Perception of the filmed urban space:

an analysis of the imaginaries of Madrid

constructed through series and social networks

Percepción del espacio urbano filmado:

un análisis de los imaginarios construidos sobre Madrid

a través de las series y las redes sociales

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Abstract

Concurrent with the expansion of visual culture, film tourism has experienced a significant boost in recent decades, and the motivation to visit places where series made for television or similar platforms were filmed has been added to this modality. In this context, and taking the city of Madrid as a reference, this work proposes a line of research wherein analysis of the relationships between geographical and audiovisual spaces through cultural and tourist use unites the representation of both, by way of social networks (specifically, Twitter). As regards methodology, an 'application programming interface' has been designed which permits the download of a sample of tweets useful for both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The main results indicate the impacts that fiction series have had on recognition of the city (or certain of its elements) as well as relationships established between the narrative and geographical spaces when the latter are referenced via on-site activities. Theoretically, this research focuses on the relationship between real geographies, imagined geographies, and simulacra, as well as their involvement in the commodification of space and in the construction of vicarious geographical experiences.

Key words: series (screen) tourism; film tourism; audiovisual platforms; urban marketing.

Resumen

En pleno auge de la cultura visual, el turismo cinematográfico ha experimentado un importante impulso en las últimas décadas; modalidad a la que se le ha sumado recientemente la motivación por conocer lugares donde han sido rodadas series para televisión o plataformas. En este contexto, y tomando como referencia al municipio de Madrid, se ha planteado un trabajo que, al análisis entre las relaciones del espacio geográfico y el audiovisual a través del uso cultural y turístico, une la representación de ambos a través de las redes sociales (Twitter). Metodológicamente se ha diseñado una 'interfaz de programación de aplicaciones' (application programming interface) que ha permitido descargar una muestra de tweets, que posteriormente se han analizado tanto cuantitativa como cualitativamente. Las principales conclusiones muestran el impacto que en el reconocimiento de la ciudad o de algunos de sus elementos tienen las series de ficción, así como las relaciones que se establecen entre el espacio narrativo y el

geográfico cuando este último es usado para actividades in situ. Teóricamente se incide en la relación entre geografías reales, geografías imaginadas y simulacro, así como en su implicación en la mercantilización del espacio y en la construcción de experiencias geográficas vicarias.

Palabras clave: turismo de series; turismo cinematográfico; plataformas audiovisuales; marketing urbano.

1   Introduction

Recent decades have seen a clear reaffirmation of 'the visual' and 'the gaze' as essential elements in valuation of the tourist and cultural experience. These approaches found theoretical reflection in the seminal work of Urry (1990) and his interpretation of 'the tourist gaze' as an historical, systematized, and socially organized process of appreciating and constructing images of places and/or societies considered "out of the ordinary" (Urry, 1990, p. 1), for various reasons. From our perspective, the most essential aspect deriving from these approaches is that, although such investigations previously privileged the perspective of the place in question (that is, "the consequences of being gazed upon"), importance is now being given not only to the object but to the viewing subject, thus considering "the gaze from the perspective of the gazer" (Urry, 1990, p. 151).

In this context, a connection has been confirmed between tourism and popular visual media that work with moving images (cinema and television) — from a theoretical as well as an empirical point of view, and increasingly — along with their enormous influence in attracting and constructing the gaze of the audience, in order to later project it on certain places (Balli et al., 2013, p. 186). Following Urry's perspective, our starting point of analysis is the representation of space and its subsequent reflection on the territory and on tourism, thus moving from construction of the gaze (by the artistic system and the economic chain for audiovisual production) to consumption by an audience, which subsequently reinterprets these visual products before projecting said image back on the territory.

Since the end of the 20th century, and more clearly in the 21st, significant advances have been made in the analysis of this topic, both empirical (assessing the impact of this kind of tourism on certain areas) and theoretical (reflecting on the phenomenon from a geographical, economic, socio-cultural, communicative, or other perspective). This has given rise to work that can be considered pioneering (Kennedy & Lukinbeal, 1997; Riley, 1994; Riley, Baker & Van Doren, 1998; Riley & Van Doren, 1992) and that offers comprehensive approaches to the relationship

between cinema (and other media) with tourism and the territory (Beeton, 2005; Gámir, 2015), along with literature reviews that help establish the progress made at different moments (Connell, 2012; Croy & Heitmann, 2011).

These approximations by the existing literature have allowed us to detect two gaps that we will seek to address in our analysis. The first, already indicated in a prior work (Barrado-Timón & Sáez-Cala, 2020), is the scant attention paid to the urban scale, as compared to the national or regional, and specifically the low relative presence of large cities, despite their enormous role in visual pop-media as both sites of production and areas represented. Although the relationship between image and city has been analyzed (Gámir, 2015), the effect of urban image on tourist appreciation has received much less attention, due to a lower comparative impact in already highly touristed spaces (Beeton, 2005) as well as the clear difficulty in differentiating image consumption as a motivation (quantitatively and/or qualitatively) from the larger set of tourist flows (Barrado-Timón & Sáez-Cala, 2020).

The second aspect or literature gap we seek to address is the relatively low importance given to productions for the small screen and of longer duration (series, soap operas, etc.) compared to the traditional cinematographic format (Connell & Meyer, 2009; Sangkyun et al., 2009; Sangkyun, 2012; Tuen-Man & Chung-Shing, 2020). In any case, in recent years, and fundamentally due to the expansion of digital platforms, specific studies have appeared on the impact of diverse series on both territorial image and tourist visits; and here large cities and metropolises have been accorded greater presence, indeed serving as the main stages (Sadler & Haskins, 2005).

The city of Madrid has been the object of analysis as regards the relationship between cinema and tourism (Barrado-Timón & Sáez-Cala, 2020) and (more generally) around the city's role as both a place of production and a represented space (Aertsen et al., 2015, 2018, 2019, 2020). The present work focuses on the impact caused by certain long-running series filmed for the Netflix platform. It is, therefore, intended to advance knowledge of urban cultural and economic aspects as well as a more general understanding of the relationship between images produced by these series and their touristic, cultural, and geographical impacts in large cities.

As discussed in the Methodology section, we have opted to work both quantitatively and qualitatively through postings on social networks (specifically Twitter) by users who link references to a filmed series with the name of a certain city (in this case Madrid). In fact, as Jiao et al. (2018) indicated, the expansion of social networks means that their users increasingly share both

information and questions about cities; when used properly, these data can serve in constructing a kind of 'mental map' that permits us to examine the perceptions that people express about filmed urban spaces.

In short, based on these approaches, this research aims to reflect on images of the city projected via social networks by viewers of Netflix platform series when these images involve tourist and/or cultural activities in cities that have served as a filmed setting. We seek to examine how the images transmitted by these series are assimilated, reconstructed, and then projected by Twitter users who visit urban spaces previously seen on a screen.

2 'Small screen' series, tourism, and urban image: a literature review

As noted in the Introduction, research aimed at analyzing the relationship between the moving image and tourism has generally referred to productions for the cinema screen. However, other analyses of recent publication expressly delve into the tourist impact (both in visits and in construction of the destination-image) of fiction series, of relatively long duration, produced especially for television or streaming platforms (Sadler & Haskins, 2005; Connell & Meyer, 2009; Sangkyun et al., 2009; Sangkyun, 2012; Balli, 2013; Rappas & Kayhan, 2016; Tuen-Man & Chung-Shing, 2019).

