MADRID IN NON-SPANISH SPEAKING CINEMA (1955-2020): FILM LOCATIONS AND THE TOURIST GAZE¹

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ABSTRACT

The article investigates the image of the city of Madrid and its relationship with the tourist gaze in non-Spanish-speaking films shot between 1955 and 2020. For the research, 606 clips from a selection of 40 feature films have been geolocated and analyzed. The study shows the distribution of filming locations in different areas of the city, with relevant contrasts between the historic center of Madrid and other areas such as the Ensanche and the peripheral areas. Finally, it reflects on the relationship between the most frequent locations and the commonly recognized tourist landmarks in Madrid.

Keywords: Madrid; City and cinema; Urban imaginaries; Filming locations; Tourist landmarks; Tourist gaze.

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Madrid en el cine de habla no española (1955-2020): localizaciones fílmicas y mirada turística

RESUMEN

Concretamente, esta investigación pretende: a) identificar los espacios de la ciudad más utilizados como escenarios en estas películas, analizando su frecuencia, distribución espacial y características morfológicas; b) reflexionar sobre la relación de estos espacios con la esperada "mirada turística" de Madrid; y c) determinar, en aquellas escenas protagonizadas por un personaje moviéndose dentro del espacio urbano, el grado de coherencia topológica entre la ciudad representada en las películas y la ciudad real.

Palabras clave: Madrid; Ciudad y cine; Imaginarios urbanos; Localizaciones de rodaje; Hitos turísticos; Mirada turística; Análisis espacial.

1. INTRODUCTION

The idea of the 'cinematic city' and the study of the relationship between cinema and urban spaces emerged in the late 1990s. Until that moment, according to Clarke (1997, p. 1), "so central [was] the city to film that, paradoxically, the widespread *implicit* acceptance of its importance has mitigated against an explicit consideration of its actual significance". Since then, it has become a growing field of inquiry in film and geographical studies (some milestones are Bruno 1993; Aitken and Zon, 1994; Clarke, 1997; Shiel and Fitzmaurice, 2001; Barber, 2002, Mennel, 2008; Koeck and Roberts, 2010; Brunsdon, 2012; Webb, 2014; Andersson and Webb, 2016, for a detailed genealogy of this scholarship).

The relationship between cinema and geographic space is complex (Gámir and Manuel, 2007). Any analysis of the filmic image of a geographical place should take in to account how real places are used as locations and later identified in the diegesis and combined through filmic procedures to construct the diegetic space in which the story takes place and promote a specific image of the place. The following three sections introduce some conceptual frameworks and research approaches that have been used as a starting point in the research and analysis presented in the rest of the article.

1.1. A Tale of Two Cities: Real and Reel

On cinema, there is always a Real city and a Reel city (Penz, 2010). Even in the cases in which the city is "playing itself" in the diegesis, it is important to point out that in any urban film there are always at least two cities that coexist: the real city, whose spaces have been used as a filming location and to which the images of the film refer, and the filmic or diegetic city represented in the film, whose physical and topographic characteristics could present different degrees of resemblance to the real one. In this sense, Antoniazzi (2019) reminds that there are always two powers at work in any film, the power to "document the city" and the power to "manipulate its space". While filmmakers can work with these "opposing powers of cinema" to emphasize one over the other, both potentialities are always present to some degree in any film shot on real locations.

Brunsdon (2010, p. 94) argues that we should see cinema as a "technology of place", highlighting its "capacity for 'place-making' through its constitutive labour of camera movement, framing and editing". In the case of films shot in cities, representations of specific urban locations are endowed with particular characteristics and connotations by means of framing, editing and other profilmic and postproduction procedures. But, on a more general level, filmmakers work creatively in the construction of the diegetic city through the double process of selecting a set of locations to shoot the scenes and establishing different narrative and spatiotemporal relationships between these spaces throughout the film.

This process allows filmmakers to build a certain image of the city that has specific architectural and sociocultural features (modern, historical, iconic, popular, touristic, rich, poor, consistent, contradictory, etc.), but also to establish particular spatial relationships between the different locations selected. As Gámir (2012) points out, "the diegetic space is not a continuous space neither a topological space. Rather, it is a fragmented space in which the link between each of the planes, that is, each of the fragments, is carried out through editing procedures".

Some films join fragments of different places to construct a new space perceived as continuous by the viewer, creating a "creative geography", according to the terminology of Lev Kuleshov (Mariniello, 1992). "Spatial ellipsis" is a specific case of "creative geography" that occurs when two (or more) distant spaces are connected with the appearance of continuity following the movement of a character, with the consequent formation of a synthetic image of the city. On the other hand, some films might exhibit a "topographical coherence" (Penz, 2008) between diegetic and real space, the action remaining consistent with the actual geography of the city. Analyzing the topographical relationships created in a film and its correspondence with the real city is an important factor that should be kept in mind when studying the filmic image of a city.

