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Non-fiction cinema in Andalusia: review and analysis of contemporary production of documentary feature films (2018-2022)

El cine de no ficción en Andalucía: revisión y análisis de la producción contemporánea de largometrajes cinematográficos documentales (2018-2022)

Deadlines | Received: 01/02/2023 - Reviewed: 19/04/2023 - Accepted: 28/04/2023 - Published: 01/07/2023

Abstract

Non-fiction cinema occupies a tenuous position in relation to the film industry. Its current character, marked by hybridisation in the media landscape and its historical look towards the periphery, generally places it on the margins of film production. This research aims to offer a cartography of the non-fiction film production landscape, taking the Andalusian film industry as a field of study. Through qualitative and quantitative methodological techniques, the characteristics and aspects of non-fiction film production in Andalusia over the period 2018-2022 are reviewed and analysed. The study seeks to characterise non-fiction film production from an industrial perspective, and to show its implications for the Andalusian film industry by identifying trends and production nodes. The aim is to contribute a relevant and original study to the scarce scientific literature on non-fiction film in Andalusia that can serve as a basis for the development of future research on documentary film made in Andalusia, as an engine of contemporary economic and social development.

Keywords

Andalusia; Non-fiction film; Documentary film; Film industry; Film production; Spain.

Resumen

El cine de no ficción se encuentra en una situación delicada con relación a la industria cinematográfica. Su carácter actual, marcado por la hibridación en el panorama mediático y su mirada histórica hacia la periferia, lo sitúan generalmente en los márgenes de la producción cinematográfica. Esta investigación pretende ofrecer una cartografía del panorama de producción de cine de no ficción, tomando como ámbito de estudio la industria cinematográfica andaluza. A través de operaciones metodológicas cualitativas y cuantitativas se revisan y analizan las características y aspectos de la producción cinematográfica de no ficción en Andalucía, durante el periodo de 2018-2022. La finalidad de este estudio es caracterizar la producción de cine de no ficción desde una perspectiva industrial, y mostrar sus implicaciones en la industria cinematográfica andaluza extrayendo tendencias y nodos de producción. Con ello se busca aportar un estudio relevante y original a la escasa literatura científica sobre el cine de no ficción en Andalucía que pueda servir de base para el desarrollo de futuras investigaciones sobre el cine documental hecho en Andalucía, a partir de su consideración como motor de desarrollo económico y social contemporáneo.

Palabras clave

Andalucía; Cine de no ficción; Cine documental; España; Industria cinematográfica; Producción cinematográfica.

1. Introduction

Studies of the industrial perspective of cinema justify its current relevance in relation to numerous factors, in particular the consolidation and enhancement of the creative industries as an engine of the economic, social and cultural development of the regions (Castro-Higueras and Moyano, 2016). According to Szpilberg and Saferstein, "the intersection of the economic and cultural spheres has, as a consequence, the creation of innovative products and projects that exceed the economic and material production, turning the symbolic value into an important weight for its consideration" (2014: 111). In turn, the creative industries receive special attention from public administrations, which encourage and promote the design and establishment of policies for their promotion and regulation (Boix and Lazzeretti, 2013). The film industry is one of the major assets of the creative industries and represents a strategic sector both in economic terms and for the dissemination of cultural diversity.

The context of the creative industries in Andalusia consists mostly of small businesses with a small number of workers, with a large concentration in urban agglomerations (Castro-Higueras, 2016) and an elevated level of dependence on the public policies of the administrations (García Galindo et al., 2017). These generate a relationship of interdependence through which they become the main financial support and, paradoxically, the main client, especially the audio-visual and entertainment industry (Pérez Yruela and Vives, 2012). As for the film industry, and following the recent study by Gómez-Pérez, Castro-Higueras and Pérez-Rufi (2019), we find a system that reproduces patterns with respect to the national: 1) atomised production in small EIG (Economic Interest Grouping) which disappear when the project ends and 2) the tendency for commercial success to come from private television companies and platforms, and not so much from public bodies.

The Andalusian film industry has its origins in the decentralisation of the film industry from its main national centres (Madrid and Barcelona) in the 1980s and the parallel emergence of new autonomous economic and cultural sectors (Gómez-Pérez, 2013). From a historical perspective, the need arises to revise the Andalusian cinematographic image, represented through dominant foreign classes with economic interests (Ruiz Muñoz, 2015; Torre-Espinosa, 2015). Cinema becomes a vehicle for the transmission of cultural aspirations and identities (Trenzado, 2000) through a new generation of Andalusian filmmakers (Martínez-García and Gómez-Aguilar, 2018; Utrera, 2007) trained in their own community thanks to the emergence of audio-visual studies and, therefore, with a substantial knowledge of the medium and a great willingness to experiment (Gómez-Pérez, 2013).