From an examination of this literature, our initial conclusion is that investigations on the tourist impact of 'small screen' series tend to deal with themes and employ approaches similar to those already typical of the more general category of film-induced tourism (Beeton, 2005; Croy & Heitmann, 2011; Connell, 2012; Sangkyun, 2012; Anaz & Ozcan, 2016). For more on these general aspects, the reader is invited to consult some of the references collected at the end of this text (Riley & Van Doren, 1992; Riley, 1994; Kennedy & Lukinbeal, 1997; Riley, Baker & Van Doren, 1998; Beeton, 2005; Croy & Heitmann, 2011; Gámir, 2015; Tuen-Man & Chung-Shing, 2019; Barrado-Timón & Sáez-Cala, 2020).

However, other authors have from the beginning sought to establish differences between the effects on the audience generated by the small screen versus the big screen, above all due to the distinct time durations of these audiovisual products and, therefore, the greater depth of involvement by an audience with the story, the characters, and the represented space (Sangkyun, 2012; Chang-Hua & Hsiu-Yu, 2015). Sangkyun et al. (2009) reject the assumption that movies and series produce the same impact on the image of a given destination, to the extent that cinema productions (with a larger budget) tend to exert a more intense impact, albeit of shorter

duration, while series clearly take place over a longer period of time, favoring greater loyalty from (and a more sophisticated relationship with) the audience. However, the impact that such differences in audience engagement can potentially have on tourism to given destination has not yet been investigated in depth.

Another difference found between research on film tourism and that focused on visual media in general, including long-term series for the small screen, is the geography of the cases analyzed. While works on film-induced tourism focus very strongly on Western productions, usually on a national or regional scale, in the case of series many authors focus on the urban scale. Thus, approaches have been made to certain cities most often represented, such as New York (Torchin, 2002; Sadler & Haskins, 2005), or to cities that have been the setting of particularly successful series, both internationally and in their countries of production, such as Baltimore (Kinder, 2008), Miami (West, 2009), New Orleans (Morgan, 2014), Cologne (Bollhöfer, 2007), and Manchester — specifically the settings of 'Coronation Street' (Couldry, 1998). A related line of work on a broader (typically national) scale focuses on places of production that may seem 'peripheral' but which enjoy enormous success in non-Western cultural spheres, such as those related to 'soap operas' from Bollywood or Latin America (Sangkyun et al., 2009), or especially from two of today's top producers/importers, Korea (Lee et al., 2008; Sangkyun et al., 2009; Sangkyun, 2012; Tuen-Man & Chung-Shing, 2019) and Turkey (Balli et al., 2013; Rappas, 2016; Anaz & Ozcan, 2016; Baka, 2021).

Regarding the topics covered, Tuen-Man and Chung-Shing (2019) have drawn the following main categories: the influence of visual media on the choice of destination and on tourist attendance; the generated image and marketing; the impacts of audiovisual tourism on the local community; the behavior of tourists; and the relationship with authenticity. In this analysis, we focus on the effect on the choice of destination and tourist attendance, as well as aspects related to the generation of images of the urban space represented and the relationship between geographic space and film space.

Regarding the impact on tourist attendance, among the most common paths to analysis has been to focus on a specific series and its possible effects on a given destination, from different points of view and using diverse methodologies. 'Game of Thrones' has undoubtedly been the most popular example in this regard, prompting analyses that focus on the series as a whole or its footprint in certain places where it was filmed, including Ireland, Croatia, and Spain, among

others (Tzanelli, 2016; Tkalec, 2017; Mellina, 2020; Skoko & Miličević, 2020; Brotman, 2022; Contu & Pau, 2022; Gómez-Morales et al., 2022).

A second way of approaching the impact of series on tourism has been geographical, focusing on a certain destination (generally at a national scale) and seeking to establish a correlation and/or causal relationship between the success of one (or a group of) series and an increase in tourist visits. In this sense, the most analyzed national cases have been Korea and Turkey (Sangkyun et al., 2009; Sangkyun, 2012; Balli et al., 2013; Tuen-Man & Chung-Shing, 2019; Anaz & Ozcan, 2016; Ertz, 2021), whether in general or concentrating on preferred export markets such as Japan or the Arab countries. Elsewhere, a few examples try to quantify the impact of series tourism in a specific city, with the exceptional case of Dubrovnik and 'Game of Thrones' (Tkalec, 2017). The most interesting aspect of these works, apart from their contribution of empirical evidence for each destination, is undoubtedly methodological, in that they deal with the difficulty of proving beyond statistical correlation a causal relationship between the impact of certain series on an audience and the impact on the image and/or tourist attendance in spaces that serve as a setting (Sangkyun et al., 2009; Anaz & Ozcan, 2016).

Another significant theme, treated essentially on an urban scale, has been the complex interrelationship between series and space once a series has been consumed not simply as a visual experience but also geographically, as an *in situ* tourist/cultural experience. Late in the last century, Urry remarked that a "visualization of culture" was taking place (1994, p. 235): a process inherent to a general visualization of society as a whole. Among many other aspects, this has led to a strengthening of the relationship between tourism and visual pop-media, reaffirming the role of the latter in shaping tourist motivations and destinations (Sangkyun, 2012).

Along with other media, Urry (1990) includes television in the construction of the tourist gaze, due to the possibilities of anticipation that it offers (vicarious experience), feeding again and again the dreams and fantasies of potential tourists through continuous production and consumption of signs. Such a televised gaze is equal to the tourist gaze, to the extent that both are constructed within a frame (photographic camera, bus or hotel window, screen, etc.) through which passes a continuum of moving images, the only difference being that now they can be observed in the home (Urry, 1990).

Following this line of argument, Fish (2005) points out that it is easier to understand tourism as a category of experience outside of television than it is to consider television without the idea of tourism, to the extent that aspects such as travel, visitation, movement, or escape are intimately

linked to the way of understanding television, like a series of encounters between a text and a viewing audience. In the words of Jackson, being a tourist and being a film or television viewer would represent "converging cultural activities" (Jackson, 2005, p. 194), which would lead us to assume that "television viewing is tourism, or better still, a set of tourisms" (Fish, 2005, p. 120).

Regarding this convergence of touristic and filmic views, Gibson (2018) chooses the concept 'glance' instead of 'gaze'. This would imply a gaze that is not static, whose attention is always elsewhere, and which does not seek to seize what is observed but to perceive it fleetingly. In addition to the transience inherent in this way of looking, many television series set in large cities employ a metonymic strategy, using urban icons in order to fix spatially and temporally what occurs indoors (Torchin, 2002). The result is a "postcard effect" (Sadler & Haskins, 2005) —a fragmentation in the construction of the urban image that works as a collage and that is somewhat similar to that built through the tourist experience.

The ultimate goal of this metonymic operation is to condense the city as a whole into a series of icons that, following Roland Barthes, become a mode of control, to the extent that they "obscure the magnitude and complexity of the livable urban area" (Sadler & Haskins, 2005, p. 197). Alvarado-Sizzo (2021) stresses the danger that this metonymic operation can present for tourist destinations, reducing their complexity to a few icons, areas, or experiences. It should also be noted that "[s]patial representations not only shape tourist itineraries but also configure their territories" (Alvarado-Sizza, 2021, p. 1).