To deal with these questions about the relation between the built city and its cinematic image, it's useful to bring to mind two concepts introduced by Kevin Lynch that have become a staple in urban theory ever since: the "imageability" and "legibility" of a city. In his influential book *The Image of the City* (1960), Lynch studied how individuals perceive and construct mental images (or cognitive maps) of urban environments that allow them to remember and navigate these spaces and places. According to Lynch, the mental maps of the persons he interviewed were made up of five distinct elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. Depending on their physical characteristics, these elements might have a higher or lower "imageability", a concept that Lynch (1960, p. 9) defines as "that quality in a physical object that gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in a given observer". At the same time, the way these elements are combined and perceived define the general clarity or "legibility" of the urban fabric, a characteristic that Lynch (1960, p. 2-3) describes as "the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern".

A spatial analysis of the filming locations used in a film can help to determine the degree of imageability of the different urban elements presented in the film and the legi-

bility of the city as a whole. In other words, how easy it is for the spectator to understand and remember a city and/or its specific elements. But a film may present highly imaginable locations that make a strong impression on viewers and, at the same time, combine them in a loose pattern. Thus, it is important to pay attention to the way locations are integrated and connected throughout the film.

1.2. Cinema and the Tourist Gaze: Spectatorial Tourism

In *The Tourist Gaze* (2002), John Urry argues that a distinguishing feature of tourism in comparison with other forms of travel is the emphasis given to visual experiences. The "tourist gaze" is always socially constructed through a multiplicity of connoted images and involves an element of anticipation, imagination and expectation:

Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation [...]. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records and videos, which construct and reinforce that gaze. (Urry, 2002, p. 3).

The possibility to travel visually to remote sites was at the core of early film practice (Musser, 1984; Ruoff, 2006). Starting from the widespread conception of film viewing as a form of *flânerie*, Giuliana Bruno (1997, p. 17) states that films may be understood as "an aesthetic touristic practice of spatial consumption" where the film viewer acts as a "practitioner of viewing space - a tourist". Gibson (2006) differentiates between the "mediatized tourist gaze", that increases the desire for corporeal travel in order to sight-see the site made "famous for their 'mediated' nature" in the cinema (p. 151), and what she calls the "cinematic-travel glance", considering that some films might be "as much 'tourist attractions' as they are film narratives" (p. 161). And Corbin (2014, p. 315-316), after reviewing some references to space and spectatorship in important works of film theory, proposes that "cinema spectatorship can be usefully thought of as a virtual travel experience, most strongly resembling that of tourism", arguing that the film might be "transformed into both diegetic tourism and spectatorial tourism".

These ideas become especially relevant when analyzing the use and representation of space in films shot in places other than those known by the filmmaker and the potential audience, as is the case with non-Spanish-language films shot in Madrid.

1.3. Cinema and Cartography: Spatial Turn

The bulk of literature on the image of specific cities in movies has approached the question from a qualitative-discursive perspective, focusing on a limited number of films linked together temporally, thematically or by author. However, in the last decade an approach that crosses humanities in its broad sense (including film studies) with geography has emerged under the label of "geographic turn" or "spatial turn" in humanities (Fraser, 2014).

Within this quest for "spatialization", using cartographic tools and geo-referencing filming locations of a broad set of titles is a key strategy for undertaking systematic analysis of the urban uses and imaginaries in cinema, and at the same time, display the results (Verhoeven, 2009; Caquard and Fiset, 2014; Caquard and Dimitrovas, 2017; Lukinbeal, 2018; and Aertsen *et al.*, 2019). Along these lines, Hallam and Roberts (2014, p. 25) advocate the use of GIS tools, pointing out the need to carry out "a critical mapping of the multifarious spatiality of film on the one hand, and the expressly visual cultures of geography and cartography on the other". This approach has been used as the starting point in the research carried out for this article, using geolocation and quantitative analysis as the main strategy to identify and outline the image of Madrid promoted by Non-Spanish Speaking Cinema. In this sense, our analysis is framed within the concepts of "the archive city" and "the digital city", developed respectively by Les Roberts (Roberts, 2015) and Benjamin Fraser (Fraser, 2015).

Regarding the study of the image of Madrid in cinema, the majority of books and articles have approached this question qualitatively. Most of them are catalogues and generic studies that on occasion include references to filming locations in the city (Cebollada and Santa, 2000; Alaminos, 2008; Sánchez, 2014), monographics focused on a specific historical period (Deltell, 2006; Rodríguez 2014; Torres 2011) or works limited to the locations used by a specific director (Camarero, 2017). Less common are those studies that, to a greater or lesser degree of precision, analyze the spatial distribution of shooting locations in Madrid in a wide range films (Aubert, 2013; Aertsen *et al.*, 2017; Aertsen *et al.*, 2019), or that underline the usefulness of this approach to study the urban transformations of the city or the relations between urban environment and specific social identities (Bordonada, 2019).

Having analyzed a large volume of films, our contribution is similar to other proposals regarding the cities of Bilbao (Lorente *et al.*, 2007) and Barcelona (Osácar, 2016). However, unlike those contributions, in our case, we considered it essential to identify the exact exterior locations and transportation infrastructures along with any outdoor structures appearing in this set of films as a starting point for analysis, and to examine the urban imaginary that they project.

2. OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this research is to analyze the use and representation of Madrid's urban space in non-Spanish speaking feature films released between 1955 and 2020 that depict scenes that take place explicitly or implicitly in Madrid, focusing our attention on the spaces used as exterior locations. The main objectives of there search are:

- 1. Identify the city spaces most used as settings in these films, analyzing their frequency, spatial distribution and morphological features.
- 2. Reflect upon the relationship of these spaces with the expected "tourist gaze" of Madrid.
- In those scenes featuring a character moving within the urban space, determine the degree of topographical coherence between the city represented in films and the real city.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Selected Films

In order to study the image of Madrid projected by non-Spanish speaking films, an extensive search of movies was made in databases with information on filming locations. These included the Internet Movie Database (www.imdb.com), as well as repositories of research groups as Le Grimh (www.grimh.org), from the Université Côte d'Azur, and Geocine (geocine.uc3m.es), from Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. This information was complemented with specialized bibliography (Cebollada and Santa, 2000; Camarero, 2013; Sánchez, 2014). The initial search identified more than 315 films that, according to the references initially found, might meet the established criteria.

From this initial list, only movies complying with the following criteria were then selected:

- 1. Films with more than 100 IMDB votes at the moment it was checked (May, 2020). We viewed this as suitable selection criteria that would ensure that a movie has had and could have a minimum level of commercial distribution.
- 2. Films that include images shot in exterior spaces, transportation infrastructures or outdoor structures (bullfight rings, football pitches, etc.) in the city of Madrid, as those are the spaces of interest for our research purposes.
- 3. Films that depict scenes that, according to the information provided in the narration, take place explicitly or implicitly in Madrid. Therefore, scenes filmed in Madrid but representing other geographical locations have not been considered.
- 4. Films accessible due to availability in DVD or other formats through library collections and digital streaming platforms.

The resulting selection is composed of 40 films, listed in Table 1. These 40 movies encompass a broad period, between 1955 and 2020. This means that they are productions undertaken within very different contexts. Of these films, 15 are national productions by a single country and 25 are international co-productions. Of the co-productions, 21 are with participation by Spanish production companies. Noteworthy among the countries whose companies participated in the most films are the U.S. (17 different films), France (12), Italy (11), the United Kingdom (8) and Germany (5). At the same time, we note the presence of 2 Chinese films, specifically from Hong Kong, and 1 Japanese film.

Table 1
LIST OF NON-SPANISH SPEAKING FILMS ANALYZED

TITLE	DIRECTOR	YEAR
Mr. Arkadin	Orson Welles	1955
Tip on a Dead Jockey	Richard Thorpe	1957
Totò, Vittorio e la dottoressa	Camillo Mastrocinque	1957

The Man Inside	John Gilling	1958	
It Started with a Kiss	George Marshall	1959	
Totò, Eva e il pennello proibito	Steno	1959	
The Happy Thieves	George Marshall	1961	
The Pleasure Seekers	Jean Negulesco	1964	
Agente 077 dall'oriente con furore	Sergio Grieco	1965	
10:30 P.M. Summer	Jules Dassin	1966	
Kriminal	Umberto Lenzi	1966	
Mission especiale Lady Chaplin	Alberto De Martino, Sergio Grieco	1966	
Deadfall	Bryan Forbes	1968	
Sarabanatsu no hikari (Farewell to the Summer Light)	Yoshishigue Yoshida	1968	
Il tuo dolce corpo da uccidere	Alfonso Brescia	1970	
La tua presenza nuda!	James Kelley	1972	
Summertime Killer	Antonio Isasi-Isasmendi	1972	
altrimenti ci arrabbiamo!	Marcello Fondato	1974	
Cet obscur objet du désir	Luis Buñuel	1977	
Die Brut des Bösen	Christian Anders, Antonio Tarruella	1979	
Jaguar Lives!	Ernest Pintoff	1980	
The Hit	Stephen Frears	1984	
Siesta	Mary Lambert	1987	
Bethune: The Making of a Hero	Philip Borsos	1990	
Beltenebros	Pilar Miró	1991	
Fei ying gai wak (Armour of God II: Operation Condor)	Jackie Chan	1991	
Adão e Eva	Joaquim Leitão	1996	
Talk of Angels	Nick Hamm	1998	
Off Key	Manuel Gómez Pereira	2001	
Agents Secrets	Fréderic Schoendoerffer	2004	
Goya's Ghosts	Milos Forman	2006	
Goal II: Living the Dream	Jaume Collet-Serra	2007	
La cena per farli conoscere	Pupi Avati	2007	
The Bourne Ultimatum	Paul Greengrass	2007	
Deception	Marcel Langenegger	2008	
The Limits of Control	Jim Jarmusch	2009	
The Cold Light of Day	Mabrouk El Mechri	2012	
Assassin's Creed	Justin Kurzel	2016	
Geostorm	Dean Devlin	2017	
Shi tu xing zhe 2: Die ying xing dong (Line Walker 2: Invisible Spy)	Jazz Boon	2019	
The Rhythm Section	Reed Morano	2020	

Source: Prepared by authors.

