

## AlmaTourism

Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development

### Film-Induced Tourism, City-Branding and Place-Based Image: the Cityscape of Naples between Authenticity and Conflicts<sup>1</sup>

D'Alessandro, L.<sup>\*</sup>  
Sommella, R.<sup>†</sup>  
Viganoni, L.<sup>‡</sup>  
University of Naples "L'Orientale" (Italy)

#### ABSTRACT

The paper aims at analysing the connections between film-induced tourism, city-branding and place-based image through the case-study of Naples, particularly deepening the role played by urban policies not only in promoting or sustaining but also in refusing some specific city's representations. In the first part we will explore this relationship focusing the attention on the changing representations of the city in films and on the changes produced by the urban policies carried out in the phase of so-called *Neapolitan Renaissance*. The second part will be dedicated to deepen the link between the images of the city conveyed by the media and the touristic sector, emphasizing the role of the official representations and of the *Campania Region Film Commission*. The third part of the paper will focus on the conflicts involving the urban actors about the existence of a potential link between some negative representations of the periodical crisis of the city (for garbage, organized crime and difficulties in the administrative management) and tourist flows. We will argue that the duplicity of representations proposes in a new way the traditional dual image of the Neapolitan cityscape, inspiring by a different notion of "authenticity".

**Keywords:** Cityscape, Authenticity, City Branding, Film-Induced Tourism, Urban Conflicts.

\* Email address: [ldAlessandro@unior.it](mailto:ldAlessandro@unior.it)

† Email address: [rsommella@unior.it](mailto:rsommella@unior.it)

‡ Email address: [lviganoni@unior.it](mailto:lviganoni@unior.it)

## 1. Naples in the Nineties between Renaissance and New Neapolitan Cinema

It is nothing new to assert that Naples is usually represented by contradictory images, both in the opinions of the inhabitants and in those of visitors. For a long time the most common representation of the city has referred to decline, decay, immobility, pizza, mandolin, to the Vesuvius depicted in the background, to the picturesque photos of Alinari, representations of a fragmented society between the élite for a walk in the *Villa Comunale* and the barefoot *lazzari* eating spaghetti. Since the middle of the last century, also a further representation emerges, that of the city identified with the population explosion, the building growth wildfire, the engulfment of the suburbs and of the green spaces, the pervasive traffic. Images that are not in conflict: they have in common the lack of sense of place, a double chaos, natural and anthropological, fascinating and terrible, and that of the social and political organization.

This doubled image evokes the many representations that over time have accompanied Naples: the "loss of harmony" (to which Raffaele La Capria, Neapolitan writer and screenwriter, referred years ago), the "porous", "doorway", "hell", "immobile" city. These are all negative representations, which have tarnished other possible ones until becoming, in the common feeling, expressions of reality, bouncing often in literature, mass communications and films.

It is obvious that the image of Naples, as it had been configuring and stratifying over time, anchored to pre-modern or even anti-modern elements, could not constitute the assumption of those policies of urban marketing which are necessary to deal with the crisis that affect the large cities of the countries with advanced economies in the era of post-industrial transition; a crisis that forces the cities to reposition themselves in terms of overall liveability and functional specialization, in order to regain competitiveness on the international stage. In this perspective, in fact, a resource to spend on the market is represented by the image that cities are able to build and to communicate outside<sup>2</sup>.

It is in the Nineties that – at the height of the crisis generated by the post-industrial transition – the more serious and conscious effort to modernize the city begins in Naples by pursuing a new policy of image; it is the era of the so-called *Neapolitan Renaissance*, opened by Antonio Bassolino (Mayor from 1993 to 2000) and intended to give a significant, although not entirely lasting, turning point to the image of the city at the national and international scale<sup>3</sup>.

