to the destination, given that only 35% of the respondents claimed any knowledge of the films shot in the city. Among those most noted were *La flor de mi secreto* by Pedro Almodóvar (24.6%), *El día de la bestia* by Alex de la Iglesia and *Las chicas de la cruz roja* by Rafael J. Salvia (15.2% each), as well as *Abre los ojos* by Alejandro Amenábar, *La gran familia* by Fernando Palacios and Rafael J. Salvia, the *Torrente* series and *La Comunidad* by Alex de la Iglesia and *The Bourne Ultimatum* by Paul Greengrass. All these films make clear to the viewer that all or part of the story takes place in Madrid, so that icons and places are identified with the destination and could conceivably generate a motivation for the visit. Also, a smaller proportion of respondents (20.5%) claimed some knowledge of directors who have filmed a significant portion of their works in Madrid, especially those mentioned above: directors Pedro Almodóvar (73%), Alex de la Iglesia (16%) and Alejandro Amenábar and actor Santiago Segura (<5%).

One-third of visitors claimed to recognise icons and urban spaces in Madrid that have appeared in cinema, including the area around the Plaza Mayor (25%), the lighted Schweppes advertisement atop the Carrión building in Callao-Gran Vía (16%) and Retiro Park (10%); similarly, the group formed by Plaza de Cibeles, Plaza Mayor, Puerta de Alcalá and Parque del Retiro (16%) was also identified. A significant number of these locations are among those most seen in films and most visited by tourists in Madrid.

Therefore, despite sufficient resources, Madrid does not appear to project such a clear identity through any emblematic icon or symbol, as often occurs in other urban tourist destinations (Paris and the Eiffel Tower, London and Big Ben and the Houses of the Parliament, etc.). The promotion strategies implemented by the regional and municipal administrations in Madrid thus present a certain instability and lack of innovation when projecting a solid image and identity into the mind of the tourist consumer. As a result, a heterogeneous image and a multifaceted identity have been fostered, capable of satisfying varied tourist expectations but not creating a clear differentiation from similar destinations, nor any singular 'Madrid brand' (Mejía-López, 2015). This lack of self-identity may in turn have influenced the ongoing change of tactics in terms of promotion.

The particular films and scenes mentioned by respondents have depicted perfectly recognisable areas of Madrid, identifying diverse places and icons such as the Gran Vía, the luminous Schweppes sign, the Plaza de Cibeles and the Puerta de Europa in Plaza Castilla (two leaning skyscrapers known as the KIO Towers). All these places might generate interest in the viewer for a probable visit to Madrid. However, one or two clear elements capable of representing the whole of Madrid cannot be identified metonymically, let alone to international spectators.

As mentioned, as a result of knowledge of movies filmed in the city, 97% of tourists claim potential interest in consuming film tourism, if such were offered — in particular, guided walks or tours highlighting the

films of the 1950s and the so-called *comedia madrileña* (70%), or Pedro Almodóvar's Madrid (15%).

V. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF FILM TOURISM

To assess the possible relationships of certain sociodemographic characteristics of tourism demand with knowledge of cinema shot in Madrid and with the consumption of film tourism products, the Spearman coefficient (see table 1) and the x^2 test (see table 2) have been calculated.

The results (table 1) show an average inverse relationship between the level of studies of the respondents and their ability to identify films shot in Madrid and the urban spaces represented within them (places and icons). This leads us to consider that persons with a university education are not always among those who best recognise places and icons appearing in films, or who have an extensive knowledge of films made in the city. Such knowledge appears to be more a matter of interest in cinema than of academic training. In addition, the various levels of studies exhibit little or no difference when evaluating film tourism activities and products; therefore, from this perspective, film tourism is not an elitist form of tourism.

The agencies responsible for the promotion of the tourist destination should consider this when designing and proposing to offer such products and activities, aiming at moviegoers and at a more generalist potential demand. The great commercial suc-

Table 1
Results of the intensity and meaning of the Spearman correlation between selected variables

	LEVEL OF STUDIES	MOTIVE FOR VISIT	FILM TOURISM VALUATION	IDENTIFICATION		
				MOVIES FILMED IN MADRID	DIRECTORS WHO HAVE FILMED IN MADRID	URBAN SPACES IN MADRID ASSOCIATED WITH MOVIES OR DIRECTORS
Level of studies	1					
Motive for visit	.029	1				
Film tourism valuation	.016	.004	1			
Identification: movies filmed in Madrid	-.462**	.115	.306**	1		
Identification: directors who have filmed in Madrid	-.056	.157	.169	.633**	1	

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (bilateral)

cesses and spectacle films with clear connections to a certain space generate more tourist attraction, which is not necessarily associated with an intellectual or elitist public with high levels of education.