Accordingly, film in Andalusia is currently based on three aspects: (1) an "Andalusian cinema" or "cinema of Andalusia" that emerges within this context of cultural decentralisation and as a vindication of it; (2) an industry that is currently consolidated and supported by the institutions; (3) and a network of training and subsequent professional performance by Andalusian filmmakers (Feria-Sánchez, 2021).

It is important to recognise that all this institutional cultural and cinematographic impulse is manifested through a regulatory framework that ranges from the international to the Andalusian case. The legal reference point is the General Conference of UNESCO held in Paris on 20 October 2005, which, in the Spanish context, adopts the current Spanish Cinema Act 55/2007 in its Preamble. It is public knowledge that the Preliminary Draft Law on Cinema and Audio-visual Culture (2022) has been approved, whose Explanatory Memorandum refers to "...the strengthening and support of the entire value chain of the creative and industrial fabric that operates in the field of cinematography and audio-visuals, with special attention to the independent sectors as they constitute essential elements of cultural diversity".

In Andalusia, the regulatory framework is based on the previous laws and is established in the current Law 6/2018 of 9 July on Andalusian Cinema. In this, we highlight some of its objectives, such as: g) "To protect cultural diversity and the cinematographic and audio-visual heritage, promoting the conservation and dissemination of Andalusian cinematography as a fundamental part of Andalusian creativity and collective memory" (Ley de Cine de Andalucía, 2018: 18); m) "To stimulate innovation, creativity, the development of new audiences and new business and management models in the film industry" (Ley de Cine de Andalucía, 2018: 19); n) "To encourage creativity and professional training in the film and audiovisual production industry through training" (Ley de Cine de Andalucía, 2018: 19). Through them, the focus is placed on concepts such as cultural diversity, innovation or creativity, which are the sustenance and motivation of contemporary non-fiction cinema.

According to Torreiro and Cerdán (2005), contemporary non-fiction cinema has a peripheral character in its own conception as a discourse and, therefore, gives rise to divergent movements in all its forms and looks towards territories and practices that are far removed from centralised regions. This justifies the need to carry out current studies and studies of peripheral cinematographies in order to map a more realistic view of the non-fiction panorama in Spain.

While in the Spanish context there have been significant studies that have offered a quantitative analysis of documentary productions (Cubeles and Borrás, 2010; Marcos, 2018; Paz, Martínez and Mayagoitia,

2020), the contributions to the scientific literature on documentary film in Andalusia to date have mostly been qualitative in nature, through textual analyses in relation to other disciplines (Bernal, 2011; Cruces, 2012; Estrada, 2018; Gómez, 2022; Marí, 2011; Pasqualino, 2007; Quílez and Araña, 2019). Despite this, we wish to highlight the quantitative approach taken by Albuera (2018), who carried out a survey of non-fiction cinema in Andalusia (1896-1936), complemented by the textual analysis of these works.

Although academic research into non-fiction film has always sought greater theoretical and epistemological clarification of its identity, the answers achieved to date have also yielded a great deal of uncertainty and imprecision. Despite the majority consensus in considering it a "macro-genre" of the real, bordering with two others: fiction and experimental cinema (Gifreu, 2015), the whole of the so-called "cinema of the real" (Catalá, 2011) appears to find itself in a "non-place" which has historically received a "multitude of labels": peripheral cinema, other, extraterritorial, resistant, eccentric, heterodox, "on the margins", low cost, cinema of the real, post-documentary, neo-documentary..." (Cobo-Durán and Liberia, 2021: 48).

If it is artificial to isolate documentary from other forms of non-fiction precisely because its boundaries are mobile and blurred, it is not easy to differentiate it from the other major film forms (fiction and experimental), which are traditionally opposed to it and against which documentary has usually been defined, because in reality these differences have been artificial and marked by mercantile needs (Cock, 2012: 133).

In addition to the complication of discourses with regard to their institutional inscription, there is the fragmentation that has arisen between creators and spectators thanks to digitalisation, causing a resignification of the roles of production and consumption in contemporary media culture (Mínguez, 2014). This new paradigm will bring about changes "both in terms of its model of representation and its discursive status, both in terms of its production process and its channels of dissemination" (Gavaldà, Llorca and Peris, 2013: 4). The spectator is transformed into an "emancipated" spectator, who: "has been forced by the conjuncture of contemporary documentary film to learn to search [...] This is a spectator who has sufficient capacity to identify the circuits and exhibition frameworks through which these works travel" (Fernández and Ruiz de Eretzun, 2015: 451).

