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Blame it on Hollywood:

The Influence of Films on Paris as Product Location

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Abstract

This paper explores the way location myths conveyed through Hollywood movies influence consumer expectations, by looking at how the city of Paris is represented in motion pictures. We develop measures of the location image of Paris in a sample of Hollywood movies released between 1985 and 2011. These are used to examine the images of Paris held by American consumers who have never directly experienced the location. Our results show that Hollywood movies project specific location images and myths of Paris. More specifically, we show that these images fall into two distinct stereotypic patterns and are widely shared by consumers. Individuals who seek information on location from popular culture are shown to embrace and reproduce Paris myths. The study concludes that the cultural industries influence the cognitive consumption of location through the production and dissemination of meaning, via stories and fueled by perpetual myth making.

Keywords: cultural industries; cognitive consumption of location; myth making; motion pictures; Hollywood; Paris

INTRODUCTION

For some filmmakers, cities are just convenient locations for staging crowd scenes or car chases. For others, like Woody Allen, cities, particularly European cities, have a personality that "can't be left out of the equation" (Vulture, 2011). "You want to figure them in the story in some way", says Allen, "otherwise it is just a film but it is there". Woody Allen has made a series of films that feature cities, beginning with his beloved New York, then London, and subsequently Paris. Paris, he argues, has special resonance for Americans who are imbued with Hollywood myths of Paris as the romantic city. Though he knows the real Paris well enough, he is not immune to these myths, nor is he shy about employing them to good effect in his 2011 film Midnight in Paris.

For Woody Allen and many other filmmakers, location stereotypes and location myths have been the staple of motion pictures since the industry first emerged, at the end of the 19th century. By incorporating prevailing location stereotypes and myths into their plots, filmmakers have indirectly influenced consumer perception of these locations. Stories built around location myths shape consumer expectations that are central to the formation of locations as cultural product categories. This paper aims to examine the way myths, projected by the cultural industries, influence consumer expectations of product markets, such as the location market.

The present study highlights the importance of the cultural industries as a reservoir of stories that influence and drive consumption. Stories are considered as the main sensemaking market tool in product markets (White, 1992; Weick, 1995; Gabriel, 1998; Rosa, Porac, Spanjol & Saxon, 1999; Porac, Rosa, Spanjol, & Saxon, 2001; Rosa & Spanjol, 2005), as well as the markets' main evolution vehicle. The cultural industries, which deal with the production and reproduction of symbolic materials and meanings (Lampel, Shamsie & Lant, 2006), disseminate a multitude of stories. These stories often feature technologies and

products in a variety of contexts, influencing the consumer cognitions and market perceptions towards consumption. Inescapably, through their storytelling the cultural industries are powerful culture storytellers that convey powerful product messages, meanings and myths in various markets, influencing the consumption expectations of consumers.

The present paper focuses on Paris as a case study. Paris is arguably the most filmed city in the world (according to the Paris Tourist Office), appearing not only in many French films, but also in more than 800 Hollywood movies ranging from early masterpieces like Casablanca (1942) and Breathless (1960), to recent blockbusters like Taken (2008) and Woody Allen's Midnight in Paris (2011). By examining the influence of Hollywood on expectations consumers hold of Paris, this study focuses on the way Hollywood produces meanings about Paris, as well as how the market reproduces those meanings in order to make sense of the cognitive consumption of location.

For purposes of this paper, we define consumption of location as the, direct, or indirect, experience of a territory that possesses distinct and widely recognized geographic identity. Consumption of location therefore refers not only to the consumer interaction with the built form of a natural location, but also to the individual attribution of meaning to this location (Tuan, 1977; Giddens, 1984; Adler, 1989; Gieryn, 2001; Stedman, 2003). Individuals attach meaning to the location either by directly experiencing it, that is living in it or visiting it in person, or by indirectly experiencing it through various mediums, such as stories told by other individuals or culture. Therefore, since location consumption is cognitive, and location is a state of mind (Wohl & Strauss, 1958), it needs to be measured on the level of individual perceptions, meanings and values, rather than in terms of visitor numbers and actual consumption habits.

Location image is the distillation of ideas, perceptions, feelings and general information that individuals hold regarding cognitive and affective components of specific places

(Gartner, 1993; Kotler, Hauder & Rein, 1993; Dann, 1996; Baloglu & Brinberg, 1997). Location stereotypes are simplified images that focus attention on a few select features that are culturally shared (Forgas, 1981). Their relationship to the complex and varied landscape of the real location is similar to the relationship between caricatures and full portraits. A caricature selects and amplifies certain features at the expense of detail in order to express strong views about what is essential about the subject. However, unlike caricatures, which are often the work of individual artists, location stereotypes are shared mental representations that emerge through cultural processes.