Neither does the reason for the visit manifest a significant relationship with any of the selected variables. This would indicate that films shot in the destination do not at this point constitute a motivation that will attract tourists to Madrid, and this seems consistent with the abovementioned reduced role of the city in cinema, from a symbolic point of view, and the scant use of images or filmic strategies on the part of Madrid's DMOs.

However, these findings indicate a possible field of action for the promotion of tourism (film-related or not) in Madrid. Although no connection is found between motivation for the visit and knowledge of

the cinema, there is indeed a certain positive relationship between the valuation of tourist activities linked to cinema and knowledge of films shot in Madrid, and the urban space present within them. The use of cinema as a promotional strategy could lead to tourism and consumption of such products for a significant portion of the tourists who already visit the city, thus contributing to diversification of the destination's tourism offerings.

Clearly, the highest positive relationships (table 1) occur between knowledge of cinema shot in the city (list of films and film directors) and the ability of tourists to connect remembered scenes of filmic significance with Madrid's urban space, especially if that space has a certain iconic capacity. All this would indicate that a film shot in a certain urban space, especially as a location for action, leaves a visual imprint on

the spectator. Therefore, urban images, if well chosen, could trigger the generation of greater interest in touristic visits (Bolan & Williams, 2008; Busby & Klug, 2001; Camprubi & Coromina, 2016; O'Connor & Bolan, 2008; Russell, 2002), and this would be true to an even greater extent if the locations were explicit and had both narrative significance and symbolic capacity.

In addition, this high positive relationship suggests that the majority of potential consumers of film tourism in Madrid would be tourists with the ability to recognise both (the film shot in Madrid, and Madrid's urban space); that is, tourists and nationals who have visited the city on other occasions. The only way to interest international tourists in such products would be by way of films or directors of international recognition who maintain a clear relationship with Madrid's urban space, such as Pedro Almodóvar. Even so, generalist tourists familiar with this director would not necessarily be

interested in touristic enjoyment of the spaces reflected in his films, except those who may be avid moviegoers.

In the group of respondents claiming to have practised film tourism in the past, numbering only 30 (7.5%) of 400, the χ^2 test (table 2) confirms a dependency relationship between the consumption of tourist products linked to cinema and variables such as age, occupation and current professional situation, number of visits made, daily tourist expenditure, reason for the visit and level of studies. On the contrary, an independent relation is observed between the valuation granted to film tourist activity and the intention to visit Madrid if this type of product were offered.

The consumers who most preferred products and activities linked to cinema were younger tourists (70% were under age 21) who were employed (93%), with a daily expenditure of under €200 (87%) and who

Table 2
Consumption of cinematographic tourism products and sociodemographic characteristics and opinions

CHARACTERISTICS	VALUE OF χ^2	SIGNIFICANCE
Valuation of tourist activities linked to cinema	4.524	0.340
Age	37.622	0.000
Level of studies	9.922	0.019
Number of visits	36.919	0.000
Daily expenditure	25.472	0.000
Current professional situation	15.808	0.000
Reason for visit	33.774	0.000
Would visit Madrid for tourist activity linked to the cinema	4.891	0.087

were repeat visitors to the destination (67% more than four times), whether to be with friends and family members or for leisure and relaxation (57%). Although these tourists valued this type of offer positively and considered it a potential motive, in no case was the practice of film tourism a determining factor, since similar interest was perceived among those who did not consume such tourist products.

From this analysis, it can be inferred that a large segment of visitors were not currently aware of any existing offer of film tourism in the city of Madrid. Thus any future design should be differentiated according to factors such as age, level of studies and daily expenditure, not forgetting to emphasise certain activities for tourists visiting the destination for the first time. Differentiation of Madrid's film tourism potential, accompanied by wider dissemination and commercialisation campaigns through the destination marketing offices of the Madrid regional government and City Council of Madrid, could stimulate demand for such products, particularly among those visitors who do not currently practice film tourism in Madrid.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The initial objectives of this work focused on analysis of the potential for film-induced tourism in a large city like Madrid, which receives a significant number of tourists and is also home to a major film industry.

The main conclusion to be drawn is that currently there exists no real demand for

film tourism in Madrid, nor does this destination have a sufficiently powerful and iconic film image that may be developed in the near future. This is despite the fact that those visitors surveyed expressed positive opinions about this potential tourist modality, and that a significant volume of films and series are shot in the city, featuring some of Madrid's most representative urban spaces.

