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Tourist Destination Placement in Fiction Films: An Applied Research Proposal

Abstract

The study here proposed draws on the concept of the so-called “film-induced tourism”, understood as a strategy for promoting tourist destinations in fiction films. This objective is pursued through the development of an analysis model that enables the identification of the unique features of the destination as a space where the events depicted in the films occur, their function and their relationship with other narrative variables. The model has been applied to a corpus of films that other researchers have identified as essential for the growth of tourism to the locations they present. The results suggest that the space needs to be referential, irrespective of whether the diegetic space is the same as the filming location, that its status should be closer to the character than to the setting, that its *mise-en-scène* should emphasize the interaction with other characters, or that it should be essential in events that shape the structure of the story.

Keywords

Induced tourism, location, narration, depiction, tourism promotion, film fiction.

1. Introduction

This article seeks to contribute to the research into tourism induced by fictional films taking into account the destination placement in the motion pictures. While literature on movie-induced tourism (also known as film-induced tourism or screen-induced tourism) is quite abundant as far as its tourist modality and its dimension as an effective strategy for the promotion of destinations –and therefore, of natural and cultural heritage– is concerned, few works analyze it from the perspective adopted here, which involves the interaction of three areas of analysis: communication of tourist destinations, product placement as a commercial communication practice and analysis of the content and the audiovisual discourse.

The aim is to develop a tool to analyze the inlay of the tourist space, or susceptible of becoming such (Table 1), in the audiovisual fiction story as well as to test it with films that other researchers consider responsible for the increase of visitors to the locations where their stories are set or where they were shot (Table 2). We seek therewith to identify the common features shared by these films regarding the treatment of space, based on the assumption that one treatment or another thereof would have a different impact on the interest of tourists in the places shown.

The development of this analysis tool implies taking on board Connell’s (2012) and Beeton’s (2016) proposal to bring research into film and fiction series-induced tourism closer to a systematic analysis of the audiovisual discourse and content. This is crucial in order to understand how these films and series can contribute to creating an attractive image of the

destinations, or spaces likely to become destinations, to the motivations for visiting them or even to increase the number of visitors. In subsequent works, the tool will be applied to the audiovisual fiction production set or filmed in Spain – both films and television series. The results of this future research may guide promotional initiatives of tourist destinations, or natural and cultural heritage, which draws upon placement in audiovisual fiction.

2. Current state of research

Research into audiovisual-induced tourism has been developing since the nineties. It is based on the empirical observation of the increase in the number of visitors to the spaces in which certain films and television series are set or shot along the months after their release (Riley & Van Doren, 1992; Riley, Baker & Van Doren, 1998; Grihault, 2003). On this basis, the academic literature deals with numerous aspects of film-induced tourism, such as Connell (2012) and Beeton (2016) recap, but as far as our interests are concerned, three stand out in particular: its aforementioned relationship with the increase of visitors to the depicted places, the role of films in their image formation and their place in audiovisual narratives.

The first have a prominent place in the initial stages of research, when the objective is to identify and describe the phenomenon (Riley & Van Doren, 1992; Tooke & Baker, 1996; Riley, Baker & Van Doren, 1998). A more detailed analysis is soon being sought to gauge the real impact of films, to determine its limits (Fernández & Young, 2008) and even to develop strategies that may contribute to take advantage of the impact of cinema on tourism (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006a). Many of these works come from studies on tourism and marketing. Over time, some authors have begun to point to the need to overcome the frameworks of both disciplines. Fernández and Young (2008) and Kim (2012) reckon that research should draw on researchers' contributions on the effects of the media in order to avoid establishing simplistic relationships between the presence of a particular location in audiovisual fiction and its impact on the number of visitors. Connell (2012) also points out the abundance of case studies on the impact of specific films –not always possible to generalize– and the need to come closer to studies on audiovisual discourse and content, given the fact that most of the analyses stress that the attractiveness of spaces depends directly on their degree of involvement with stories and audiovisual narratives. The works of Hao and Ryan (2013), Méndiz (2014, 2018), Pan and Tsang (2014), and Nieto Ferrando, Del Rey and Afinoguenova (2015) fall within this line of research.

Many studies note that, beyond making a destination visible to a wide audience, audiovisual fiction contributes to its image formation. By image we mean the target audience's perception of a destination formed by the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions, expectations and accumulated feelings that an audience has about it (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999; Kim & Richardson, 2003). When the tourist is the target audience and not investors, suppliers or workers, the image plays an essential role in motivating the visit (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999; Hudson, Wang & Gil, 2011).

For Gartner (1994), and also for Baloglu and McCleary (1999), Gallarza, Gil and Calderón (2002) among many others, the destination image is formed from three interrelated components: cognitive, affective and conative. The cognitive component is conformed of the beliefs and assessments about the attributes of a destination. The affective comes from the emotional responses it provokes and the conative is the range of behaviors triggered by it. According to the author, the spur for the image generation comes from organic agents (of a non-promotional nature, whose source is the destination itself), autonomous (of a non-promotional nature, which do not arise from the destination itself), and induced (derived from the promotion). Images usually have a high degree of stability and require time to change. However, autonomous agents, where Gartner places audiovisual fiction, can quickly modify them because the audience does not consider them to be subject to promotional interests.