Although several multidisciplinary investigations of the traditional documentary genre have laid the foundations for its contemporary study (Barsam, 1992; Nichols, 1997; Plantinga, 1997; Zunzunegui and Zumalde, 2017), non-fiction film studies currently face both the challenge of establishing its boundaries and the invitation to explore their absence: "Non-fiction. A negative category that designates a *terra incognita*, the vast unmapped zone between conventional documentary, fiction and experimental. In its negativity lies its greatest richness: non-fiction = non-definition" (Weinritcher, 2004: 11).

2. Objectives and methods

The main objective of this work is to map non-fiction film production in the Andalusian film industry at present. At the same time, it seeks to analyse the results obtained in relation to trends and relational nodes that occur in the industry according to the variables of temporal evolution, participation of production companies and the geolocation of production companies within the autonomous region, specifically in Andalusia.

To this end, a quantitative search and classification of the context of non-fiction feature film production in the Andalusian film industry was carried out, covering the period between 2018 and 2022, based on the following selection criteria:

A. Sample (non-fiction/documentary feature films): the sample that will delimit the case study will be non-fiction feature films. As for the conceptualisation of the format (feature-length film), we considered the definitions established in the regulatory frameworks of the Spanish film industry (Anteproyecto de Ley del Cine y de la Cultura Audiovisual, 2022; Ley de Cine de Andalucía, 2018)^[1]. As regards the term non-fiction, we will consider as a complementary conceptualisation again to the one mostly established in the regulatory frameworks: documentary film^[2]

B. Context (Film industry): in order to delimit the object of study to the Andalusian industrial sector, and taking as a starting point the methodological terminology "cinema made in Andalusia" proposed by Gómez-Pérez (2013), only non-fiction feature films – as defined above – with a production company based in Andalusia will be included in the sample, whatever their percentage of participation in the production.

C. Time-frame (2018-2022): we establish this period with the specific intention of analysing the phenomenon of non-fiction film production from the year in which the regulatory matter of the Andalusian film industry (Andalusian Film Law, 2018) was approved, in order to observe whether it has had an effect on the evolution of the industry.

This study was developed through a methodology that includes both qualitative and quantitative research activities, and which developed in various phases, in order to study the processes and phenomena associated with a given contemporary real context through the collection, quantification, classification and subsequent analysis of data (Yin, 2018), and presenting its most relevant characteristics, and proceeding to its delimitation (Coller, 2005).

After the selection and delimitation of the study sample, a review of the literature was carried out, from the general to the particular, using a systemic approach. In this stage, the theoretical framework was established, in a multidisciplinary manner, with the aim of 1) establishing a context that would determine the case study as precisely as possible, and 2) reviewing and analysing possible academic categorisations that could be useful for our study.

This was followed by a search for quantitative data on the case study. In this stage, it is essential to clarify the variables/categories for the analysis, as well as the sources of access to the information and, consequently, the data to be obtained. The categories have been ordered by year and, in each year, the following data collection was performed: Name of film, Author/director, Year of production, Production company(ies), Participation in the production (%), Head office of production company. As for the documentary sources, the data required the use of official sources, so they were obtained through the Spanish Film Catalogue presented by the *Instituto de la Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales* (Institute of Cinematography and Audio-visual Arts, ICAA), which collates the qualified films with Spanish participation in the production. This database provides the information already classified in four distinct categories: Fiction, Documentary, Animation and Video/Television. In addition, it also provides the Spanish participation in the production, as well as the headquarters, hence presenting the fundamental data for our study.

After the quantification, classification and storage of the data, stored by year, and also generation of the statistical analysis through correlation of the variables and through graphs and diagrams, we finally proceeded to the descriptive analysis of the results obtained, and relating these to the questions posed in the theoretical framework. Two levels of analysis were established. At the first level, the essential aspect of the analysis and discussion of the results was to establish correlations between the variables and thus identify patterns and trends, in this case with a strong geographical (Andalusia and its provinces), historical (over five years) and cultural (non-fiction film production) character. At the second level of analysis, the results were critically interpreted in accordance with the institutional intentionality in terms of legislation to foster and promote the film industries.

