

---

## Miscellaneous

---

**Sebastián Sánchez-Castillo**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3751-6425>

sebastian.sanchez@uv.es

Universitat de València

---

**Jorge Nieto-Ferrando**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3075-2636>

nietojordi@filcat.udl.cat

Universitat de Lleida

---

**Beatriz Gómez-Morales**

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0557-528X>

beatrizgomez@filcat.udl.cat

Universitat de Lleida

---

## Submitted

July 27th, 2023

## Approved

January 17th, 2024

---

© 2024

Communication & Society

ISSN 0214-0039

E ISSN 2386-7876

[www.communication-society.com](http://www.communication-society.com)

---

2024 – Vol. 37(2)

pp. 125-141

---

## How to cite this article:

Sánchez-Castillo, S., Nieto-Ferrando, J. & Gómez-Morales, B. (2024). Tourist destinations masked in the symbolic constructs of *Money Heist* (Netflix, 2017-2021), *Communication & Society*, 37(2), 125-141.  
[doi.org/10.15581/003.37.2.125-141](https://doi.org/10.15581/003.37.2.125-141)

# Tourist destinations masked in the symbolic constructs of *Money Heist* (Netflix, 2017-2021)

## Abstract

The popular Spanish fiction series *Money Heist* has been seen in more than 190 countries and has won the International Emmy Award for Best Drama. In 41 episodes over five seasons, a group of thieves dressed in red overalls and concealing their faces behind Salvador Dalí masks break into the Royal Mint of Spain and the Bank of Spain with the intention of carrying out an ambitious heist at each location. There are almost no product placements of real-life tourist attractions in the narrative structure of the series. This article discusses whether certain symbolic constructs identified in *Money Heist* could act as tourism inducers in the same way as the placement of real-life locations, a practice explored extensively in recent research. This study finds a considerable increase in tourist numbers to the Royal Mint of Spain that coincided with a massive rise in searches on YouTube for identifying elements of the series and a significant correlation between those elements and Spanish tourist destinations on Instagram. It thus offers evidence of the presence of symbolic constructs that could serve as inducers of both domestic and international tourism to Madrid.

## Keywords

**Tourism inducement, *Money Heist*, symbolic sites, destination management organisations.**

## 1. Tourist site placement in audiovisual narratives

Audiovisual narratives, both fiction and non-fiction, have the power to create, alter and reinforce the image of a given tourist destination, motivate viewers to visit it and even give meaning to the tourist experience. Audiovisual narrative-induced tourism has been studied extensively (Beeton, 2016; Connell, 2012; Croy & Heitmann, 2011). Numerous studies have pointed out that when a film shoot at a particular location is announced, one of the first actions taken by stakeholders such as

destination management organisations (DMOs) is to examine the repercussions for tourism to that location (Thelen *et al.*, 2020).

Some researchers have found that the fact that a film has been shot at a particular location is the primary motivation for film tourists to visit it (Connell, 2012), while others (Croy & Heitmann, 2011) argue that films are often only a secondary motivation (Rittichainuwat & Rattanaphinanchai, 2015). The existing research identifies a wide variety of factors that can turn a film into a tourism inducer (Chang, 2016). Wong *et al.* (2018) propose two main types of motivations: 'push motivations,' which include novelty, fantasy and personal connection and

engagement; and ‘pull motivations,’ such as scenes or actors in films that can trigger certain hedonic responses and behaviours. Examples of hedonic factors are enjoying the experience of visiting a restaurant that appears in a film or travelling to very specific destinations in order to feel like a film star (Josiam *et al.*, 2015).

Scholars working in various fields (tourism studies, communication studies, economics, etc.) have explored the tourism-inducing effects of different types of audiovisual media, including television (Riley *et al.*, 1998), film (Beeton, 2016; Macionis & Sparks, 2009) and the media in general (Iwashita, 2006).

Film tourism is defined “as visitation of a site or location, that is or has been used for or is associated with filming” (Buchmann *et al.*, 2010, p. 233), including incidental tourist experiences at filming locations (Croy & Buchmann, 2009; Croy & Heitmann, 2011; Macionis & Sparks, 2009; Rittichainuwat & Rattanaphinanchai, 2015). An audiovisual narrative can spark interest in the settings where its story takes place irrespective of the subject matter (Nieto, 2019; Croy, 2011). Film tourism is a leisure activity of increasing economic importance, and it has become a topic of interest in both academic studies and tourism management (Thelen *et al.*, 2020; Croy & Heitmann, 2011; Kim & Park, 2023). The destinations that appear in films or series can have positive economic repercussions for hotels and other tourism-related businesses at those locations (Sharma *et al.*, 2022).

Fiction series such as *Money Heist*, unlike projected cinema films, have formal and content characteristics (familiarity, continuity, serialisation, etc.) that contribute to the development of emotional involvement, which, in turn, can be more influential in deciding on a tourist destination. This consideration is echoed in academic research from Spain, where the clear distinction between film and series is considered. However, in the Anglo-Saxon sphere this is not the case, since, as Beeton (2016, p. 9) points out, “the concept of ‘film’ covers cinema, television and other projected media.”

Film tourism is increasingly being consolidated as a common leisure activity, and it is one of the fastest growing niches in the tourism sector. In this type of travel, the average tourist makes a considerable financial investment, and for this reason it has received a lot of attention from companies operating in the sector (Sousa *et al.*, 2021). This is especially important for countries such as Spain, which according to the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) welcomed a total of 71.6 million tourists in 2022, second only to France (<https://www.unwto.org/es>).

Because audiovisual narratives provide persuasive messages associated with real-life filming locations, they can be used as promotional support for tourism. The placement of a location in an audiovisual narrative can even consolidate the branding of the destination in question. In 2008, the screenwriter and novelist Ángeles González Sinde, who served as Spain’s Minister of Culture from 2006 to 2009, identified cinema as the best promotional showcase for a city (Martínez & Martínez, 2010).

In keeping with the narrative location of *Money Heist*, Madrid as a major capital city has been the subject of academic research on tourism and audiovisual fiction. Madrid had its peak between 1960 and 1970, responding to the film industry’s need to offer profitable and exportable productions (Matellano, 2022) and involving more than fifty Madrid municipalities. Camarero (2018) portrays Madrid in the 1980s as the physical and human setting of a violent and corrupt plot in *El crack* (José Luis Garcá, 1981). Although Madrid maintains a similar audiovisual productive fabric to the rest of the major European capitals (Gómez, 2021), it is difficult to build tourist products linked to cinema that become a main attraction in Madrid (Timón & Cala, 2020). With the same thesis, other researchers see a reduced practice of film tourism in Madrid, and a low probability of it becoming, in the short term, a relevant tourist product, due to the fact that the city lacks a clear tourist image and the films shot in it have not been able to configure a powerful and iconic filmed image that contributes to counteract this situation (Sáez-Cala *et al.*, 2018). The government of Madrid has recently launched the

initiative “Comunidad de Madrid Fantastic,” which proposes visits to Madrid locations that have hosted horror, fantasy or science fiction film shoots. The certain invisibility maintained by films located in Madrid with their narrative spaces, urban and geographical developments, may be due to the fact that “it is not that Almodovar’s Madrid is more or less similar to a real Madrid, but that the city and the people of Madrid have been imitating the city and the characters that Almodovar had dreamed of” (Escolar *et al.*, 2023).