Thus, the presence of a destination in films can reinforce or nuance previous images; they can even add surprising and singular dimensions to them –for instance, to the city of Vienna in *The Third Man* (Carol Reed, 1949). In some cases, this image is linked to certain titles: this is the case with Thailand and *The Beach*, Scotland and *Braveheart* (Mel Gibson, 1995) or Ireland and *The Quiet Man* (John Ford, 1952) (Bolan & Williams, 2008). This is especially remarkable when, after its appearance in a film, the space becomes a destination for an audience that did not previously know the location (Hao & Ryan, 2013).

Other relevant contributions to the generated, modified or strengthened image derived from audiovisual fiction are the works of Tzanelli (2003), who explores the romantic, folkloric and “orientalist” image of Kefalonia –and of Greece as a whole– in *Captain Corelli’s Mandolin*; the study by Shani, Wang, Hudson and Gil (2009) on the destination image of South America based on viewing *Motorcycle Diaries* (Walter Salles, 2004); or the contributions by Iwashita (2006) and Olsberg/SPI (2007). The latter highlight the link between space and stereotypes about “the British” in order to create an attractive image of Great Britain from some literary adaptations and “period” dramas. Iwashita says that the motivation for many Japanese tourists to travel to the British Isles is to experience or recreate that stereotyped image.

Many researchers link the destination image formation in audiovisual fiction to its interaction with the different elements of narration. This leads us to placement: the commercial communication strategy that introduces products or brands into the audiovisual narrative with a certain degree of integration with the elements that compose it. Understanding induced tourism as an instrument for promoting destinations through placement implies transforming an autonomous agent of image generation, in terms of Gartner (1994), into an induced agent, but without the latter losing all the properties of the former, nor its potential to generate or modify images, and with these the motivations for visiting those destinations.

From the early stages of research into induced tourism we find aspects related to placement, such as the more credible and less aggressive presence of destinations in audiovisual fiction than those –with a high amount of exposure– shown in conventional advertising, which allows a certain degree of experimentation with the placement prior to the visit –and without its risks. Furthermore, in films and series, destination is subject to the processes of identification and involvement inherent to audiovisual narrative and to the transfer of connoted senses from the fiction space to the real, whose effectiveness depends on the degree of interrelation between the real space, the story and the characters (Riley & Van Doren, 1992; Tooke & Baker, 1996; Riley, Baker & Van Doren, 1998; Macionis, 2004; Frost, 2010).

However, despite its potential for tourism promotion (Hudson, Wang & Gil, 2011), few researchers have systematically analyzed induced tourism from a usable perspective for placement purposes. Exceptions are the works by Hao and Ryan (2013) on *Fu rong zhen* (*Hibiscus Town*, Jin Xie, 1987); by Pan and Tsang (2014) on *mise-en-scène* and shot composition as inducing elements in *Crocodile Dundee* (Peter Faiman, 1986) and *Australia* (Baz Luhrmann, 2008); by Nieto Ferrando, Del Rey and Afinoguenova (2015) on the characterization of space and its place in the story structure in the Spanish tourist-themed cinema produced under the Franco dictatorship; and Méndiz (2014, 2018) on *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* (Zoya Akhtar, 2011). The latter proposes the analysis of what the author calls “city placement” paying attention to the amount of exposure to the destination by audiences and how the films refer to it; examining the planning and the *mise-en-scène* through which the tourist vision of the destination is extolled, the verbal support that contextualizes, explains or values it; and finally, taking into account the attribution of distinctive features to the different spaces in relation to stereotypes and their relevant role in the development of the story.

Researchers into product placement have established different types of placement depending on the degree of the product or brand interaction with the audiovisual narrative.

They have also explored the different ways of measuring its effects on the audience, especially regarding memories, and attitudes and behaviors towards them (Valenzuela, Martínez & Yáñez, 2015). Surveys such as those by D’Astous, Séguin and Chartier (2000), Russell (2002), Lehu and Bressoud (2009), Redker, Gibson and Zimmerman (2013) show that placements with a high level of involvement in the story or linked to the main characters arouse greater recall of the brand or product. Special mention should be made of the contribution of Baños and Rodríguez (2013), who insist on the need to analyze product placement from the strategies of audiovisual narrative; that is, by relating the position of locations –associating them to catalysts, turning points, climax, etc.– with the memories the audiences have of them. For this purpose, they resort to the structuring of the story proposed by Sánchez Escalonilla (2014).

However, space as a destination or susceptible of becoming a tourist destination is not just a product –any kind of product. Regarded as the space or locus where the events of the film stories take place, it becomes a magnitude of the greatest importance for audiovisual narrative (Gaudreault & Jost, 1995; Bordwell, 1996; García Jiménez, 2003). For this reason, audiovisual narrative may be more suitable for the promotion of space –of its own space– than for any other product. Its study then, requires an in-depth analysis of film contents and discourse.