The event which first gave significant visibility to the turning point was the opportunity offered to the city to host, in the summer of 1994, the G7 Summit, which represented an extraordinary opportunity to launch Naples abroad. For the first time Naples went under the spotlights of the world as a city that was not just pizza and mandolin. The upgrading was largely centred on the widespread Old Town, some years later to be counted in the list of UNESCO world heritage sites. The interventions concerned squares and monuments as well as the street pedestrianization and furniture, the enhancing of accessibility, the rearrangement of the *Villa Comunale* and the organization of exhibitions and events which had a strong appeal<sup>4</sup>.

Positive feedbacks were soon registered, on the international press as well as for the use of Naples in commercials. It is enough to mention the case of the German weekly *Der Spiegel* that, after having represented years before Naples on the cover with a picture of a gun resting on a plate of spaghetti, in 1994 dedicated to the city a very large press report titled *Old magnificence, New splendour*<sup>5</sup>. Likewise, in the field of advertising there was a rapid transition from commercials using Naples only for its tradition to new commercials, as a TV spot of Volvo cars, in which Naples was among the most representative urban scenarios of Italy or that created by Barilla, which inserted the city within a series of urban landscapes invaded by green to promote its products.

This period is also characterized by a new season of the Neapolitan cinema that marks a radical change in the way of representing the city. Just at the opening of the '90s, in fact, three promising young Neapolitan directors had their debut, presenting, in turn, three films: *Vito e gli altri* by Antonio Capuano, in 1991; *Morte di un matematico napoletano* by Mario Martone, in 1992; *Libera* by Pappi Corsicato, in 1993<sup>6</sup>.

The three directors quickly assumed a leading position in the panorama of Italian cinema of the early Nineties and, in the wake of their success, Naples became a flourishing centre for film production, a condition destined to last more than a decade. The most significant aspect is that they operated a real subversion of cinematic representation until then produced, through a deep review of Neapolitan identity. The movies, in fact, independently produced and filmed in Naples, looked very different for the topics and the style by other film productions: very different both from musical melodramas (from Mario Merola "the King of the *sceneggiata*" to Nino D'Angelo), and from the movies (a bit affected by stereotypes) by Lina Wertmüller and Nanni Loy, and yet from the sentimental comedy by Massimo Troisi<sup>7</sup>.

Thanks to these filmmakers and other numerous that over the following years debut on the national scene with great success<sup>8</sup>, the Neapolitan cinema "for a long time neglected or denigrated by film critics, historians and scholars, is reevaluated" (MARLOW MANN, 2011, p. 2). It is for this reason that, since the 90s of the Twentieth Century, the idea that a new film school was born states and spreads among writers of Italian cinema: the *New Neapolitan Cinema* (NNC), closely linked to the phenomenon of *Neapolitan Renaissance*<sup>9</sup>, as well as to a *New Neapolitan Wave*, a consequence of the new rhetoric introduced by the Mayor Antonio Bassolino (CASTELLANO, 1997; MARLOW MANN, 2011).

In fact this approach is, in the writings of those who deal with the phenomenon, quite recurring, probably induced by the different way in which the cinema represents Naples, giving an unusual image of the city. An example may be drawn by the two films produced by Mario Martone in these years, *Morte di un matematico napoletano* (1992) and *L'amore molesto* (1995). In both Martone explores the links between place and identity, focusing attention on an idea of Naples as a place permeated by the flows of community life, in this very different from other major cities. To represent it, the director chooses to distance from the representations of Naples related to the binomial wealth/poverty or from other familiar images as the Bay or the Vesuvius; he rather tries "to introduce a new way of Naples from the inside, to introduce a new reality". So

while "in *Morte di un matematico napoletano*, Naples appears uncharacteristically empty, in *L'amore molesto* it is full and noisy [...]. In both Naples emerges as land of dreams and as a constellation of different and distinct arenas and cultural groups". Even this shows that the two films "[...] are part of a more general cultural and political expression of what was happening in Naples in the Nineties" (CALDWELL, 2003, p. 56).