In this study, we measure the location image of Paris projected through 24 major Hollywood movies, released from 1985 to 2011, in order to identify stereotypes storytellers hold on the location. We then identify the location stereotypes that prevail in the market towards the Paris location experience, by using data obtained from a survey of American consumers who have never directly experienced Paris themselves. The two parts of the study are linked by two Paris movie posters, which were developed based on the movie location image analysis, to project the dominant Paris location stereotypes and myths, and used as stimuli in the consumer survey.

We define location myths as stories that involve location stereotypes that are widely shared in the society. We argue that location myths strongly influence location consumption, involving social cognitions on location and considered as the vessel of individual participation in societal culture (Holt, 2004). The social cognitions that form location myths come from an imagined world rather than the real market environment. Hollywood uses these location elements in conjunction with location for its own purposes, and in the process reinforces wide acceptance of unified location myths. In this way, movies can influence the evolution of locations as product categories by amplifying certain elements of the product reality.

Overall, this study provides one explanation of the way cultural industries affect consumption. Specifically, the objective of the paper is to throw light on the way Hollywood stories (re-) create and spread location myths that influence the locations' cognitive consumption. The paper provides an explanation of how the cultural industries directly, and often unintentionally, impact various markets through their storytelling power (Rosa et al., 1999; Porac et al., 2001; Kennedy, 2005; Rosa & Spanjol, 2005; Kennedy, 2008).

STORYTELLING, MYTHMAKING AND THE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES

The socio-cognitive view of markets argues that product markets are created when market actors connect specific products to their conceptual systems, by abstracting them in a number of attributes through narratives and conversations (Porac et al., 2001). Product conceptual systems are the cognitive structures created around products' attributes and uses, and include market actors' perceptions, knowledge, beliefs, expectations and consumption patterns of the product; they emerge through the interaction between producers and consumers, being, partially or fully, shared by them (Porac et al., 2001).

Shared conceptual systems are considered the glue of product markets (Porac et al., 2001), in the same way as shared beliefs are considered to define reality (Kennedy, 2008). When market actors experience new attributes of existing products, such as new attributes of locations, new conceptual systems emerge and producers and consumers adjust their behaviour and activities to create new product representations (Rosa et al., 1999). In order to make sense of existing and emerging product attributes and make comparative judgements, market actors use product market stories (Porac et al., 2001; Lounsbury & Rao, 2004). Market stories are an important sensemaking tool among the members of a market, creating the necessary social bonds among market actors, products, their uses and value and their ways of consumption (Rosa et al., 1999; Rosa & Porac, 2002). In the location market, market stories

connect locations with their perceived cognitive and affective attributes, as well as with the cognitive consumption of location.

Stories are essential to how individuals make sense of the world, and how they adopt new behaviour and consumption patterns (Rosa & Spanjol, 2005). Within product markets, stories are also vital because they enhance market actors' understanding of new products, which – in combination with existing ones – shape or even guide their lives. By allowing market actors to share experiences when they first encounter new products, market stories influence and shape consumption. The sociocognitive theory of markets points to market stories as a key tool for the generation of new knowledge on the product, its values and its multiple ways of consumption. According to Rosa and Spanjol, product market stories form the knowledge structures that make individuals within the product market "reconcile current experiences and behaviours with pre-existing beliefs, and by doing so, stories shape future behaviours" (2005:199).

Individuals involved in the generation and dissemination of market stories are not only consumers – who have considerable influence and, nevertheless, great power over market stories via word of mouth. Storytellers also include producers, retailers, government and non-government organizations, as well as various intermediaries, such as advertisers (Rosa & Spanjol, 2005). The cultural industries are often involved in the wide storyteller network that exists around product markets. Media and news stories are also considered as a major source of sensemaking input for market actors, having the power to shape new and emerging product categories (Kennedy, 2005; Kennedy, 2008). Culture, in this sense, is able to shape new and existing markets, by embedding new product representations in the existing shared conceptual systems, which in turn influence beliefs and perceptions that shape consumption habits of market actors.

Cultural products such as books, films, and videogames create product myths in general, and location myths in particular. As a major cultural hub, Hollywood has long created films that capture and express location myths through scripts, location filming, cinematography and editing. Location myths triggered by Hollywood films can be highly influential because they often link the exceptional with the mundane, often by representing everyday lives in stereotyped but exciting locations, or by portraying the lives of exceptional individuals in such locations.

Myths have been defined as tales "commonly told within a social group" (Levy, 1981:51); stories able to explain the nature of living in a given society. In general, myths are popular beliefs or stories that illustrate a cultural ideal people have about a place, a person, or an event. The cumulative impact of myths formed by and within societies gives rise to mythology, a collection of stories which begins from the primary universal narratives regarding birth and death (Slotkin, 1973; Stern, 1995; Thompson, 2004). These narratives usually include consumption stories that play a central role in forming the marketplace mythologies of the modern economies. Such mythologies are not only expressed in consumers' conversations, but also in culture and cultural industries.