Drawing our attention is the abundance of productions associated with like-minded genres such as crime, action and/or thrillers, with 26 different films ascribed to one or more of these genres. The list also includes 9 films which are straightforward comedies, 6 with romantic themes (of which 2 are also war movies, set during the Spanish Civil War), 2 movies are from the science fiction genre, 2 are of a historical-biographical nature, 1 is a horror film and 1 is a sports movie about football.

3.2. Analysis

A descriptive analysis was made of the aforementioned list of films. To do this, each film was broken up into its clips, with a clip understood as any narrative unit shorter or equal to a scene that takes place in the same diegetic and pro-filmic space. Only those clips that diegetically take place in Madrid and that have been filmed in the city were selected.

These clips were then (1) geo-localized whenever possible, identifying the place and assigning the corresponding geographic coordinates. To do so, digital mapping tools such as Google Maps, Google Street View and Nome Calles (the Territorial Information System of the Region of Madrid) were used.

To analyze the most frequent locations, for each clip we identified (2) the thoroughfare where it is located and, where applicable, (3) the city square, the section of the artery – in the case of longer streets or avenues – and any elements corresponding to the location. Noting that there are groups of streets near the city center with a high concentration of clips, we also defined (4) a set of areas of a limited size made up of several narrow-intertwined streets presenting a similar landscape and that, as such, could be thought of as the same location. These three levels of locations were all taken in to account for the corresponding analysis.

In addition, each clip was categorized according to a set of descriptors of interest for its later analysis: (5) type of urban morphology corresponding to the location; (6) type of shot – aerial, panoramic, ground level or high-angle –; (7) how the pro-filmic space is used narratively in the scene –establishing shot, scene, clip forming part of a route, clip forming part of a montage sequence, background visible from inside a building or vehicle–; and (8) daytime or nighttime clip.

All of this information was uploaded into a web map viewer to provide easy access for users interested in this subject matter (https://geocine.uc3m.es/map-international/map.html).

Each film was also assigned (9) a set of thematic concepts – urbanistic, architectural, climatological and sociocultural – based on a closed list defined *ad hoc* after initial unrestricted examination by the authors.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. Spatial Distribution of Locations

In the 40 full-length feature films analyzed, there are 714 clips with images of exteriors or infrastructures. Of these, we have been able to geo-reference 606 clips, that is, 84.8 per cent of the total.

The period covered by the films chosen (1955-2020) coincides with Madrid's great spatial leap forward from an urbanistic perspective. As such, it reveals a rapidly changing geographic reality, replete with transformations of the city's limits, as well as modification processes occurring to a greater or lesser intensity that have affected consolidated urban structures and the resulting image of the city and its landscapes.

A first look at the spatial distribution map of the clips (Figure 1) shows that the city's central areas receive most of the shootings. Taking in to account that the city is organized in 21 administrative districts, the fact that 38.9 per cent of the clips are concentrated in the Centro district alone is worthy of note. On a first level, it is striking that almost 50 per cent (281 of the identified 606 clips) are located in the neighborhoods that conform the part of Madrid that was bordered by its last remaining city wall (the enclosure constructed during the reign of Philip IV, intact until the middle of the nineteenth century), although they represent a very small part of the current area of Madrid (1.2 per cent).

Figure 1 MAP OF SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE CLIPS IDENTIFIED IN FILMS SHOT IN MADRID (1955-2020)



Source: Prepared by authors. Cartographic design: Patricia Montecino.

Nowadays, the M-30 beltway stands as a more recent spatial marker that separates the inner neighborhoods of the city, those districts that roughly make up what is popularly termed Madrid's "almendra central" ("Central Almond" or core), from those in the periphery. In this case, despite the fact that the neighborhoods outside the beltway are eight times larger than those in the core, the attention given to this central area is remarkable: 39 different films (517 clips) used locations of this area, in contrast to the 21 films (89 clips) that used a location from the neighborhoods outside the beltway.

4.2. The Historic City Center

Table 2 presents a selection of the most frequent locations among those identified, ordered by the number of different films in which they appear. Due to limitations of space, only the locations appearing in 4 or more films are listed.

Table 2 LOCATIONS MOST FREQUENTLY APPEARING IN NON-SPANISH SPEAKING FEATURE FILMS

Nº	LOCATION	FILMS	CLIPS	DURATION
1	Plaza de Cibeles	15	22	0:05:09
2	Las Ventas bullring	13	28	0:32:00
3	Aeropuerto de Barajas	13	21	0:23:08
4	Plaza de España	10	22	0:12:41
5	Calle de Alcalá. Cibeles-Gran Vía section	9	15	0:01:11
6	Paseo del Prado	9	10	0:03:54
7	Área Palacio-Plaza de Oriente	8	10	0:01:37
8	Plaza de la Independencia (Puerta de Alcalá)	8	9	0:01:33
9	Área Calle del Rollo	7	15	0:05:30
10	Plaza Mayor	7	7	0:04:23
11	Gran Vía. Section 3: Callao-Plaza de España	6	8	0:02:33
12	Plaza de San Juan de la Cruz	6	8	0:02:09
13	Puerta del Sol	6	6	0:01:50
14	Área Viaducto	5	10	0:01:47
15	Área Calle de la Morería	4	22	0:08:19
16	Área Calle de Sacramento	4	10	0:02:59
17	Parque de El Retiro	4	10	0:05:32
18	Estación de Atocha	4	9	0:02:24
19	Calle de Alcalá. Cibeles-Independencia section	4	5	0:01:18
20	Casa de Campo	4	4	0:06:12
21	Plaza de Moncloa	4	4	0:00:29

