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Fragmented geographies for the 2023 European Capital of Smart Tourism: Seville City Office's film itineraries

Maria C. Puche-Ruiz* 

Andalusian Institute for Research and Innovation in Tourism, University of Seville, Seville, Andalusia, Spain

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Abstract

In the aftermath of the unprecedented surge in screen tourism, numerous European cities have developed initiatives offering visitors alternative ways to explore urban environments. This article examines the evolution of cultural tourism after the COVID-19 pandemic and focuses on the growing offer of film itineraries in Spain's main urban destinations. To this end, it analyzes the potential of the film itineraries proposed by the Seville City Office to decentralize visitor flows, extending new narratives of heritage discovery to other parts of the city. Thus, this work explores, on the one hand, the key characteristics of the locations and neighborhoods suggested by the selected films and, on the other hand, the success of the films in terms of audience, as well as the awards they have won and the confirmation of the itineraries according to a "cine-mapping" strategy. An analytical-descriptive investigation is presented using the technique of scientific observation, studying the locations and cinematic reception with a clear and precise objective. Combining the analysis of tourism in the city of Seville with the results obtained, it can be seen that these itineraries, although proposed by an entity whose objective is tourism governance, appear to lack local consensus and show limited alignment with the city's tourist dynamic—an aspect which limits their acceptance by both residents and tourists—despite being part of a cine-mapping strategy.

***Corresponding author:**Maria C. Puche-Ruiz
(mpuche@us.es)

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1. Introduction

According to the Smart Tourism Office (a division of the Seville City Office), Seville city received over 3.6 million tourists in 2024, marking a 2.53% increase compared to the previous year.¹ In addition to the post-COVID-19 recovery, a balanced relationship between national and international visitors is evident, though international markets are exhibiting a higher proportion of overnight stays compared to domestic demand. Seville has established a potent identitarian image in music and in literature, partially due to its historical role as a pivotal port of the Americas, as depicted in over 150 operas. The site where trade with the Americas was formerly overseen is now the Archive of the Indies,

a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization World Heritage site. The city's renown also stems from the fascination of romantic travelers for a mythical Andalusia, a concept perhaps derived from their imagination, populated by ruins and monuments of Hispano-Arab architecture. Cinema emerged as the primary medium for disseminating Andalusian myths during the 20th century, although encumbered by stereotypes and archetypes. This phenomenon is evident in the travelogues of the Lumière brothers and Alice Guy, as well as the contemporary iteration of *Blood and Sand* (1989). In addition, Andalusia was often portrayed as the embodiment of Spanishness during the Franco era, further contributing to its stereotypical representation.

It is important to acknowledge that the concept of providing film itineraries by Seville's managers originates from Seville's candidacy and subsequent designation as the 2023 European Capital of Smart Tourism. To elaborate further, the aforementioned entity is the Sevilla Film and Events section of the Seville City Office, responsible for the promotion of "media, events, and entertainment." Therefore, with the assistance of location scouts Nieves González and Lucía Escassi, four Seville Film Itineraries were formulated and developed through Google My Maps (Google, United States), providing links through the official website (<https://sevillafilemandevents.com/>), and exclusively available in Spanish.

These itineraries have recently been linked to the "*Andalucía destino de cine*" website, a broader online initiative that includes locations throughout Andalusia. The first itinerary, entitled "The Seville that tells us about history," focuses on historical productions filmed in the city during the past two decades. The second itinerary, "The Seville of the 2000s," concentrates on films shot at the beginning of the 21st century. The third and fourth itineraries, entitled "Neighborhood portraits" and "The most recent Seville," respectively, propose films shot in economically disadvantaged or marginalized neighborhoods, as well as the latest film productions shot in the city. The Seville City Office has not yet furnished data regarding the outcomes of the itineraries, nor have they undergone analysis in terms of their potential to decentralize tourist flows from the most saturated neighborhoods, thereby diverting cultural tourists to other areas such as Triana, Los Remedios, and Nervión.

This paper examines the evolution of cultural tourism in the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic and analyzes the increasing proliferation of film itineraries in Spain's prominent urban destinations. To this end, it focuses on the city of Seville (Spain), whose primary tourism-related challenge stems from the high volume of visitors in its

historic center (particularly evident in the Santa Cruz quarter; Figure 1). This phenomenon is replicated in other major European cities. This endeavor aims to diverge from what Klein characterizes as enclosed and "scripted spaces"² (i.e., the city center) and to expand new narratives of heritage discovery to encompass other areas of the city.³

This work aims to explore the tourist potential of these itineraries through scientific observation,⁴ by examining specific operational criteria. A comprehensive analysis was conducted on each itinerary, encompassing the following indicators: the location theming, the accessibility of these itineraries to tourists, the reception of the films that integrate the itineraries as determined by audience size and critical acclaim, and their alignment with the five principles of "cine-mapping."⁵

A synthesis of the analysis of tourism in the city of Seville, alongside the results obtained, revealed that these itineraries, despite being proposed by an entity with objectives of tourism governance and sustainable tourist flow distribution in the city, have been designed without obtaining local consensus. This suggests a disregard for the tourist reality of the city (dominated by an average cultural tourist who is not particularly well acquainted with films shot in Seville), limiting their acceptance by both residents and tourists, despite being part of a cine-mapping strategy. The work is divided into three sections, with the objective of determining the appeal of the spaces and films suggested by the itineraries to tourists and their alignment with the five successful principles proposed by Burke *et al.*⁵ The initial section offers a concise overview of Seville's tourism landscape. The second part of the study presents some of the most salient results, and the third part provides some points of debate and the main conclusion.

2. Cultural tourism and film tours: The case of Seville

In the aftermath of the unprecedented surge in tourism that ensued following the release of *The Lord of the Rings*,⁶ numerous European cities, recognizing the efficacy of urban tourism models such as those in London or Barcelona,⁷ have devised and implemented initiatives to offer visitors alternative ways to explore the metropolises. These initiatives, showcased on their official tourist websites, are designed to complement the conventional tourist experience, appealing to the niche market of cultural tourists. A significant proportion of these itineraries is derived from successful products that embody the distinct characteristics of the destination.⁴

Collaborations between film commissions and Destination Management Organizations are prevalent,⁸ though they occur with intermittent frequency^{9,10} and