Myth making and myth interpretation are cognitive processes that create patterns about opposites, binary relations and mediating terms in different parts of everyday life (Levy, 1981). The process of myth making is regarded as a process that projects individual consumers' actions, driven by their perceptions, values and desires. However, as it has already been said, it is not only individuals who are responsible for the formation of myths, but also other actors (i.e. the cultural industries) who package the stories (Kniazeva & Belk, 2010). Individuals, in turn, are the ones who interpret this packaging according to their own aims and needs, by generating multiple meanings about the myth and the product. The interpretation of stories is not only consciously cognitive, but also operates subconsciously, as

each individual selects the parts of the story that have the most suitable meaning to their unique personalities.

PARIS IN THE MOVIES

Hollywood has been called the dream factory, but it would be just as accurate to call it the myth factory. Most of Hollywood's myths distil American narratives about American life (Levinson, 2012), but some of these myths project stories about other countries and people (Richardson, 2010). Woody Allen, the quintessential American filmmaker, consciously employs these projections in Midnight in Paris, in part because, as he admits, he grew up with Hollywood movies about Paris, but also because for him, as for most Americans who get their views of other countries from media and entertainment, Paris is a "clichéd vibration" (Vulture, 2011). Notwithstanding the fact that he knows Paris first-hand, he nevertheless remarks: "When I think of Paris, I think of romance" (Vulture, 2011). In the first part of this study, we examine the location myths of Paris as projected in 24 major Hollywood movies released within the last 27 years.

Sample

Our sample consists of 24 Hollywood productions that (a) project Paris as either a main or secondary setting, (b) have been released and/or distributed by one of the six major Hollywood studios (i.e. Columbia Pictures (Sony Pictures), Warner Bros. Pictures, Walt Disney Pictures, Universal Pictures, 20th Century Fox, and Paramount Pictures) from 1985 to 2011, and (c) project the main actor(s) visiting the location, either for business or pleasure. The sampling frame in this case is the Internet Movie Database (IMDb), one of the most popular online movie resources. The movies included in our sample are listed in Table 1.

Table 1 here.

Measures

The measurement of location image in the selected movies is based on the established scales that have been widely used in the tourism literature (Jenkins, 1999; Baloglu & Mangaloglu, 2001; Kim & Richardson, 2003). Location image, what authors in the field call destination image, consists of both cognitive and affective components (Gartner, 1993; Dann, 1996; Baloglu & Brinberg, 1997). According to Gartner (1993), it is the interrelationship of cognitive and affective image components that eventually determines the final formation of a location image in the mind of the consumer. Therefore, the analysis of location image is grounded in two axes, (a) the 22 cognitive attributes of the location image and (b) the 18 affective attributes of the location image; thus the subjective feelings of the viewer regarding Paris. Overall, the cognitive components of location image refer to attributes such as cultural and natural attractions, lifestyle and multiple location facilities. The affective components of location image refer to the overall location atmosphere, authenticity and safety (Kim & Richardson, 2003).

Two coders watched each movie of the sample and coded the location image. To estimate the reliability of the analysis, Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (ICC) is examined, using the two-way mixed model (Shrout & Fleiss, 1979). The items are categorized into six distinct themes – Attractions, Lifestyle and Facilities (in the cognitive axis), as well as Safety, Atmosphere and Authenticity (in the affective axis). For all variables, high ICCs are demonstrated; 0.73, 0.87, 0.9, 0.86, 0.85 and 0.81 respectively, all significant, $p < 0.05$. Therefore, all variables are highly consistent, showing that all cognitive and affective attributes of a location, as projected in the movies, are perceived by the viewers in a certain way, the producers' way.

Results and Discussion

A principal component factor analysis was performed, in order to identify factors that adequately explain the cognitive and affective items. First, a principal axis factoring was conducted on the 22 items of cognitive attributes, with orthogonal rotation (varimax). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each component in the data. Three components had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 65.3% of the variance. Given the sample size, and the convergence of the scree plot and Kaiser's criterion (Field, 2009), two components were retained in the final analysis, which explained the 50.5% of the variance. Kaiser's criterion is accurate in this case, because the number of variables is less than 30 and the resulting communalities (after extraction) are all greater than 0.7 (Field, 2009). The scree plot was slightly ambiguous and showed inflexions that would justify retaining component 1, which describes the lifestyle and everyday facilities and was called "Lifestyle", and component 2, which represents the cultural attractions and environment, and was called "Culture".

Second, a principal axis factoring was conducted on the 18 items on affective attributes, with orthogonal rotation (varimax). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each component in the data. Two components had eigenvalues over Kaiser's criterion of 1 and in combination explained 82.3% of the variance. Given the sample size, and the convergence of the scree plot and Kaiser's criterion (Field, 2009), two components were retained in the final analysis, component 1, which represents the safety and hospitability and was called "Safety", and component 2, which describes the authenticity and value of experience a location offers, and was called "Atmosphere".