Although it is very hazardous to assume that the new film images produced in these years may have induced a significant impact on tourism<sup>10</sup>, it is certain is that the new image projected outside by the age of the *Neapolitan Renaissance* produces rapid and very significant effects in terms of tourist response. The city, which has long captured only fleeting transit flows vacationers headed to Pompei, the Islands of the Gulf and the coastal centres, shows, in the second half of the Nineties, the rapid growth of cruise traffic, as well as a significant surge of passengers in the airport of Capodichino. Likewise, the flow of visitors in museums recorded values never known before; especially during the holidays and the weekends or on the occasion of special events, the hotels were fully booked, creating serious problems for the lack of accommodation facilities, especially those of middle rank. From then a proliferation of hotels, guest houses and bed and breakfasts started in Naples.

It should be stressed that even in this period, so distinctly marked by the new image that stimulates also tourism, Naples has not certainly stopped to show its complexity and contradictions, which are its distinctive elements, where side by side coexist the worst part and the best one of the city. And it is perhaps useful to recall that – in stating that Naples and New York City are both "intrinsically filmic" and that their essence as cinematic spaces has traditionally founded on the idea of *dark beauty* – Bruno notes that, despite the message that the two cities transmit is very similar ("Escape from New York" and from Naples), cinema and visitors continue to be interested in these two cities because both are "attractive to tourists and tourist nightmare" (BRUNO, 1997, pp. 47-48).

Moreover, in an essay titled *The rest of Gomorrah*, Valerio Caprara refutes the equation, fairly widespread, between cinematic and environmental condition: "It is singular and perhaps instructive to note how the success, with its relative and rather loud sequence of awards & controversy of *Gomorrah* (2008), the film based on the novel-truth of Roberto Saviano, has brought down the house of cards built around the eulogistic phenomenon of so-called *New Neapolitan Cinema*. This – as it will be recalled – was supposed to embody, according to many exegetes, an automatic and invigorating counterpoint on the artistic field of the 'Renaissance' of the city in many ways connected to the political courses and recourses linked to the figure of Antonio Bassolino. In some previous essays we had already reported the strangeness of the equation; whereby, for example, we should conclude that the brightest periods in the history of Naples should be placed in the middle of the 'Dark ' Fifties, at the time of the best films by and with De Sica, Totò or De Filippo" (CAPRARA, 2010, p. 153, *our translation*).

## 2. The image of Naples in the Twenty-first Century: the role of official representations

The season of the *Neapolitan Renaissance* is part of a wider process of urban renewal that has affected all the cities of the Italian South in the Nineties and that has continued not without difficulties in subsequent years within an extremely fragmented context. Although some scholars have expressed, as we have shown, concerns about it, the debate on the controversial link between the *Neapolitan Renaissance* and NNC emphasizes once again two contradictory representations of Naples. The positive image of cultural and political renaissance expressed by the first would contrast with the pessimistic answers that the new cinematographic wave of NNC, exploring social exclusion and existential alienation, would have offered to what has been called the "crisis of the *napoletanità*"<sup>11</sup>.

Anyway it is considered, the cited season has exhausted its driving force, as evidenced by all the data and by the many crisis that the city has gone through over the last decade: from the garbage one (which reached its peak in 2007/08) to that produced by the new ways of organizing of crime and even to that generated by the bad administrative management. In this phase, the popular culture expressed not only by the NNC but also by certain movies, television dramas and novels, seems to convey a new dual image of Naples, that plays in new and much more evident ways the conflict between the representations of Naples elaborated by some operators in the media (directors, writers and journalists) and those promoted by policy makers. The first ones, those of a city deeply permeated by crime and garbage, are manifestly opposed to the official ones, which promotes a beautiful and unique city, focusing on the pedestrianization of part of the waterfront (the *freed waterfront* as in the words of Luigi de Magistris, Mayor from 2011 to the present), the amenities, the cultural heritage. Through the implementation of these resources on the market, the attempt is to rescaling in the global scenario – offering a location for events of medium/small scale – an urban space that often falls again into negative images and that, as regards qualified urban functions, undergoes a progressive marginalization at the national and international level for the continued loss of attractiveness. Even the official images seem, however, far removed from the role that the capital of Campania played at the global scale still until the Sixties and that induced, despite the contradictions, to bring much of the Italian identity and culture to the petty bourgeois *napoletanità*.