Consequently, such fragmented projection of urban spaces has often been interpreted in a negative way as a "conscious operation of ideological power" (Jackson, 2005, p. 190); after all, Urry's theory on 'the tourist gaze' is composed from Foucault's postulates and the idea of 'surveillance'. Torchin (2002) in an analysis of tourist visits to 'television Manhattan' likewise takes a negative view, citing Benjamin's complaint about the loss of the aura of the artistic object in the era of mechanical reproduction. Other authors (Jackson, 2005) bring up Baudrillard's ideas on the 'simulacrum', where material reality would be overshadowed and replaced by its representation.

To the contrary, some authors take a more positive view of this convergence of tourist and media perspectives and its possible condensation in media-induced tourism. Couldry (1998) denounces the excessive cognitive bias of theories that emphasize the duality of reality vs. fiction, paying scant attention to imaginative involvement in fiction. This would assume that visitors to filmed locations are not concerned with the fictional status of the space visited, so long as it allows them

to connect with the forms of film representation. The ultimate result of such imaginative involvement would be a postmodern tourist —already foreseen by Urry (1990) and by Rojek (1993)— who assumes multiple identities and represents different performative roles (Mordue, 2001) while enjoying an artifice in which what matters is not reality but symbols, and where the real improves the virtual after the virtual has increased the real (Torchin, 2002).

Beyond discussion around the connection between reality and fiction, what seems certain is that culture is a form of social production of meaning; in this sense, within the discipline of geography an intense debate has arisen on the role that visual texts play in the definition and understanding of space, landscapes, and urban identities (Bollhöfer, 2007). Consequently, a geographical visual representation would not be a record but rather an interpretation (Bollhöfer, 2007), which implies that (to a greater or lesser extent) this reflects a finalist image (usually from an economic point of view) of particular interest to power structures (Sadler & Haskins, 2005).

Therefore, the media in general and television in particular can be considered spatial practices that produce disputed *spatialities* (Morgan, 2014), and this clearly fits into the dimension of "representations of space (perception)" referred to by Harvey (1989) in his explanation of how space is constructed, represented, and experienced. However, these images do not (or do not only) generate spatiality when they are produced; following a post-structuralist interpretation, it would be necessary to assume that the true production of spatiality occurs at the moment of viewing, understanding that the "spectators bring their own subjectivities and contexts along with them, and that it is their personal and subjective viewing that renders a visual text significant" (Bollhöfer, 2007, p. 166).

Signifying texts blend with many others in a complex network of intertexts (Davin, 2005), including those that the viewer —now transmuted into tourist (a consumer of physical space as well as spatial images)— produces by his or her own means. Indeed, inter-compatibility and the breaking down of borders between digital technologies (Bell & Lyall, 2005) permit film tourists their own reinterpretation of the received visual image, and they can instantly share this on social networks to be consumed by other audiences who may potentially become tourists, thus closing a circle that allows Bell and Lyall to affirm that "tourists are viewers; viewers are tourists" (2005, p. 178).

3 Research question, main objectives, and methodology

As stated in the Introduction, this research seeks to reflect on the image of the city projected by viewers of Netflix platform series via social networks when visiting — as *in situ* tourist or cultural consumers — an urban space employed as a setting in video production. Our concerns include how the urban image transmitted by a television series is assimilated, reconstructed, and then projected by Twitter users who visit such locations. To reflect on this issue, five specific work sub-objectives have been designed:

- Objective 1. Reflect on the image that (on an urban scale) these Netflix platform series project, with emphasis on the analysis of specific spaces where the series were filmed.
- Objective 2. Consider the capacity of series viewers to recognize and identify urban spaces.
- Objective 3. Establish possible connections existing between the geographical space, the filmic space, and the space projected by the Twitter user.
- Objective 4. Attempt a valuation of the development of the 'screen tourism' modality, taking as reference the impact of series shot in cities as transmitted through social networks.
- Objective 5. Take into account the role that series play in the marketing of cities.

To pursue these objectives, we have selected the municipality of Madrid as a case study, for three essential reasons: first, the city's increased use as a main setting in series over the past decade, fostering the construction of an urban image that is then transmitted to a large audience; second, the City Council's creation of a public Film Office that promotes Madrid as an ideal setting for movie and series production; and third, the FICMATUR project into which this work is integrated, which provides a framework of prior research that aids advances in the study of film tourism in the city.

To assess the impact that the urban image developed in series (fiction) may have on the city's recognition, image, and tourism, we consider six series shot in Madrid and currently available on the Netflix audiovisual platform, and which have already been the object of study in FICMATUR:[1] 'Cable Girls', 'Money Heist', 'Paquita Salas', 'Elite', 'The Neighbor', and 'Valeria'.[2] Using data-mining techniques, a search and download of information from the Twitter social network has

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[1] Within this project, a specific investigation titled "Madrid & the Madrid of Netflix. An interdisciplinary approach to the imaginary of an urban region," in which the Netflix series taken as reference here are analyzed from a cartographic perspective in an attempt to establish bridges between the two investigations. For more information, consult the project website: https://geocine.uc3m.es/pficmatur/cartographies-ficmatur.html

[2] The orginal Spanish titles are, respectively, *Las chicas del cable, La casa de papel, Paquita Salas, Élite, El vecino,* and *Valeria.*

been conducted, allowing the application of both qualitative and quantitative analysis to examine how these series build an image of the city and how that image is perceived.

To obtain an audiovisual corpus sufficiently large for successful analysis, an extra layer has been programmed on top of Twitter's Application Programming Interface (API),[3] making it possible to download and analyze information from that social network within the parameters required for the project. The searches carried out on Twitter by way of the API met three criteria:

- Criterion 1. Hashtags including the names of the series in English or Spanish and/or the season numbers (examples: #casadepapel, #moneyheist, #LCDP3, #elvecino, #elvecinonetflix, etc.)
- Criterion 2. To determine the territorial scale, #Madrid has been entered as a search criterion.
- Criterion 3. Chronologically, selected tweets cover the total duration of the series, differentiating between seasons and periods between seasons.

Once the search had been carried out using the parameters described above, a corpus of 1,117 downloaded tweets was configured; after an initial validation, 100 of these were selected as a sample for the investigation. The rest were discarded since interpretation was not feasible, invalidating them from the sample. In a second filtering, all tweets not directly linked to the research objectives were eliminated, thereby obtaining a definitive corpus of 80 tweets (Table 1).