3. Material and method

The analysis tool (Table 1) has been elaborated from the contributions to film analysis by Aumont and Marie (1990), Carmona (1991) and Casetti and Di Chio (1991); the studies on audiovisual narration by Gaudreault and Jost (1995), García Jiménez (2003) and Chatman (2013); the work on cinematographic screenplay by Sánchez Escalonilla (2014); the contributions on product and brand placement by Russell (2002), Gupta and Lord (1998), and Baños and Rodríguez (2012, 2013); and the research into the relationship between cinema and tourism by Méndiz (2014, 2018), Hao and Ryan (2013), Pan and Tsang (2014) and Nieto Ferrando, Del Rey and Afínoguenova (2015). This analysis tool seeks to identify the treatment of spaces and their features, their relationship with other elements of the narrative –in particular, the characters– and their place in the structure of the story. Needless to say, it does not contemplate all the casuistry related to space, but only those relevant aspects that can be linked to the location and the tourist promotion.

Table 1

1. Amount of exposure in film discourse	Duration of visual exposure		
	Duration of the total of shots with visual exposure		
	Duration of the total of sequences with visual exposure		
	Duration of events taking place in space		
2. Identification	Referential equal to the filming space	Title	
		Legend	Justified by the diegesis
	Referential different to the filming space		Mention
		With visual presence of the space	
		Without visual presence of the space	
	Non-referential recognizable		
	Unrecognizable non-referential		

3. <i>Mise-en-scène</i>	Shot	Shot composition	Character and space	With interaction
				Without interaction
			Space without character	
		Character in space outside the field of action and interaction		
		Scale	Long shot	
			Extreme long shot	
			Group shot	
			Full shot	
			American shot	
			Medium shot	
			Close up	
		Camera angles	Point of view shot	
			Overhead shot	
	High angle shot			
	Low angle shot			
	Extreme low angle shot			
	Foreground / Background			
	Camera movements	Pan		
		Travelling		
		Crane shot		
Scene	Types of shots in relation to the scene	Establishing shot		
		Descriptive shot		
		Action shot		
	Interaction character–space	Verbal (+/- frequency)	Mention	
			Description	
			Assessment	
	Audiovisual		External or zero ocularization	
			Internal ocularization	
			Assessment through interpretation	
4. Events and existents	Events determination (0 - 5)			
	Characters determination transformation			
	Setting/Character (0 - 5)			
	Predictability of actions according to space	Reality		
		Genre		
		Stereotype		
	Role in the narrative structure	Structural sequences	Catalyst event	
			First turning point	
			Second turning point	
			Climax	
		Sequences of interest	Opening sequence	
			Midpoint scene	
			Edited sequences	
			Antagonistic actions	
			Obstacle	
Complication				
Setback				
Resolution				
Prologue/epilogue				

Source: Own elaboration.

After itemizing the films into shots, scenes (blocks differentiated by the unity of action, space and time) and sequences (blocks of a narrative nature focused on one or more interrelated events), the first point of the template deals with the duration of the spaces exposure (Table 2) in the story in relation to the film as a whole (percentage). Since images cannot be detached from their context, we have included the total duration of shots and sequences in which the space appears. It should be noted that we focus only on outdoor spaces, although in some films, particularly historical period British movies, as well as in *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* and *The Da Vinci Code*, interiors are equally relevant. However, in most cases there is no match between the two –exteriors and interiors– and the data we work on only refer to some interiors of *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*. We also differentiate between the duration of the visual exposure in the narrative and that of the events that take place in the space –including the interiors– without this being shown emphatically.

The second point of the template determines the relationship between a space of the diegesis and another of reality. Space can be basically referential (that is, with an equivalent in reality, whether or not it coincides with the space of the shoot) or non-referential (without an equivalent in reality) and the latter, in turn, recognizable or non-recognizable. The identification of a non-referential space depends on the iconographic background of the spectator and can be recognized as a concrete space and/or as a synecdochical space –part of a broader category. Beyond the fact that the name may be present in the titles, we are interested in the frequency of its appearance in captions or with which the characters mention it, as well as the attitude with which it is mentioned, especially on the part of the protagonist.

The third point is focused on the *mise-en-scène* of spaces that are profusely shown. The difficulty of analyzing the different sections independently should be noted. The shots scale, for example, is a changing one, either because of the frame composition (where we differentiate whether the character appears in the shot or not), because of the mobility of the existents, the camera movements or the sharpness with which the foreground and the background are appreciated. Regarding the shots typology in relation to the scene, establishing and descriptive shots stop the narration (the first ones in order to locate the action, and the second ones to describe the space), and the action shots, as their name indicates, contain actions that make the stories evolve. Concerning shots articulation in the scene, we are particularly interested in whether the character's gaze introduces the space, since it links them in an essential way, especially if this gaze is accompanied by verbal or expressive assessments.

The fourth point (existents and events) extends the analysis to the story and the narrative as a whole. Regarding the existents, we think it is relevant to calibrate whether the space is closer to the setting or to the character, which depends on its role in the actions that constitute the events. On many occasions the space “makes to look” (the planning emphasizes what is shown from the character's gaze), and “makes to say,” to describe or value aspects that for Casetti and Di Chio (1991) are important if we consider an existent closer to the character than to the setting. The “anagraphic” criterion is also relevant, that is to say, that the existent has a name; in this case, a toponym.