The marginalization is evident both in the highly fluctuating trend that in the first decade of 2000s has characterized tourist flows (D'ALESSANDRO & SOMMELLA, 2012) and in the limited attractiveness of representations that, despite the attempt to tie urban marketing and images of places conveyed by media, have not translated into a *Montalbano* effect or into a *Benvenuti al Sud* effect<sup>12</sup>.

This does not appear negative at all, if we consider the excessive inclination to mass tourism or to short visiting generated in large cities from these successful representations and, in small and medium-sized town, the frailty that often characterizes the transition from unknown places to places-icons which then often

become unknown places again<sup>13</sup>. The element that seems rather more evident in the case of Naples is that the strategies and the significant efforts implemented through the various official representations seem to suffer (similarly to the tourism policies of the last decade) an excessive crystallization in a very old and stereotyped image<sup>14</sup>. This last one however produces a positive representation, related to the traditional (and internationally known) image of urban life and landscape of the city and of the Campania region, as in the case of the fiction *Capri* and, in some ways, even about in the tv serial *Un posto al Sole*. The latter, in co-production between the Italian Radio Television (RAI) and the Australian Freemantle Media, is also able to provide the image of the Neapolitan daily life.

Even though Naples preserves a unique urban landscape and a strong image (although often shifting between positive and negative), it fails to capture the opportunities seized by tourist cities such as Barcelona<sup>15</sup>. The Catalan capital has been able to diversify itself into a post-Fordist way not only intercepting the new and varied flows of cultural tourism – intended in a broad sense and in its connection with leisure and entertainment, of which the film tourism and the flows induced by the representations of the media today represent a growing component – but also the professionals working in one of the most important sectors of the creative economy. As we will see in the last part of this work, the representations of a Naples that has to deal with the camorra seem to be more in line (even if in a darkly sense), both in the mechanisms of production and in the marketing and in the cultural consumptions, with the new urban economy of culture and knowledge.

In the case of cinema, the power to create new images (by altering the negative ones and strengthening the weak ones) has long been recognized as a factor in promoting tourism (TOOKE AND BAKER, 1996; BEETON, 2005). Prolonged and international tourist flows, however, are only attracted by the big films which get into the international circuits, the only able to change so the collective perception up to have a significant and long-term impact. For Rome, capital which certainly does not need film to attract tourists, it happened in the past with the films of Fellini and, more recently, it happened with *La Grande Bellezza (The Great Beauty)* by the Neapolitan director Paolo Sorrentino. The latter movie (2013), supported by the Rome Lazio Film Commission, is unquestionably entered in the circuits of the big film studios, as evidenced by the victory of the Oscar for the Best Foreign Film in 2014. A difference from the past is precisely the role of the Regional Film Commissions: they are, as evidenced by NICOSIA (2012), institutions born relatively recently (the first Italian Film Commission was born in Emilia Romagna at the end of the Nineties) and often based on mechanisms of public-private partnership aimed at catalyzing Italian and foreign film and television products, supporting them in the various phases of the work. These institutions are taking an increasingly important role not only in the context of cultural policies but also in the regional ones: within the new cultural strategies implemented on a regional scale, these actors sometimes explicitly propose to transform the film and television products in tools of territorial marketing. The excessive regulatory value that film tourism is taking in the agendas of policies developed at the Italian scale by Regions

and Municipalities may, however, represent a risk, if the support is reflected in funding what can attract tourists and not in funding the talents, ideas and the quality.