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3   An API is a layer of abstraction that exposes the functionalities of a library or application to the programmer using it (Stylos et al., 2009). Twitter recently released version two (v2) of its API, and this includes for the first time an Academic Research Product track, which increases their monthly tweet cap 20-fold, compared to their standard product track, also providing unbiased search results (Tornes & Trujillo, 2021). This clears the way for researchers from all fields to use Twitter data in their projects. Academic Research access is granted by Twitter on a project-by-project basis, for non-commercial purposes (https://developer.twitter.com/en/developer-terms/commercial-terms), so long as the developer agreement is followed (https://developer.twitter.com/en/developer-terms/agreement-and-policy). Information about the project methodology must be sent to Twitter before access will be granted, to check that the project stays within the aforementioned limits. For interaction with the Twitter API, the searchtweets-v2 python library (Gonzales et al., 2022) was used. Data was transformed with a tailored python script to extract the information relevant to our project. Next, the data was exported as a comma-separated values (CSV) file for additional statistical and spatial processing. This workflow was chosen as it allows for further reutilization of the code for other research projects that employ Twitter data, as CSV files can be easily opened with most data-processing software. A graphical interface was added for ease of use. We utilized the full-archive endpoint of the API v2, granting access to a great variety of query operators (Twitter, n.d.). To circumvent the tweet limit per query, we queried between the desired dates, and repeatedly, changing the start time to the timestamp of the newest returned tweet of the previous query, until we reach the end date. This had to be done as the searchtweets-v2 library does not yet allow for working with pagination tokens.

Table 1. Evolution of the data used in the analysis

SERIES	TOTAL TWEETS DOWNLOADED	%	TOTAL FIRST FILTERING	%	TOTAL SECOND FILTERING (DEFINITIVE LIST)	%
Money Heist	371	33.2	67	67	52	65.0
Cable Girls	107	9.6	12	12	11	13.8
Valeria	80	7.2	7	7	6	7.5
The Neighbor	15	1.3	5	5	5	6.3
Elite	526	47.1	6	6	3	3.8
Paquita Salas	18	1.6	3	3	3	3.8
Total	1,117	100	100	93	80	100

Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

An information filter has been applied to this corpus, configured by 19 fields (Annex 1. Table 2) grouped into four large categories.[4] This allows not only identification of each tweet and the main topics of analysis but also of the particular Twitter user and what role they play in creating the image of the city (inhabitant of Madrid, tourist, institution, company, etc.), as well as evaluation of the urban image built through the series under observation:

- Twitter identification: fields 1-3 and 18-19.
- Identification of the Twitter user and their role in transmitting the image of the city: fields 13-16.
- Image constructed and transmitted through the series: fields 4-11.

The information extracted from a final list of 80 tweets (including graphic and photographic) has been processed from a quantitative and qualitative perspective, through discourse analysis of both the texts and any images included in the tweets. This has permitted detection of the most relevant topics of analysis as manifested in the tweets, as well as development of those topics.

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4   Not all of these fields of analysis have been used for this paper.

4 General characteristics of the fiction series selected as case studies

As noted in the Methodology section, a total of six series of Spanish production have been analyzed in this research project; the Netflix streaming platform plays an important role as a distributor and producer of all of them. As stated in the OTT Barometer from GECA (a consulting firm specialized in the international entertainment industry), four of these series were among the most-watched Spanish productions in 2021 (Figure 1).

According to relevant websites focused on analysis of series and movies, 'Money Heist' by producer Álex Pina and screenwriter Javier Gómez Santander has been without a doubt the series with the largest impact and audience, both nationally and internationally. Indeed, it is the most-watched non-English-speaking series in Netflix history. The proof of the series' success becomes palpable when audience figures for the fifth and final season are examined: the 10 episodes together accounted for 189.9 million hours of streaming worldwide during the first three days of availability (December 3 to 5) (Zarate, 2021, December 20), topping the platform's ranking.

Figure 1. Ranking of the 10 most-watched Spanish series, according to GECA (2021)
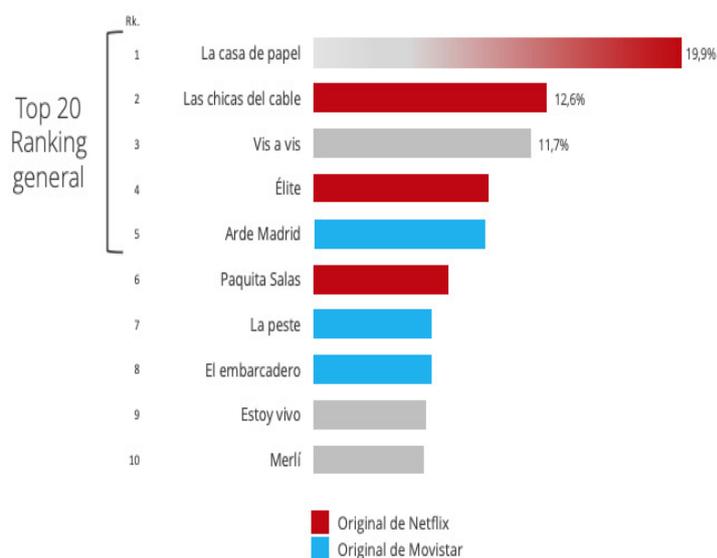
Source: GECA (www.geca.es)

Initially produced by Vancouver Media and Atresmedia Televisión and broadcast by Antena 3 Televisión, it premiered on May 2, 2017, and its first season ended on November 23 of the same year. In December 2017, Netflix acquired the distribution rights and assumed production of the remaining four seasons. The series in its first two seasons deals with a robbery of the Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre (Spain's Mint, also known as the Real Casa de la Moneda); seasons 3, 4, and 5 follow a robbery of the Bank of Spain.

Also among the most popular series is *Cable Girls*, produced by Bambú Producciones and Netflix Spain and distributed by the latter, and premiering on April 28, 2017. Its five seasons comprised 42 episodes, with the final broadcast on July 3, 2020. Set in Madrid in the 1920s and 1930s, it follows several women who start their working lives at the national telephone company, based in the center of Madrid. The series' international impact, especially in the Latin American market, has been notable.

Third, the series *Elite* is produced by Zeta Studios Production for distribution by Netflix; it premiered on October 5, 2018, becoming the second original series for Netflix España following the success of 'Cable Girls'. This is a youth-oriented production that narrates the experience of a group of students at an exclusive private school where three working-class students have been admitted. The series comprises 40 episodes evenly distributed among five broadcast seasons (respectively shown in October to December of 2018, September of 2019, March of 2020, June of 2021, and finally in April of 2022).

The impact in terms of audience appears to have been significant, as evidenced by reports from the *TV Time Binge Report*, which ranked it number one worldwide during the opening week of the first three seasons (Natalie, 2020). Netflix announced that the first season of the series had been viewed in over 20 million homes in its first month of release, and that the second season placed in the top ten most-watched series worldwide throughout 2019.

Fourth, the comedy *Paquita Salas* was directed by Javier Ambrossi and Javier Calvo and produced by Estudios Buendía (Atresmedia and Telefónica) to be distributed first by Flooxer and later by Netflix. It follows an agent for Spanish actors in the 1990s who must find new talent after losing her best client. The production began broadcast on July 6, 2016, on Flooxer (Atresmedia) with five episodes. Despite limited success, and after some time on the Neox channel, Netflix acquired the rights for its second and third seasons, with five and six episodes released in June of 2018 and 2019, respectively. Although audience data is unavailable, the fact of rights acquisition by the Netflix platform has given the series international relevance.

The Neighbor, another Netflix original, consists of two seasons. Produced by Zeta Audiovisual, Netflix Spain, and Atisberri Ediciones, its first ten episodes were released on December 31, 2019, and the subsequent eight on May 21, 2021. This is a comedy based on graphic novels by Santiago García and Pepo Pérez that tells the story of a worker whose life is altered after receiving supernatural powers from an alien. No data on its impact are available; in fact, the producer has not continued with a new third season. Most outstanding from a geographical

perspective is that peripheral and working-class spaces of Madrid are expressly highlighted in the series.