Space can determine events. It can become the protagonist's mission, it can have a main role in the narrative structure, motivate anagnorisis, etc. as well as affect the characters transformation arcs. To define the degree of determination, it is important to weigh the predictability of the possible actions that can happen in it, what Vale (2002) calls the “purpose of space.” Irrespective of whether both, the evolution of history and the diegesis itself, determine what is possible, what interests us about such predictability is its link with reality –actual or historical– with the genre or with certain stereotypes. The redundancy between the carried out-action and the foreseeable-action in the space also places it closer to the character, since it “makes act” as expected. The parameters can be measured by their

presence or absence, but they can also be used to elaborate a scale to clarify the place of space between the setting (0 = exclusively setting) and the character (5 = character) or to which extent it determines the events (0 = none, 5 = absolute).

Space can play a relevant role in the events that structure the story –structural peripeteias– or in those that conform the resources of interest. Starting from the classic division of stories into three acts, and following Sánchez Escalonilla (2014), the peripeteias or structural sequences are: the catalyst (the irruption of a strange element in the everyday life of the protagonist), the first turning point (introduces the second act and implies the hero's definitive commitment to fulfill the mission), the second turning point (introduces the third act and entails the renewal of the previous commitment), and the climax (the final fight to achieve the goal). The sequences of interest can be problems that come upon the hero in his struggle to fulfill the mission (complications due to the peculiarities of the character himself, obstacles coming from the situation, antagonist actions or setbacks, the latter of greater intensity than the former, since they cause a momentary loss of the objective), edited sequences (whether descriptive or summaries that condense a large portion of the story in a short time), the midpoint (can be any of the aforementioned ones taking place in the middle of the second act), and the false climax (a setback applied to the climax). We have added to the template the opening sequence (an introductory sequence that presents the generic, thematic and aesthetic keys of the story and the narrative), the resolution of the story (post-climax events), and the prologue and epilogue. The last two are sequences placed before or after the diegesis. Except for edited sequences, antagonist actions, obstacles, complications and setbacks, which can be measured by their frequency, space can be present or absent in the other categories.

The analysis template has been applied to a corpus of films that other researchers (Busby & Klug, 2001; Grihault, 2003; Hudson & Ritchie, 2006a and b; Olsberg/SPI, 2007; Riley, Baker & Van Doren, 1998; Riley & Van Doren, 1992; Trivett & Skift Team, 2013) consider to be directly related to the increase in visitors to some of the spaces they show, whether they belong to the diegesis or the locations (Table 2). Although the data they provide are imprecise, not uniform –given the fact that the impact of other relevant spaces that appear in the films has not been valued by the authors– and limited to the months after theatrical release, they allow us to test the analysis template and generate some provisional results.

Table 2

Title	Impact
<i>Close Encounters of the Third Kind</i> (Steven Spielberg, 1977)	Devils Tower (USA): +74%.
<i>Out of Africa</i> (Sydney Pollack, 1985)	Shaba National Game Reserve (Kenya): +180%. From 250,000 to 700,000.
<i>Gorillas in the Mist</i> (Michael Apted, 1988)	Rwanda: +20%.
<i>Thelma & Louise</i> (Ridley Scott, 1991)	Arches National Park (USA): +27%. Canyonlands National Park (USA): +39.2%.
<i>The Last of the Mohicans</i> (Michael Mann, 1992)	Chimney Rock Park (USA): +25%.
<i>Brassed Off</i> (Mark Herman, 1996)	Grimethorpe (England): +50%.
<i>The Remains of the Day</i> (James Ivory, 1993)	Dyrham Park (England): +9%.
<i>Little Women</i> (Gillian Armstrong, 1994)	Orchard House (USA): +65%.
<i>The Dish</i> (Rob Sitch 2000)	Parkes (Australia): +80%.
<i>Four Weddings and a Funeral</i> (Mike Newell, 1994)	The Crown Hotel (England): Complete 1994-1997.
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i> (Ang Lee, 1995)	Saltram House (England): +39%.
<i>Mrs Brown</i> (John Madden, 1997)	Osborne House (England): +25%.
<i>Saving Private Ryan</i> (Steven Spielberg, 1998)	Beaches of Normandy: +40% of American visitors.

<i>Shakespeare in Love</i> (John Madden, 1998)	Broughton Castle (England): +12.4. From 14,568 to 16,387. Hatfield House (England): +5.2%. From 126,387 to 132,980
<i>Notting Hill</i> (Roger Michell, 1999)	Kenwood House (England): +10%
<i>The Beach</i> (Danny Boyle, 2000)	Ko Phi Phi Lee island (Thailand): +21.96% of young British tourists
<i>Captain Corelli's Mandolin</i> (John Madden, 2001)	Cefalonia (Greece): +32%
<i>Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone</i> (Chris Columbus, 2001)	Christ Church College (England): +30%. Alnwick Castle (England): +128%. North Yorkshire Moors Railway (England): 21.2% Tickets sales; from 245,000 to 297,000
<i>Troy</i> (Wolfgang Petersen, 2004)	Çanakkale (Turkey): +73%
<i>Pride & Prejudice</i> (Joe Wright, 2005)	Basildon Park (England): +76%. Burghley House (England): + 20%
<i>The Da Vinci Code</i> (Ron Howard, 2006)	Rosslyn Chapel (Scotland): +139,000
<i>The Hunger Games</i> (Gary Ross, 2012)	DuPont State Forest (USA): +31%

Source: Own elaboration.