The presence of a destination in audiovisual fiction production has a threefold effect: first, as advertising or ‘brand placement’ (Stephen *et al.*, 2021; Srivastava, 2020; Sharma *et al.*, 2022); second, as a ‘movie tourism’ inducer (Sousa *et al.*, 2021; Kim *et al.*, 2019; Ananda *et al.*, 2021) and third, as a construct of the image of the location, or ‘place branding’ (Almeyda & George, 2017).

According to Sousa *et al.* (2021) tourists’ motivations to visit a location appearing in an audiovisual narrative are based on four factors:

- **Location.** The locations should feature attributes that are easily identifiable and appealing to the viewer, such as spectacular landscapes (Ananda *et al.*, 2021). The study of narrative space in painting, literature or film has a long scientific trajectory in the so-called “geographies of communication” (Ek, 2006; Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006), a crucial dialectic between geography and communication. With regard to the spatial construction in television fiction series, these show the close relationship between these spaces and local identity, in this case Madrid, spaces that represent a localised, current and recognisable geography, becoming the sole protagonists of the story and of the symbolic spaces (Mateos-Pérez, 2023). The spatial representations of cities are, in the opinion of Ruiz (2023), a decisive factor of influence on the story that is being told.
- **Performance.** Some tourists visit a location in search of stories, to relive the drama of the screenplay and the experiences of the characters in the film, with death-defying adventures often being the main attraction. Film tourists consolidate tourist sites by imitating characters, handling props, recalling scenes, dressing up and/or posing as characters, and taking photographs at the filming locations (Kim, Kim & King, 2019; Reijnders, 2016; Rittichainuwat & Rattanaphinanchai, 2015). In this way, they establish an emotional connection with the site (Pan & Ryan, 2013; Roesch, 2009).
- **Personality.** Strong personalities of characters in certain films can have a big influence on the choice of tourist destinations, when actors are able to assign powerful meanings to the locations through the roles they play (Tkalec *et al.*, 2017; Li *et al.*, 2017). Film tourists are likely to immerse themselves in a nostalgic atmosphere, “achieved by imitating the motions of main characters [and] reminiscing about the past social ethos or motifs” represented in the film (Kim *et al.*, 2019, p. 249). The personal connection developed between viewers and the characters in the story can inspire them to travel to locations that appear in the audiovisual narrative (Wong *et al.*, 2018).
- **Authenticity.** Tourists assign personal meanings to certain locations, and authenticity thus becomes a subjective experience, a combination of the tourists’ experiences and the interactions inherent in them. This type of tourism is based on a desire to experience a version of the past or an attempt to experience a version of the future and to establish a connection between reality and fiction (Park *et al.*, 2019), in addition to enjoying an authentic experience, an essential aspect of the culture of modernity (Mura, 2015). Other types of authenticity are also considered in the research, such as authenticity related to psychosocial values and behaviours (Park *et al.*, 2019) and to the real and the genuine (Chhabra, 2005; Frisvoll, 2013).

In short, the locations featured in audiovisual narratives can produce a “longing to connect with the imaginary world through visiting the real places, which, in turn, serve as the symbolic link between the real and the imaginary” (Roesch, 2009, p. 209).

## 2. *Money Heist* as a global phenomenon

*Money Heist* (*La casa de papel*, 2017-2021) is a Spanish television series written and produced by Álex Pina and Javier Gómez Santander, comprising 41 episodes over five seasons. The series premiered on Atresmedia Televisión on Tuesday 2 May 2017. As luck would have it, the premiere date coincided with two significant anniversaries. Firstly, it coincided with the anniversary of the uprising against the French occupation of Madrid on 2 May 1808, an event that marks the confrontation of the people of Madrid against the Napoleonic troops to preserve the ideals of freedom and resistance of a people against the oppressor, events in which we discover certain analogies with the main theme of the fiction series. Secondly, the first episode was broadcast just after the clash of the two main Madrid teams, Real Madrid and Atlético de Madrid, in the semi-final of the Champions League football tournament, which ensured Atresmedia Televisión a large audience.

In the first two seasons, a gang of thieves under the direction of 'The Professor' organises a meticulous plan to print 2.4 billion euros in cash in the Royal Mint of Spain in Madrid. In the last three seasons, their objective is to steal 90 tons of gold from the Bank of Spain, also in Madrid. According to Rebollo-Bueno (2018), *Money Heist* is presented as a cultural product that offers a critique of the capitalist system controlled by the ruling class.

*Money Heist* was filmed at 300 locations in seven countries and has been distributed to 190 countries. The series has 12 million followers on Instagram and 1.8 million subscribers on YouTube. An interview with Úrsula Corberó (who plays the character Tokyo in the series) on *The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon* (NBC, 21 December 2021) has been viewed on YouTube by 31 million subscribers.

Netflix has identified *Money Heist* as its second most successful non-English series (<https://top10.netflix.com/tv-non-english>), with 792 million hours streamed in its first 28 days, making it second only to *Squid Game* (Dong-hyuk, 2021).

In addition to becoming a banner series for Netflix, *Money Heist* has been awarded an International Emmy for Best Drama (2018), a Platino Award for Best Miniseries or TV Series (2020), and a Fénix Award for Best Series (2018). The fourth season was 31.73 times more in demand than the average series globally, outperforming popular series such as *Game of Thrones* (2011), *The Walking Dead* (2010), *Brooklyn Nine-Nine* (2013) and *Westworld* (2021).

Several scholars have considered *Money Heist* a worthy case study to explore questions related to digital streaming, copyright issues, or mass mobilization (Deniz, 2021; Sajlan, 2022; Točená, 2020; Edgerton, 2022; Ibarra, 2022).

Regarding the quality of the series, some authors suggest that the fourth season of *Money Heist* benefited from increased consumption on the Netflix platform during the pandemic (Cristófol Rodríguez *et al.*, 2020; Martínez-Borda *et al.*, 2021), a coincidence that may have favoured its international momentum. Moreover, the change in length to adapt the series to international standards when Netflix acquired the rights from Antena 3 (Spain) in 2017, from 15 episodes of 70 minutes to 22 episodes of 45 minutes, may have altered the narrative structure of the series, leading to occasional longer pauses causing a different placement of cliffhangers, and thus plot twists (van der Kint, 2021). However, the discreet audience obtained when the series was broadcast by Antena3 in Spain is counterbalanced by the enormous success achieved through Netflix, undoubtedly due to its international reach in streaming versus linear television (Točená, 2020).

When *Money Heist* premiered on Tuesday 2 May 2017 on Antena 3, it drew an audience of 4,900,000 viewers and a 25.1% share of the screen. With the season finale in June of the same year, rating and share dropped by half, 2,176,000 people and 14.7% respectively (Neira *et al.*, 2021). The premiere of the second season after the summer of 2017 its audience continued to fall compared to its competitor channels. However, twelve days after *Money Heist* was incorporated into Netflix's offer at the end of 2017 by adjusting the length of its episodes, the

company announced in its letter to shareholders (corresponding to the first quarter of 2018) that *Money Heist* was already the most watched non-English language series in the history of the platform in a practice, that of offering viewing data in relative terms with respect to other programmes on the same service, which is increasingly widespread in the streaming platform market (Cascajosa-Virino, 2018). The broadcasting of *Money Heist*, on a global streaming platform such as Netflix, “was an obvious boost to its popularity” (Neira *et al.*, 2021, p. 11). It should be remembered that technological changes have transformed production, broadcasting and consumption practices (Cascajosa-Virino, 2016) and that the measurement of consumption in VOD is diffuse (disaggregated audience) but at the same time, connected to everyday life (Masip *et al.*, 2019), a “gaseous audience” according to Callejo-Gallego (2019).