This does not seem to be envisaged, however, in the case of the *Campania Region Film Commission* (CRFC): the institution – established by the Region in 2004, operating since 2005 and become Foundation in 2014 – has supported a great number of projects regardless of the declination (positive or negative) of the conveyed image. In the long list of feature films, films and TV series, short films, documentaries, TV shows, commercials and other audiovisual filmed in whole or in part in Campania and supported by the CRFC<sup>16</sup>, we find a large number of productions that range, for limiting to those mentioned in this essay, from Capri to *Gomorra* (film and TV series). On the other hand, a city like Naples, not unlike New York, could not do without a Film Commission for a “maintaining” strategy<sup>17</sup>. In the case of the image of Naples, whose genesis is multifaceted and polysemous, the regulatory film tourism would fail to synthesize the complexity.

Also the campaigns of tourism promotion, however, are interesting for our purposes. One of the most incisive, mainly because it has been the response of the institutions to the garbage crisis 2007/08, is *Campania così bella che è vera* (Campania so beautiful that it is true), headed to the team Mindshare (global agency in the media) and JWT (an US advertising agency) in 2009. The campaign has been defined *fashion* not only because the direction of the spot was assigned to the Spanish photographer and director internationally renowned Eugenio Recuenco, but also because it has been declined in four symbolic fashion shows, in some characteristic but lesser-known locations of Campania<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 1). The same Giuseppe Salinari (then director of client service JWT) stated that the agency “wanted to overturn the stereotypical perceptions of Naples with a surprising communication to the public, trying to feed the knowledge of a region called ‘Campania’ (beyond Naples, Sorrento, the Amalfi Coast, etc.)” (SALINARI, 2012, p. 54). The explicit goal was to find unusual but very pleasant places to convey different images of the region and, for this purpose, it has also been used a recurring element of the rhetoric about the *napoletanità*, the sheets hanging from the balconies which in the spot were transformed in the prestigious scenario of the fashion show (GABARDI, 2010).

Next to the CRFC and promotional campaigns, numerous initiatives have been established at regional and municipal level to use the film and television locations in order to make known some places of the city and the region.

**Figure 1 : One of the posters of the campaign  
(setting: the archaeological site of Cuma)**



Source: <http://www.regione.campania.it>

Among the most relevant, we stress the routes promoted by *Campania Movietour*, a project that aims at showing the cultural heritage and landscape of Naples and Campania through the film tourism, as well as the first edition (which was held from 27 November to 3 December 2013) of the *City Film Festival - The image of the city*, which has dedicated a section to the “Neapolitan views”, aimed at exploring the ways in which the city of Naples was represented by the documentary films of the last decade.

### **3. *Gomorrah* versus film-induced tourism? Discursive practices in conflict**

Although it is not possible to identify – except in rare cases – a cause-effect relationship between the production of certain cinematic images and the increase/decrease of tourist flows, there is no doubt that the question is fully entered in the political agenda, at least in Naples and in Campania. Our research hypothesis is that, although this relationship could not be demonstrated unequivocally, it *de facto* already exerts an impact on the level of urban conflict, in the contrast between the official discursive (and branding) practices (which directly correlate the decrease of tourists to the negative image of the city) and the unofficial discursive practices,



opposing the dominant ones, conveyed by some media (which strongly support the need to represent the city in all its aspects).