3. Results

3.1. Amount of exposure in film discourse

The diverse typology of spaces in the sample –from entire regions or countries to specific buildings– as well as the fact that it only contains data on visitors to some of them, leaving out others with the same visual relevance, makes it difficult to analyze all the films as a whole. However, since most events take place in the same space, as occurs in 12 of the 22 films, it is possible to observe some constants. Table 3 contains the visual exposure percentages for 10 of those 12 movies. We have excluded *Brassed Off* and *Troy*, because the attraction generated by Grimethorpe, the village in which the first is inspired, and Çanakkale, the supposed location of the mythical Troy, respond more to narrated stories and to the link with previous stories, than to their *mise-en-image* or their spaces exposure; which is almost nonexistent in *Brassed Off* and it is replaced by digital effects in *Troy*.

Table 3

Title	Duration of Visual exposure	Duration of Shots with visual exposure	Duration of Sequences with visual exposure	Events duration
<i>Close Encounters of the Third Kind</i>	7,99	11,64	43,45	35,98
<i>Out of Africa</i>	11,55	11,83	38,77	95,54
<i>Gorillas in the Mist</i>	8,59	8,71	35,23	85,81
<i>The Last of the Mohicans</i>	11,54	11,81	48,55	95,09
<i>The Remains of the Day</i>	2,7	2,81	19,26	77,72
<i>Little Women</i>	0,91	1,14	16,96	56,69
<i>The Dish</i>	5,48	6,08	55,64	90,1
<i>The Beach</i>	5,73	6,26	46,27	64,78
<i>Captain Corelli's Mandolin</i>	8,52	8,88	34,66	94,8
<i>Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone</i> (Alnwick Castle)	1,16	1,32	15,38	64,32

Source: Own elaboration.

In the first place, it is possible to appreciate a certain similarity between the duration of the shots with visual exposure of the space and the merely duration of the visual exposure. The difference lies in the camera movements and those of the characters within the shot, which mean a change of scale emphasizing the space or the character at different times. Note that the greater the difference, the greater the degree of interaction between the character and the space within the shot, as happens in *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*.

Spielberg's film is also unique in terms of the length of the account of events taking place in space, 35.98%, which reduces it to the end of the second act and the whole of the third act. However, the references to Devils Tower, accompanied by their depictions, are abundant, since the protagonist's goal is to identify, locate and finally reach the mountain. Hence, the sequences in which the space appears –rather its pictorial, sculptural or audiovisual depiction– occupy 43.45% of the time of the story.

In *The Remains of the Day* and *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* we see a relatively low exposure rate. As we have already mentioned, there is an abundance of emphatic display of interiors belonging to historical British buildings –the same can be said of Orchard House in *Little Women*– which do not always coincide with the exteriors. We do have data on some interior spaces from *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, specifically on the large living-dining room at Hogwarts, inspired by a similar one at Christ Church College, which appears in sequences that occupy 10.98% of the story's time.

In the rest of the titles, space can be the framework in which the events of the first act take place (*Sense and Sensibility* or *Mrs. Brown*), occupying approximately 25% of the story-time, a part of the third act (*The Da Vinci Code*), or specific moments that can be qualitatively very relevant as they constitute important sequences for the structure of the story (*Thelma & Louise*, *Four Weddings and a Funeral* or *Notting Hill*).

3.2. Identification

In most cases the space is referential (14). The equivalence with reality is established through titles, legends, posters or mentions of the characters. This does not mean that the space of the diegesis and that of the shooting coincide. In nine films, both of them match and in the rest it differs. In three –*Little Women*, *Saving Private Ryan* and *Troy*– it is the space of the diegesis where the number of visitors has increased, and in two –*Thelma & Louise* and *The Last of the Mohicans*– the number of visits has raised in the filming space.

Many of the non-referential spaces are quite stereotyped and have a high representative value, largely due to genre redundancy. In other words, they are non-referential spaces but recognizable as belonging to a broader category. This is the case of Grimley in *Brassed Off*, synecdoche of the numerous cities that serve as setting for comedies and melodramas about the working class of the Thatcher period –very abundant in the 90s– or the case of British mansions in period films such as *The Remains of the Day*, *Sense and Sensibility* or *Pride & Prejudice*, recognizable icons of this genre.