In order to identify if the movies of the sample project certain stereotypes on Paris lifestyle, culture, safety and atmosphere, a k-means cluster analysis was performed (N = 24), on the four extracted factors, which are a combination of observable and unobservable clustering variables (Wedel & Kamakura, 2000). Two distinct clusters were identified. The

first cluster covered the following 17 movies: Midnight in Paris, Inception, Ratatouille, Rush Hour 3, The Devil Wears Prada, Before Sunset, Le Divorce, Something's Gotta Give, Moulin Rouge, Rugrats in Paris, Passport to Paris, Anastasia, Sabrina, Forget Paris, Damage, A View to a Kill and European Vacation. The second cluster covered the following 7 movies: Monte Carlo, Taken, Mr. Bean's Holiday, The Bourne Identity, Kiss of the Dragon, French Kiss and Frantic. For all movies included in cluster 1, lifestyle (M = 3.7), culture (M = 3.7), safety (M = 5.3) and atmosphere (M = 5.7) are highly rated. For movies included in cluster 2, lifestyle (M = 2.1), safety (M = 2.9) and atmosphere (M = 3.7) are rated as low, whereas culture is still highly rated (M = 3.3).

The identified clusters indicate the existence of two ways of projection of Paris in Hollywood movies, which consist of two distinct combinations of location stereotypes. The first location stereotype, projected by the vast majority of movies (cluster 1), is the bright stereotype of Paris, and presents a city with an exciting way of everyday life and lots of entertainment, high culture, museums and attractions, a place which is safe, hospitable and authentic, with great atmosphere and positive vibes. Most of the movies that project those stereotypes belong to the comedy or romance genres, but there are also some action movies, such as Rush Hour 3, and even dramas, for example Inception. Cluster 1 includes 17 out of the 24 Paris movies (71%), indicating that the bright stereotype is dominant among Hollywood productions of the sample, regardless of film genre, production studio or release date – the pattern is the same in both European Vacation, released in 1985, and Midnight in Paris, released 26 years later. All of the sample movies that feature Paris in their title (Midnight in Paris, Rugrats in Paris, Passport to Paris and Forget Paris) project this pattern, a finding that shows that Paris is highly stereotyped as a cultural, sophisticated, modern and authentic place, in all movies where location holds a very important part in the plotline (and therefore is featured in the title).

The second location stereotype, the dark stereotype of Paris, projected by the minority of movies (29%), communicates a different image of the city, the one of a dangerous and underground place. The cultural aspect of the city, however, still remains strong in this projection. Within the second pattern, there are two distinct stereotypic directions. The first direction channels a boring place full of pickpockets, with dirty hotels, which is overall an unattractive location for travelers. This is the case of Monte Carlo, Mr. Bean's Holiday and French Kiss, all comedies that communicate Paris as mainly an overrated tourist location rather than a holistic location experience. The second direction, however, channels an underground, violent and harsh place. This is especially the case of Frantic, released in 1988, and Taken, released exactly 20 years later, but also The Bourne Identity and Kiss of the Dragon, all being action and spy films.

PUT THE BLAME ON HOLLYWOOD

While the first part of the study uncovers the location stereotypes of Paris as projected through Hollywood movies, this second part of the study explores the influence of these Hollywood projections on the consumption of Paris location. It proposes that consumers who have never been to Paris are significantly influenced by the stereotypes and myths Hollywood projects on location, identify the cultural industries as the main myths related information source, share Paris myths as projected by Hollywood, and perceive the myths as the location reality.

Movie posters are probably the most condensed movie-related story, conveying a considerable amount of information in pictorial form, which works as the preamble of the main story, the movie. Movie posters are released not only prior to movies, but also even before movie trailers, which are also a major communication tool of Hollywood. Furthermore, they create a dialogue among consumers or even between consumers and various types of

other actors – for example, journalists, artists and lawyers –, which often lasts longer than the movie's pre-release period. Many movie posters are considered works of art and are being displayed in institutions around the world, such as the British Film Institute. For the purposes of this study, two movie posters have been generated, based on the already identified location stereotypes. The first poster illustrates the bright stereotype of Paris, as projected by Hollywood, while the second illustrates the dark stereotype of Paris. The two posters were pre-tested in a sample of n=100 American consumers who have never been to Paris.

Data collection and Sample

The data were collected via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) as part of a larger study, using an online survey design. MTurk is an online labour market, where employees, called "workers" are hired and paid, by employers, in order to complete specific HITs (Human Intelligence Tasks) within a certain time. MTurk was launched by Amazon in 2005 and has been constantly used since then as a tool for data collection (Eriksson & Simpson 2010). Only workers who meet certain criteria set by the requester can view and work on HITs. For the present survey, the workers who were allowed to participate were those who had a reported high quality of previous work (successfully completed most of the questionnaires they were asked to) and also stated in the beginning that they have never been to Paris. Out of a final sample of 367 respondents, all were US citizens and had never been to Paris, 44.7% were men and 55.3% women, 92.1% were high school and university graduates, and 89.7% had limited international travel experience, with only up to five international trips over lifetime.