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

A quick look at the table confirms that the most frequent locations are many of Madrid's most recognizable spots, all of them important tourist spots. Plaza de Cibeles stands as the most used location in non-Spanish speaking cinema, appearing in 15 different films. If we also take into account the frequency with which the Plaza de la Independencia appears (where the Puerta de Alcalá is located), as well as the nearby stretches of the street of Alcalá and the adjacent Paseo del Prado (9 films), we can conclude that the area around Plaza de Cibeles is the most privileged location in terms of international filmmaking.

Anyway, only two clips shot in these locations correspond to scenes with a certain narrative development in the place (*It started with a Kiss* in Plaza de Cibeles and *Deception* in Paseo del Prado), being the clips mainly establishing or brief shots regardless of the years of the films. The frequent but brief appearance of these central area locations leads to the conclusion that they are places commonly used by foreign films wanting to inform the audience about the city where the story unfolds, working as markers that help to identify Madrid.

With respect to the Gran Vía, the main avenue that crosses the city center, it is remarkable that its first and second sections practically do not appear, with only its third section getting some attention (6 films). Along these lines, Plaza del Callao, whose relevance is obvious in national film productions that highlight its iconography, such as *El día de la bestia* (Álex de la Iglesia, 1995), is hardly represented in this group of international films. In contrast, Plaza de España gets greater attention (10 films), especially three of its principal elements: Edificio de España and Torre de Madrid skyscrapers (which are the location for scenes from *The Hit* and *Agente 077 dall'oriente con furore*) and, above all, the square's landscaped grounds, which include the monument to Miguel de Cervantes, depicted in 8 different movies.

Also, in the city center, the iconic tourist attractions of Plaza Mayor (7 films) and Puerta del Sol (6) appear frequently in these international films, but it is surprising how seldom the city's parks and gardens are settings for these movies' scenes. Compared to other spaces equally representative, the large, centrally located historic El Retiro park only appears in 4 different films, as does the equally sprawling Casa de Campo park.

As for those areas of the city with small narrow streets, is worthy of note the high concentration of films shot in the vicinity of the Royal Palace and the Plaza de Oriente (8); the environs of the Segovia Viaduct; the area around the streets of Morería, Mancebos and Redondilla and the Plaza de la Paja; the intersection of the streets of Sacramento and San Justo; and the area around the Calle del Rollo and the Plaza de la Cruz Verde. Curiously, in spite of being a small street, and likely due to its picturesque nature, Calle del Rollo has been used as a location in 6 different films, and is the city's sixth most represented street in these films, only behind main thoroughfares as important and extensive as Alcalá, Gran Vía, Bailén, Paseo del Prado and Paseo de la Castellana.

All these clusters of streets form part of the Palacio neighborhood, specifically the area popularly known as La Latina. This zone has some singular features, among which are the narrowness of the streets, a more irregular grid pattern than the other Centro neighborhoods, stairways in several areas, an abundance of churches and hilly topography that provides some very interesting shots, not only of the viaduct nearby (one of Madrid's iconic landmarks), but also of the city's rooftops. These are architectural components that provide international directors with heterogeneous perspectives to construct their scenes, as can be ascertained in such diverse films as *The Man Inside, Jaguar Lives!* and *The*

Cold Light of Day (all of them from the crime-action genre), the romantic comedy The Pleasure Seekers and the drama 10:30 P.M. Summer.

Some of these films include one or more route scenes through the streets of Madrid. It is worthwhile noting that two of them, corresponding to *The Man Inside* and *Jaguar Lives!*, take place through the narrow streets of the La Latina, in the area around the Plaza de La Paja and the Calle del Rollo and Morería. This recurrent use of backstreets and alleyways is of particular interest because of the overall difficulty in getting around that area by car. However, these streets seem to be very useful to the directors because they enable the staging of a convoluted chase scene while showing a picturesque image of the city, in contrast to the broad avenues and streets found in the majority of North American cities. This irregular street grid pattern of Madrid's historic quarter adds a "European touch" to the chase scene action, just as it does in other European capitals such as Paris or Rome.