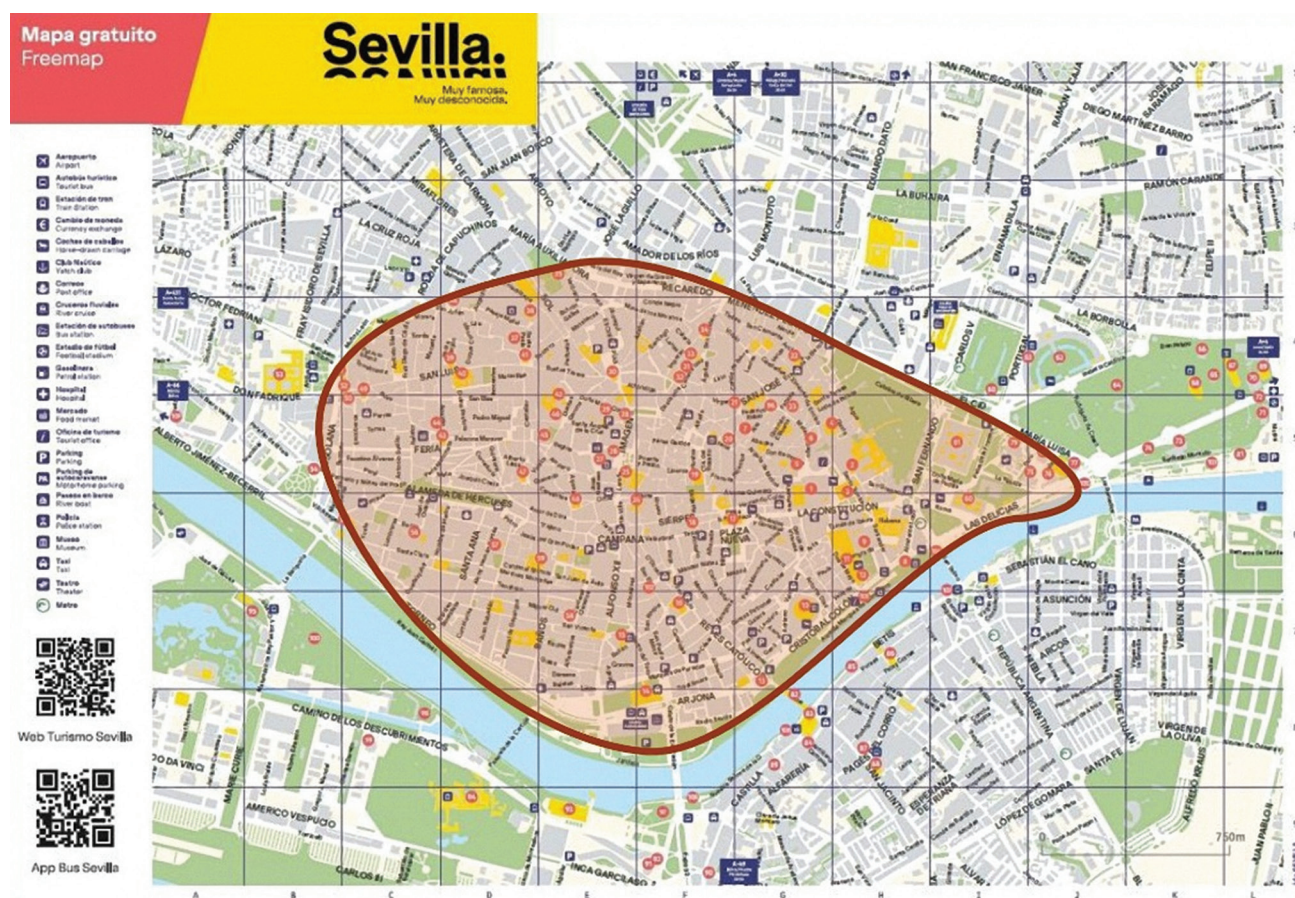


Figure 1. Official map of the Seville City Office, highlighting the neighborhoods of the historic center
Source: Map by the Seville City Office, highlighted by the author.

are limited to the immediate impact of audiovisual products.¹¹⁻¹⁸ These issues are further exacerbated by the considerable difficulty in discerning the film-related motivation of visitors,¹⁹ particularly in prominent cultural metropolises with a very distinctive cultural image. This notion has been reinforced by a considerable number of academic studies.²⁰ For all these reasons, cases of true and sustained success are often rare.

A particular focus should be placed on visits to specialized theme parks or specific attractions. These attractions have the capacity to meticulously recreate the most evocative elements for what has been termed “cinematic pilgrims”²¹ or to serve as a framework for relevant scenes.²² In addition, heritage cities, such as Edinburgh,²³ have developed increasingly sophisticated strategies based on artificial intelligence.²⁴ The sense of global mobility and belonging to the world is explained by the “tourist imagination”²⁵ generated through the consumption of audiovisual and travel narratives about “scripted spaces”²⁶ around the world. Many authors have noted the similarities between the cultural constructs

of tourism and cinema, which are both dominated by the effects of imagination and the emotions they evoke, as well as our sense of belonging to places and their understanding.^{27,28} In this vein, Burke *et al.*^{5(p39)} have introduced a new theoretical framework, cine-mapping, regarding “[...] the ways that fictional screen narratives are used to develop scripted spaces that structure a consumer’s engagement with a real-world location.”

Burke *et al.*⁵ identified the differences and similarities between theme parks and cine-mapping strategies. Theme parks are enclosed spaces that aim to establish their own narrative away from the real world. In contrast, the object of a cine-mapping is the real territory/city, which remains physically unchanged but is reinterpreted or endowed with new meanings. It is posited that this framework is optimally suited to serialized screen stories. A thorough analysis of three successful cine-mapping initiatives was presented, including the *Hobbiton Movie Set* in New Zealand, *Star Wars* franchise tourism in Tunisia, and the *Game of Thrones Territory* in Northern Ireland. The analysis culminated in the delineation of five main characteristics:

- (i). These initiatives are designed and overseen by stakeholders, who adeptly balance the divergent interests of various groups and cultivate their collaborative efforts.
- (ii). They target a broad audience, rather than only passionate fans, ensuring sustainability.
- (iii). They should rewrite narratives about real places in a compelling, mainstream manner aligned with the “experience economy” of staged mass tourism,²⁹ offering immersive, themed experiences that appeal even to casual fans and uninformed visitors.
- (iv). They should reduce the gap between reality and fiction by developing a “mental map of narrativized screen space” through transmedia storytelling (digital movie maps and apps to spread narrative-based strategies^{30,31}) to emotionally engage tourists.
- (v). These experiences aim for long-term impact, offering economically viable and commercially sustainable branded tourist products, often based on serialized products.

In addition to being mostly grounded in serialized film products, it is crucial to acknowledge that the case studies analyzed by these authors were implemented in substitute locations. For example, New Zealand offered a suitable location for Hobbiton, while the Tunisian region of Tataouine was selected to represent Tatooine. Furthermore, Northern Ireland stood as the chosen location for the portrayal of Winterfell. The city of Seville faces an additional challenge: the complications that arise when its history and heritage are reframed through its transformation into a fictional location in a blockbuster film.^{32–36}

Marchena Gómez^{37(p366)} acknowledged that, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, “[...] there was an incorporation or intensification of new inland areas [into the tourist activity],” such as “Granada, Seville, Cordoba: the triangle of the Andalusian Circuit [...]” The author recalled that “[...] in the 1980s there [was] a more selective growth in Andalusia [than in the rest of Spain] and, moreover, higher than the national average (26.6% over the 15.5% of Spain)”^{37(p354)} and that “[t]his effect [was] supported by the complexity of the Andalusian offer (urban, route, niche tourism) and the pull of events such as Expo’92.”^{37(p354)} Subsequently, a diversification of promotional strategies for tourism in Andalusia emerged. Therefore, a “conscious effort made to renew and overcome the traditional image of our region [can be perceived]; an effort carried out, however, in a gradual and transitional way, so as not to squander the unquestionable capacity for penetration and iconic power of the most recognizable features of the traditional image.”^{38(p258)}

For Marchena,^{37(p368)} the Andalusian lifestyle “[...] is understood as a diffuse image of a certain quality of life, a particular urbanism, an attractive lifestyle, a seductive culture, a welcoming and diverse landscape, still imbued with a certain aura of origin in the romantic journey, characteristics that are not comparable to those of the industrialized regions of the territories of origin.” This image is adapted to the patterns of experiential tourism, becoming increasingly standardized as the 21st century progressed in response to the new tourist demand. In this sense, it is worth highlighting the influence that the boom in urban cultural tourism has had on Spanish cities at the beginning of the 21st century, largely due to the growth of low-cost transportation and online accommodation platforms.³⁹

At a time when the touristification of the city of Seville was becoming apparent, the shutdown caused by the COVID-19 pandemic would be the prelude to the massification that would accompany the total democratization of the urban phenomenon, forcing destinations to re-imagine themselves and consider screen tourism as a way to develop a new tourist offer. The municipality of Seville had been left without an organization to bring together and distribute film shoots in the city⁴⁰—an impasse that the City Council took advantage of to establish the Seville City Office (a destination marketing & management organization [DMMO], 2022–2023) and promote its candidacy as “2023 European Capital of Smart Tourism.” The municipal Office in question comprised a Smart Tourism Office and a Film Office (Sevilla & Me, now Sevilla Film and events) with the objective of fostering new cultural industries. In 2023, Sevilla & Me initiated the implementation of four film itineraries, which were predicated on a multitude of films rather than on an iconic cinematic product. The itineraries prioritized the promotion of Seville as a city of fragmented geographies. An exploration of their potential to boost sustainable tourism in the city is therefore warranted.