3.3. Mise-en-scène

All the films in the sample contain descriptive and establishing shots of locations where the number of visitors has increased. They can stop the evolution of the story or make it advance at a slower pace, either by containing relevant actions to which a descriptive “prologue” or “epilogue” is added –once the action has taken place, the shot keeps running to show the space a little more, or it is also possible to add shots with the same intention at the scene-level– or by including actions that are usually elided, such as displacements from one point to another. Note that the use of descriptive shots, which in some kinds of films can be considered a descriptive digression, is a constant in others, such as road movies like *Thelma & Louise* or in films that, normally, articulate their stories totally or partially by resorting to a physical journey –*Close Encounters of the Third Kind* or *The Last of the Mohicans*.

All the films use the extreme long shot and the long shot to show the space. In all of them, shots also abound in which the space is accompanied by the character. As a general rule, when the character is shown in the foreground using an American shot or a full shot (the mobility of the characters within the frame and the camera implies changes of scale), the space in the background gains the same visual relevance. This does not occur either in close ups of the characters or in some medium shots, where the landscape background, although present, is not so relevant –in *Mrs Brown*, for instance.

In all the films, some of these shots with foreground and background involve the interaction between the character and the space, be it visual, gestural or verbal. The first implies the contemplation of the landscape by the character, whose gestures can express an appreciation. This assessment can also be inferred from the relationship between the character's gaze and the spectacular landscape, without a change in their expression taking place, in the line of the so-called "Kuleshov effect." Verbal interaction can range from mentioning the name of the space (especially important if it is referential), to describing it, even narrating its past, as happens with Rosslyn Chapel in *The Da Vinci Code*, or valuing it. Obviously, shots in which the characters perform or suffer actions and events without the aforementioned verbal interaction are also frequent (the climax of *The Last of the Mohicans*) although the space has considerable visual relevance.

In virtually all films, the space is likewise shown with the same shot but without the presence of the character. Here the interaction with the character is established through editing. A regular series of shots is: the character's close-up or medium shot, a long shot of the space and again the character's close-up or medium shot. From the relationship between the shots, an assessment or a certain emotional repercussion in the character of what he sees can be inferred, following the "Kuleshov effect" again, though sometimes (in 8 films) it is accompanied by his gestures or camera movements –an approximation travelling– that emphasize his expression, as happens in *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*. In these cases, the space is shown by the character, already emotionally connoted, through the link between the optical point of view and his gaze.

3.4. Existents and events

In most films, events are determined by the space in which they happen, to the extent that it would be difficult for them to develop in a similar way elsewhere. The degree of determination conferred by space is established on the basis of whether it can be considered a character, of its incidence in the transformation arcs of other characters, the predictability of the actions that can take place in it or the emphasis, already commented on, that it receives in the *mise-en-scène*.

With regard to the predictability of actions in space, the three –reality, genre, stereotype– are perceptible in British period films –*The Remains of the Day*, *Sense and Sensibility*, *Mrs. Brown* and *Pride & Prejudice*. In these, spaces –mansions and gardens– and actions conform to the prior knowledge that is required of the viewer in any story whose diegesis is anchored in a past time that affects behaviors, social relations and ambience, cinematographic genre and stereotypes; in the mentioned cases, about the British, despite many of their stories being based on the attempt to partially subvert the corsets of the time. These stereotypes are present in the romantic comedies *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, *Notting Hill* and in the fantastic film *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*. The stereotypical relationship between the motivations that govern the characters' actions and space, in this case the Greek islands, also appears in *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*. In *Saving Private Ryan* it is the genre –war movies– and the knowledge of past events –the "reality"– that determines in a relevant way the actions performed or suffered by the characters. In *The Dish*, determination comes from reality, since it narrates the vicissitudes of the technicians of the radio telescope responsible for the television broadcast of the arrival of the human being on the moon.

Given that space makes the characters do as expected, the predictability of the actions that can happen in it, such as having a name, making people look and say –provoking comments or assessments– are indicators that the space possesses the condition of character. So is the fact that it may be the protagonist’s goal or mission, in part or completely –as happens in *The Beach* or *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*– or it has a clear impact on his transformation arc. In *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, *Out of Africa*, *Gorillas in the Mist* and *The Beach* the experience of space produces deep changes in the characters. In these latter films, space clearly determines events and is a character in itself.

3.5. Events and structure

The spaces listed in Table 2 are the background against which the events that conform the sequences of interest take place. In some of them, the space has great visual relevance. Basically, there are the edited sequences, the opening sequences and the resolutions.

Within the edited sequences, it is possible to differentiate descriptive sequences –*The Dish*, for instance– and those that compose summaries that condense time, especially to summarize displacements from one place to another –*Gorillas in the Mist* or *The Last of the Mohicans*, for instance. Both, composed of extreme long shots, undoubtedly stand out in *Out of Africa*, since they contain assessments of the characters –that can be inferred from their gestures and glances– as well as being essential in the evolution of the relationship between them; think of the first flight in a light aircraft. The space exposure is relevant in the opening sequences of *Little Women* and *Saving Private Ryan* and in the resolutions of *Gorillas in the Mist*, *The Beach*, *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer’s Stone* –Christ Church College and North Yorkshire Moors Railway– or *The Da Vinci Code*; and in the opening sequences and resolutions of *Out of Africa*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Remains of the Day* and *Captain Corelli’s Mandolin*. In *The Dish* the first and last sequences correspond to the prologue and epilogue, with the emphatic depiction of the Parkes radio telescope and its surroundings.