The starting point of this last part of our reflection is a research conducted in 2009 on tourism in Campania and entrusted by the then Tourism Adviser of the Campania Region, Claudio Velardi, to the aforementioned JWT by the evocative title *La Campania è per il turista coraggioso* (Campania is for the brave tourist). In the research was not only identified a clear link between the decline of tourist flows and what was considered by policy makers as a very bad and repeated image (or, at best, deeply ambivalent) of the city and the region, but also it was attributed to the media the main responsibility for the "very negative reputation" with which Naples and Campania were labelled in Italy and worldwide. The image was conveyed, according to the survey, both by the press and by television and films, these last basic media in the widest meaning of film-induced tourism used in this paper. In the research, the decline of tourists in the region and, even more significantly, in the city of Naples was explicitly attributed to the negative impact which some Italian TV broadcasts (that of depth journalism as *Report*, but also those of entertainment as *Le Iene* or *Striscia la Notizia*) and which certain movie (first of all the aforementioned *Gomorrah*, based on the bestseller by Roberto Saviano) had produced with their focus on crime, the garbage crisis, the misconduct in the administrative management. These factors represented, according to the report, a lens so deforming for tourists which, in the words used in the survey, "affects memory and becomes a barrier that inhibits the return of tourists in our area" (CAPUA, 2009). The first newspaper of Campania, "Il Mattino", titled the article commenting the research: "*The study of Velardi: because of Gomorrah Campania is only for brave tourists*" (AA.VV., 2009) or even "Il Corriere del Mezzogiorno": "*Tourists send away from Gomorrah and the press*" (BRANDOLINI, 2009). So the image of Naples and Campania represented in *Gomorrah* (intended both as a book and as a movie) was considered as the lack of a strong and persuasive advertising campaign or even as the problems that characterized the urban environment and the tourism industry, being then pointed out as one of the most significant factors which inhibited the development of tourism in Campania and in Naples. Far from representing the outgrowth of a survey conducted among tourists, the research has subsequently become an expression of the confirmation of a "common feeling" in Campania politics, regardless of the party, group and scale of political action (from the districts to municipalities to Municipality and Region). It is a controversy centred on the image of Naples/*Gomorrah* that was closely linked to the success of *Gomorrah* at national and especially international scale<sup>19</sup>.

Although governments have changed both at regional and urban scale, the conflict between the actors and their discursive practices has started again one year ago, still in relation to what has been defined as "*the Gomorrah effect*", during the realization of the TV series by the same name<sup>20</sup>. For the purposes of our discussion, it appears emblematic that the President of the Municipality of Scampia – complex northern suburb of Naples in which already a few episodes of the book and the film were set – has denied permission to use the spaces of the neighbourhood as a set, motivating the refusal by the desire to avoid the "exploitation of images and places in damage of the

territory<sup>21</sup>". Equally significant is the fact that, despite not being filmed in Scampia, the series uses a visual strategy that refers to the neighbourhood and its most emblematic place: the so-called Vele (Fig. 2).

**Figure 2: The advertising billboard of the TV series Gomorrah with the Vele di Scampia on the background**



Source: <http://www.googleimmagini.it>

The refusal has opened a new controversy, this time between the writer Saviano and the Mayor de Magistris: a controversy that, although starting from the creation of a TV drama, soon turned into a discussion about the suburbs that are in a state of degradation and abandonment and, in particular, on Scampia, which is considered still the emblem of it, despite numerous structures of legality that have multiplied in recent years inside the district. The aforementioned contrast – along with some significant episodes that followed the broadcast<sup>22</sup> – and the great success already achieved by the TV series have raised the conflict between urban actors, a conflict that this time sees the policy makers along with social workers and inhabitants of the neighbourhood against workers in the film, fiction and media industry. Although there is still no investigation to establish a correlation between the trend of tourist flows and the TV series *Gomorrah*, from some parts a proposal to create tour in Scampia for visitors who undertake low cost trips or for so-called *dark tourists* has been advanced.

In fact, as duly stressed by CONNELL (2012), there are not enough empirical evidence on the ways in which the negative image conveyed by the film or other media affect tourism; though some authors point out that a negative image can decrease significantly the tourist value of a place, others instead suggest that images deemed negative can actually contribute to the attractiveness of a destination (and, in this regard, they refer to the “poetry” generated by the dark and noir)<sup>23</sup>.