As the literature attests, the starting point for the successful development of this type of product will be knowledge of films previously shot in the city, on the part of the tourists, and (above all) the city's symbolic and iconic capacity. From the survey it can be deduced that, despite the large number of films and series shot in Madrid, its symbolic impact remains small, except in the case of certain very specific directors and films. The effects indicated in the bibliography referring to pre-visit interest as motivated by cinematic image, together with the development of a vicarious urban experience that may incite travel to the destination, are limited in the case of Madrid.

One outstanding conclusion derived from the answers obtained (from both tourists and the experts consulted) is that Madrid lacks a clear touristic image, which for various reasons the many films shot in the city have been unable to. Madrid has not enjoyed that virtuous circle that has occurred in other large cities between generalist urban icons and cinematic urban icons, which in tourist marketing campaigns and in cinema can come to metonymically represent the city in question and motivate a visit with the purpose of seeing oneself in those recognised places.

From the reviewed bibliography emerges the idea that a film is a virtual brochure, which may entail a series of advantages when dealing with images created outside of tourist advertising. Interviews with experts in the film industry and with the tourism sector lead us to conclude that it remains possible to move forward in this direction. Despite claims in the literature that film producers (or the film industry in general) care nothing of tourism or the image effects their films (Beeton, 2005), this does not appear to be the case in Madrid. The city's film industry is indeed interested in coming to agreements with film commissions and DMOs to enable the use of cinematic images for the promotion of tourism, perhaps in exchange for production facilities. In particular, shooting more films in the most symbolic spaces of the city could affect Madrid's visibility and, consequently, its potential to attract tourism.

Without progress along these lines, it would be difficult for film tourism to attract new segments to the city. Spanish cinema and Madrid cinema in particular have at present little impact on tourist flows, given their limited international projection, with notable exceptions. In addition, as much of the literature points out, and based on the survey conducted for this work, potential 'purposeful film tourists' or 'specific film tourists' are a clear minority (Macionis & Sparks, 2009). Even cinematographic products based around the figure of an internationally known director such as Pedro Almodóvar, who has developed a large part of his career in Madrid, would have a small quantitative impact.

This study has moreover contributed to advancing knowledge around the interest for film tourism in terms of certain sociodemographic variables — an aspect that is not very present in the specialised bibliography, especially in cases focused on large cities. Within the framework of tourism policies, this research can help in the design of attractive film products and promotion strategies for specific segments. One possible source of growth for this type of product in large urban destinations would be to include it in the leisure and entertainment offerings to the local population (Kim and Richardson, 2003).

Still, there remain certain aspects of scientific and practical interest to film tourism that this work has not fully addressed. Among these would be advancement of the knowledge around the motivations of visitors who consume film tourism in large cities. In such destinations, the filmed image and its related products are only one small facet of an immense number of complex and interrelated stimuli. The minimal number of actual film tourists identified in our research has not allowed us to move forward in this regard.

Another important field of study would be to explore the reasons why certain highly recognised films in a certain destination become drivers of tourism. This could be significant for large cities — complex places where many and diverse films tend to be shot.

Finally, and with a more applied perspective, it would be worthwhile to identify areas of collaboration between the film

industry, film commissions and tourism stakeholders, in order to design a joint cinema-and-tourism policy. The roles that the private sector and public administration can play in facilitating production in urban environments and boosting the touristic use of cinema should be studied, and a friendly environment should be fostered in which to advance such measures as: facilitation of the use of urban spaces for filming; reduction of fees to be paid; returns to the administration; and the subsequent use of certain images in joint promotional campaigns.

FUNDING

This research forms part of two competitive projects: “El espacio geográfico de Madrid en el cine: generación de imaginarios y potencialidad turística - MadCinTur” (CSO2013-46835-R,) (main researchers Agustín Gámir Orueta and Carlos Manuel Valdés), financed by the State Research Program “Development and Innovation Oriented to the Challenges of Society” of the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness, within the framework of the State Plan for Scientific and Technical Research and Innovation 2013; and “La ficción audiovisual en la Comunidad de Madrid: lugares de rodaje y desarrollo del turismo cinematográfico – FICMATUR” (H2019/HUM-5788) (main researcher Carlos Manuel Valdés), financed by the Program of Research and Development in Social Sciences and Humanities 2019 of the Regional Government of Madrid (Dirección General de Investigación e Innovación).

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