Measures

In the beginning of the survey, respondents were informed that they will be presented with *"a number of movie posters featuring Paris"* and will be asked *"to decide which of the posters best represents the common myth that most people would associate with the city"*. To ensure reliability they were also provided with the definition of myth, as *"a popular belief or*

story that illustrates a cultural ideal people have about a place, a person, or an event". Two open-ended questions regarding (a) the myth people hold on Paris ("*Please describe the myth that comes to mind when thinking about Paris"*) and (b) the source this myth comes from *("Where does this myth come from? How do people learn about it, without travelling to Paris?"*), opened the survey. The second open-ended question was then coded into the following categories: (a) word-of-mouth, (b) popular culture, (c) not sure and (d) other. The first two open-ended questions were followed by the two posters and the poster choice option (*"Which poster is most representative of the myth that most people associate with Paris?"*).

Following the poster choice, respondents were asked to state how representative they perceived the poster to be of a number of Parisian attributes (poster interpretation), therefore how closely connected they think the myth most people hold is to reality. The scale (lifestyle, entertainment, cultural sites and architecture, scenery and natural attractions, weather, atmosphere and visitor experience (Baloglu & Mangaloglu, 2001; Kim & Richardson, 2003)), was measured on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = agree and 5 = strongly agree, and appeared to have a good internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.86$. Following the poster choice and interpretation, respondents were asked to state their perceptions and beliefs on the cognitive and affective attributes of Paris, based on two scales. The cognitive attributes scale (lifestyle, entertainment, cultural sites and architecture, scenery and natural attractions, weather, atmosphere and visitor experience) was measured on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 = horrible, 2 = bad, 3 = not bad, but not good either, 4 = good and 5 = amazing, and appeared to have a good internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.7$. The affective attributes scale (uplift, excitement, pleasure and relaxation) was measured in a 5-point bipolar scale, where 1 = the most positive feeling, to 5 = the most negative feeling, and also appeared to have a good internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.88$.

Respondents were then asked to state their familiarity with Paris (lifestyle, entertainment, cultural attractions and architecture and scenery and natural attractions) which was measured in a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = very unfamiliar, 2 = somewhat unfamiliar, 3 = neither unfamiliar nor familiar, 4 = somewhat familiar and 5 = very familiar, and based on Sonmez's and Sirakaya's (2002) paper "A Distorted Destination Image? The Case of Turkey". In our study, the familiarity scale appeared to have a good internal consistency, $\alpha = 0.86$. Finally, respondents were asked to state the number of Paris movies they have watched. In this section, they could see the list of 24 movies, which were listed in chronological order and linked with their Imdb page (www.imdb.com). In that way, respondents were able to see all the movie information, and even watch the movie trailer.

Results and Discussion

The vast majority of the 367 respondents (63.5%) stated that popular culture is the main information source they use to draw Paris myths. Out of all respondents, 88% chose the bright stereotype poster as the one representing the myth people associate with Paris, while only 12% chose the dark poster. In general, the bright stereotype was dominant over the sum of respondents, but there was still a number of them identifying with the dark stereotype. Overall, the diversity of perceptions follows the pattern of stereotypic Hollywood diversity, as shown in table 1.

Figure 1 here.

In addition, going one step forward, the majority of respondents agreed that their chosen poster is representative of Paris reality; 43.6% agreed that their selected poster accurately communicates Paris lifestyle – which 86.4% perceive as amazing –, 43.6% of them agreed that their selected poster accurately communicates Paris entertainment – which 90% perceive

as amazing –, 55.7% of them agreed that their selected poster accurately communicates Paris atmosphere – which 77.1% perceive as amazing –, and 52.1% of them agreed that their selected poster accurately communicates the visitor experience in Paris – which 80% perceive as amazing. In addition, the great majority of respondents perceive Paris as a very uplifting (76.5%), very exciting (84.3%), very pleasant (80.1%) and very relaxing (63.2%) location. However, unlike few respondents who perceive Paris as gloomy (7.2%) or unpleasant (7.5%), there were some who thought of the city as quite stressful (11.4%). Finally, most respondents stated that they feel familiar with the cultural attractions and architecture (74.3%), as well as natural attractions and scenery (39.7%) in Paris, while the majority feels rather unfamiliar with Parisian lifestyle (66.5%) and entertainment (59.3%).

As popular culture was reported as the main information source regarding Paris myths (63.5%), word-of-mouth was reported as the second most popular information source (32.2%). With regard to the number of movies watched by respondents, the viewing percentages were rather equally distributed (M = 6, std. = 3.29). The two most viewed movies about Paris were The Bourne Identity (54.4%) and Ratatouille (51.2%), while the least viewed were Le Divorce (2.7%) and Damage (1.3%). Direct logistic regression was performed to assess the impact of two factors on the movie poster choice. The model contained as independent variables the number of Paris related movies a respondent have watched, and the identification of popular culture as the main myth information source from respondents. As shown in table 2, both independent variables made a unique statistical contribution to the model.