3. Results

3.1. Itinerary 1 “The Seville that tells us about history”

According to the Seville City Office, the first itinerary encompasses places located in the intramural part of the city. The corpus includes historical productions, such as *Carmen* and *Alatriste* (Figure 2), as well as productions that are linked to Spain’s recent past, including *Grupo 7*, *La Isla Mínima*, and *Modelo 77*. Therefore, the initial two are concentrated in the Casco Antiguo district, while the remaining are situated in the Nervión, Los Remedios, or Bellavista neighborhoods.

Carmen (Vicente Aranda, 2003), the most recent Spanish adaptation of the 19th century’s mythical narrative



Figure 2. Posters of films in Itinerary 1, “The Seville that tells us about history”
Source: Modified from IMDb’s images.

conceived by Mérimée, is regarded as the most faithful reinterpretation of the original character of the female cigar maker (embodied by Spanish actress Paz Vega). This film was shot almost entirely on location in Córdoba and Seville. It successfully recreates the Andalusian atmosphere in such emblematic places as the Real Fábrica de Tabacos (the Tobacco Factory, where it is supposed that Carmen is working when she encounters Navarre lieutenant José de Lizarrabengoa) or Santa Cruz quarter (the ancient Jewish quarter, re-invented at the beginning of the 20th century as an iconic Andalusian architectural model by the Royal Commissioner of Tourism, Benigno de la Vega-Inclán). These places are indicated in red in Figure 3.

Conversely, *Alatriste* (Agustín Díaz Yanes, 2006) is an adaptation of a part of the literary saga *Adventures of Captain Alatriste* by Arturo Pérez-Reverte. While Úbeda and Baeza (World Heritage cities located in the province of Jaén) were used to reproduce 17th-century Imperial Madrid, the only location selected in Seville was the Real Casa de la Moneda (the Royal Mint), which is part of the buildings within the old walls of the Alcazar. Despite the fact that the site was nearly in a state of disrepair during the filming of *Alatriste*, the original courtyard has since undergone a comprehensive restoration, metamorphosing into a popular attraction for tourists and residents, with the addition of tourist accommodations. However, there

Tour 1. Suggested areas		
		Historic center Triana Los Remedios y Nervión Others
Film	Locations	Neighborhoods
Carmen (Vicente Aranda, 2003)	Patio de Banderas, Calle Judería, Fábrica de Tabacos, Iglesia de San Luis de los Franceses	Santa Cruz, Feria
Alatriste (Agustín Díaz Yanes, 2006)	Real Casa de la Moneda	El Arenal
Grupo 7 (Alberto Rodríguez, 2012)	Casa del Pumarejo, Calle Mendoza Ríos (zona Puerta Real), Calle Verde, Calle Niebla (Escuela Politécnica Superior), Avda. Blas Infante (edificio UGT y Policía), Calle Boteros (Bar Garlochí), Barriada de Guadaira, Calle Eduardo Dato (Real Fábrica de Artillería), Calle San Luis, Ayuntamiento	San Gil, Museo, Santa Cruz, Los Remedios, Alfalfa, El Tardón, Los Bermejales, San Bernardo
La Isla Mínima (Alberto Rodríguez, 2014)	Calle Jiménez Aranda (interior casas)	San Bernardo
Modelo 77 (Alberto Rodríguez, 2022)	Antigua Fábrica de Tabacos Altadis, Plaza de España. Complejo Educativo Blanco White y antiguo Instituto de la Grasa, Calle Eduardo Dato (Fábrica Santa Bárbara)	Los Remedios, Bellavista, San Bernardo

Figure 3. Locations and neighborhoods of films in Itinerary 1
Note: Data from Sevilla Film and Events.

is no evidence of this filming in the densely congested premises.

Itinerary 1, in this sense, integrates iconic locations, such as Calle Judería (*Carmen*, 2003) and the Artillery Factory, with lesser-known places such as Calle Mendoza Ríos (*Grupo 7*, 2006), Calle Jiménez Aranda (*La Isla Mínima*, 2014), and even the interior of an abandoned office in the popular Plaza de España (*Modelo 77*, 2022). It is noteworthy that the latter three productions are directed by Alberto Rodríguez, who is widely regarded as the preeminent proponent of new Andalusian cinema. These films were set in the complexities of the Spanish criminal world during the late 1970s and 1980s. The filmmaker sought locations capable of effectively conveying the ochre and almost ugly atmosphere of Sevilla (and Barcelona, in *Modelo 77*), where the pursuit of murderers of teenagers, drug traffickers, and delinquents convicted of economic crimes was underway. Consequently, the preponderance of these unidentified locations is concentrated in less densely visited neighborhoods, such as Los Remedios, San Bernardo (illustrated in yellow; Figure 3), and El Tardón (in green). It is also important to note that the UGT Headquarters building was utilized as a police station in *Grupo 7* (2012).

Regarding their reception, Figure 4 indicates that all the films were commercially successful, with the exception of *Grupo 7* (2012) and *Modelo 77* (2022)—both are considered non-mainstream productions. However, an examination of the data revealed a discrepancy. The highest-grossing and most awarded film, *La Isla Mínima*, has not located its emblematic spaces in the city of Sevilla. It is imperative to acknowledge that the film's narrative is situated exclusively within the marshes of the Guadalquivir, thereby rendering its depiction of Sevilla contingent on the impersonation of other geographical locations downstream. Consequently, the reinterpretation of the urban landscape becomes a complex matter. *Carmen* and *Alatriste*, both of which enjoyed widespread popularity among the general public, did not receive a favorable reception from critics, particularly the latter, which is often deemed an ineffective adaptation of the novels from the saga.

With regard to the five principles of cine-mapping proposed by Burke *et al.*,⁵ this itinerary complies with all of them except principle 4 (although none of the selected films are part of a film saga, which would contribute to the permanence of the itineraries). In this sense, the itinerary has been developed by two public-private partners, the Sevilla City Office and the location scouts. The selected films

Film	Audience	Awards
Carmen (Vicente Aranda, 2003)	1,381,108	1 Goya Award 7 Nominations
Alatriste (Agustín Díaz Yanes, 2006)	3,182,656	3 Goya Awards 15 Nominations
Grupo 7 (Alberto Iglesias, 2012)	379,430	2 Goya Awards 16 Nominations
La Isla Mínima (Alberto Iglesias, 2014)	1,291,487	10 Goya Awards 17 Nominations
Modelo 77 (Alberto Iglesias, 2022)	353,997	5 Goya Awards 16 Nominations

Figure 4. Reception and awards of the movies in Itinerary 1

Note: Data from Catálogo de Cine Español ICAA.

are intended to appeal to a broad audience, incorporating popular characters and myths, as well as renowned filmmakers. The majority of these films have exerted a significant and long-lasting influence on audience size and popularity in Spain. Furthermore, a movie map has been developed to attract potential tourists (integrated in Google My Maps). Nonetheless, Itinerary 1 does not constitute an experience that can be considered immersive, as it does not meet the criteria for being a tour. Although this itinerary highlights some lesser-known neighborhoods, the proposed landmarks are geographically disparate, with no evident temporal or spatial correlation, and some are inaccessible to the public. Therefore, even though tourists are provided with a My Maps that includes the proposed locations, it is extremely difficult to construct a mental map that integrates them all, resulting in a fragmented and dislocated geography of the city of Seville. The absence of a unifying theme or coherent narrative further exacerbates the disorientation experienced by visitors. One might reasonably ask: is the focus of the itinerary the history of Seville, or is it the history of Spain?