Finally, the series 'Valeria' is based on a literary narrative by Elisabet Benavent examining the life of a writer who faces personal and marital crises. Produced for Netflix by Plano a Plano, it was broadcast for two seasons of eight episodes each, the first beginning on May 8, 2020, and the second on August 13, 2021. In October of 2021, it was confirmed that the series would include a third and final season. The impact has been remarkable, with La Vanguardia reporting that its initial season was the most-watched in Argentina, Uruguay, and France, also ranking high in Mexico, Switzerland, Venezuela, and Greece.[5]

5 Results

One of the main objectives of this research consists of approaching the capacity of a series to favor recognition and identification of the city of Madrid, in general, or some of its spaces and elements in particular, and consequently to reflect on the cultural and touristic potential that may conceivably be derived. Although we might infer from the number of valid tweets retrieved that this potential is not excessively great[6], analysis of the characteristics of those tweets and their senders permits relevant conclusions to be drawn about the urban image built and projected by Twitter users in their double role as consumers of both images and urban spaces.

5.1 The touristic, cultural, and territorial impact of audiovisual productions in Madrid

Again, given the number of tweets retrieved, it cannot be inferred that the potential for screen tourism in Madrid derived from series produced in the city is especially high. However, if one takes into account that the vast majority of tweets were sent from the city itself (76%), that 56% were sent by non-residents, and that 43% of senders were not Spanish.[7]

In any case, the potential for series to generate geographical images and to attract the tourist gaze is notably uneven from one series to another. The results of *Money Heist,* which provided the largest number of valid references for our analysis (65% of total), are particularly representative. Indeed, the next largest volume of usable tweets were related to *Cable Girls* and

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5 "El éxito de Valeria confirma la buena racha de las series españolas de Netflix" (La Vanguardia, 2020, May 14).

6 The methodology was not intended to expressly quantify such potential, but this conclusion coincides with other, more specific analyses of screen tourism in Madrid focused on film production (Barrado-Timón & Sáez-Cala, 2020).

7 Tweets were written mostly in Spanish, with 25% in English and specific examples in other languages.

represented only 13.8% of total. In addition to this simple quantitative verification, *Money Heist* (as we shall see in greater depth) also appears to have exerted a greater spatial influence on its audience and therefore a greater capacity to transform vicarious experience into a material spatial practice.

As indicated in the specialized bibliography, the reasons for this differential effect are quite varied and not entirely clear; they range from quantitative factors (such as the audience volume obtained, or the series extension over time) to others more difficult to measure empirically (such as the ability of a script and character construction to cause viewers to identify with a story and its protagonists) (Beeton, 2005).

Nevertheless, the most important reason explaining why some series generate high spatial recognition, and identification by an audience of where they were filmed, must be located in the ultimate presence that a territory and landscape have within the fiction. As evidenced by the FICMATUR, the productions featuring the most urban locations ('Cable Girls' and 'Money Heist') are those from which the greatest numbers of tweets have been retrieved that include images and/or express references to connection with the city; on the other hand, the series with the fewest outdoor locations (*Elite* or *Paquita Salas*) have left few traces on Twitter as regards their relationship with Madrid.

From the examples under analysis, it can further be deduced that not only exterior locations but above all the symbolic and protagonistic role that the territory itself (or certain of its elements) represents within the narration is what most affects recognition and identification by the audience. Based on this recognition and identification with the spaces reflected in a series, the audience builds vicarious geographical experiences through the characters. This process eventually leads to a closing of the circle when an audience passes from the consumption of filmed images and vicarious experience to the consumption of actual, material space, converting the viewer into a cultural or touristic user of the urban location.

Only two of the series under study (*Money Heist* and *Cable Girls*) feature symbolic urban elements —from a geographical as well as narrative and visual point of view— that prove powerful enough to attract the tourist eye. Consequently, they are the only series in our set that have left a trail of clear connections on Twitter, with many more examples in the first case than in the second. The explanation is likely to be found in the symbolic significance to these narratives of

three particular buildings,[8] all of which already enjoy a more or less significant geographical presence in the city.

In the case of *Cable Girls*, the urban reference is the so-called Telefónica building, a 90-meter skyscraper inaugurated in 1930, at which time it was the tallest in Europe. This edifice, located on the Gran Vía (a main artery in the city center with great significance for tourism, heritage, shopping, and leisure), has served as the headquarters of Spain's principal communications company since its inauguration. Due to its location, character, aesthetics, and historical significance, this building was already part of the urban imaginary; but now it has become even more individualized, and even a sort of resource, given its 'leading' role in a series. This has translated into specific recognition and presence on Twitter, where the comments, photos, and videos of tourists link the building with the aforementioned production (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Identification and recognition of urban elements.
The Telefónica building on Madrid's Gran Vía
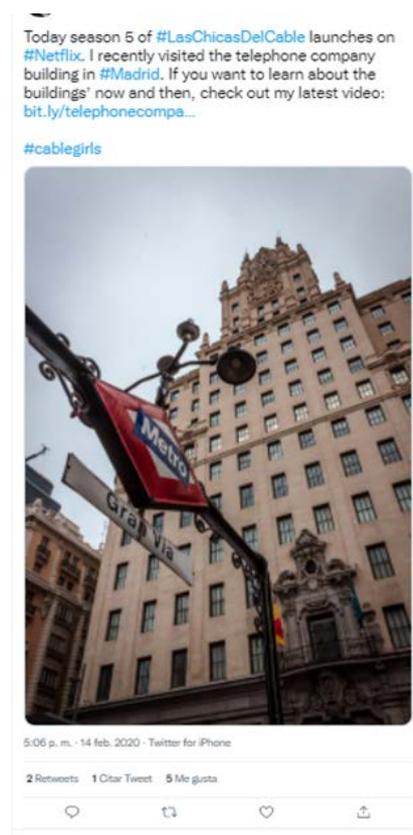
Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

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8 In reality, there are five buildings (one in *Cable Girls* and four in *Money Heist*), given that in *Money Heist* the targeted buildings (which exist in reality) are substituted by two others offering better facilities and possibilities for filming. As shall be seen, final tourist and cultural consumption occurs in both the geographical and the substituted spaces.

As for *Money Heist*, each of the two parts into which overall series can be logically divided (regardless of division into seasons and episodes) focuses on a robbery: the first in what is known as the Real Casa de la Moneda (the National Currency and Stamp Mint); and the second in the National Bank of Spain. However, the series does not use true images of these two buildings for its exterior locations, given the difficulties of shooting long and complex scenes within the city center and its main arteries. Consequently, two geographical 'impersonations' were employed, with two other large buildings in Madrid —previously far removed from the tourist gaze— standing in for the image and exterior shots. One of these is a building of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, on Calle Serrano, in a landscaped and partially closed scientific campus, representing the Real Casa de la Moneda in the first part. The second is the Nuevos Ministerios building, an enormous ministerial complex built in the 1930s and 1940s on Paseo de la Castellana, near one of Madrid' major economic centers but featuring a large square closed to traffic that permitted the filming of scenes of enormous complexity.