Analyzing these and other route scenes, we observe that all of them unfold within a sequence of locations that do not form a coherent path through the actual grid of the city, performing successive "spatial ellipsis" between the spaces presented. Through montage, the films develop an alternate city or a "creative geography", according to the terminology of Lev Kuleshov (Mariniello, 1992), in which priority is given to narrative purposes over any faithful portrait of the urban space. This lack of faithfulness to the city's real layout could be due to logistical issues – the impossibility of filming in certain spots, the convenience of shooting all clips from a sequence in a limited number of areas and later reassemble them – as is likely the case in some scenes such as the final car chase in *The Cold Light of Day* (Aertsen *et al.*, 2019). However, detailed analysis of the montage reveals that often it is due to a clear lack of interest on the part of the creators to establish a faithful portrait. This is readily seen in the case of *Armour of God II: Operation Condor*, where the director presents a route that tracks the main character leaving the city through three shots that would be coherent with the actual city layout if only their order were switched around.

Using the terminology introduced by Kevin Lynch, it can be argued that in the aforementioned chase scenes of *The Man Inside* and *Jaguar Lives!* located in the La Latina neighborhood, as well as in the walks of the protagonist *The Limits of Control*, where one finds a mix of locations from the popular neighborhoods of Lavapiés and Malasaña, filmmakers use for their benefit the great "imageability" but scarce "legibility" of these areas. The different locations of these streets are useful to insert the narrative in the traditional urban and architectural environments of the 19th and early 20th century Madrid (narrow streets, colorful mid-rise buildings full of balconies), spaces with high "imageability". But the similarity between the different locations and the low presence of iconic landmarks endows them with a low "legibility", making it easier for directors to mix them up following aesthetic purposes or pragmatic solutions.

4.3. Other Areas Inside and Outside the "Central Almond"

Unlike the historic city center, the representation of other areas corresponding to the historical expansion of Madrid to the north, east and south, always within the limits of the today's M-30 beltway, is much scarcer and is usually anchored to specific spots.

The most relevant location in all this area is the Las Ventas bullring arena (13 films), a striking construction that has proven to be an inescapable icon for international film. Besides being employed to visually identify the city, the bullfight ring often appears as a space that forms part of the narrative in the 1950s, 1960s and the early 1970s, thereby reinforcing the clichéd nature of the stories that occur in Madrid (*It Started with a Kiss, The Pleasure Seekers, The Happy Thieves, Un verano para matar*). Even in some recent films, it continues to be used to identify the city (*The Bourne Ultimatum*).

Regarding the Ensanche, one of the most noteworthy areas of traditional Madrid, developed during the last third of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century as the first main extension of the city center, it does not seem to hold much attraction for exterior filming locations. This tendency, barring some exceptions, can also be perceived in Spanish movies (Aertsen *et al.*, 2019) and could be due to the characteristic orthogonal layout of its streets, tending to form regular city blocks.

Along these lines, it is worthy of note that the northeast district of Salamanca, the most emblematic one of the Ensanche, is represented almost exclusively by the Las Ventas bullring and its environs. On the other hand, in the northwest limit of the Ensanche, Plaza de Moncloa stands out as a frequent location in the analyzed films, represented in 4 films, although all of them shot between 1957 and 1959 (*Totò*, *Vittorio e la Dottoressa*, 1957; *The Man Inside*, 1958; *Totò*, *Eva e il pennello proibito*, 1959; and *It started with a Kiss*, 1959), when this city square was in fact larger than its current size and the plan to transform it into one of the symbolic landscapes of the Franco regime (Martínez-Martín, 2000) was ending with the inauguration of the Victory Arch (1956) and the Ministry of the Air building (1958).

Regarding the extensive Paseo de la Castellana, despite the fact that 8 films contain scenes shot on it, the locations are quite scattered and, beyond the Plaza de San Juan de la Cruz (6 films) and the Plaza de Colón (2 films), there is no other location that stands out with any frequency. Although the Santiago Bernabéu stadium is represented, it only appears in one film, *Goal II: Living the Dream*, whose plot focuses precisely on a soccer player from the Real Madrid team.

It is indeed curious that the financial areas and skyscrapers erected in the last 50 years do not appear in these films. The buildings of the AZCA area, the first financial complex developed as an extension of the city center to the north following the prolongation of Paseo de la Castellana during the 1970s and 1980s, are only visible in two panoramic shots of the city (*La cena per farli conoscere* and *The Limits of Control*). And the skyscrapers built in areas further north of the avenue, such as Plaza de Castilla (1990s) or the new Cuatro Torres complex (2000s), don't appear in any movie at all. It seems, thus, that the only high-rise buildings in the city that have captured the interest of international cinema are those located on the Gran Vía and in the Plaza de España, which are all more than two-thirds of a century old and are placed in the center of the city, close to other touristic and iconic areas.

More interest seems to have garnered the eastern-section (Avenida de la Paz) of the M-30 beltway (3 films), specially during the period of its construction at the beginning of the 1970s, with two films shot on the construction sites, *Summertime Killer* (1972) and *Altrimenti ci arrabbiamo* (1974). The former took advantage of the spaces available to

develop an intense chase sequence that also functions as a broad visual testimony of the urban transformation that the area was undergoing. *Altrimenti ci arrabbiamo*, in addition, also used as one of its main settings a vacant lot on the surroundings of the southwest section of the beltway, next to the Vicente Calderón football stadium (recently demolished), allowing current viewers to observe the situation of abandonment of the area at that time. Another undeveloped area close to the southern section of the beltway was used as a location in the film *The Hit* (1984). Both southern locations are now part of the Madrid Río urban park, inaugurated in 2011 after the burying of the M-30 in its southern section.