3.2. Itinerary 2 “The Seville of the 2000s”

A thorough examination of the second itinerary revealed its emphasis on “places that are not immediately identifiable as being part of the city, [...] those non-places, those landscapes that are difficult to recognize for those who are unfamiliar with the destination.”⁴¹ Accordingly, the films under consideration are predominantly set in other cities (*Cabeza de perro*; Figure 5), in other indoors (*Crimen Ferpecto*), in dystopias and alternative realities (*Nadie conoce a nadie* and *Tres Días*), or as sensitive generational portraits (*Solas*, *Astronauts*, and *After*). It is evident that the proposed spaces are gradually migrating to less-visited

neighborhoods, such as Triana Oeste, Torneo, El Cerro del Águila, and Rochelambert, marking a shift from well-known locations like the Plaza del Salvador to spaces with legacies of the Expo’92 event (Pasarela de la Cartuja) or those that have since disappeared or been relocated, including the Pavilion of the Holy See (*Nadie conoce a nadie*), the Vilima Department Store (*Crimen ferpecto*), and the Elefunk Bar (*After*).

Solas (1999) marked the critically lauded debut of Andalusian filmmaker Benito Zambrano. The film chronicles the journey of a mother (María Galiana), who, upon the hospitalization of her spouse, seeks temporary respite in the modest residence of her daughter (Ana Fernández) in Seville. The daughter, a semi-alcoholic, is insecure about her job and relationships. She welcomes her mother, and then she starts to like her. Concurrently, the elderly woman has cultivated a distinctive relationship with a solitary neighbor, which is subsequently disrupted when her husband is compelled to return to the countryside. The film is mostly indoors, heightening the intimacy, but a few locations place the viewer in the San Bernardo neighborhood, an eminently working-class area (shown in yellow; Figure 6).

Nadie conoce a nadie (1999) was another acclaimed debut by screenwriter Mateo Gil. The film addresses the prevalent stereotypes associated with Seville’s Holy Week, interweaving a narrative centered on terrorism, role-playing games, and sects. The filmmaker sought out iconic locations, such as the Salvador Church or the Calle Judería in the Santa Cruz quarter (shown in red; Figure 6), as well as abandoned infrastructure from the 1992 World’s Fair (highlighted in green).

In the case of *Astronauts*, a 2004 film directed by Santi Amodeo, the viewer encounters an unlikely couple also



Figure 5. Posters of the films in Itinerary 2, “The Seville of the 2000s”
Source: Modified from IMDb’s images.

united by a shared sense of loneliness. Daniel (Nancho Novo) is a middle-aged man attempting to adapt to a normal life after overcoming his drug addiction. Meanwhile, Laura (Teresa Hurtado) travels to Seville in search of her brother, who was Daniel’s neighbor. The two characters reach an agreement to assist one another, prompting Laura to accompany Daniel in living a normal life by traversing the streets of Seville, purchasing records, and visiting friends. The film’s primary setting is located in the central streets of Alfalfa or San Marcos neighborhoods (shown in red; Figure 6), in addition to the Nervión shopping center (outlined in yellow).

As previously mentioned, the remaining films present various issues related to the tourist visit and the identification of the locations. *Crimen perfecto* (a black comedy by Álex de la Iglesia) was filmed in 2004 in a department store in the central neighborhood of La Alfalfa (shown in red; Figure 6) that had been closed for many years. This location has transformed, becoming a luxurious boutique hotel under the ownership of the Barcelona-based H10 chain. The stores that served as the setting for Álex de la Iglesia’s film have been eliminated, a consequence of

the process of tourist gentrification. Meanwhile, *Cabeza de perro*, a film directed by Santi Amodeo in 2009, offers a highly partial view of the city of Seville, as the majority of its filming took place in Madrid. However, the film returns to depicting densely visited neighborhoods within the city center. Notably, *Cabeza de Perro* holds the distinction of being the first film to be shot in the crypt of the Church of San Luis de los Franceses before its significant restoration (shown in red, Figure 6).

As for *After*, directed by the accomplished Alberto Rodríguez in 2009, it chronicles the reunion of three former teenage companions who embark on an evening of revelry in an attempt to erase their past and confront their present-day ghosts. The film combines locations that have since disappeared—the well-known Bar Elefunk, located in the densely visited Arenal neighborhood (shown in red; Figure 6)—with lesser-known locations in the Los Remedios neighborhood (shown in yellow; Figure 6). On the other hand, *Tres días*, directed by F. Javier Gutiérrez and filmed in the vicinity of the Hytasa Thermal Power Plant situated in the El Cerro del Águila neighborhood (shown in green; Figure 6), portrays a dystopian future in which

Tour 2. Suggested areas

■	Historic center
■	Triana
■	Los Remedios y Nervión
■	Others

Film	Locations	Neighborhoods
Tres días (F. Javier Gutiérrez, 2008)	Calle Raso (Central Térmica de Hytasa)	El Cerro del Águila
After (Alberto Rodríguez, 2009)	Pasarela de la Cartuja, Calles Padre Damián y Fernando IV, Calle Adriano (antiguo Bar Elefunk), Hotel Exe Sevilla Macarena (piscina)	Triana Oeste, Los Remedios, El Arenal, Parlamento-Torneo
Astronautas (Santi Amodeo, 2004)	Centros Sociales de Miraflores, Nervión Plaza, Calle Amor de Dios (tienda de discos de referencia), recorrido Alameda de Hércules-San Marcos-Eduardo Dato, Calle Imagen (soportales), Calle Lira (edificio abandonado), Calle Virgen del Valle (Curro Silver Barber)	Miraflores, Nervión, Alfalfa, San Marcos, San Julián, Los Remedios
Cabeza de perro (Santi Amodeo, 2009)	Estación de Autobuses del Prado de San Sebastián, Calles Goles y Baños (antiguo garaje), cripta de la Iglesia de San Luis de los Franceses, Centro Comercial Ronda del Tamarguillo	El Prado-Parque de María Luisa*, San Vicente, Feria, Rochelambert
Crimen ferpecto (Álex de la Iglesia, 2004)	Grandes almacenes Vilima (hoy H10 Casa de la Plata)	Alfalfa
Nadie conoce a nadie (Mateo Gil, 1999)	Iglesia y Plaza de El Salvador, antiguo mirador panorámico Expo'92 de la Cartuja, Pabellón de la Santa Sede de la Expo'92 (derribado en 2017), Calle Judería	Alfalfa, Triana Oeste, Santa Cruz
Solas (Benito Zambrano, 1999)	Bar Calle Demetrio de los Ríos y Puente de los Bomberos, Pabellón de España Expo'92, antiguo Hospital Militar Vigil de Quiñones	Triana Oeste, San Bernardo, Los Bermejales

Figure 6. Locations and neighborhoods of the films in Itinerary 2

Note: Data from Sevilla Film and Events.

the Earth (and, more specifically, the fictional town of La Laguna) is set to be destroyed by the impact of a meteorite.