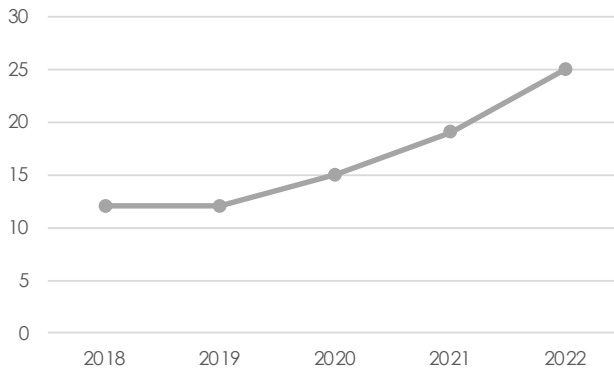
3. Results

In all, 83 non-fiction/documentary feature films with the participation of Andalusian production companies were identified in terms of absolute volume over the period 2018-2022. The quantification, classification and storage of these afforded the development of a corresponding database created with two essential objectives: 1) to serve as the main support for subsequent analysis of the data; 2) to establish a scientific and objective basis to continue contributing to and increasing in a significant and transparent manner in subsequent research.

3.1. Evolution of documentary productions in Andalusia: volume and geographical location

Next, the analysis in relation to the research objectives will be detailed. The first parameter of analysis for our dataset is the evolution of the volume of productions over the selected period (1). From this time-frame, the data raise important questions for consideration. Graph 1 shows a gradual but significant evolution in the number of documentary productions over this period. In absolute terms, it shows an increase from 12 productions with Andalusian participation in production in 2018 to 25 in 2022, i.e., slightly more than double. This significant increase also leads to a second interpretation, where we note a boost in production since 2020 and how the participation of Andalusian companies in the production of documentaries continues to grow. However, as we can infer from these data, this evolution takes place progressively and not abruptly, which prompts us to analyse this evolution from other perspectives and variables in order to better understand the context of this increase.

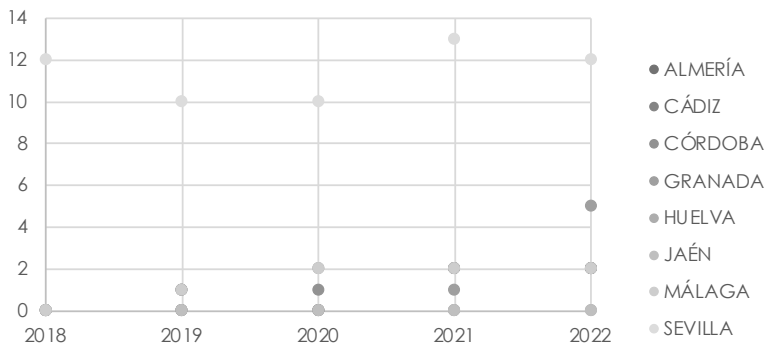
Graph 1: Evolution of the volume of non-fiction feature-length films produced by Andalusian companies



Source: Catalogue of Spanish Cinema (ICAA). Author's own preparation.

On the other hand, and adding the geographical variable to the analysis, we observe that Andalusian documentary production displays to us two important characteristics: 1) firstly, a clear tendency towards a dispersion or decentralisation of Andalusian production from its main focus (Seville), 2) secondly, and consequently, a progressive and constant evolution in the number of non-fiction productions in provinces with scarce or no representation of these at the beginning of the period.

Graph 2: Evolution of the dispersion of the number of Andalusian non-fiction productions by Andalusian province



Source: Catalogue of Spanish Cinema (ICAA). Author's own preparation.

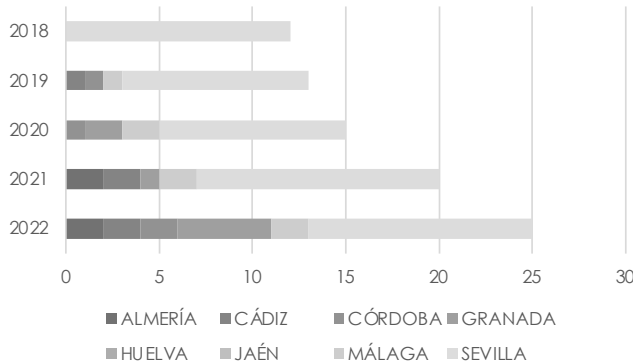
Graph 2 shows that, in 2018, the 12 non-fiction productions correspond solely to production companies based in the province of Seville. However, in 2022, out of the 25 productions, 12 correspond to the province of Seville, while the other 13 correspond to other Andalusian provinces. Over the course of five years, Andalusian production has dispersed to other provinces, and has done so with an average annual range of between 0 and 2 productions (with the exception of Granada in 2022). These data show a clear trend of dispersion of the main producer focus at the beginning of the study, the province of Seville. This dispersion favours the provinces of Almería, Cádiz, Córdoba, Granada and Málaga, and leaves the provinces of Huelva and Jaén completely outside of the documentary film scene.