Table 2 here.

Overall, the survey sample consists of American consumers who have never visited Paris and have, mainly, limited travel experience. All of them however, have specific beliefs and perceptions (therefore, images) on Paris. The respondents' gender and age, and educational background have not been found to influence their perceptions on the location. Most importantly, the respondents' travel experience (the number of international trips they have carried throughout their lives) has not been found to influence their perceptions on Paris. This is a significant finding because it suggests that that strong perceptions on Paris exist in the mind of consumers who have never actually consumed the location. This finding adds to the evidence that consumption of location can be purely cognitive, and does not require an individual to actually physically experience the location in order to form vivid impressions before developing cognitive representations.

We also find that consumers recognise the Paris myth Hollywood projects, through their poster choice. Furthermore, on the whole they agree that their chosen poster accurately communicates many attributes of the location, such as its lifestyle, entertainment and atmosphere. This is the second important finding, which shows that, far and foremost, consumers share the common myth, which they are asked to identify, with the rest of the market. Therefore, the majority of consumers identifies with the common myth they believe exists in the market, agreeing that what the myth presented is not far from reality. That is, consumers identify with the location myths and location stereotypes projected by Hollywood movies.

In addition, consumers identify popular culture – the sum of media, Hollywood movies, television, novels, poetry, magazines, music, art etc. – as the main source they draw stories, images and myths about Paris from. In many cases, they also refer to specific parts of popular culture, even list well-known movies (i.e. Breathless and Aristocats), to explain where myths about Paris come from. We also find that the more movies of Paris consumers have watched

in the past, the more likely they are to choose the bright stereotype poster as the one representing the myth most people hold about Paris. This finding shows that the more consumers are exposed to Hollywood, the more they adopt the most dominant Paris stereotype and tend to approach it as the location reality.

Finally, popular culture is the most commonly reported myth information source (63.5%). We find that those consumers who report popular culture as the main myth information source are more likely to choose the bright stereotype poster as the one conveying the Paris myth. Overall, our study suggests that consumers who are exposed to Hollywood movies espouse the dominant stereotype that Hollywood projects about Paris more than those who are not, while consumers who seek popular culture for information are prone to identify and adapt the Paris myth coming from Hollywood. These two findings show that, in the case of Paris, Hollywood significantly influences consumer perceptions as well as the cognitive consumption of location.

In general, Paris is perceived, according to what respondents state in the open ended questions of the survey, as a place that *"summons the image of sophistication, fine food, and intrigue"*. That is, respondents describe Paris as a place with a high quality (and high price) way of everyday life; *"The Eiffel Tower, delicious food, people in berets, art, stuffy French people, and a very expensive place*". Parisian people are also highly stereotyped, as sophisticated and fashion-conscious people who *"eat breakfast at cafes, wearing berets and black and white striped shirts"* and *"buying baguettes, while going to the Eiffel Tower and the Louvre".* Art and sophistication are how many people describe the French capital's entertainment scene; *"those people who are free thinkers, intellectuals, and wanting to escape the lifestyle of their own country flock to Paris. It is a heaven on Earth and place to escape to be who you really are"*. The atmosphere in Paris is perceived as mysterious and romantic, and the experience the city has to offer to a visitor amazing; *"Paris is the city of lovers and*

kissers", and *"when in Paris, you will fall in love there with some stranger"* is what consumers think the Paris myth is about. The spring season in Paris is also perceived as adding to the place's atmosphere and letting its architecture shine; *"April in Paris is walking in the streets and falling in love for ever. This is from every 1950s movie about Paris. Go to the movies and see Paris in the springtime!"*

As already discussed, popular culture and especially the movies are perceived by most people as mainly projecting this Paris myth of a stylish place of culture and romance. Some of the subjects in our study state that *"this myth typically comes from the western culture in the form of entertainment. This myth is one that is common in major movies"*, and *"this is commonly referenced in movies and literature about Paris"*, or even mention specific examples "(the myth comes from) *popular culture - most of my impressions of Paris manifest themselves from the French film Breathless"*. There are also consumers who refer to cartoons and animation as imprinting Paris myths from someone's very early age; *"I think a lot of these images and myths that we have come from movies and television when we're young and impressionable. For example, Disney's Aristocats takes place in Paris, which teaches young children everything they know about 19th century Paris"*. Many people also mention cartoon characters like Pepe Le Pew, when asked about the Paris myths; *"the myth comes from movies and television, I guess. Cartoons like to use funny generalizations, and people grow up watching them"* and *"the myth comes from love stories in movies and books. It is a stereotype about the French culture that is imprinted in us as a child"*. A summary of respondents' quotes can be found in table 3.

Table 3 here.