However the most interesting element, in our opinion, is that the opposition which still revolves around the image of Naples conveyed by the media and, in particular, by movies and TV series proposes once again, even if in a new way, the duplicity of representations discussed in the incipit. If, on the one hand, these representations, as we have shown, have always accompanied the city, on the other they now translate into a real urban conflict: the element of novelty is that the dual image of the Neapolitan landscape emerging from this conflict is inspired by a different notion of "authenticity" based on positive and negative elements. A new thinking on the concept of authenticity is important, as the urban sociologist Sharon Zukin has effectively emphasized, because "claiming authenticity becomes prevalent at a time when identities are unstable" (ZUKIN, 2010, p. xii). In this sense, both versions of the "authentic Naples" affect expectations, activities, experiences and "*gazes*" of tourists (URRY & LARSEN, 2012), as well as the attitudes of the residents and the influence on the location.

## References

- AA.VV. (2009). Lo studio di Velardi: per colpa di Gomorra Campania solo per turisti coraggiosi. *Il Mattino*, 30 gennaio, [http://www.ilmattino.it/napoli/citta/lo\\_studio\\_di\\_velardi\\_per\\_colpa\\_di\\_gomorra\\_campania\\_solo\\_per\\_turisti\\_coraggiosi/notizie/44358.shtml](http://www.ilmattino.it/napoli/citta/lo_studio_di_velardi_per_colpa_di_gomorra_campania_solo_per_turisti_coraggiosi/notizie/44358.shtml).
- BEETON, S. (2005). *Film-Induced Tourism*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- BORDELON, B. M. & DIMANCE, F. (2011). Unofficial images of a tourism destination: New Orleans behind the scenes. *International Journal of Leisure and Tourism Marketing*, 2, 4, pp. 295-312.
- BRANDOLINI, S. (2009). La Regione: i turisti allontanati da Gomorra e dai servizi di Report. *Corriere del Mezzogiorno*, 30 gennaio.
- BRUNO, G. (1997). *City views, the voyage of film images*, in CLARKE, D.B. (ed) *The cinematic city*. London: Routledge, pp. 47-60.
- BUCHMANN, A., MOORE, K. & FISHER, D. (2010). Experiencing Film Tourism: Authenticity & Fellowship. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37, 1, pp. 229–248.
- CALDWELL, L. (2003). *Imagining Naples: The Senses of the City*, in BRIDGE, G. & WATSON, S. (eds) *A Companion to the City*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 55-64.
- CAPRARA, V. (2010). *Il resto di Gomorra*, in DE CRESCENZO, M.C. et al. (eds) *Napoli città del cinema*. Napoli: Biblioteca Universitaria di Napoli, Libreria Dante e Decartes, pp. 153-159.
- CAPUA, P. (2009). *Una regione per turisti coraggiosi*. La Repubblica, 30 gennaio.
- CAPUTO, L. (2014). "Gomorra", la serie tv spaventa la scolaresca di Bolzano: annullata la trasferta a Napoli, [http://www.huffingtonpost.it/2014/05/08/gomorra-serie-tv-spaventa-scolaresca-bolzano\\_n\\_5286216.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.it/2014/05/08/gomorra-serie-tv-spaventa-scolaresca-bolzano_n_5286216.html).
- CASTELLANO, A. (1997). *Il cinema vesuviano*, in GHIGI, G. (ed) *12 settimana internazionale della critica di Venezia*. Venice, Rome, Milan: La Biennale di Venezia/Il Castoro SNCCI, pp. 95-102.
- CONNELL, J. (2012). Film tourism e Evolution, progress and prospects. *Tourism Management*, 33, pp. 1007-1029.
- COPPOLA, P. & VIGANONI, L. (1994). *The Urban Challenge between Past and Future: Naples and the Market of the Year 2000*, in AVE, G. & CORSICO, F. (eds), *Marketing urbano*. Torino: Torino Incontra, pp. 482- 490.
- COPPOLA, P. SOMMELLA, R. & VIGANONI, L. (1997). *Il paesaggio urbano napoletano tra immagine e mercato*, in MAUTONE, M. (eds) *Una giornata di studi in onore di Mario Fondi*, Napoli: Esi, pp. 65-90.
- D'ALESSANDRO, L. & SOMMELLA, R. (2012). *Turismo, qualità urbana e competitività: alcune riflessioni sul caso di Napoli*, in ADAMO, F. (ed), *Turismo e sviluppo urbano in Italia*. Bologna: Pàtron, pp. 247-264.