It should be noted that filming in spaces under construction seems to be a widespread practice in the international films analyzed, of which 19.5 per cent present images of vacant lots and open fields, depicting an image of a city in transformation. In addition to the movies already mentioned, it is the case of *It started with a Kiss* (1959), with images of the urbanization process taking place in the Chamartín district at the end of the 1950s, and *Goal II: Living the Dream* (2007), which places some of his scenes in the neighborhood of Palomeras Bajas, in the peripheral district of Puente de Vallecas, outside the "Central Almond".

This last film, together with *Il tuo dolce corpo da uccidere* (1970) and *the cold light of day* (2012), are the only titles with scenes shot in residential settings located outside the "Central Almond", whose districts have a marginal representation among the analyzed films. In this sense, the peripheral districts of the city are only represented by some specific locations corresponding to facilities such as airports, highways, parks and other infrastructures. Of these locations, the only one that stands out for its frequent appearance is Adolfo Suárez Madrid-Barajas Airport (13 films). The frequent presence of the airport is explained by the high number of films where the protagonist comes to Madrid from other parts of Spain or, in most cases, from foreign countries. This also explains the frequent appearance of other transport infrastructures as train stations, especially those of Atocha (4 films), Norte (3) and Delicias (3), where the characters habitually arrive or depart from the city.

4.4. Filming Locations and the Tourist Gaze

In the analyzed films, the most frequent locations coincide with the tourist landmarks of the city center identified by Canosa and García (2012) after a close review of official tourist documents and surveys. With the exception of the so-called Madrid Cornice and the Royal Theatre, all the other landmarks of the city center listed are among the most recurrent locations of the non-Spanish language films: Puerta de Alcalá, Plaza de Cibeles, Museo del Prado, Puerta del Sol, Palacio Real, El Retiro, Plaza Mayor, Casa de Campo, Plaza de Cánovas del Castillo and Gran Vía.

Taking into account that these spaces have been and are still being intensely promoted by tourist offices and tourists themselves as the "classic" iconic locations of the city, we can conclude that the films analyzed reproduce to a large extent the "tourist gaze" (Urry, 2002) associated with the city. In their films, filmmakers and producers largely reproduce the "anticipated" images of Madrid, those that are both part of their own expectations, as (mostly) foreign professionals, and the expectations of their potential spectators, inviting them to act as "spectatorial tourists" (Corbin, 2014) of the city throughout the film. In the process, these films promote those same images among their audience, reinforcing their position as tourist icons in the image associated with the city and their "anticipative reclaim" for further tourists.

It is striking that this process occurs with the most historically established locations, those in the center and the historic Las Ventas bullfight (a little further away). The iconic spots identified by Canosa and García (2012) in their list of 21 landmarks that correspond to areas and buildings created in the last fifty years, such as AZCA, Torres Kio, the "Lighthouse" of Moncloa, the Cuatro Torres Business Area or Madrid Río, do not appear in any of the films analyzed. Obviously, in many cases this is explained because they are city areas developed after some of the analyzed films were shot. But this absence is remarkable in recent thrillers as *The Bourne Ultimatum* (2007), *The Cold Light of Day* (2009), *Line Walker 2: Invisible Spy* (2019), *The Rhythm Section* (2020), whose plots, involving the missions of international spies and complots, could easily present more modern spaces. This absence supports the previous conclusion regarding the "tourist gaze" with which these films approach the city, reinforcing the most classic landmarks.

Taking a look at their visual presentation, the presence of the historical landmarks in some of the films seems to reflect a special interest in highlighting them as if they were tourist postcards. In fact, almost half of the identified scenes that include these icons can be considered establishing shots, and a lot of them are part of montage sequences that review some of its most significant landmarks without them appearing later as settings in the film. This clearly occurs in films made prior to the 1960s such as *Totò*, *Vittorio e La Dottoressa* and *Totò*, *Eva e il pennello proibito*, but also in contemporary films such as *The Bourne Ultimatum* and *Goal II: Living the Dream*. On the other hand, some movies from the 1960s, such as *The Pleasure Seekers* and *It Started with a Kiss*, and recent films as *The Cold Light of Day*, incorporate these icons as scenarios in which the dramatic action takes place.

The choice of the most iconic historical locations in the city also illustrates the interest of the filmmakers to include images of landmarks that help the spectators to place themselves in Madrid. It should be noted that most of the stories in these films are about characters who visit Madrid. In 30 films the characters go to Madrid for work reasons, being significant that in 21 cases it is a mission related to crime (police, thieves, murderers) or espionage; in 4 films the trip is motivated by personal matters related to family or love; in 2 it is done for tourist reasons; and in 2 the city is only a stopover on a trip to another destination. Therefore, it makes sense to present the city through its most recognizable icons, offering a geographical orientation throughout the film's storyline, as well as showing the characters using the transport infrastructure of the city. As a complement, the visual presence of these iconic locations on the films, even if they appear only in the background, proves to the spectators that the production crew had actually gone to the city of Madrid to film, adding value to the production of the movie in terms of its commercialization.