With respect to the reception of the films included in Itinerary 2 (Figure 7), some films went unnoticed at the box office (primarily *Tres días*, *After*, and *Astronauts*), while some were great hits (e.g., *Solas*, *Nadie conoce a nadie*, and *Crimen ferpecto*). However, when the two variables of audience and awards are considered together, it becomes evident that the most successful films were either quite distant in time (*Nadie conoce a nadie* and *Solas*) or primarily shot indoors (*Crimen ferpecto*). In addition, *Cabeza de perro*, which received a strong reception from the public and earned a resounding nomination for the young actress Adriana Ugarte, takes place primarily in the Spanish capital.

With respect to the five principles of cine-mapping,⁵ Itinerary 2 adheres exclusively to principle 1 and partially to principle 4. In this sense, the itinerary has been developed by two public-private partners (Seville City Office and the location scouts), and a movie map has been constructed to attract potential tourists. However, the selected films are not intended for a general audience—they are not part of a film saga and most have not had a long-lasting impact in terms of audience or popularity in Spain (with the notable exception of *Solas*). Consequently, they cannot engage

tourists in an immersive way, since they include missing locations.

As with the first itinerary, Itinerary 2 cannot be regarded as a sightseeing tour, given the considerable distances between the proposed locations (shifting between traditional locations and lesser-known neighborhoods), precluding the development of a mental map. Despite the provision of a My Maps to tourists, the displacements experienced by these individuals are significant. The thematic elements of this case appear to be consistent, although with the primary objective of appealing to local tourists who have experienced Seville in the 2000s. This observation underscores the itinerary's lack of consistency and its failure to appeal to tourists. It appears that Itinerary 2 is specifically designed for residents of Seville. It is evident that foreign tourists, constituting the predominant demographic of visitors to the city, are not inclined to be intrigued by such niche and independent proposals, often exhibiting a tone that is both bittersweet and darkly humorous. This is especially true for visitors who have not yet had the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the city's uniqueness during its recent transformation into the modern metropolis it is today, a process that occurred predominantly during the 2000s.

Film	Audience	Awards
<i>Tres días</i> (F. Javier Gutiérrez, 2008)	38,819	1 Goya Award 1 Nomination
<i>After</i> (Alberto Rodríguez, 2009)	68,606	3 Nominations
<i>Astronautas</i> (Santi Amodeo, 2004)	46,837	2 Nominations
<i>Cabeza de perro</i> (Santi Amodeo, 2009)	111,717	1 Nomination
<i>Crimen ferpecto</i> (Álex de la Iglesia, 2004)	860,710	6 Nominations
<i>Nadie conoce a nadie</i> (Mateo Gil, 1999)	1.410,323	1 Goya Award 2 Nominations
<i>Solas</i> (Benito Zambrano, 1999)	945,473	5 Goya Awards 11 Nominations

Figure 7. Reception and awards of the movies in Itinerary 2

Note: Data from Catálogo de Cine Español ICAA.

3.3. Itinerary 3 “Neighborhood portraits”

The third itinerary proposes “a lesser-known city, a city far from the monumental center where people live, where stories are told openly.”⁴¹ It consisted of films that were partially shot in Seville, such as *Anochece en la India* (Figure 8). Other films feature characters who oscillate between the center and the periphery, as exemplified by Paco León’s popular diptych dedicated to his mother, *Carmina o revienta* and *Carmina y amén*. Meanwhile, some films, such as *7 vírgenes* and *Adiós*, were shot in marginal neighborhoods. Once again, the findings revealed that the selected spaces are being relocated to less densely visited areas, often situated in problematic neighborhoods, such as La Oliva and El Cerro del Águila. This practice involves the combination of conventional spaces, including notable landmarks like Puerta de Jerez, Calle San Fernando, and Hotel Alfonso XIII in the case of *Carmina y amén*, with neighborhoods characterized as degraded or marginal, such as the single-story houses of Amate or the Tres Mil in *Adiós*.

The diptych, proposed by the multifaceted artist Paco León and centered on the peculiar character of Carmina Barrios (his mother in real life), commences in the predominantly working-class neighborhoods of the city of Seville (Cerro del Águila and La Oliva; represented in green, Figure 9), before shifting in the second part—much more conventional than the original—to well-known areas of the historic center (Santa Cruz quarter and Museo neighborhood; shown in red, Figure 9). Accordingly, the first film (*Carmina o revienta*), whose title plays on the words of a legendary 1980s film about juvenile delinquents, portrays Carmina, a Sevillian woman in her 60s who, while

striving at all costs to recover the hams stolen from her restaurant on the outskirts of Seville, confides to the viewer from her kitchen at home. In the second part, which had a larger budget, the protagonist traverses more conventional places while attempting to conceal her husband’s death to collect the additional payment owed to her by the State and confronting her own illness.

Anochece en la India (Chema Rodríguez, 2014) depicts the final adventure of a former tour guide (played by actor Juan Diego) who, during the height of the hippy era, took tourists to India. The protagonist commences this twilight journey from a wheelchair, accompanied by his Romanian assistant. Given that the plot scarcely takes place in Spain, it is surprising that the Seville City Office chose this film for a cinematic itinerary, as only a few streets of the Amate neighborhood are shown (illustrated in green, Figure 9).

The two films that close this itinerary also present problems in terms of tourist visits, given that their locations are concentrated in working-class neighborhoods with little tourist appeal, or that are directly conflictive in the city (Polígono Sur; shown in green, Figure 9). *7 vírgenes* was the third feature film by director Alberto Rodríguez (who has been referenced extensively in this paper). The film’s narrative follows a teenage character, Tano, portrayed by the young actor Juan José Ballesta, who, while residing in a reformatory, is granted a brief period of liberty in his Seville neighborhood to attend his brother’s wedding. However, despite his attempts to maximize the potential of these hours (demonstrating a Seville that is far removed from clichés), he soon comes to recognize the transformation of his milieu, prompting a reevaluation of his fundamental convictions.



Figure 8. Posters of the films in Itinerary 3, “Neighborhood portraits”
Source: Modified from IMDb’s images.

In the film *Adiós* (Paco Cabezas, 2019), the protagonist, Juan, a convict who has been recently granted parole after serving a prolonged prison sentence, decides to take the law into his own hands in an attempt to avenge the death of his daughter, Estrella. The narrative is presented in parallel with the official investigation underway in Las Tres Mil, a marginal neighborhood located within the Polígono Sur district (depicted in green, Figure 9). The investigation culminates with the exposure of a significant drug trafficking network. It is noteworthy that the production received nationwide publicity, underscoring the fact that it was filmed in a marginal neighborhood of Seville—one of the poorest areas in Spain—and had the “collaboration” and acquiescence of the residents.

With regard to audience and critical reception, the films under consideration have been successful commercially, with the exception of *Anochece en la India* (Figure 10). However, these films have not been distinguished with major awards—only *7 vírgenes* won a Goya Award for Best New Actor for Jesús Carroza, who plays the protagonist’s

friend in the film. *Carmina o revienta* achieved cult film status after its release. It incorporated a combination of theatrical, online, and DVD release formats, thereby complicating the assessment of its distribution (Figure 11 exclusively captures the number of viewers in theaters). Meanwhile, *Adiós* experienced a privileged premiere shortly before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.