The first two seasons of *La casa de papel* (31 episodes) were produced by the Spanish media group Atresmedia for a Spanish audience, with scenes shot on location in Madrid. Due to its extraordinary success, Netflix subsequently acquired streaming rights to bring it to an international audience under the English title *Money Heist*. No referential locations in Madrid, or anywhere in Spain, appear in either the first two seasons made for a local audience or the last three seasons targeting an international audience. Familiar Madrid locations and tourist attractions such as the Plaza de Toros, the Fountain of Cybele, the Puerta del Sol, or the city’s famous museums are all conspicuously absent. This narrative dislocation is maintained throughout the series.

The narrative action takes place almost entirely in indoor settings, both in the first two seasons in the Royal Mint of Spain and the last three seasons in the Bank of Spain. Moreover, the building shown in the series to represent the mint is not in fact the Royal Mint of Spain but the headquarters of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) in Madrid. The real Royal Mint was not a feasible filming location for obvious questions of security, and also because the narrowness of the site where the building is located would have made certain shots and sequences very difficult to film.

### **3. Symbolic constructs in *Money Heist***

Some 40 years ago, George Lakoff argued that the unknown is explained through metaphor and the symbolic (Lakoff & Johnson, 1982). A few years later, Sackmann developed this idea, suggesting that metaphors create a mental image that stands in for thousands of words, enabling them to tell a complex story (Sackmann, 1989).

Fahlenbrach (2005) describes audiovisual products as metaphorical processes, as mechanisms of audiovisual synthesis in which acoustic and visual meanings facilitate autonomous semantic experiences. The notion of metaphors as symbolic constructions continues to be valid in the contemporary context of incessant image consumption and a social reality based heavily on visual language.

According to González (1999), the spectator engages with audiovisual narratives through a process of imaginary and symbolic identification underpinned by the power of attraction, seduction, and fascination, transforming them into signs or symbols that are more evocative than denotative. This imaginary identification can be divided into the two categories of narrative identification and unconscious identification. Imaginary identification occurs on the conscious (i.e., cognitive) level, and has to do with the characters, settings, and events of the story. Unconscious identification, which is associated with emotional factors, refers to the existential conflicts presented in the narrative: in other words, the *dramatis personae* that shape each spectator’s experience. As Imbert (2008) points out, the contemporary context of hybrid narrative forms and promotional formats supports the construction of realities, identities, and imaginaries through symbolic processes.

One of the most convincing aspects of *Money Heist* is its strongly Spanish identity and symbolism, which is one of the factors that makes it so attractive to international audiences. The series contains a number of symbolic constructs that point directly to Spanish culture

and identity. This study analyses these symbolic constructs, which are woven into the narrative at different moments over the course of the five seasons.

The colour red is featured prominently in the series, especially in the characters' outfits. Red is associated with Spain for various reasons, the most obvious being that it is one of the two colours on the national flag (the other is yellow). Spanish film director Pedro Almodóvar uses the colour red in his films to "highlight the Spanish and folkloric dimensions, and its intimate relationship with the capes used in bullfights and all their blood-stained iconography" (Bengoa, 2011). Red is also the colour of saffron and paprika, two spices considered emblematic of Spain, and it is the colour associated worldwide with the Spanish national football team.

Ever since the French Revolution of 1789, red has been considered the colour of revolution, representing the blood spilt by the masses in their fight for liberty. In the revolt of the Paris Commune in 1871, the red flag became the symbol of the uprising. Today, in protest demonstrations in Lebanon, Iraq, France, and Chile, people dressed in red overalls, like the ones worn by the characters in the series, have been visible in the crowds. It is worth remembering that the revolutionary movement known in Spain as '15M,' launched on 15 May 2011 by a diverse collective of organisations, arose spontaneously as a mobilisation of outraged citizens who had decided to camp out in Spain's city squares. This movement, which was clearly grassroots in nature, sought to promote public resistance against the system and to call for a more participatory form of democracy.

This part of recent Spanish history is reflected in the series when members of the public, outraged at the government corruption and embezzlement exposed by the thieves, gather in protest outside the Royal Mint and the Bank of Spain. The series creators themselves also acknowledge the choice of red, which they associate with passion, a state of emergency, love, and death (Antena 3, 2018).

Another of the symbolic constructs featured in the series is the Dalí mask. Salvador Dalí was one of Spain's most important twentieth-century painters and one of the leading exponents of the Surrealist movement. The mask was designed by Dalí himself in 1983 with the aim of promoting, protecting, and defending his legacy and his image. The series producers considered using a mask of Don Quijote, but finally decided on the Dalí mask "because [Dalí] is a more iconic and much more modern figure than the character created by Cervantes" (Montañés, 2019). The series screenwriters claimed that the Dalí masks were inspired by the attitude of the Spanish artist, who at one stage in his artistic career rejected modern capitalist society (Antena 3, 2018). Like all Surrealist art, Dalí's work was intrinsically rebellious, as the Surrealist movement sought to break with convention. However, Sajlan (2022) suggests that this linking of Dalí with anti-fascist movements may produce some troubling results.

A third element appearing in the series that could be described as a symbolic construct is the popular Italian song "Bella Ciao," which was used as an anthem of resistance against the fascists during the Second World War and an expression of the ideals of twentieth-century worker and student movements. In one scene, 'The Professor,' the mastermind behind the group of thieves, mentions that his grandfather fought the fascists in Italy. The song represents the disillusionment with the political and economic establishment that is also a motivating factor behind the fictitious heists. The series' scriptwriter Javier Gómez claims that "very identifiable symbolic elements, like 'Bella Ciao,' the Dalí mask or the red uniform reflect the disillusionment left by the [economic] crisis, a disillusionment with power" (Millán, 2020). The real-life sociopolitical context encourages the spectator to sympathise with the thieves, which is clearly part of the narrative appeal of the series.

Beginning with the third season, when the series started being streamed internationally on Netflix, there are isolated allusions to Spanish culture through iconic elements familiar to the international community, such as the parade of paellas ordered by the thieves, or the meticulous details of the national flag on the police uniforms.

This purpose of this research is to determine whether in addition to the four factors that motivate viewers to visit real-life locations shown in audiovisual narratives, location, performance, personality and authenticity (Sousa *et al.*, 2021) symbolic constructs could also be identified as potential film tourism inducers.

To this end, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

RQ1. Is it possible to confirm that *Money Heist* viewers identify the series with the symbolic constructs of the Dalí mask, the red overalls, and the song “Bella Ciao”?

RQ2. Is there a significant relationship of dependence between these symbolic constructs and the most frequently used hashtags on Instagram referring to the tourist destinations that the series’ viewers may be induced to visit?

#### **4. Methodological framework**

In order to answer the research questions posed above, this research adopted three methods that collectively could help gather statistical evidence by means of a sufficiently robust process.

The first method was to obtain official data on Spanish and international tourist visits to the Mint Museum at the Royal Mint of Spain in the period from 2015 to 2022, a sufficiently wide time-frame to be able to objectively confirm a possible increase in visits coinciding with the release of the series.

The second method involved the use of Google Trends (Google News Initiative, 2021), an online tool developed by Google that allows users to monitor the online interest of web users in specific key words, searches, and subjects. Search engine data have helped researchers to identify a range of past and present problems and to predict future trends (Padhi & Pati, 2017).