CONCLUSION

To quote one of the respondents of the study: *"Paris is the city of love. Pop culture and the La Nouvelle Vague movement is how a lot of people get that impression. I'd mostly blame Hollywood"*, Paris is indeed a mythical location. The Paris myth is involved in a continuous sensemaking and sensegiving process that happens between Hollywood and the location product market and affects the beliefs, habits and ways of cognitive consumption of location. In this way, Hollywood influences the consumption of location, using the power of cinematic stories for myth making.

In the case of Paris, Hollywood movies, released from 1985 to date, amplify certain elements of reality and convey two distinct location stereotypes. The first stereotype, which is the most dominant one, communicates the city as a modern, stylish and romantic city, while the second stereotype portrays a violent and underground city. However, both stereotypes channel a highly cultural location, and in the end communicate a certain myth – a comic myth, which emphasizes renewal (Stern, 1995). The comic myth Hollywood projects is also shared by consumers, who accept it as the myth most people hold about Paris and, furthermore, think it accurately projects Paris' reality, which they have never experienced themselves.

Given that consumption of location is cognitive, consumers who have never been to Paris are shown to hold certain beliefs, perceptions and myths that come from the involvement of location in products of the cultural industries, which are mostly stories. Therefore, over time and space, individuals vicariously consume Paris as a location in the ways shown by the cultural industries. In this way, the cultural industries influence consumption in the location market by producing multiple meanings that the market reproduces. The meaning production and dissemination is mainly empowered by stories, whether these are movies, literature, music or even art.

The socio-cognitive view of markets goes a long way towards explaining the power of cultural industries to influence cognitive consumption in various, unrelated markets, such as location. The present study contributes to theory by exploring the influence of cultural industries on consumer expectations and cognitive consumption within multiple cognitive markets, through the dissemination of meanings and myths. To our knowledge, it is the first time that cultural industries are studied as a reservoir of stories and myths that is tightly connected to cognitive markets, and hence to consumption, through the production and reproduction of symbolic materials and meanings. In this sense, the study contributes to the research on creative industries by exploring their myth-making power and showcasing the impact they have on various unrelated cognitive product markets through a continuous meaning diffusion process.

In addition, the present study contributes to the theoretical framework of socio-cognitive market dynamics by exploring, for the first time, the important role of culture within it. Unlike previous papers in the field, (Rosa et al., 1999; Porac et al., 2001; Kennedy, 2005; Rosa & Spanjol, 2005; Kennedy, 2008) the present study identifies cultural industries as market storytellers, extending the existing framework, which has focused only on internal actors, such as consumers, produces and industry media. In addition, the study is the first to focus on the location product market, and location as a consumption product, whereas most of the studies in the filed have focused on more traditional products, as, for example, the minivans market (Rosa et al., 1999; Porac et al., 2001), underlining the cultural significance of products, which is as important as the theoretical richness and commercial significance of them.

Managerial implications

Overall, the influence of stories coming from the cultural industries on the consumption habits of various unrelated markets is a social phenomenon of great importance for managers

in both cultural and other industries. This study helps managers in the cultural industries explore the power of stories they deal with in the evolution of various cognitive markets, also providing them a new tool, the myth, which can act as an interaction platform of sensemaking and sensegiving between the firms and their external environment. Managers in the cultural industries can use this study to better understand, and take advantage of, the various implications of cultural products in consumer perceptions on a wide arrow of products of very different nature. In addition, this study benefits managers in non-cultural industries by adding culture as a new variable in the existing market equation, beyond behaviour and cognition. Therefore, managers in the non-cultural industries can use this study to recognize and gain a deeper understanding on the indirect influences on the cognitive level of consumption, coming from the cultural industries, as well as to clarify the importance of myths in the socio-cognitive consumption processes.

Limitations and future research

This study is the first to test the influence of cultural industries on consumption in various unrelated industries, such as location, it, however, focuses on a very specific and special cultural industry, Hollywood, as well as on a single non-utility market, the location market, and finally on a single case, Paris. Therefore, although the study shows the influence of Hollywood on the consumption of Paris as a location, but does not provide evidence for the same influence in other contexts. The study is a single case study that manages to give insights in a social interaction within a very special context. This is significant limitation. Notwithstanding this limitation, there are reasons to believe that this might also hold in other markets. For this reason, this study should be viewed as the first step in a major ongoing research, which aims at testing the phenomenon within various contexts. It can be directly extended by focusing on multiple products in the location market, both in Europe and elsewhere.