This clear tendency towards dispersion, therefore, appears not to affect all provinces equally. On the other hand, it has its origin in an increase in the number of productions in other provinces, but not in that of production in the main focus of the Andalusian industry (Seville). This aspect is fundamental, as we note there is no phenomenon of absorption of production by other provinces, but rather that these increase at a constant rate while Seville continues to be the most productive. Therefore, we can establish that the increase in production benefits all the provinces involved in general, strengthening the productive fabric.

This dynamic of production evolution in other provinces can be seen in Graph 3. On the one hand, in terms of volume, we can see that Seville continues to lead Andalusian industry. On the other hand, in terms of evolution, we can appreciate the relatively steady nature of this evolution. A particular highlight is the case of Granada, which increases (with fluctuations) from 0 productions in 2018 and

2019 to 5 productions in 2022. This sharp increase in Granada's production contrasts with the steadier increase in the rest of the provinces, with production in Almería standing out, which is undoubtedly the one that remains the most consistent in its evolution (from 0 to 2 productions, but with an average range of 2 productions for each year since 2020). Cádiz, Córdoba and Málaga show consistency in their evolution, but also fluctuations.

Graph 3: Evolution of the volume of the number of Andalusian non-fiction productions by Andalusian provinces

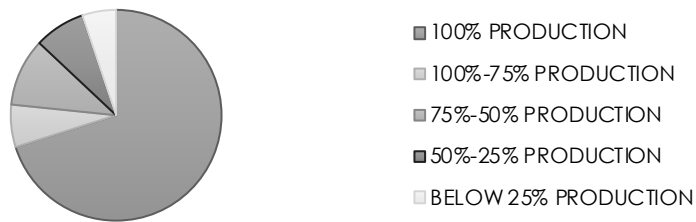


Source: Catalogue of Spanish Cinema (ICAA). Author's own preparation.

3.2. Characteristics of non-fiction productions: Andalusian participation and number of production companies

The second of the parameters refers to the correlation of these data to obtain production characteristics throughout the period. Data were largely obtained from the percentage of Andalusian participation and the number of companies participating in the productions.

Graph 4. Percentage of participation of Andalusian production companies in classified films



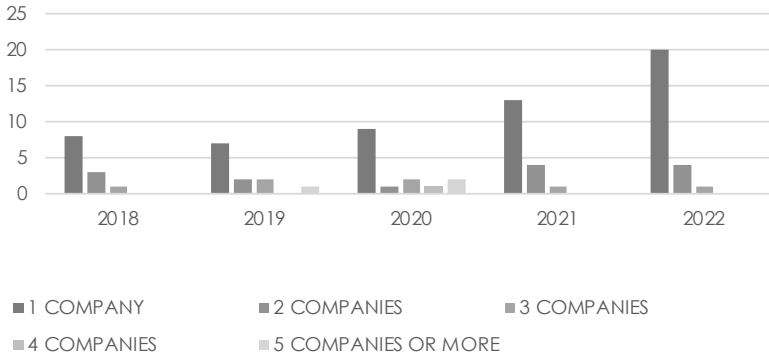
Source: Catalogue of Spanish Cinema (ICAA). Author's own preparation.

Looking at the percentage of participation (Graph 4), out of the total of 83 documentary films collected, we note that approximately 70% are 100% produced by Andalusian production companies. If we move down from this percentage figure, the next most significant figure is when production is between 75% and 50%, which is around 10.4%. Finally, the remaining figures are comparatively lower (7.8%, 6.5%, 5.2%). Therefore, there is a clear trend towards a majority participation in production by Andalusian companies in the production of documentaries. In relation to participation, it is important to note that this variable is independent of the number of production companies involved in the production. The percentage of participation can be 100% and be made up of three different Andalusian production companies.

On the other hand, the data extracted from the number of production companies per film (Graph 5), could be analysed according to two criteria: its evolution over time, and its significance with regard to the panorama of the film industry. On the one hand, in line with the rest of the previous parameters, a clear trend exists towards an increase in the production of documentary films with only one company in the production: from 7 in 2018 to 20 in 2022. In this respect, there is a notable decrease in 2019, which then turns towards a slight upturn in films produced by more than two companies between 2019 and 2020. However, considering the spectacular increase in productions since 2020, the trend is clearly towards the abandonment of co-production in documentaries to levels below 20%.

Graph 5. Distribution of number of Andalusian non-fiction productions according to number of production companies

Source: Catalogue of Spanish Cinema (ICAA). Author's own preparation.