Tourists today depend heavily on the use of online search engines to obtain valuable information for planning travel. The data provided by Google Trends show the frequency of searches related to specific subjects and locations, making it possible to identify user interest clearly and objectively over a specific span of time (Lv *et al.*, 2018; Dergiades *et al.*, 2018). These search engine data are extraordinarily helpful for predicting tourist demand and improving the accuracy of tourism forecasting (Li *et al.*, 2017; Dergiades *et al.*, 2018). Li and Law (2020), for example, use Google Trends data to forecast monthly tourist figures from nine countries to Hong Kong. In addition, Google Trends statistics can serve as an explanatory variable for studies in a wide range of fields of knowledge (Hu & Wu, 2022).

The terms ‘La casa de papel,’ ‘Money Heist,’ ‘España’ and ‘Spain’ were entered in Google Trends for a seven-year time-frame from 1 March 2016 to 26 April 2023, covering the period from the series’ release up to its international consolidation. With this data the aim is to identify the level of international exposure of *Money Heist* even before the Spanish network Antena3 decided to expand the reach of the series beyond Spanish borders through its deal with Netflix. The English terms ‘Red overalls,’ ‘Dalí mask’ and ‘Bella Ciao’ were also entered in Google Trends for the same time-frame. These variables would reveal whether these three elements have been perceived collectively as symbolic constructs: in other words, whether a causal relationship exists between Google searches for these three elements on the same dates and the interest shown in the series.

The third method involved the construction of a bivariate statistical process using the Pearson correlation coefficient ( $r_{xy}$ ) with the aim of determining the degree of association or joint covariance between the variables. To this end, the Instagram hashtags for the symbolic constructs (#dalimask; #bellaciao; #redoveralls), the real filming and production locations (#spaintravel; #madridtravel; #madridspain), and the name of the series (#lacasadepapel; #moneyheist) were included. These Instagram hashtags were chosen for the period from 01/01/2018 to 01/01/2022 with the aim of identifying the degree of association between the symbolic constructs and the potential tourist destination. For this research it was decided to randomly select 300 posts with each hashtag for analysis, making for a total of 2,400 posts.

Instagram has been found to be one of the best supports for travel-related decision-making due to its popularity and effectiveness (Femenia-Serra *et al.*, 2022), allowing users to create and share content with others (Jin & Ryu, 2020). Moreover, it is an essential social media platform for tourism industry research (Sedera *et al.*, 2017). It has been demonstrated that travel-related content is among the most widely followed content on Instagram and that it definitively increases user interest in visiting specific destinations (Tešin *et al.*, 2022; Zhang *et al.*, 2018). The statistical analysis was conducted using the software IBM SPSS v.28.1.1.

These three methodological processes –collecting objective data on visits to the destination, conducting metadata searches with Google Trends, and identifying correlations between Instagram hashtags and the tourist attraction– were applied in an effort to determine the existence of an association between the symbolic constructs and the tourism-inducing potential of the series.

## 5. Results

As can be seen in Table 1, there was a significant increase in the number of tourist visits to the Royal Mint after 2017, the year when the series was first released, which continued until the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, when both domestic and international tourist numbers both dropped sharply. In 2019, there were 59% more domestic tourists than there were in 2017, while international tourists increased by 25.3% over the same period. Since 2020, although domestic tourist numbers to the Royal Mint have risen again, they are lower than they were in 2018-2019, perhaps due to the fact the series was no longer new to Spanish viewers. On the other hand, following the drop in 2020, international tourist visits have resumed their upward trend.

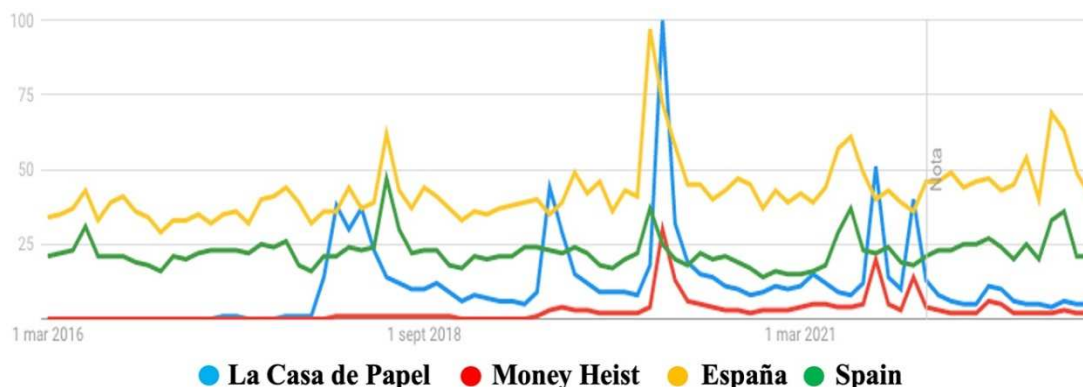
**Table 1.** Evolution of tourist visits to the Royal Mint of Spain.

Year	Domestic tourists	International tourists	Total visitors
2015	25,870	1,059	26,929
2016	30,141 (+4,271)	1,248 (+189)	31,389 (+4,460)
2017	30,994 (+853)	1,354 (+106)	32,348 (+959)
2018	50,081 (+9,087)	5,178 (+3,824)	55,259 (+22,911)
2019	51,059 (+978)	5,350 (+172)	56,409 (+1,150)
COVID-19			
2020	19,761	2,130	21,891
2021	16,371 (-3,390)	2,537 (+407)	18,908 (-2983)
2022	29,194 (+12,823)	6,574 (+4,037)	35,768 (+16860)
<b>Total</b>	<b>253,471</b>	<b>25,430</b>	<b>278,901</b>

Source: Fábrica Nacional de Moneda y Timbre  
(Gestión y Actividades del Museo Casa de la Moneda 08/02/2023).

The data extracted from Google Trends on the title of the series and the country of origin of the production can be viewed in Graphic 1, which reveals a direct relationship between the series and the country where it was produced. The sharpest increases are observable within the dates when each season was first broadcast, from 2 May 2017 to 23 November 2017 (Season 1), from 19 July 2019 to 3 April 2020 (Season 2), and finally from 3 September 2021 to 3 December 2021 (Season 3). These figures suggest that users conducted Google searches with these terms consciously considering a conceptual relationship between them, and with a similar search intensity.

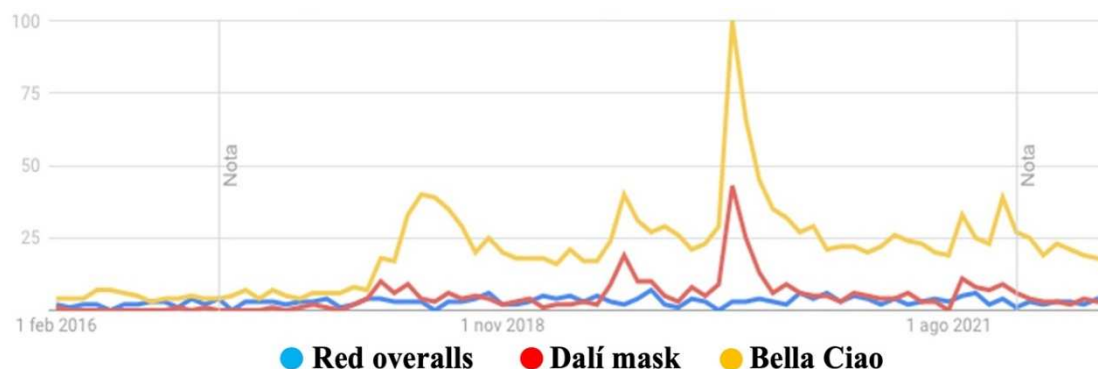
**Graphic 1.** Searches in Google Trends (series and origin).



Source: Google Trends (01/03/2016 to 23/04/2023).