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	Movie Name	**Year of Release**	**Hollywood Studio**
1	Midnight in Paris	2011	Sony Pictures
2	Monte Carlo	2011	20th Century Fox
3	Inception	2010	Warner Bros. Pictures
4	Taken	2008	20th Century Fox
5	Mr. Bean's Holiday	2007	Universal Pictures
6	Ratatouille	2007	Walt Disney Pictures
7	Rush Hour 3	2007	Warner Bros. Pictures
8	The Devil Wears Prada	2006	20th Century Fox
9	Before Sunset	2004	Warner Bros. Pictures
10	Le divorce	2003	20th Century Fox
11	Something's Gotta Give	2003	Columbia Pictures
12	The Bourne Identity	2002	Universal Pictures
13	Moulin Rouge!	2001	20th Century Fox
14	Kiss of the Dragon	2001	20th Century Fox
15	Rugrats in Paris	2000	Paramount Pictures
16	Passport to Paris	1999	Warner Bros. Pictures
17	Anastasia	1997	20th Century Fox
18	French Kiss	1995	20th Century Fox
19	Sabrina	1995	Paramount Pictures
20	Forget Paris	1995	Columbia Pictures
21	Damage	1992	Warner Bros. Pictures
22	Frantic	1988	Warner Bros. Pictures
23	A View to a Kill	1985	20th Century Fox
24	European Vacation	1985	Warner Bros. Pictures

Table 1: Sample movies

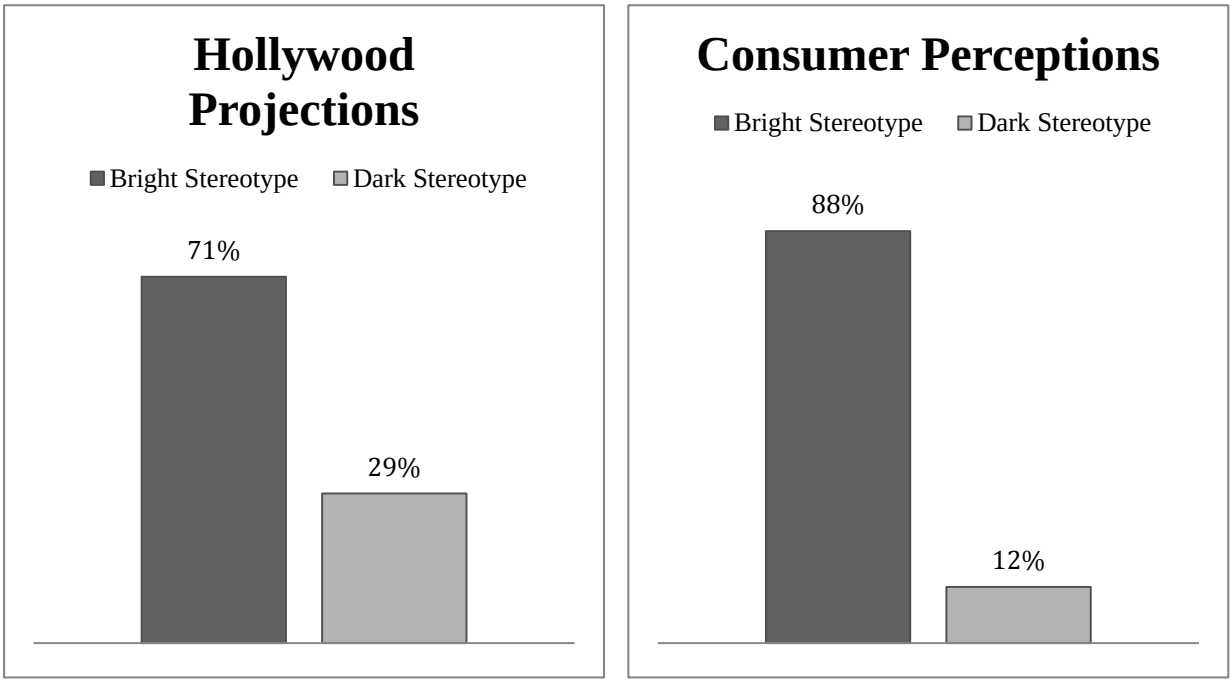

Figure 1: Hollywood projections and Consumer perceptions

Logistic Regression predicting the poster choice						
	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Number of Paris movies watched by respondents	.42	.15	7.38	1	.007	1.52
Popular culture reported as myth source	.98	.34	8.57	1	.003	2.67

Table 2: Logistic regression

Stereotype	Attribute	Quote
Bright	Romance	*"… a very romantic city where people fall in love at night with a view of the Eiffel tower."*
	Culture	*"Those people who are free thinkers, intellectuals, and wanting to escape the lifestyle of their own country flock to Paris. It is a heaven on Earth and place to escape to be who you really are."*
	Style	*"… lots of skinny women dressed to the nines hanging around drinking coffee and smoking a cigarette…"*

		"Those guys with berets and thin moustaches riding a bicycle carrying baguettes are everywhere. "
	Weather	*"… that there are always beautiful flowers blooming and it always looks like spring."*
	Cuisine	*"Everyone drinks wine, eats cheese and walks around with long loaves of bread everyday…"*
Dark	Violence	*"It is unsafe to take the metro at night."* *"… there is a lot of crime there."*
	Intrigue	*"I think of a grey and (I've heard) dirty city."*

Table 3: Respondents' quotes on Paris attributes