As can be seen in Table 4, space is important in all structural sequences. In 16 of the 22 films, in addition, it stands out not only in those ones but also in the ones immediately following, which in the case of the turning points, is also relevant. Turning points may contain actions or decisions to act within the framework of space and even be motivated by space itself, but also decisions to act that implies moving into that space. The latter happens in the first turning points of *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* and *Gorillas in the Mist*. In Spielberg’s film, an imperfect representation of Devils Tower prompts the protagonist to pursue his mission. In *Gorillas in the Mist*, the contemplation of the Rwandan mountains is what pushes the heroine to embark on the adventure, which also implies traveling to Rwanda. Examples of turning points that lead to the decision to move into a particular space are the first from *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (the choice to stay in the same hotel as Carrie – The Crown Hotel) and the second from *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (ascending to Devils Tower despite threats and prohibitions), *The Da Vinci Code* (to visit Rosslyn Chapel) and *Notting Hill* (to go to Hampstead Heath, where Kenwood House is located, to resume the relationship with Anna, which gives rise to a setback). In the latter, the turning point is as relevant as the sequence that follows it, where the decision becomes action.

With respect to the climax, and irrespective of the films in which the third act takes place in the spaces we have indicated (13), the exposure of spaces is inferior compared with that in the turning points. That is due to the climax singularity, where the narration, stripped of all accessories, focuses on the final conflict to achieve the protagonist’s objective. Yet, the spatial context of the climax in *The Last of the Mohicans* and, above all, in *Thelma & Louise*, where the cliff at Canyonlands National Park is shown and assessed by the leading characters before being used for suicide, is especially meaningful.

Table 4

Title	Determination	I LS	II LS	Climax
<i>Close Encounters of the Third Kind</i>		Exp.	OE, DE, exp.	OE exp.
<i>Out of Africa</i>		OE, DE exp.	OE	OE
<i>Gorillas in the Mist</i>		OE, exp, DE	OE	OE
<i>Thelma & Louise</i> (Arches National Park)			OE exp.	
<i>Thelma & Louise</i> (Canyonlands National Park)				OE exp
<i>The Last of the Mohicans</i>	OE	OE	OE exp.	OE exp.
<i>Brassed Off</i>	OE	OE	OE	
<i>The Remains of the Day</i>	OE exp.	OE exp.	OE	Mention
<i>Little Women</i>	OE	OE	DE	OE exp
<i>The Dish</i>		OE exp.	OE	OE exp.
<i>Four Weddings and a Funeral</i>		DE exp.		
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	OE	OE		
<i>Mrs Brown</i>	OE exp.	OE		
<i>Saving Private Ryan</i>	OE exp.			
<i>Shakespeare in Love</i> (Broughton Castle)		OE exp.		
<i>Shakespeare in Love</i> (Hatfield House)				
<i>Notting Hill</i>			DE exp.	
<i>The Beach</i>	Mention	OE, DE, exp.	OE	OE
<i>Captain Corelli's Mandolin</i>	OE	OE	OE	OE
<i>Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone</i> (Alnwick Castle)		DE	OE exp.	OE
<i>Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone</i> (Christ Church College)				
<i>Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone</i> (North Yorkshire Moors Railway)		DE exp.		
<i>Troy</i>		OE exp.	OE	OE
<i>Pride & Prejudice</i> (Basildon Park)		OE exp.		
<i>Pride & Prejudice</i> (Burghley House)				
<i>The Da Vinci Code</i>				OE
<i>The Hunger Games</i>			OE	OE

Source: Own elaboration. Note. Exp.: Exposure; OE: Occur in the space; OE exp: Occur in the space with immediate subsequent exposure; DE: Displacement into space; DE exp.: Displacement into space and immediate subsequent exposure.

4. Discussion and conclusions

The aim of this work has been to develop a tool for analyzing the spaces depicted in fiction cinema, supported on the discourse and content analysis, and to apply it to films which have had a considerable impact on the number of visitors to some of these spaces. This has allowed us to identify a series of constants in the treatment of space in these films with a possible impact on the interest they have aroused in tourists:

1. The amount of exposure differs considerably depending on whether the space is specific (a building) or general (a region). Although this is an important variable, it also depends on the sequences in which the space is shown, on the *mise-en-scène*, on the events that

- happen in it and on its place in the structure of the story. To appear for a few seconds at a turning point or in a later sequence related to it may be more decisive than for the space to be seen in an edited sequence that summarizes a journey and widely shows it.
2. In most films the space is referential, although the shooting and the diegesis do not always coincide. In many cases, when it does not have an equivalent in reality, it can be identified as a representative part of a broader category thanks to genre redundancy.
 3. The analysis of the *mise-en-scène* shows a high degree of interaction between the space and the characters in almost all the films. This interaction can be visual, verbal or gestural. Space is often preceded by the gaze of the character, and its contemplation used to have some effect on him. This connotes the space emotionally.
 4. Space determines to a high degree the events of the story in most films due to the predictability of the actions that happen in it; what is motivated by the relationships that stories have to reality, stereotypes or genres, their role in the protagonists' transformations or the space status as character. The latter is particularly conspicuous in titles such as *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, *Out of Africa*, *Gorillas in the Mist* and *The Beach*.
 5. Space is essential in the sequences that rule the structure of history, where, in addition to being the framework in which events happen, it can be shown in an emphatic way. In the case of some turning points that imply the decision to move to that space, it is subsequent immediately exposed.