As can be seen in Graphic 2, the three symbolic constructs in the series identified above (the red overalls, the Dalí mask, and the use of the song “Bella Ciao”) are the object of increased searches on the same dates, suggesting a relationship that could only be associated with *Money Heist*. Moreover, the highest scores at the end of 2019 and 2020 in Figure 2 maintain a correlation with the data shown in Figure 1, coinciding with the international consolidation of *Money Heist* on Netflix. Searches using the terms ‘Bella Ciao’ and ‘Dalí Mask’ are especially intense.

**Graphic 2.** Searches in Google Trends (symbolic constructs).



Source: Google Trends (01/03/2016 to 23/04/2023).

For the third methodological process to analyse the study period 2018-2022, the Instagram hashtags that are most representative and have the most posts about the series were considered. These were #lacasadepapel (N=1,972,104 posts), #moneyheist (n=1,176,258), #dalimask (N=9,842), #bellaciao (N=391,636), #redoveralls (2,174), #spaintravel (N=1,215,832), #madridtravel (N=17,569) and #madridspain (N=798,562).

Table 2 shows the quantitative data on the presence of the hashtags. The hashtag appearing the most frequently was #dalimask (N=982; 40.9%) and the one appearing the least was #bellaciao (N= 302; 12.6%). The hashtags mentioning the symbolic constructs reveal a strong correlation with the series titles and tourist destinations:  $X_2(21, 2400) = 60,529, p < .001$ . The hashtag #Bella Ciao was found to be the least viral, and thus an initial analysis found its relationship with the series was weaker than the hashtags #dalimask and #redoveralls.

**Table 2.** Crosstab: hashtags of symbolic constructs/series and tourist destinations.

Series title	Symbolic constructs			
	#dalimask	#redoveralls	#bellacio	None
#lacasadepapel	126 (42%)	98 (32.7%)	45 (15%)	31 (10.3%)
#moneyheist	130 (43.3%)	115 (38.3%)	37 (12.3%)	18 (6%)
<b>Tourist destinations</b>				
#spaintravel	124 (41.3%)	120 (40%)	33 (11%)	23 (7.7%)
#madridtravel	116 (38.7%)	122 (40.7%)	38 (12.7%)	24 (8%)
#localospain	99 (33%)	110 (36.7%)	34 (11.3%)	57 (19%)
Total	982 (40.9%)	850 (35.4%)	302 (12.6%)	266 (11.1%)

N (%)  
N total=2400  
 $[X_2(21, 2400) = 60.529, p < .001]$   
Phi coefficient: .159;  $p < .001$   
Contingency coefficient: .157;  $p < .001$   
Corrected Typified Residuals: 1.4

Source: Own elaboration.

In Table 3, the hashtags of the tourist destinations and symbolic constructs display a clear correlation with the hashtags identifying the series (#lacasadepapel and #moneyheist). The correlation between the hashtag #dalimask and the hashtags for the series was especially intense:  $r(2400) = -0.247, p < 0.001$ . The correlation between #bellacio and the series hashtags was lower but also significant:  $r(2400) = -0.082, p < 0.001$ . However, the hashtag #redoveralls shows no bilateral significance  $< .037$  and only a low Pearson correlation  $r(2400) = .147, p < .037$ , in keeping with the search data shown in Figure 2.

The tourist destination hashtags have a significant positive correlation: #spaintravel  $r(2400) = .273, p < 0.001$  and #madridspain  $r(2400) = .577, p < 0.001$ . The hashtag #madridtravel has a somewhat lower linear intensity, although its association is also significant:  $r(2400) = .412, p < 0.001$ .

**Table 3.** Correlation.

Tourist destinations	Series hashtags	<i>p</i>
#spaintravel	.273**	<.001
#madridtravel	.412*	<.001
#madridspain	.577**	<.001
<b>Symbolic constructs</b>		
#dalimask	-.247***	<.001
#bellacio	-.082**	<.001
#redoveralls	.147*	<.037

Series hashtags: #lacasadepapel; #moneyheist  
Significance levels: + $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$   
N total=2400

Source: Own elaboration.

In response to RQ<sub>1</sub>, during the period when the series was being streamed internationally, online searches using the terms ‘La casa de papel,’ ‘Money Heist,’ ‘España,’ ‘Spain,’ ‘Dalí mask,’ ‘red overalls’ and ‘Bella Ciao’ demonstrate that users considered these to be symbols inseparable from and intrinsic to the series. According to its scriptwriter and executive producer Javier Gómez Santander “without its iconography, a red jumpsuit, a colour symbolising rebellion, passion and revolution, a mask reminiscent of ‘V for Vendetta’ and the anthem ‘Bella Ciao’, ‘La casa de papel’ would not be the same” (Escalada, 2021).

The identifying elements of the series appear in everyday, recognisable settings such as Times Square, the centre of Lisbon, Diesel shop windows, Madrid's Gran Vía, train stations, buildings and even carnivals. Urban murals painted in cities such as Tokyo, Berlin and Istanbul feature characters from the series, a phenomenon that has gone viral and resulted in a previously unheard-of form of publicity. Successful series such as *Money Heist* become a "media convergence" (Pérez, 2023) "whose content flows between various media industries and creates synergies that cannot be explained by a television studio analysis framework alone" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 2). The fact that its protagonists have become influencers on Instagram (Úrsula Corberó 25 million followers; Alba Flores 12.3 million; Jaime Lorente 15.6 million and Miguel Herrán 165 million) far above established Hollywood actors (Julia Roberts 10 million followers; Gwyneth Paltrow 8 million and Nicole Kidman 8 million) makes the actors themselves brand images of the series. Instagram celebrities play an important role in casting decisions because producers scrutinise actors' profiles to see if they are able to attract an Instagram audience through the character they portray (Frier, 2020, p. 172). When these influencers are promoted with identifying elements of a series, it produces a tangible promotional impact on the popularity of the series and as celebrities become style icons, they also increase interest in the series and its potential audience (Pérez, 2023).

Indeed, it could be argued that these symbolic constructs are identifying elements of the series. In response to RQ<sub>2</sub>, the bivariate correlation of the data confirms that the symbolic constructs maintain a significant relationship with the most frequently used hashtags on Instagram for the tourist destinations of the series, with #redoveralls showing the lowest statistical intensity. The data obtained in this study suggest that the symbolic constructs recognised by users and identified in this research may have induced domestic and international tourism, although the intensity of the effect is unknown.

## **6. Discussion and conclusions**

The aim of this research has been to analyse how audiovisual productions create and propagate images and imaginaries of the places where their stories are set (Gabriel, 2022; Barrado-Timón *et al.*, 2022). Reijnders (2011) states that audiovisual fiction creates, together with the viewer, "places of the imagination," comparable to what Riley *et al.*, (1998) call "icons," which generally have an identifiable impact on the numbers of tourists to the countries in question (St. James *et al.*, 2021).

In relation to the symbolic dimension of images, metonymy may explain one of the various types of conceptual abstraction that characterise human thought (Bolghesi, 2019) as it is capable of conveying a specific concept using a pictorial semiotic method (Steen, 2008). The symbolic constructs identified in the audiovisual narrative of *Money Heist* could be defined as conceptual metaphors that can help, together with other underlying factors indicated above (Michael *et al.*, 2020; Sumi & Komppula, 2012), to convey feelings such as identity or a sense of belonging to a place.