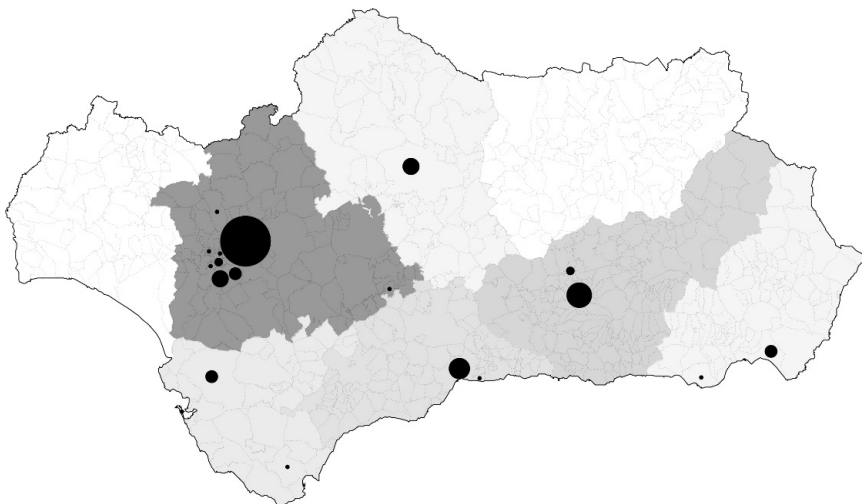


On the other hand, with regard to the industrial film landscape, the trend towards film production by a single production company is not surprising if we consider the characteristics of non-fiction cinema. Documentary film, in the times of the democratisation of technical and digital media, and due to its location around the margins of the industry, is low-cost cinema, with a tendency towards self-production. Therefore, the absence/lower number of co-productions in this respect can be considered to be normal. On the other hand, we note that from 2018 to 2022 the data analysed show that most of the production companies with sole participation are companies that do not return to production, and which tend to disappear. We highlight the case of some companies such as Sarao Films (Seville), Summer Films (Cordoba) or Cinnamon Factory (Coria del Río, Seville), which have produced three films, which are among the few production companies that remain in production throughout the sample period.

3.3. Overview of non-fiction production in Andalusia: production hubs

With the data obtained and analysed, the general overview of documentary production in the autonomous community of Andalusia is determined by the existence of a clear focus of majority production (the province of Seville), followed distantly by other provinces with a smaller volume of production (Granada, Malaga, Cádiz, Almería and Córdoba, respectively). However, if we examine this production in greater detail according to the municipalities where the production companies have their headquarters, we note an even more precise overview, and we can geolocate the different production nodes that can be established on the Andalusian map. These data are obtained from the quantification in the form of absolute numbers of the participation in each feature film by production companies in each Andalusian municipality (Image 1).

Image 1: Overview of feature film production in the Autonomous Community of Andalusia by municipality.



Source: Catalogue of Spanish Cinema (ICAA). Author's own preparation.

Consequently, we perceive an objective quantification of each economic contribution performed by an Andalusian production company in the form of a feature film, regardless of whether the same production company makes it. The province of Seville stands out prominently, with a total of 65 participations in feature films, divided between the capital (51) and certain municipalities within the province (14). The municipalities in question, in order of contribution, are Dos Hermanas (4), Coria del Río (3), Mairena del Aljarafe (2), followed by Almensilla, Espartinas, Guillena, Pedrera and Tomares, with one participation per municipality. On the other hand, there are Granada, with 10 participations (8 in the capital and 2 in the municipality of Albolote), Málaga (7 in the capital, 1 production in Rincón de la Victoria), Cádiz (3 in Jerez de la Frontera, 1 in the municipality of Los Barrios and 1 in the capital), Almería (3 in the capital and 1 in El Ejido) and Córdoba, with 4 participations in the capital.

In analysing the participation in productions by municipality, two important aspects can be seen in terms of non-fiction film production. On the one hand, we note a "fixed trend" of an accumulation which, regardless of its temporal nature, shows a tenuous dispersion and subsequent concentration around the large economic and, therefore, industrial cities of the community. Perhaps the exceptions produced in the Cádiz municipality of Jerez de la Frontera and the Almería municipality of El Ejido show us the approach to other important economic poles in these provinces (Campo de Gibraltar and Poniente Almeriense). On the other hand, this dispersion shows us the self-production or low-cost production character of non-fiction cinema, whereby the headquarters of these small companies are far removed from the production centres. This could lead us to consider that locating the headquarters in one municipality or another in a province is perhaps a less relevant aspect when it comes to tackling the production of a documentary or non-fiction project. In any case, it affords us an overview of the world of documentary film production in Andalusia, and of the most important production nodes in recent years.