All these variables act together. This can be illustrated using the example of *Out of Africa*, the film that, according to the sample data, has had most impact on the number of visitors. The visual exposure of the space is very high (11.83 of the duration of the shots), even though it has only taken into account the natural landscapes, and not the cultivated lands nor the long shots of the colonial farm-house belonging to the female protagonist, which would have considerably multiplied the exposure at all levels. To this must be added the emphatic presence of space in the opening sequence and in the resolution. The first turning point requires the protagonist to undertake the challenge of a long journey through Africa, which again allows the landscape to be emphasized. The landscape is further shown, among other means, by edited sequences that wrap the evolution of the amorous subplot. However, in addition, Africa determines the events experienced by the protagonist and drives her inner evolution. All this is accompanied by countless assessments of the landscape.

From the application of the analysis tool to the sample, a number of considerations can be inferred for future research.

1. The links of the films with other texts.
 - The relationship between the films, and the information and critiques about them. Both are decisive for the spectator to identify non-referential spaces or filming spaces when these do not coincide with those of the diegesis.
 - The relationships of movies concerning cinematographic genres. In the sample, films that anchor their history in the past predominate, either from the setting –many are “period” films– or from the reconstruction. As Frost (2006) points out, that entails a series of specific issues that remit to nostalgia, to anachronism – the translation of cultural assumptions, ideas, mentalities, etc., typical of the present, to a past time –and to the prior acquaintance that the spectator is expected to have about that past and the need of adjusting the film to that knowledge (Monterde, Selva & Solà, 2001); issues that have an impact on the space image and the desire to visit it. It is convenient to contemplate the cinematographic genre variable when applying the analysis model to other films, given that space –and all narrative variables– acquire a different concretion in a fantastic film, a romantic comedy or a road movie, genres about which we also have examples in the analyzed corpus.

- The existence of previous texts from which the films articulate their stories and their narrative. This is the case in most of the films analyzed, since they are based on literary works –*Out of Africa*, *Gorillas in the Mist*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Remains of the Day*, *Little Women*, *Sense and Sensibility*, *The Beach*, *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*, *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, *Pride & Prejudice*, *The Da Vinci Code* or *The Hunger Games*– or, more vaguely, on iconography, memoirs or literature on certain events of the past –*The Dish* or *Saving Private Ryan*. In future research it will be important to determine what films contribute to these texts, how they interact with them and if they have already had a tourist impact.
- 2. It is necessary to apply the analysis model to all the natural spaces that appear in each film, modified or not, with a relevant visual exposure –the analyzed sample only contemplates some of them. Thereby, we will be able to determine with greater precision why some have an impact on tourism and others do not according to their treatment in the narrative. Obviously, this implies leaving aside the texts and working with qualitatively and quantitatively rigorous and homogeneous data on the number of visitors to the spaces –visitors before and after the screening of the films– which is a difficult task given that many locations or spaces do not have access control.
- 3. The results obtained by the application of the analysis tool must be complemented by the analysis of the audiences, in particular to elucidate the effect of the movies on the destination image and on the motivations for the visit. Hence, the film corpus must consist of titles that have had a significant number of viewers, but without forgetting that the audience is not uniform and that certain films may have different target audiences. One location can work for a very specific audience, but not for another. This apart, it is important to determine the relationship that viewers establish with films, especially if they are cinephiles. The analysis of cinephilia and the fan phenomenon in relation to induced-tourism would help to clarify why on certain occasions it is the locations and not the spaces of the diegesis that arouse interest.
- 4. Finally, when emphasizing the relationship between space and characters, it is also important to pay attention to the actors who perform them; to take in account if they can be considered 'celebrities,' given their great prescriptive power, most profitable in promotional terms (Dyer, 2001).

The conclusions of this research can guide all the phases of audiovisual production (from scriptwriting to post-production) in the field of promotion of certain spaces included in tourist destinations (or that eventually could form part of them), even the activities that Destination Marketing Organizations, Film Commissions or Film Offices carry out for such purpose. As Morgan and Pritchard (1998), Hudson and Ritchie (2006a) and Cynthia and Beeton (2009) point out, this implies the need for these organizations and the production companies to undertake joint efforts which could transform what is still largely considered as an autonomous promotion agent into an induced agent; that is to say, into placement. They could also contribute to design communicative initiatives prior and parallel to the production and filmmaking process –disseminate information about shoot locations, stars who are participating in it, etc.– or after the launch, in the various release windows, such as providing making-offs highlighting the shooting locations, tours, location guides, movie-maps, etc. (Olsberg/SPI, 2007), in order to amplify the results of tourist space placement.

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