Although some successful series, including *Money Heist* itself, may not be aiming specifically to induce viewers to visit the tourist attractions that appear in them, audiovisual narratives can increase awareness about and the profitability of these sites through the power of the imagination, the image and the fantasy of their stories. It may be that the mythos of the location, transformed and communicated through films and series, is what attracts tourists more than the destination itself (Tkalec *et al.*, 2017). This would mean that displaying the locations where series and films are set does not guarantee that visits to these locations will increase. The decision to visit a tourist destination appearing in an audiovisual narrative may be due to a range of factors that can be difficult to define and analyse. The identification of exterior spaces and architectures as local identity symbols of Madrid produces tourist options through audiovisual fiction and its promotional material, resources that facilitate an emotional connection with the characters (Ruiz, 2023).

There are “underlying factors” that influence film-induced tourism, and these differ across cultures (Michael *et al.*, 2020), e.g. novelty of proposition, fantasy, personal connection, prestige and empathetic connection to the film (Michael *et al.*, 2020) and can be complementary. There is a lack of consensus among researchers on the difficulty of classifying these “underlying factors.” For example, the novelty factor in some studies is classified as fantasy in others, while holiday travel can sometimes be interpreted as a form of relaxation. From thirty motivational statements and using principal component analysis Suni and Komppula (2012) concluded on four underlying themes: Control, Novelty, Relaxation and Nostalgia, predominant factors before considering others that may be less important.

Along with potential tourism-inducing factors based on audiovisual narratives such as destination branding and promotional media products, image is a decisive factor in the branding process, as it consists of the sum of the beliefs, ideas, and impressions that tourists hold in their minds about the tourist destination. In view of the overwhelming quantity of images and their rapid consumption in today’s world, proper management of a destination’s brand image has never been more important.

Studies by Gallarza *et al.* (2002) and Prenbensen (2007) use the initialism TDI (tourism destination image) to describe “an attitudinal construct consisting of an individual mental representation of knowledge (beliefs), feelings, and global impressions about a tourist destination” (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999, p. 870). TDIs contain three distinct but interrelated hierarchical components: cognitive (beliefs and attitudes about the tourist destination), affective (motives for choosing a destination), and global (perceptual/cognitive and affective evaluations of the location).

In addition to these components, this research proposes a new dimension: symbolic constructs. The evidence presented here that symbolic constructs can also significantly increase tourist interest in visiting certain locations that appear in their favourite films or series is the main contribution of this research. The findings have specific implications for marketing managers and destination management organisations (DMOs) and offer important guidance for future research on film-induced tourism.

## **7. Limitations of the study**

Although this study specifically analyses the symbolic construct as a potential factor of tourist induction in the fiction series analysed, it would be necessary to check whether these are also decisive in other audiovisual texts. It would also be opportune to demonstrate whether this factor behaves in the same way in different cultural contexts, since this component is indispensable to understand how viewers react to a film and their motivations to visit the destination represented in it. Despite these limitations, it is hoped that the results of this study will generate interest in the academic community and among tourism professionals who explore the tourism induction factors of audiovisual productions.

This study forms part of the R+D+I project: PID2020-112668GB-I00, “Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis of Tourism-Inducing Factors of Audiovisual Fiction and Their Effects on Audiences and Potential Tourists,” funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation and the State Research Agency, MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033. Effective period: 2022-2024.

The authors would like to thank Montserrat Carmona, Director of Operations and Activities at the Mint Museum in the Royal Mint of Spain in Madrid for the information she provided on domestic and international tourist visits in the period 2015-2022 (08/02/2023, <https://www.fnmt.es/>).

## **References**

- Almeyda, M. & George, B. (2017). Place branding in tourism: a review of theoretical approaches and management practices. *Tourism & Management Studies*, 13(4), 10-19.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.18089/tms.2017.13402>

- Ananda, A., Nugraha, A. S., Fujianti, A. R. & Susanto, E. (2021). Movie Induced Tourism in the Young Millennials Tourist Segment. *Journal of Tourism Sustainability*, 1(1), 9-15.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.35313/jtos.viii.1>
- Antena 3 (2018). ¿Por qué destaca el color rojo en *La casa de papel*? Wednesday, 21 March, Retrieved from [https://www.antena3.com/series/casa-de-papel/tercer-grado/por-que-destaca-el-color-rojo-en-la-casa-de-papel\\_201706015930e3180cf263918453e3cd.html](https://www.antena3.com/series/casa-de-papel/tercer-grado/por-que-destaca-el-color-rojo-en-la-casa-de-papel_201706015930e3180cf263918453e3cd.html)
- Baloglu, S. & McCleary, K. W. (1999). A model of destination image formation. *Annals of tourism research*, 26(4), 868-897. [https://www.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(99\)00030-4](https://www.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(99)00030-4)
- Barrado-Timón, D. A., Hidalgo-Giralt, C., Palacios-García, A., Ochoa-Ortiz, H. & Sevilla-Callejo, M. (2022). Perception of the filmed urban space: an analysis of the imaginaries of Madrid constructed through series and social networks. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 95. <https://www.doi.org/10.21138/bage.3294>
- Beeton, S. (2016). *Film-induced tourism* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications.
- Bengoa, M. T. (2011). El *leitmotiv* de la estética de Pedro Almodóvar analizado a través de la cartelística de su obra. *Index. comunicación: Revista científica en el ámbito de la Comunicación Aplicada*, 1(1), 89-144. Retrieved from <https://indexcomunicacion.es/index.php/indexcomunicacion/article/view/21/19>
- Bolognesi, M. & Vernillo, P. (2019). How abstract concepts emerge from metaphorical images: The metonymic way. *Language & Communication*, 69, 26-41.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2019.05.003>
- Buchmann, A., Moore, K. & Fisher, D. (2010). Experiencing film tourism: Authenticity and fellowship. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(1), 229-248.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2009.09.005>
- Callejo-Gallego, M. J. (2019). Investigación de audiencias: *lost in transition*. *CIC. Cuadernos de información y comunicación*, 24, 155-173. <https://www.doi.org/10.5209/ciyc.64636>
- Camarero, G. (2018). Cine y ciudad. Condenadas a entenderse. *Fonseca, Journal of Communication*, 16, 189-192. <https://www.doi.org/10.14201/fjc201816189192>
- Cascacoja-Virino, C. (2018). De la televisión de pago al vídeo bajo demanda. Análisis de la primera temporada de la estrategia de producción original de ficción de Movistar+. *Fonseca: Journal of Communication*, 17. <https://www.doi.org/10.14201/fjc2018175774>
- Cascajosa-Virino, C. (2016). Buscando al espectador serial desesperadamente: la nueva investigación de audiencias y la serie El ministerio del tiempo. *Dígitos. Revista de comunicación digital*, 2, 53-69. Retrieved from <https://revistadigitos.com/index.php/digitos/article/view/50>
- Chang, D. Y. (2016). A study of TV drama series, cultural proximity and travel motivation: Moderation effect of enduring involvement. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 18(4), 399-408. <https://www.doi.org/10.1002/jtr.2058>
- Chhabra, D. (2005). Defining authenticity and its determinants: Toward an authenticity flow model. *Journal of Travel Research*, 44, 64-73.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1177/0047287505276592>
- Connell, J. (2012). Film tourism – Evolution, progress and prospects. *Tourism Management*, 33(5), 1007-1029. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2012.02.008>
- Cristófol Rodríguez, C., Meliveo Nogués, P. & Cristófol, F. J. (2020). Release of the fourth season of *Money Heist*: Analysis of its social audience on twitter during lockdown in Spain. *Information*, 11(12). <https://www.doi.org/10.3390/info1120579>
- Croy, G. & Heitmann, S. (2011). Tourism and film. In P. Robinson, S. Heitmann & P. Dieke (Eds.), *Research themes for tourism* (pp. 188-204). CABI Digital Library.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1079/9781845936846.0188>
- Croy, W. G. & Buchmann, A. (2009). Film-induced tourism in the high country: Recreation and tourism contest. *Tourism Review International*, 13(2), 147-155.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.3727/154427209789604642>