These substitutions entail cultural and tourist processes of great interest. In the first place, they focus the gaze on four buildings far from target areas of cultural and leisure tourism that attracted scant attention before, the exception being the actual Bank of Spain —located in a center of Madrid tourism, but seldom an individualized object of the tourist gaze. Interestingly, some tourists now venture to photograph and interact with the represented space (that is, the building of the real institution), while others concentrate their attention on the place of representation (the iconic element that appears onscreen, on which they have previously turned their vicarious tourist experience).

In the case of the Real Casa de la Moneda (Figure 3), the real building and the 'impersonation' share relatively balanced protagonism, with some tourists uncritically approaching either of the two while others (as in the case of the tweet in French shown in Figure 3) expressly indicate the substitute. In the second part of the series, when the action is focused on the supposed robbery of the Bank of Spain, the long and spectacular exterior scenes give the enormous substitute at Nuevos Ministerios a prominence that the Real Casa de la Moneda did not receive in the first part. As a result, most tourists visit this place (Figure 4) and not the real Bank of Spain (although the latter is much more central, a few hundred meters from Puerta del Sol and the Prado Museum), in order to photograph the site and themselves in front of it. Thus Nuevos Ministerios has acquired an iconic quality that it did not previously enjoy.

Figure 3. The geographical space and its cinematographic impersonation:
The Real Casa de la Moneda - Mint of Madrid - and its narrative substitute

Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

Figure 4. The geographical space and its cinematographic impersonation:
Nuevos Ministerios as a narrative substitute for the Bank of Spain

Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

5.2 The geographical plane versus the narrative plane: Tourist-cultural interpretations of space and the urban image

As mentioned above, *Money Heist* is by far the series that has generated the greatest cultural and tourist recognition, as evidenced by the number of relevant tweets retrieved. It is also the series

that generates in these tweets the most complex relationships between audiovisual fiction, geographical space, and the tourist gaze, due largely to the enormous role that the buildings play within the narrative structure.[9]

In effect, if we add the geographical substitutes mentioned above to the overlapping of geographical and audiovisual planes, we arrive at a complex network of possible crossed readings that, among other things, entails the complete subversion of the traditional idea of authenticity associated with tourism. In this case, the visitor (tourist or not) is attracted by a fiction that supplants real urban scenarios on the screen, directing the gaze through a network of spaces that includes the filmic/narrative, the supplanted 'authentic' space, and the space that serves as a substitute.

At times, those who direct their interest to the real urban space (abandoned by the series) seem to attribute superior symbolic qualities to this place —possibly due to its belonging to a physical/geographical plane that is considered to be outside any simulacrum (Jackson, 2005). This is the case in a tweet where, along with a photo of the authentic Royal Mint and hashtags of the series in several languages, the text reads: "the real deal" — CP 58.

However, the majority of tweets in which the real buildings and institutions are indicated, whether in text or image, prefer to enter into the multilevel game and attribute to the space represented certain narrative qualities derived from series, rather than underlining the fact of substitution. As an example, Figure 5 displays a photo of the authentic Bank of Spain, but the sender abandons the territorial plane and turns to the narrative one, proposing himself as a character and offering to participate unequivocally in the fiction: "Bank of Spain robbery? I'm ready, Professor."

As for those tweets making express references to the spaces of fiction, there are examples of some who users are unaware of the substitution, as well as some who fully assume this fact and play with it. For example, one Twitter user passes "coincidentally" in front of Nuevos Ministerios and cannot resist being photographed in front of the "false Bank of Spain" (CP 63). There are also visitors who expressly individualize these places because their area of interest is precisely audiovisual fiction, and with this a new cultural and symbolic layer is added to the diversity of possible readings of geographical space. Thus, in Figure 4, the text indicates satisfaction in visiting the place "where it was filmed," while personal photographs of the Nuevos Ministerios

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9 In fact, the series title in Spanish ('La Casa de Papel,' literally 'The House of Paper') expressly refers to the institution and Real Casa de la Moneda building (paper = notes/money) through a metonymic game not maintained in the English title ('Money Heist').

building (a substitute place) are mixed together with a scene not showing the building itself, but a model of the building that within the fiction is used to rehearse the robbery. Here, the relationship between representation and what is represented reaches one of its highest levels of complexity.

Figure 5. Superimposition of the geographical and narrative planes

Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

A further step would be taken by those who, as mentioned in Figure 5, abandon differentiation between the geographical and audiovisual planes, interacting with the territory and with the narrative simultaneously and consciously involving themselves in the game of fiction. This is the case of an Albanian who (in German, in Figure 6) offers to be the right-hand man of 'The Professor' in a new 'season' (Is he proposing himself as an actor, or as a participant in a real robbery?). Elsewhere, a pair of English-speaking tourists make a 'pilgrimage' through the scenes of the series, disguised with certain identifying elements — red jumpsuit, mask — featured in the fiction (Figure 7).

Figure 6. Implication in the fiction

Ich spiele ab der nächsten Staffel von Haus des Geldes die rechte Hand des Professors.
Mein Deckname: Prishtina.
Der liebe und zugleich geniale Albaner von nebenan.
Ab dem 31. Februar 2020 auf Netflix. #lacasadepapel #madrid #elprofesor #netflix

5:35 p. m. · 18 ene. 2020 de Madrid, España · Twitter for Android

9 Me gusta

Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

Figure 7. Implication in the fiction

Our #MoneyHeist pilgrimage. We left the masks on the gate for other connoisseurs of the series to enjoy 😌 #Madrid

5:13 p. m. · 23 ene. 2022 · Twitter for iPhone

10 Me gusta

Felt cute, might rob the bank of Spain later 💰 #moneyheist #madrid #lacasadepapel #bankofspain #netflix #elprofesor #dalí instagr.am/p/CV-9DFegHGK/

7:01 p. m. · 7 nov. 2021 · IFTTT

Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

This tourist pilgrimage through the sets of a series can even be virtual, as seen in the tweet in Figure 8. Here, a Mexican 'tourist' —a self-described fan of *The Neighbor*— has managed to locate the most important exterior shots from his favorite series on Google Maps, and he includes

an image from that search engine (Figure 8, bottom right photo) along with three scenes. This location has enormous merit, in that the series was shot in a traditional working-class neighborhood relatively peripheral to Madrid, and without easily identifiable elements; indeed, the series expressly plays with the anonymity of such lower-middle-class spaces.

Figure 8. The geographical space as a condition of reality of the narrative

Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

His exclamation when confirming that the location exists (and is not merely a stage built for the series) is of great interest: "IT'S REAL. I found out exactly where it happened in Madrid!!!" (Figure 8). That is to say, the actual existence of the geographic space serves as the guarantor of the stories that happen within it, and this supposes motivations and experiences that are totally opposed to those described by Couldry (1998) in relation to visiting the fictional sets of 'Coronation Street': compared to the 'fake' Manchester of the British production, this is 'real' Madrid. This is not to say that the tourists assume and are playfully involved in the fiction, but rather that the geographical existence of the 'stage' becomes a condition of reality for the stories that take place on it.