4. Discussion

The data extracted and analysed allow us to confirm and present a general quantitative overview of non-fiction cinema from an industrial point of view in the autonomous community of Andalusia in the present day. Through the correlation between the different variables of analysis, numerous aspects and characteristics of great descriptive and interpretative value were established. However, these must be considered in relation to certain aspects that are a direct consequence of non-fiction cinema and its industrial situation.

In the Andalusian context, and by extension in the national panorama, non-fiction cinema presents a series of characteristics in the film industry ecosystem. While, historically, cinemas have been regarded as a difficult space for this cinema, television has become its main support (Torreiro, 2010). At the same time, digitalisation promotes lower production costs, increasing the number of documentary and non-fiction self-productions that are difficult to trace (Torreiro, 2010). In this new scenario of self-production and self-consumption, a significant fragmentation is generated, and digital platforms enter the scene, within the reach of a wider audience (Minguez Arranz, 2013). These VOD platforms become the perfect space for this self-produced cinema which is difficult to programme in cinemas (Clarés-Gavilán and Medina, 2018), and with platforms such as Filmin, devoted to the exhibition of independent and European cinema (Izquierdo and Latorre, 2022).

These considerations arising from academic research echo the need and relevance of analyses of documentary film production but, at the same time, they present the inherent difficulty in covering the whole spectrum of production that takes place outside of official circuits and official film databases. Accordingly, this represents a limitation in our analysis, assuming that there will presumably be numerous documentaries that have been omitted from the sample because they do not belong to these official data.

Based on the sample of documentaries gathered from official records, we can affirm that the evolution in Andalusia is noteworthy. The progressive increase in the production of feature films, especially in the last three years, bears witness to what appears to be an upward trend, and which could represent the beginning of a new stage in Andalusian documentary production. In the words of José Antonio Bermúdez, programmer at the Seville European Film Festival, "Documentaries define Andalusian production in the present day: from its creative dimension, but also because it is a more accessible genre that needs fewer resources and distribution commitments" (Bulnes, 2016).

It is important to mention two key aspects in the dissemination and institutionalisation of non-fiction cinema in Andalusia. On the one hand, the role of the film festivals: the Seville European Film Festival, the Huelva Ibero-American Film Festival, the Málaga Festival and the Alcances Festival in Cádiz, the latter devoted to documentary production. All of them have sections dedicated to productions by Andalusian filmmakers, which function as a creative driving force and at the same time as a window for the exhibition of these productions. On the other hand, the consolidation of academic and teaching

institutions in the audio-visual sector has helped weave an industrial and creative sector throughout Andalusia.

On the other hand, the geographical variable of the analysis also establishes considerable results and trends to be considered. This dispersion of the traditional focal points of the Andalusian industry presumably mirrors what has been happening on the national scene since the 1980s (Gómez-Pérez, 2013). However, as we have seen, this decentralisation appears to be in the making, and in any case, Seville remains the cinematographic focus of the film industry - both fiction and non-fiction - at present. Likewise, there are no current studies in the framework of Andalusian film production that refer to geographical issues, so the results in respect of this variable are considered to be novel and open to future proposals for analysis.

Andalusian production companies, on the other hand, appear to show two clear trends based on the data analysed: small companies created for specific projects - and with their subsequent disappearance -, and with majority participation in them. The production mechanisms of non-fiction cinema make co-productions quite optional and even, in certain contexts, due to issues of economic and creative dependence, counterproductive. Moreover, it should be noted that the very idiosyncrasy of this cinema, of easy self-production and peripheral viewing, constitutes fertile ground for the development of small productions, with ad-hoc companies created for a single project (Gómez-Pérez, Castro-Higueras and Pérez-Rufi, 2019). This is reflected in the high number of documentaries produced by a single company, with a clear upward trend in the last year.

Accordingly, the general panorama established by the overview in the analysis geolocates on the map the focal points of production, where we can establish a major node: the province of Seville, specifically the city of Seville and some metropolitan municipalities. On the other hand, and as a result of this dispersion, we observe a minor emergence of new production nodes in other provinces (Cádiz, Córdoba, Granada and Málaga), with the provinces of Jaén and Huelva prominent by their absence. These results may be extrapolated to those set out in the theoretical framework, which suggest a strong concentration near urban conurbations in contemporary cultural sector industries. However, and consequently to what was established in the analysis, there do not appear to be many other reasons showing the interest of certain production companies in having their headquarters in specific municipalities.