- Deniz, K. (2021). Question Concerning Evil in the Age of New Television: Dichotomy of Good and Evil in *Money Heist*. In *International Perspectives on Rethinking Evil in Film and Television* (pp. 135-149). Barcelona: IGI Global.
- Dergiades, T., Mavragani, E. & Pan, B. (2018). Google trends and tourists' arrivals: emerging biases and proposed corrections. *Tourism Management*, 66, 108-120.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2017.10.014>
- Dong-Hyuk, H. (2021). *Squid game*. Whole series. Netflix.
- Edgerton, G. (2022). Netflix, Spanish television, and *La casa de papel*: Growing global and local TV together in the multiplatform era. *Critical Studies in Television*.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1177/17496020221146057>
- Ek, R. (2006). Media studies, geographical imaginations and relational space. In J. Falkheimer & A. Jansson (Eds.), *Geographies of Communication. The Spatial Turn in Media Studies* (pp. 45-66). Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Escalada, P. (2021). ¿Cómo *La casa de papel* ha conseguido convertirse en un fenómeno global? *Diario Sport*. Retrieved from <https://www.sport.es/es/noticias/television/casa-papel-conseguido-convertirse-fenomeno-12938869>
- Escolar, L. D., Mendieta, E. & Fernández-Hoya, G. (2023). Madrid, una ciudad en la sombra. Cine y anonimato. *L'Atalante. Revista de estudios cinematográficos*, 7-20.
- Fahlenbrach, K. (2005). Aesthetics and audiovisual metaphors in media perception. *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 7(4). <https://www.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1280>
- Falkheimer, J. & Jansson, A. (2006). *Geographies of communication. The spatial turn in media studies*. Göteborg: Nordicom.
- Femenia-Serra, F., Gretzel, U. & Alzua-Sorzabal, A. (2022). Instagram travel influencers in #quarantine: Communicative practices and roles during COVID-19. *Tourism Management*, 89. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2021.104454>
- Frier, S. (2020). *No Filter: The Inside Story of Instagram*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Frisvoll, S. (2013). Conceptualising authentication of ruralness. *Annals of Tourist Research*, 43, 272-296. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2013.07.006>
- Gallarza, M. G., Saura, I. G. & Garcíá, H. C. (2002). Destination image: Towards a conceptual framework. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(1), 56-78. [https://www.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(01\)00031-7](https://www.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(01)00031-7)
- Gabriel, M. R. (2022). The image of Spain as a tourist destination through audiovisual productions. The case of *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* (Zoya Akhtar, 2011). *Culture & History Digital Journal*, 11(2). <https://www.doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2022.026>
- Gómez, M. (2021). *Analysis of the Berlin Film Office's Strategy and Film Tourism in Berlin. How important is the strategy of a film office for the tourism of a city?* Doctoral thesis. Universitat Politècnica de València. Retrieved from <https://riunet.upv.es/handle/10251/158887>
- González, J. (1999). *El discurso televisivo: espectáculo de la posmodernidad*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Google News Initiative (2021). Google Trends: understanding the data (lesson 4: how to interpret Trends results). Retrieved from <https://newsinitiative.withgoogle.com/resources/lessons/google-trends-understanding-the-data/>
- Hu, Y. C. & Wu, G. (2022). The impact of Google Trends index and encompassing tests on forecast combinations in tourism. *Tourism Review*, ahead-of-print.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1108/TR-02-2022-0088>
- Ibarra, K. A. & Navarro, C. (2022). The Success of Spanish Series on Traditional Television and SVoD Platforms: From *El Ministerio del Tiempo* to *La Casa de Papel*. *International Journal of Communication*, 16, 482-503. Retrieved from <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/issue/view/18#more1>
- Imbert, G. (2008). *El transformismo televisivo. Postelevisión e imaginarios sociales*. Madrid: Cátedra.

- Iwashita, C. (2006). Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists: Popular culture and tourism. *Tourist Studies*, 6(1), 59-77.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1468797606071477>
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: New York University Press.
- Jin, S. V. & Ryu, E. (2020). "I'll buy what she's# wearing": The roles of envy toward and parasocial interaction with influencers in Instagram celebrity-based brand endorsement and social commerce. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 55, 102-121.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2020.102121>
- Josiam, B. M., Spears, D. L., Pookulangara, S., Dutta, K., Kinley, T. R. & Duncan, J. L. (2015). Using structural equation modeling to understand the impact of Bollywood movies on destination image, tourist activity, and purchasing behavior of Indians. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 21(3), 251-261. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1356766715573650>
- Kim, S. & Park, E. (2023). An integrated model of social impacts and resident's perceptions: From a film tourism destination. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 47(2), 395-421. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/109634802110116>
- Kim, S., Kim, S. & King, B. (2019). Nostalgia film tourism and its potential for destination development. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 36(2), 236-252.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2018.1527272>
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1982). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Li, X. & Law, R. (2020). Forecasting tourism demand with decomposed search cycles. *Journal of Travel Research*, 59(1), 52-68. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/004728751882415>
- Li, S., Li, H., Song, H., Lundberg, C. & Shen, S. (2017). The economic impact of on-screen tourism: The case of The Lord of the Rings and the Hobbit. *Tourism Management*, 60, 177-187. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2016.11.023>
- Li, X., Pan, B., Law, R. & Huang, X. (2017). Forecasting tourism demand with composite search index. *Tourism Management*, 59, 57-66.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2016.07.005>
- Lv, S. X., Peng, L. & Wang, L. (2018). Stacked autoencoder with echo-state regression for tourism demand forecasting using search query data. *Applied Soft Computing*, 73, 119-133.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.asoc.2018.08.024>
- Macionis, N. & Sparks, B. (2009). Film tourism: An incidental experience. *Tourism Review International*, 13(2), 93-102. <https://www.doi.org/10.3727/154427209789604598>
- Martínez-Borda, R., de la Fuente, J. & Lacasa, P. (2021). Digital Narratives During the Pandemic: TV Series, Social Media, and Conversations on the Internet. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12. <https://www.doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.677713>
- Martínez Puche, A. & Martínez Puche, S. (2010). El cine como soporte de promoción turística del territorio en un contexto globalizado. *Siranda, Revista de Estudios Culturales, Teoría de los Medios e Innovación Tecnológica*, 3, 157-173. Retrieved from <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/ejemplar/489376>
- Masip, P., Ruiz-Caballero, C. & Suau, J. (2019). Active audiences and social discussion on the digital public sphere. Review article. *El profesional de la información*, 28(2), e280204. <https://www.doi.org/10.3145/epi.2019.mar.04>
- Matellano, V. (2022). *Spanish Horror*. Madrid: T&B Editores.
- Mateos-Pérez, J. (2023). The role of space in Spanish television fiction. The *Antidisturbios* Case (Movistar+, 2020). *Communication & Society*, 36(2), 1-15.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.15581/003.36.2.1-15>
- Michael, N., Balasubramanian, S., Michael, I. & Fotiadis, A. (2020). Underlying motivating factors for movie-induced tourism among Emiratis and Indian expatriates in the United Arab Emirates. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 20(4), 435-449.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1467358420914355>