With respect to the five principles of cine-mapping,⁵ Itinerary 3 adheres to principle 1 and partially aligns with principle 4. However, the films incorporated within the map are not intended for a general audience and do not constitute serialized film products, with the exception of those featuring Carmina Barrios. The films’ impact on Spanish audiences and their popularity in the country have been limited. However, the rise of Carmina Barrios can be seen as a notable viral phenomenon, particularly among the younger, internet-savvy audience. This itinerary is not designed to attract tourists in an immersive way, as it features controversial locations, raising concerns with regard to principle 4. As with the itineraries previously

Tour 3. Suggested areas

■	Historic center
■	Triana
■	Los Remedios y Nervión
■	Others

Film	Locations	Neighborhoods
7 Vírgenes (Alberto Rodríguez, 2005)	Vías del tren (Polígono Calonge), Parque Atlántico (Carretera Carmona, Avenida Las Asociaciones de Vecinos), Calle Dr. Laffón Soto, calle Eduardo García Maroto y alrededores (Polígono San Pablo), Centro Comercial Ronda del Tamarguillo	La Rosaleda, Polígono San Pablo, Cerro del Águila
Adiós (Paco Cabezas, 2019)	Calle Pegaso, Calle Lebreles, Calle Ave del Paraíso, Calle Hidra, Real Fábrica de Artillería, antigua base americana (base militar aérea de San Pablo), Fábrica de Tabacos, Las Tres Mil Viviendas, Bar La Hacienda (Calle San Hermenegildo), casas bajas Amate	Madre de Dios, San Bernardo, Sevilla Este, Santa Cruz, barriadas del Polígono Sur, San Julián, Amate
Anochece en la India (Chema Rodríguez, 2014)	Calles Pastrana y Alba de Tormes	Amate
Carmina o Revienta (Paco León, 2012)	Venta Calixto (Camino de la Reina), Calle Piel de Toro, Barriada La Oliva	Cerro del Águila, La Oliva
Carmina y Amén (Paco León, 2014)	Hotel Alfonso XIII, Calle San Fernando, Puerta de Jerez, Iglesia de San Antonio Abad (Calle Alfonso XII), Calle Fernando IV	Santa Cruz, Museo, Los Remedios

Figure 9. Locations and neighborhoods of the films in Itinerary 3

Note: Data from Sevilla Film and Events.

examined, Itinerary 3 cannot be categorized as a tour due to the considerable distance between the proposed locations, mostly located in lesser-known neighborhoods. However, the thematic elements appear to be consistent, particularly with regard to the new popular *costumbrista* o *quinqui* cinema genre, except *Anochece en la India*, a film that does not align with the other films in terms of theme or popularity.

3.4. Itinerary 4 “The most recent Seville”

The final itinerary is the most diverse of all the proposed routes from a cinematic perspective, as it encompasses eight films without any predetermined criteria, besides its composition as a diverse mosaic of all the adventures filmed in the city over the last decade (Figure 11). However, an examination of the locations revealed a growing interest among directors in showcasing the historic district of Triana, as evidenced by the production of films such as *El autor*, *El inconveniente*, and *Ocho apellidos vascos*. This phenomenon is also evident in films such as *Tu hijo* (Miguel Ángel Vivas, 2018) and *Yo, también* (Álvaro Pastor and Antonio Naharro, 2009), both of which depict densely visited neighborhoods (Arenal, Museo, Encarnación, and Feria), alongside new locations in a neighborhood undergoing rapid development and infill, characterized

by the construction of residential properties intended for tourism. Therefore, the suggested locations appear to concentrate on specific areas of the historic district of Triana, including the Callejón de la Inquisición, Calle Betis and Isabel II Bridge, Plazuela de Santa Ana, and Calle San Jacinto.

The earliest film in the sample was *Yo, también*. The film was directed by Álvaro Pastor and Antonio Naharro in 2009 and received significant acclaim as the first Spanish film to feature an actor with intellectual disabilities, a role that was played by Pablo Pineda. In the film, he portrays the character of Daniel, a recent university graduate who commences employment in a municipal office. It is there that he encounters Laura (Lola Dueñas), with whom he becomes romantically involved and shares unique experiences. Besides the municipal offices where the protagonists are employed (Polígono Industrial Hytasa in Cerro del Águila), the remaining locations are concentrated in the Museo and Feria neighborhoods, as well as in the historic district of Triana (shown in brown, Figure 12), an area tending towards massification, and María Luisa Park, which serves as a poignant reminder of the romantic getaway of a couple with Down syndrome who simply aspire to live and love like any other couple.

Film	Audience	Awards
<i>7 Vírgenes</i> (Alberto Rodríguez, 2005)	995,648	1 Goya Award 6 Nominations
<i>Adiós</i> (Paco Cabezas, 2019)	320,213	3 Nominations
<i>Anochece en la India</i> (Chema Rodríguez, 2014)	10,384	1 Nomination
<i>Carmina o Revienta</i> (Paco León, 2012)	20,528	3 Nominations
<i>Carmina y Amén</i> (Paco León, 2014)	400,075	1 Nomination

Figure 10. Reception and awards of the movies in itinerary 3

Note: Data from Catálogo de Cine Español ICAA.



Figure 11. Posters of the films in Itinerary 4, “The most recent Seville”

Source: Modified from IMDb's images.

The film *Ocho apellidos vascos* (Emilio Martínez Lázaro, 2014) is regarded as the highest-grossing film in Spanish history, showcasing the most prominent stereotypes associated with the inhabitants of the northern region, i.e., the Basque Country, and the southern region, i.e., Andalusia. In a manner consistent with the style of other

successful European films, such as *Bienvenu chez ch'tis* (2008) and *Benvenuti al Sud* (2010), the film recounts the romantic misadventures of Rafa—a conventional young Andalusian, lover of Betis, and local festivities—in his quest for Amaia, a young Basque woman he encountered at a frustrated bachelorette party in Seville. During his

Tour 4. Suggested areas

	Historic center
	Triana
	Los Remedios y Nervión
	Others

Film	Locations	Neighborhoods
<i>El autor</i> (Manuel Martín Cuenca, 2017)	Restaurante Abades Triana (Calle Betis), Metropol-Parasol (Setas de Sevilla en Plaza de la Encarnación), antiguo Mercado Puerta de la Carne (Estación de Cádiz, hoy gimnasio), Teatro Capitania General (Plaza de España), hotel regionalista en Heliópolis, Paseo de la O, Puente de Isabel II, Plaza del Cabildo, Postigo del Aceite	Triana Casco histórico, Encarnación-Regina , San Bernardo , El Prado-Parque de María Luisa , Heliópolis , Arenal
<i>El inconveniente</i> (Bernabé Rico, 2020)	Torre Sevilla, Callejón de la Inquisición, despacho zona Glorieta de las Cigarreras	Triana Oeste, Triana Casco histórico, Los Remedios
<i>Los niños salvajes</i> (Patricia Ferreira, 2012)	Centro Deportivo Tiro de Línea, Estación de Autobuses Plaza de Armas	Tiro de Línea-Santa Genoveva , Museo
<i>Morir</i> (Fernando Franco, 2017)	Bingo en Calle Luis Montoto	Nervión
<i>Ocho apellidos vascos</i> (Emilio Mtnéz. Lázaro, 2014)	Paseo Marqués de Contadero, Puente de Triana	Arenal , Triana Casco histórico
<i>Tu hijo</i> (Miguel Ángel Vivas, 2018)	Hospital Universitario Virgen del Rocío, vías del tren (Polígono Calonge), Real de la Feria, Conservatorio Municipal de Música Francisco Guerra (Edificio del antiguo Matadero), Calle Pureza, Plaza de Santa Ana, Paseo Rey Juan Carlos I, Puente San Juan de Aznalfarache	Bami , Los Remedios , Nervión , Triana Casco histórico, Polígono Norte , Tablada
<i>Yo, también</i> (Álvaro Pastor y Antonio Naharro, 2009)	Pensión Calle Bailén, Mercado Calle Feria, Pabellón de Argentina (Paseo de las Delicias), Calles San Jacinto y Rodrigo de Triana, Polígono Hytasa	Museo , Feria , El Prado-Parque de María Luisa , Triana Casco histórico, Cerro del Águila
<i>A cambio de nada</i> (Daniel Guzmán, 2015)		

Figure 12. Locations and neighborhoods of the films in Itinerary 4

Note: Data from Sevilla Film and Events.

travels, Rafa departs from Seville for the first time in his life, embarking on a journey to the Basque coast with the aspiration of persuading his reticent companion. It is noteworthy that, despite its substantial box office success, the film was only partially shot in the city. The iconic ending, featuring the musical duo Los del Río singing to the couple as they enter a horse-drawn carriage bound for Triana, has become emblematic (represented in brown, Figure 12).