These examples, along with many others retrieved from Twitter, completely break down the boundaries between the audiovisual and the tourist gaze —which as indicated in the Literature Review leads Bell and Lyall to claim that "tourists are viewers; viewers are tourists" (2005: 178). And yet tourists such as those in Figures 5, 6, and 7 go further, closing a circle that began with the vicarious geographical experience (by watching the series and becoming emotionally involved with the script and characters) to later experience the true geography (by becoming

tourists in the previously desired space). From there, they project the filmed space back into fiction by interacting with it as if it were in fact the narrative place.

5.3 The image and the urban space as productive elements

The second great connection between the audiovisual image and tourism as traced through Twitter is the use of series and their most emblematic scenes and/or images as elements for urban marketing. References to the several series analyzed can be found on the Twitter accounts of various destination management offices (DMOs), including Visita Madrid (the city's official tourism Twitter account) and Tour Spain (DMO of the Government of Spain). From the latter, specific promotional campaigns are launched for Asian markets, considered potential sources of tourists related to screen tourism given the success that certain series have enjoyed there.

In fact, tweets have been found from broadcasting agencies in India that, within the promotion of Spain, include series shot in Madrid and images from them as examples of the city's attractiveness. In these messages, fans are directly addressed in different languages, and urban photographs are presented that make express references to the scenes that take place in these locations (Figure 9), implying that urban space is now valued culturally and touristically based on the patina resulting from the fact of its having been previously recorded and consumed via screen. To this relationship between audiovisual production and tourism can be added the role of receiving (inbound) tourist agencies, which sell more or less sophisticated products ranging from a simple route through various scenarios to visits featuring some degree of dramatization and peripheral services.[10]

The use of series for the promotion of a destination implies, following the model of Gunn (1972), the generation and use of organic images (those that are not generated by the tourism system for specific marketing purposes but for example by the mass media or various cultural productions such as cinema or series), compared to traditional induced images (those expressly generated by the tourism system for advertising purposes). Various authors have pointed out that, in current tourism, the former present greater credibility at the time of the pre-visit and when making the decision to travel (Hahm & Wang, 2011), so the recommendation long advanced by the specialized literature (Beeton, 2005) on the need to forge agreements between tourism and audiovisual agents to establish synergies between production and subsequent promotion of tourism seems to be validated.

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10 Routes have all been detected on Twitter related to *Money Heist, Cable Girls,* and *Valeria,* along with numerous blogs on audiovisual themes and culture that identify filming locations for the enjoyment of readers.

Figure 9. The audiovisual image as an urban marketing strategy
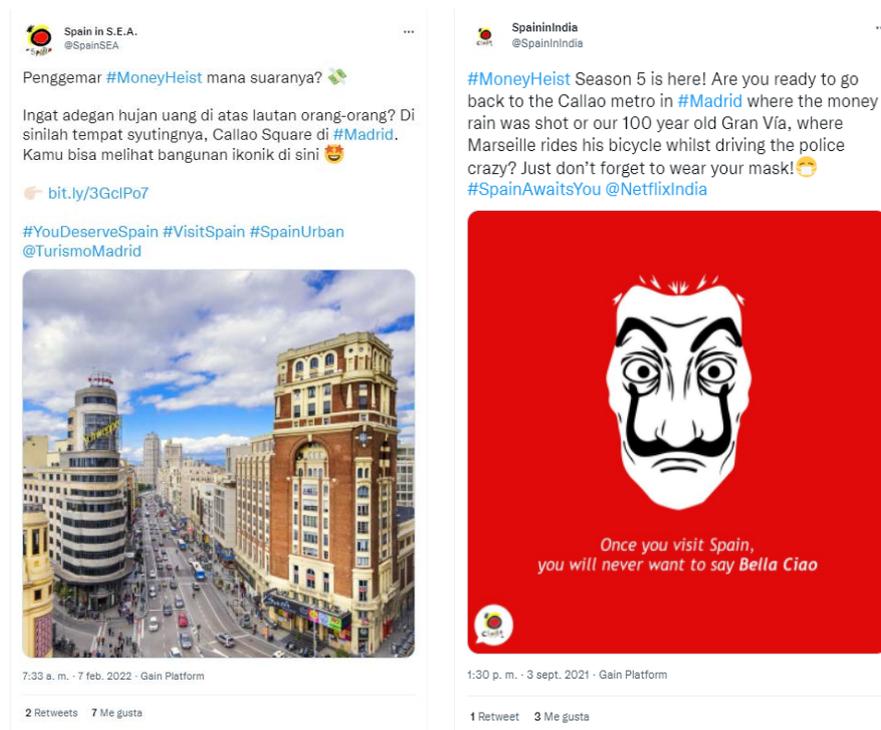
Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

But if series have an impact on production within the city, based on the images transmitted, then the city in turn plays a very important productive role within the audiovisual cultural industry. In part, the city is the place of production when its spaces are used as a stage for filming (an aspect also reflected in social networks), and this implies the construction of new urban discourses as well as the commodification of discourses and symbolisms previously constructed in social terms. The audiovisual industry in turn uses these physical spaces as a support to promote its finished products, occupying central urban spaces in various ways, from traditional billboards to the transformation of squares into imitations of film sets that reproduce especially characteristic elements from fiction. Thus, series depict the city and then, once finished, they reflect on the urban space, modifying (at least temporarily) the cultural landscape in which the city's inhabitants live.

Figure 10. The urban space as a support for audiovisual fiction

Source: authors' elaboration (tweets downloaded with the API)

This condition of productive space, in addition to space imagined and produced, is also recognized and reflected by citizens and by visitors, although in two very different directions. The most common direction is that of fans, or those simply interested in a series, who find in its superimposition over the city another incentive for their relationship with the city and its narrative space. Generally, such tweets are limited to reflecting, usually in a positive and uncritical way, the urban elements that support advertising[11] as well as other types of more limited but highly impressive campaigns, such as the complete theming of major stations of the city's metro network. In any case, in contrast to the admiration that most such references usually imply, one also finds critical evaluations of this occupation of urban space, such as that of an English-speaking Twitter user who, alongside a photo of a metro station covered in bright colors, requested that those responsible "calm down with the advertising".

6 Conclusions

As indicated throughout the text, this research was designed to reflect on the role of the series in recognition of the city (Madrid) and in the construction of urban images with the capacity to

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11 In the case of Netflix, campaigns in some of Madrid's most central spaces such as Puerta del Sol have been impressive, as have parties and parades of actors on the occasion of a premiere in the city's most notable cinemas, generally located on the Gran Vía.

penetrate an audience both touristically and culturally. Whatever said impact may be in quantitative terms, it seems evident that such will be very dependent on the particular series. And while audience volume is important, other contributing elements are also significant, such as the relatively iconic role that certain territorial elements may play within the fiction.

Although an investigation undertaken several years ago on film-induced tourism in Madrid found that practically no international tourists were capable of linking cinematographic images with specific areas or elements of the city (Barrado-Timón & Sáez-Cala, 2020), in the case of 'Money Heist', and to a lesser extent 'Cable Girls', there are indeed tourists (and significantly, international tourists) who post clear traces of such connection on Twitter. And while it is true that these series have enjoyed marked success with audiences, it is also true that other series (or movies) have previously reached comparable levels, but without the same impact on territorial recognition.