- Millán, A. (2020). *La casa de papel*: cuáles son las claves del éxito de la serie de Netflix según Javier Gómez, uno de sus guionistas. BBC News Mundo. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-51247895>
- Montañés, J. A. (2019). La Fundación Gala-Dalí quiere desenmascarar *La Casa de Papel*. *El País*. 23 January. Retrieved from [https://elpais.com/cultura/2019/01/22/actualidad/1548182018\\_282969.html](https://elpais.com/cultura/2019/01/22/actualidad/1548182018_282969.html)
- Mura, P. (2015). Perceptions of authenticity in a Malaysian homestay –A narrative analysis. *Tourism Management*, 51, 225–233. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2015.05.023>
- Neira, E., Clares-Gavilán, J. & Sánchez-Navarro, J. (2021). New audience dimensions in streaming platforms: the second life of *Money heist* on Netflix as a case study. *Profesional de la información*, 30(1), e300113. <https://www.doi.org/10.3145/epi.2021.ene.13>
- Nieto-Ferrando, J. (2019). Tourist Destination Placement in Fiction Films: An Applied Research Proposal. *Communication & Society*, 33(4), 1–17. <https://www.doi.org/10.15581/003.33.4.1-17>
- Padhi, S. S. & Pati, R. K. (2017). Quantifying potential tourist behavior in choice of destination using Google Trends. *Tour Manag Perspect*, 24, 34–47. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2017.07.001>
- Pan, S. & Ryan, C. (2013). Film-induced heritage site conservation: The case of echoes of the rainbow. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 37(1), 125–150. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1096348011425497>
- Park, E., Choi, B. K. & Lee, T. J. (2019). The role and dimensions of authenticity in heritage tourism. *Tourism Management*, 74, 99–109. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2019.03.001>
- Pérez, J. (2023). Netflix, Instagram, celebrity and fashion: A brave new convergent world? *International Journal of Iberian Studies*. [https://www.doi.org/10.1386/ijis\\_00098\\_1](https://www.doi.org/10.1386/ijis_00098_1)
- Prebensen, N. K. (2007). Exploring tourists' images of a distant destination. *Tourism Management*, 28(3), 747–756. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2006.05.005>
- Rebollo-Bueno, S. (2018). Ficción televisiva y contrahegemonía: Análisis de *La Casa de Papel* y *Vis a Vis*. In M. Donstrup (Ed.), *Cultura de Masas (Serializada). Análisis simbólico de la ficción* (pp. 43–56). Sevilla: Egregius. Retrieved from <https://idus.us.es/handle/11441/87611>
- Reijnders, S. L. (2016). Stories that move: Fiction, imagination, tourism. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 19(6), 672–689. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1367549415597922>
- Reijnders, S. (2011). *Places of the Imagination: Media, Tourism, Culture*. London: Ashgate.
- Riley, R., Baker, D. & van Doren, C. S. (1998). Movie induced tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25(4), 919–935. [https://www.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(98\)00045-0](https://www.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(98)00045-0)
- Rittichainuwat, B. & Rattanaphinanchai, S. (2015). Applying a mixed method of quantitative and qualitative design in explaining the travel motivation of film tourists in visiting a film-shooting destination. *Tourism Management*, 46, 136–147. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2014.06.005>
- Roesch, S. (2009). *The experience of film location tourists*. Vol. 42. Toronto: Channel View.
- Ruiz, M. (2023). Identificación cultural y emocional con Madrid a través de la serie Valeria (Netflix, 2020–2023). *Revista de Comunicación*, 22(2), 243–260. <https://www.doi.org/0000-0002-6849-3433>
- Sackmann, S. (1989). The role of metaphors in organization transformation. *Human Relations*, 42(6), 463–485. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/001872678904200601>
- Sáez-Cala, A., Cea-D'Acona, F. & Barrado-Timón, D. A. (2018). El perfil de la demanda turística y el turismo cinematográfico en la ciudad de Madrid. En *XVI Coloquio Ibérico Geografía/ XVI Coloquio Ibérico Geografía*. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331113919>

- Sajlan, D. (2022). *Money Heist: The Hypothetical Moral Rights of Salvador Dalí*. *Journal of Intellectual Property Rights (JIPR)*, 26(5), 249-258.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.56042/jipr.v26i5.39720>
- Sedera, D., Lokuge, S., Atapattu, M. & Gretzel, U. (2017). Likes –the key to my happiness: The moderating effect of social influence on travel experience. *Information & Management*, 54(6), 825-836. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.im.2017.04.003>
- Sharma, A., Nicolau, J. L. & Mas, F. J. (2022). The effect of movie and television placements. *Tourism Management*, 91. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2022.104517>
- Sousa, B., Malheiro, A., Liberato, D. & Liberato, P. (2021). Movie tourism and attracting new tourists in the post-pandemic period: a niche marketing perspective. In *Advances in Tourism, Technology and Systems: Selected Papers from ICOTTS20*, 1, 373-384. Singapore: Springer.
- Srivastava, R. (2020). Brand placement in a movie song and its impact on brand equity. *Journal of Promotion Management*, 26(2), 233-252.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1080/10496491.2019.1699627>
- Steen, G. (2008). The paradox of metaphor: Why we need a three-dimensional model of metaphor. *Metaphor and symbol*, 23(4), 213-241.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1080/10926480802426753>
- Stephen, G., Inbaraj, D. & Anbuudayasankar S. P. (2021). Investigating the influence of audiences' movie-viewing motives on attitude towards brand placement in movies. *Journal of Global Scholars of Marketing Science*, 31(4), 487-510.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1080/21639159.2020.1808813>
- Suni, J. & Komppula, R. (2012). SF-Filmvillage as a movie tourism destination –a case study of movie tourist pushes motivations. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 29(5), 460-471.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2012.691397>
- St. James, Y., Darveau, J. & Fortin, J. (2021). Immersion in film tourist experiences. In *Visual Media and Tourism* (pp. 86-98). London: Routledge.
- Tešin, A., Pivac, T., Besermenji, S. & Obradović, S. (2022). Exploring the influence of Instagram on travel destination choice. *The European Journal of Applied Economics*, 19(1).  
<https://www.doi.org/10.5937/ejae19-33584>
- Thelen, T., Kim, S. & Scherer, E. (2020). Film tourism impacts: A multi-stakeholder longitudinal approach. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 45(3), 291-306.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2020.1718338>
- Timón, D. A. B. & Cala, A. S. (2020). Cinema and tourism in large cities: The case of Madrid (Spain). *Estudios turísticos*, 220, 115-132. <https://www.doi.org/10.61520/et.2202020.57>
- Tkalec, M., Zilic, I. & Recher, V. (2017). The effect of film industry on tourism: *Game of Thrones* and Dubrovnik. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 19(6), 705-714.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1002/jtr.2142>
- Točená, Z. (2020). Money Heist or how Netflix found a lost gem in the linear television's 'junkyard'. *Marketing Identity*, 8(1), 601-611. Retrieved from  
<https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=924944>
- Van der Kint, M. F. (2021). *Netflix' Transnationalisation: "La Casa de Papel" as Instrument for Crossing Borders*. Bachelor's Thesis. Utrecht University. Retrieved from  
<https://studenttheses.uu.nl/handle/20.500.12932/40205>
- Wong, I. K. A., Law, R. & Zhao, X. (2018). Time-Variant Pleasure Travel Motivations and Behaviors. *Journal of Travel Research*, 57(4), 437-452.  
<https://www.doi.org/10.1177/0047287517705226>
- Zhang, J., Wu, B., Morrison, A. M., Tseng, C. & Chen, Y. (2018). How country image affects tourists' destination evaluations: A moderated mediation approach. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 42(6), 904-930. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1096348016640584>