In relation to the question about the promotion and empowerment of film industries by institutions, the analysis shows a clear trend towards this industrial strengthening since the Andalusian Film Act (2018) was passed. In turn, this type of cinema in Spain is presumed to be unsustainable without the support of institutional subsidies or the participation of television channels (Cerdán, 2009). The Andalusian regional government supports documentary filmmaking through its annual call for applications for "Aid for the production of feature films, documentaries and other audio-visual works in Andalusia" (2021, 2022). Until 2022, two lines of aid were available within the documentary film sector: 1) Production of creative documentaries and 2) Production of documentaries for cultural dissemination. However, these subsidies were changed in the 2022 call, leaving only one line, and the thematic requirements are in favour of heritage, characters, dissemination and popularisation of Andalusian culture. This aspect in particular is a point that has generated controversy between audio-visual creators and the Junta de Andalucía (Regional Government of Andalusia), which has led to the constitution of the so-called "Mesa del Cine Documental Andaluz" ["Andalusian Documentary Film Movement"], to ensure the protection of Andalusian non-fiction cinema and demand its institutional support (Luque, 2022).

5. Conclusions and future research lines

This study, based on the quantification, classification, storage and subsequent critical analysis of a corpus of documentary film productions produced in Andalusia over the period 2018-2022, demonstrates the existence of a significant volume of non-fiction film production by companies based in Andalusia, categorised and catalogued in official registers whose information is public and standardised for access by all citizens.

Based on previous theoretical research, the interpretation of these data, through a quantitative and relational analysis of the general situation of filmmaking in the autonomous community of Andalusia, allowed us to show that Andalusia has a consolidated film industry, and that documentary film production is fully integrated in it. However, the analysis shows that documentary film production, as a result of its cultural and economic characteristics, locates part of its production on the margins of official records of the creative industries, hence much of it requires a more intensive search and cataloguing work, through a greater number of sources, and with a greater variety of instruments.

Non-fiction film production in Andalusia, from 2018 to 2022, appears to be characterised by the following dynamics: (1) A considerable and steady increase in the volume of productions; (2) A marked trend

towards geographical decentralisation from its main production focus, Seville, to other provinces; (3) Production characteristics based mostly on a strong participation of Andalusian production companies, and through small sporadic production companies that are formed specifically for projects, with their subsequent disappearance; (4) A network of production companies decentralised from the big cities but orbiting around them.

Andalusian institutions, through their regulations, have created a favourable framework to encourage the promotion and maintenance of the film industry, hence non-fiction cinema benefits from aid programmes and subsidies that allow and encourage the increase in productions and their inclusion in the industrial circuits of Andalusian filmmaking.

We conclude by highlighting the value of the results of this research as an exploratory framework for a film industry that has been little studied to date, and as a basis for future research that will contribute to the development of academic interest in non-fiction film as a cinema of great creative and innovative value within contemporary media culture.

6. Acknowledgements to contributors

To María Higuera Ruiz, Irene Martínez Rodríguez, Loles Peña Ruiz and Guillermo Gálvez López for their invaluable support during this process.

Translator: María-Carmen Sánchez-Vizcaíno.

7. Funding

The English translation of this article was financed by Consejería de Universidad, Investigación e Innovación de la Junta de Andalucía and, as appropriate, by "ERDF A way of making Europe", by the "European Union" / Project (B-SEJ-370-UGR20) "The Andalusian Film Industry in the Audio-visual/ ICT Hypersector: Challenges and Opportunities (CINATIC)", led by researchers Francisco Javier Gómez-Pérez and Jordi Alberich Pascual. This work was conducted in the framework of the contracting of the Grants for the training of university teaching staff (FPU) of the Ministry of Universities, Government of Spain.

8. Declaration of conflict of interest

The authors declare that there exists no conflict of interest.

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Notes

1. The term "cinematographic feature film" has its origin as a union of three concepts in the Draft Bill on Cinema and Audio-visual Culture (2022): audio-visual work (referring to audio-visual creations in general), cinematographic film (audio-visual creations that are primarily intended for exploitation in cinemas) and within the latter, it is clarified that it will be called a feature film if it has a duration equal to or greater than sixty minutes). In the Andalusian Film Act (2018), it is established in the same way.

2. The term "non-fiction" does not appear in legislative frameworks, since its historical conception has been that of documentary film. The latter does appear in most of the film laws, specifically in the Draft Bill of the Cinema and Audio-visual Cultural Law (2022), where it appears within the concept of "Audio-visual work" and in the Andalusian Film Law (2018), within the concept of "Cinematographic work".