Beeton (2005) points out that cultural recognition of the filmed space and film tourism seem to depend on connections established between the story, the characters, and the setting, and this combination is especially powerful in the two series highlighted here, particularly 'Money Heist'. Beyond volume of audience, it seems that this series has been able to create strong empathy with the story and its characters[12] that leads the viewer to live a vicarious experience, thereby fostering interest in getting to know the scenarios previously viewed onscreen. Along these lines, Riley et al. (1998) and Beeton (2005) state that spatial icons must be visual but also thematic and emotional in order to generate high recognition and identification.

Also interesting in this regard is the distinction established by Riley et al. (1998) among urban landmarks that (depending on their potential) become cinematographic icons with the capacity to metonymically represent an entire city, or, as in the case at hand, those spaces or urban elements that acquire iconic status only after having appeared in an audiovisual production. As numerous authors have pointed out, this would be a manifestation of the potential that well-chosen urban images have to arouse touristic and cultural interest (Busby & Klug, 2001; Bolan & Williams, 2008; Camprubi & Coromina, 2016), especially if those locations are made explicit and contain both symbolic capacity and narrative significance.

While it is not possible with our methodology to measure extent, we can confirm the ability of certain audiovisual narratives to intervene, to one degree or another, in the tourist-cultural map of

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12 As evidenced by the social recognition and use for various purposes of certain of its most characteristic elements, especially the masks worn by the series' robbers.

the city, thus contributing new signifiers and new meanings to those already existing. Another issue for further investigation would be the question of the duration of such an effect, or the consolidation (or not) of those new resources among the city's landmarks.

Such new resources may (as in this case) be totally isolated from their urban context and, needless to say, from the prior touristic context. They become highlights in the midst of a shapeless plot that the tourist flies past without noticing or referencing (photographing), in this way generating the "postcard effect" described by Sadler and Haskins (2005), just as audiovisual narration can produce spatial ellipses that allow the connection without real continuity of geographically disperse areas.

Apart from the most directly quantifiable aspects, significant interpretative possibilities both theoretical and ideological can be derived from the analysis undertaken, revealed by this particular type of tourist in his or her manipulation and interrelation with geographical space and audiovisual narratives. One element to take into account is that of authenticity, to the extent that interpretations of tourism in Modernity assumed that this experience was condensed into a permanent search for authenticity, which MacCannell (1976) reinterpreted as the traditional human search for the sacred. This led to the critique that any cultural manifestation or element might be described as 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1976), as in the present case.

However, the behavior of some of the tourists and/or cultural consumers referred to in this research clearly manifests that the simulacrum is not rejected but is fully assumed and interacted with, through a conscious leap from the physical territory and the supposedly authentic heritage at the level of fiction. In this sense, it is not simply that the consumer is incapable of accessing the supposed reality they seek, seeing it overshadowed by fiction (Jackson, 2005), but rather that the focus of his or her interest is precisely that fiction, along with the new symbolic layers now being added to the previous meanings of geographic space. As Urry (1990) points out, these are post-tourists who find pleasure precisely in the inauthenticity of the experience — in enjoyment of the multiplicity of games and texts and interrelationships among them. Thus, at least for certain tourists detected on Twitter, the imaginative importance of fiction seems to be confirmed (Couldry, 1998), as opposed to pessimistic interpretations developed from Baudrillard's ideas that signal the trivialization of the tourist experience and the idea of the simulacrum. As Torchin (2002) states, when a discursive opposition arises between the poles of authenticity and fiction, it is the latter —the virtual— that triumphs.

What does seem evident is that the new possibilities offered by the manipulation of images and the multiplication of audiovisual texts (to which other technologies such as Virtual and Augmented Reality should be added) are now altering our traditional conception of Heritage. This manifests itself both in a modification of temporal relationships between past, present, and future (which appear to be implicit in the very idea of heritage) as well as in relation with the notion of 'aura' developed by Walter Benjamin (Barrado-Timón & Hidalgo-Giralt, 2019). This will necessarily entail radical changes in cultural and touristic use, especially in spaces that, like large cities, are the permanent object of the tourist gaze, in consideration of the multiple possibilities of manipulation and interrelationship among visual texts offered by new technologies.

Beyond the fact that iconic urban elements depicted in a series are capable of achieving sufficient prominence to be individualized and reinterpreted by the audience, the reality is that all the series we have studied do construct to a greater or lesser extent an urban image of their own —one that serves to underline both the personality of the characters and the socioeconomic and cultural lifestyles in which they operate. And these audiovisual texts, being cultural practices, produce meanings which (among other aspects) have to do with space, landscape, and urban identity (Bollhöfer, 2007).

Thus, in some of the analyzed series, such as *Valeria*, the scenarios in which the characters move represent a gentrified urban center that frames the protagonists' lifestyles, becoming a symbolic agent that promotes not only neoliberal ways of being but even urban transformation and restructuring (Celik & Kayhan, 2016). On the other hand, in some cases the atmosphere and urban setting entail a kind of vindication of peripheral and working-class spaces, as conveyed by 'The Neighbor', with an allegedly ugly aesthetic, both exterior and interior.

This consideration of the audiovisual as a spatial practice, and of the reinterpretation that an audience makes of its images, opens up a field of analysis that implies ethical, political, and other issues around the relationship with the city that range far beyond the recognition and cultural reinterpretation of space. After all, if audiovisual narratives are spatial practices that build disputed spatialities (Morgan, 2014), then it will inevitably be necessary to take their finalist nature into account economically, but also socially, politically, and culturally. The simplification of urban life —the fragmentary projection of the city— is again a power strategy that modulates the perception of both its inhabitants and its visitors, and this has an impact on the production of city that derives from the complex interrelation between material practices, perception, and spatial imagination (Harvey, 1989).

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Annex I. Filters applied to the body of information extracted from Twitter

FIELD	INFORMATION
Field 1	Total number
Field 2	Datos
Field 3	Tweet link
Field 4	Name of geographical place
Field 5	Type of geographical place (ornamental element / building / public space (street, square, etc.) / means of transport, landscape, neighborhood / urban area / city of Madrid / others)
Field 6	Is the geographical location named in the tweet? (yes / no)
Field 7	Does the tweet explicitly refer to the series? (yes / no)
Field 8	Type of image that appears in the tweet (promotional; personal; institutional; film shoot; others)
Field 9	What relation is established in the tweet between the geographical and the fictional location? (correspondence noted between the geographical and the fictional place / the geographical place is identified but not the fictional place / no correspondence noted between the geographical and the fictional place, but both are identified)
Field 10	Does the tweet connect geographically with the fictional aspect? (yes / no / neutral)
Field 11	Feeling about the geographical place that the tweet expresses? (positive / negative / neutral)
Field 12	Was the tweet sent by a non-resident of Madrid? (yes / no / neutral)
Field 13	Gender of the Twitter user (male / female / unidentified)
Field 14	Nationality of the Twitter user (Spanish / other / unidentified)
Field 15	Language used in the tweet (Spanish / English / other / unidentified)
Field 16	Was the tweet uploaded in Madrid? (yes / no / unidentified)
Field 17	Does the geographical place appear in the FICMATUR cartographies? (yes / no)
Field 18	Observations
Field 19	Text of the tweets

Source: authors' own elaboration