The locations of *El autor* (Manuel Martín Cuenca, 2017) also focus on iconic spaces in the city. The film narrates the tale of Álvaro, a man of middling abilities who, exasperated by his former spouse's notable literary accomplishments, abandons his professional and personal obligations to devote himself fully to writing. He subsequently took up residence in an apartment in Plaza del Cabildo in the Arenal neighborhood (Figure 12). Through the use of manipulative tactics, he persuaded his neighbors to chronicle the events that would come to define his life. The film's locations encompass a range of sites, from walks with his ex-wife along the Paseo de la O in the Triana neighborhood (shown in brown) to book presentations in

Plaza de España. These locations offer a glimpse into the more traditional aspects of the city.

A cambio de nada (Daniel Guzmán, 2015), in contrast, portrays an intergenerational narrative of solidarity, primarily set in the Aluche district of Madrid. Despite the limited number of scenes filmed in Seville, it is intriguing that a film of these characteristics was included in the movie map. Likewise, *El inconveniente* (Bernabé Rico, 2020) was filmed exclusively in the Triana (represented in brown in Figure 12) and Los Remedios neighborhoods, sharing the same spirit as its predecessor. In this film, the viewer is introduced to the character of Sara (Juana Acosta), who decides to purchase a residence in the heart of Seville at a reduced price, although with a "minor complication:" the current occupant of the property, Lola (Kiti Mánver), is permitted to reside in it until her demise. This low-budget film was released to modest success during the early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The selection is further complemented by three non-mainstream films: *Los niños salvajes* (Patricia Ferreira, 2012), *Morir* (Fernando Franco, 2017), and *Tu hijo* (Miguel Ángel Vivas, 2018). The first paints a stark generational

portrait. It was primarily filmed in Catalan and set in Barcelona, with only two Andalusian characters portrayed by Ana Fernández and José Luis García Pérez. With regard to *Morir*, it is noteworthy that only the film's conclusion was shot in Seville, with the majority of filming took place in the Basque Country and Madrid. Conversely, the film *Tu hijo* was entirely shot in the city of Seville. In this film, the protagonist, a doctor (José Coronado), embarks on a quest for retribution against those who have left his 17-year-old son in a vegetative state. The narrative interweaves depictions of bustling neighborhoods, such as Triana and Los Remedios (shown in brown and yellow, respectively, Figure 12), with unknown locations in the Polígono Norte, Bami, and Tablada neighborhoods.

With regard to the reception of the eight films included in Itinerary 4 (Figure 13), it is characterized by significant disparities, ranging from relatively unpopular films (*El inconveniente*, *Los niños salvajes*, and *Morir*) to major box office successes (*Ocho apellidos vascos*). It is important to note that the films combining the two variables analyzed (audience and awards) were either only partially shot in Seville (*Ocho apellidos vascos* and *A cambio de nada*) or had a limited audience (*El autor*).

Once again, upon examination of the five principles of cine-mapping,⁵ it is evident that Itinerary 4 only adheres exclusively to principle 1 and, in a limited capacity, to principle 4. The films incorporated into the map are not intended for a general audience and do not constitute serialized screen products, except *Ocho apellidos vascos* and its sequel, *Ocho apellidos catalanes*. The films' impact in Spain has been limited in terms of audience and popularity. Only the aforementioned saga has maintained its popularity 10 years after its release. Other films, such as *Yo, también* and *El autor*, have only attracted a niche

audience. The films' lack of logical thematic organization results in their inability to attract tourists in an immersive way. The proposed locations are entirely arbitrary, although they tend to revert to a focus on traditional spaces. As with the itineraries previously analyzed, Itinerary 4 cannot be considered a tour. Although tourists are provided with a My Maps of the proposed locations, it is difficult to reach these locations within a reasonable amount of time, making it difficult to comply with principle 4, thereby contributing to the configuration of a fragmented and dislocated geography of the city of Seville.

4. Discussion

This paper analyzed the appeal and potential for decentralization of tourist flows in the itineraries by the Seville City Office through the areas dedicated to Film and Events, as well as their configuration according to the five principles of cine-mapping proposed by Burke *et al.*⁵ It is conducted within the framework of a growing range of film itineraries in Spain's major urban destinations. Notwithstanding the absence of subsequent data from the Seville City Office regarding these itineraries, this study addressed this critical gap by offering a novel analysis of the itineraries' capacity to advance sustainable and inclusive tourism in Seville.

Despite the evident intention of the Seville City Office to encourage tourists to explore beyond the city center, it is apparent that the four itineraries, to a greater or lesser extent, rely on locations within the historic neighborhoods, never completely venturing outside the "scripted space" of the city.^{1,2,25} However, Itinerary 3 "Neighborhood portraits" deviates from this norm, although it subsequently reverts to conventional locations (*Carmina y amen*). Furthermore, the initiative culminates with "The most recent Seville,"

Film	Audience	Awards
<i>El autor</i> (Manuel Martín Cuenca, 2017)	137,443	2 Goya Awards 9 Nominations
<i>El inconveniente</i> (Bernabé Rico, 2020)	40,812	3 Nominations
<i>Los niños salvajes</i> (Patricia Ferreira, 2012)	38,064	3 Nominations
<i>Morir</i> (Fernando Franco, 2017)	7,623	1 Nomination
<i>Ocho apellidos vascos</i> (Emilio Martínez Lázaro, 2014)	9,397,647	3 Goya Awards 5 Nominations
<i>Tu hijo</i> (Miguel Ángel Vivas, 2018)	66,421	1 Nomination
<i>Yo, también</i> (Álvaro Pastor y Antonio Naharro, 2009)	66,312	2 Goya Awards 4 Nominations
<i>A cambio de nada</i> (Daniel Guzmán, 2015)	127,724	2 Goya Awards 6 Nominations

Figure 13. Reception and awards of the movies in Itinerary 4

Note: Data from Catálogo de Cine Español ICAA.

an itinerary that proffers the Triana neighborhood as its primary attraction. This area has undergone substantial tourist gentrification over the past decade, resulting in its current state of saturation.

In this regard, two types of itineraries have been identified: those comprising films shot in popular locations with the capacity to attract tourists, but without decentralizing flows (e.g., Itinerary 1), and those filmed in unknown or semi-unknown locations with the potential to direct tourists to other neighborhoods, but with limited success (e.g., Itinerary 3). This analysis suggests a challenge in combining these two aspects to ensure the success of the itineraries and to deviate from the “scripted space”^{1,2,25} of the city center, which is shaped by the tourist industry.