The "cinematic-travel glance" (Gibson, 2006) that permeates these films is also evident regarding the images of Madrid's cultural life, with the inclusion of the inevitable stereotypes and clichés associated with what is "typically Spanish". Besides the repeated presence of Las Ventas bullring, with bullfighting scenes in several films, the city also remains associated with the world of flamenco in one out of five films. This is done through the attendance of

the protagonists to flamenco shows in interior (*Siesta, Totò, Eva e il pennello proibito, 10:30 P.M. Summer*) or exterior locations (*Armour of God II: Operation Condor*), as well as private parties (*Agente 077 dall'oriente con furore*). On the other hand, there is a similar number of references to the world of the fine arts, depicted in visits by the characters to some of the city's museums, as Museo del Prado (*The Happy Thieves, Totò, Eva e il pennello proibito*) and Museo Reina Sofía (*The Limits of Control*), or art galleries and art dealers (*Agente 077 dall'oriente con furore*). As for Madrid's inhabitants, they are portrayed as a bustling (31.7 percent of films) but welcoming (29.3 per cent) and festive (26.8 per cent) society.

Finally, the movies do seem to be in complete agreement about transmitting the image of a city that is eternally sunny (in 80.5 percent of the films) and enjoys a warm weather. Madrid is presented as an interior Mediterranean city, temperate, spring-like and without a drop of rain or adverse climatic conditions. The numerous convertibles we see driven by the films' characters and the multiple scenes featuring outdoor cafes reinforce this image of a benign climate.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Discovering the urban image of Madrid presented in non-Spanish speaking films has been possible through the implementation of a methodology based on detailed study of the locations observed in these productions. This information likewise allows us to incorporate specific analyses about the relationships between film space and pro-filmic space in the city of Madrid. We also underline the ease of extrapolation of this methodology to Spanish-speaking films, other audiovisual products (i.e. nonfictional productions, documentaries, advertising), or even to other cities, which allows for comparative analyses.

From a spatial point of view, and barring exceptions, the films analyzed focus above all on showing the central areas of Madrid, which correspond to its urban structure and size prior to the twentieth century. This coincides with the city's main tourist attractions. In contrast, noteworthy areas of Madrid such as the Ensanche or the contemporary developments associated with modernity are barely portrayed.

It is of interest to recall some of the conclusions regarding the image of other Spanish cities offered by international filmmaking. In the case of Barcelona (Osácar, 2016) and Bilbao (Lorente *et al.*, 2007), their filmic image has not been permanent or immutable, but rather alterable. These two cities both experienced circumstances that brought about this change: holding a worldwide event that marked a milestone for the city's international image (the Olympic Games in 1992, for Barcelona; the inauguration of the Guggenheim Museum in 1997 in Bilbao). Furthermore, these events were the catalyst for profound urban renewal that revealed novel urban spaces to the international audience, which were until then unknown.

To date, no such decisive events have occurred in Madrid that have altered the city's cinematographic image from the 1950s. The most outstanding redevelopments in Madrid have been in its transportation installations, such as the airport terminal and the renovation of the Atocha railway station, portrayed in some of the films, but always as a place where one of the characters arrives, not as a central space for the plot. At the same time, neither the construction of the important architectural complexes (AZCA on the Paseo de la Castellana,

whose development began as of the 1960s; the Cuatro Torres Business Area, begun in the first decade of the twenty-first century), nor the Manzanares River renewal project (Madrid Río, finished in 2012), seem to have succeeded in grabbing the interest of foreign filmmakers.

Focusing on the link between film genres and the morphological and sociocultural features of the city represented on these films, Barcelona's image is associated with the concepts of 'style and quality of Mediterranean life', 'architectural heritage' (especially Gaudi's best-known works) and 'the beaches', as they are elements with a very key presence in the movies analyzed. Furthermore, these elements appear closely linked to romantic plots that alternate drama with comedy. On the other hand, detective thrillers and crime stories represent the most frequent genre of the films shot in Madrid, but the locations chosen on them are practically the same as in other genres. As a result, filmmakers miss out on the opportunity – barring exceptions – to explore the type of settings usually sought out for this kind of films (industrial warehouses, distribution centers, run-down neighborhoods, etc.), opting instead to focus on the narrow streets of the center districts.

The research has also allowed us to reach some conclusions about the relationship between the filmed spaces and pro-filmic spaces, detecting (as is usual in many other cases) notable discrepancies between the two. Hence, alteration of the city's topology – in favor of cinematographic requisites that are due to multiple causes – is made clear in the specific study of route and chase scenes from some of the chosen films. This thereby contributes to increasing the differences between the real Madrid and the virtual cinematographic Madrid.

In any case, and despite the fact that cinema is a powerful tool that can contribute to generating or modifying urban and tourist imaginaries, this by itself is not decisive; rather, it must be considered as an element that forms part of a complex sociocultural process for the creation or modification of a city's image.

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