It is also noteworthy that, of the 25 films under consideration, the proposed itineraries feature locations for at least eight films that were partially filmed in the city. These include *Alatriste*, *La Isla Mínima*, *Cabeza de perro*, *Anochece en la India*, *Ocho apellidos vascos*, *Morir*, *A cambio de nada*, and *Los niños salvajes*. This further diminishes the appeal and identification of the proposed itineraries. Another salient issue pertains to the absence of spatial connection among these itineraries and the tourist reality of Seville. The locations appear as isolated entities, akin to pins on a map, thereby exacerbating the fragmentation of the geographical landscape of Seville. Consequently, this hinders potential tourists’ ability to immerse themselves in the city.

The thematic content of the itineraries also appears to be deficient, as they do not promote products that exhibit a coherent and consistent thread. For example, Itinerary 1 resonates with both myths (Carmen) and Spain’s recent history (the transition to democracy following the dictatorship of Franco), a quality that primarily appeals to a national audience. However, the most arbitrary theming is found in Itinerary 4, which brings together heterogeneous films with the sole aim of offering a mosaic of the latest productions shot in the city. In this line, Itineraries 2 and 3 pose significant challenges to the tourism industry. These itineraries target a niche audience, namely those who were acquainted with the city during that period, including domestic visitors and locals. In addition, they appeal to enthusiasts of Carmina Barrios, a prominent figure in Seville’s cultural landscape. The marketing of these itineraries poses a particular challenge in appealing to international audiences. The locations featured in these itineraries are not typically suited for mainstream tourism, but rather appeal to a specialized segment of the tourism market, namely those interested in alternative or niche cultural experiences (e.g., dark tourism).

It can be determined that none of the itineraries adhere to the five principles proposed by Burke *et al.*⁵ The

majority of the itineraries only comply with principle 1 and, to a limited extent, with principle 4, attributed to their production and management by stakeholders and their promotion through an interactive My Maps. However, they are neither designed for a broad audience nor for the immersion of casual tourists, nor do they demonstrate a commitment to permanence. In this regard, it is crucial to acknowledge that the case studies used to establish the framework for a successful cinema mapping strategy were, as indicated, based on serialized film products and major sagas (e.g., *The Lord of the Rings*, *Star Wars*, and *Game of Thrones*),⁵ rather than on a multitude of films that are tied to different themes and locations scattered across the city. This approach promotes a fragmented geography rather than immersive initiatives in the city of Seville.

In light of the findings and given the characteristics of tourist demands, particularly in the context of Seville, the following interrogations must be addressed:

- (i) In the context of itineraries, both indoor and false locations have been incorporated, despite the contention by researchers³²⁻³⁶ that impersonated locations lack the popularity of their authentic counterparts, except in circumstances where they attained viral status, for example, through the influence of social media personalities or fashion trends. A more thorough examination of this issue reveals the question of the identity and cultural heritage of the tourist destination—a question often overlooked when promoting such initiatives.
- (ii) This principle extends to the selection of locations that are either obscure or controversial. It has been proposed that spaces be established to reflect the specific nature of location scouts’ work. However, this proposal has not considered the relationship among these spaces, the tourism industry, and tourist demands. Thus, the principle of collaboration emphasized by Burke *et al.*⁵ has been ignored.
- (iii) According to the DMMO and the Smart Tourism Office, if the aim is to implement a long-term tourism strategy, Seville’s managers should not rely on a cultural tourism subtypology with limited effects over time, as experts caution.¹¹⁻¹⁸ Since traditional landmarks will not be displaced from the city center, it is essential to provide sufficient attractions to achieve effective, long-lasting decentralization.
- (iv) Finally, location scouts should consider television series, not only national films, as international overnight stays in Seville exceed domestic demand. Although international films usually feature the most recognizable tourist spots, it is important to consider them and seek productions that offer a different perspective. In this regard, Sevilla Film and Events

has recently launched a new Google My Maps to strengthen the relationship between the city's universal monuments (e.g., cathedrals, Plaza de España, and Alcázar) and cinema. However, the accompanying brochure is rather poorly designed.

These questions reveal the main problem with these itineraries—their misguided focus. This initiative oscillates between targeting tourists and residents without applying clear criteria for selecting films. As previously mentioned, the itineraries are only available in Spanish and feature locations in the historic center, interiors, vanished spaces, and marginal neighborhoods that are unsuitable for tourist visits and unlikely to attract foreign tourists. Similarly, the selection includes award-winning and critically acclaimed films, as well as lesser-known works and films where fashion plays an important role (*Carmina o revienta*), demonstrating a lack of symbolic productions that could establish an innovative yet coherent image of the city.

Seville suffers from a lack of large-scale film and television productions that could enhance audience recognition of the city and contribute to the development of a successful cine-mapping strategy. This strategy would integrate accessible locations in specific neighborhoods or spaces outside the city center and foster a consistent geography for tourism in Seville. Without this, Seville risks remaining a “narrated city,” destined to become a “scripted space” based on secondary products if measures are not taken to prevent its Disneyfication. This initiative highlights the difficulty of designing routes in a space as rich and complex as Seville, going beyond the scripting of its historic center.^{2,25}

In this vein, developing a major route dedicated to Alberto Rodríguez is strongly recommended, given his status as a famous Andalusian filmmaker and the number of his films included in the itineraries (only *El Traje*, filmed in 2002, would need to be included). Another option would be to design a route featuring the highest-grossing films in the sample. Most importantly, however, the Sevilla Film and Events Office and the Smart Tourism Office must effectively collaborate within the framework of the Seville City Office.

Despite the establishment of the Seville City Office, the film-promotion strategy for tourism remains a mere “top-down” action. Rather than being coordinated with the City Office's Smart Tourism Department, the initiative has been developed solely from the perspective of the Film and Events Department, which specializes in filming and locations rather than the promotion of new tourist attractions to ensure tourism sustainability. Launched without the consensus of the city's tourism sector and its citizens, this initiative risks confusing visitors, who already

face an overwhelming amount of information about the city on the internet.

The results of this article are limited to analyzing the potential of the cine-mapping strategy to develop an innovative and sustainable tourism for Seville. Future research should seek to validate these results. As previously mentioned, one limitation of this study is the lack of outcome data provided by the Sevilla City Office regarding these itineraries. To address this, we propose a plan to validate the itineraries using tourist surveys. A plan to validate the itineraries using tourist surveys, My Maps analytics (when available), Geographical Information System walk-time clustering to test reachability, and before/after headcounts at non-central points of interest. Monitoring of the Seville City Office's actions will also shed light on its strategy for integrating culture, cinema, events, and tourism within a single organization. While this strategy is still in its infancy, it has already demonstrated insufficient coordination across its different sections.

5. Conclusion

The analysis of the film itineraries proposed by the Seville City Office reveals that, despite a clear intention to decentralize tourist flows and promote sustainable and inclusive tourism, these itineraries exhibit significant limitations. Most remain concentrated within the historic city center and fail to move beyond the city's “scripted space,” while geographic and thematic fragmentation hinders tourist immersion and undermines the coherence of the offering. In addition, the lack of an integrated strategy among the responsible departments and the absence of data on the routes' effectiveness constrain the initiative's actual potential. To foster successful film tourism in Seville, it is essential to design routes that combine popular and alternative attractions, promote a coherent narrative, ensure effective collaboration among different tourism sectors, and validate both acceptance and impact through targeted studies. Without these measures, Seville risks perpetuating a fragmented and uninspired tourist image that neither fully leverages its audiovisual heritage nor contributes to genuine tourism decentralization within the city.

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