D'ALESSANDRO, L. & VIGANONI, L. (2013). Consumo di lusso e cambiamento urbano: le Main Streets di Napoli. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, series XIII, VI, pp. 401-422.

GABARDI, E. (2010). *I nuovi trend della pubblicità turistica in Italia*. Pubblicità Italia.

KARAVATZIS, M. (2008). *From City Marketing to City Branding. An Interdisciplinary Analysis with Reference to Amsterdam, Budapest and Athens*. PhD Thesis, Groningen University: Netherlands.

MARLOW-MANN, A. (2011). *The New Neapolitan Cinema*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

NICOSIA, E. (2012). *Cineturismo e Territorio. Un percorso attraverso i luoghi cinematografici*. Bologna: Pàtron.

O' HEALY, A. (1999). Revisiting the belly of Naples: the body and the city in the films of Mario Martone. *Screen*, 40, 3, pp. 239-256.

PIEDIMONTE, S. (2009). Il regista Recuenco: "Questa regione così bella che è vera". *Corriere della Sera*, 30 novembre.

ROESCH, S. (2010). *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*. Clevedon: Channel View publications.

SALINARI, G. (2012). *Regione Campania*, in GABARDI, E. (ed), *Regioni e province italiane. Sette casi significativi di comunicazione turistica*. Milano: FrancoAngeli, pp. 46-55.

TOOKE, N. & BAKER, M. (1996) Seeing is believing: The effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations. *Tourism Management*, 17, 2, pp. 87-94.

URRY, J. & LARSEN, J. (2012). *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: Sage.

VIGANONI, L. (2002). *Luoghi e identità: Napoli tra immagine e politica*, in CROCE, A., TESSITORE, F. & CONTE, D. (eds), *Napoli e la Campania nel Novecento. Diario di un secolo*. Napoli: Edizioni del Millennio, pp. 29-44.

ZUKIN, S. (2010). *Naked City. The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. New York: Oxford University Press.

---

<sup>1</sup> Although the article is the result of common reflections, paragraph 1 can be attributed to Lida Viganoni, paragraph 2 to Rosario Sommella and paragraph 3 to Libera D'Alessandro.

<sup>2</sup> The inspiring principle of the policies of urban marketing, which have been implemented mainly between the Eighties and Nineties of the Twentieth Century, was right to use the image for repositioning the city on a global scale, attracting capital, people, business. More recently, this conceptualization seems to have been replaced by that of *city branding*, a theory and a set of practices that aim to be closer to nature and characteristics of places, unifying images and meanings in what is precisely defined as the brand of the city (KARAVATZIS, 2008). As we have already argued elsewhere (D'ALESSANDRO & VIGANONI, 2013), the branding of the city – as and perhaps even more than urban marketing – however raises many issues in terms of urban governance and social exclusion.

<sup>3</sup> The Neapolitan version of urban regeneration has been focused mostly on the central spaces of the city, which in many cases were in a state of decline and abandonment. For further reading, see COPPOLA & VIGANONI, 1994; COPPOLA, SOMMELLA & VIGANONI, 1997; VIGANONI, 2002.

---

<sup>4</sup> In this sense a fundamental role was carried out by the Foundation Naples 1799, promoter in 1992 and in 1993 of the event *Monuments Open Doors*. Naples was the first Italian city to join the initiative, which retraced the event *Portes Ouvertes sur les Monuments Historiques* started in France in 1984 and which was taken over in 1991 by several European countries as *European Heritage Days*, under the auspices of the European Council. About two hundred monuments, opened by various institutions on the invitation of the Foundation, made accessible to the Neapolitans and tourists almost unknown cultural itineraries. A key element was the project *The school adopts a monument*, thanks to which the schools of the city, with the participation of teachers and students, started a process of permanent education to the respect and protection of historical and artistic heritage. In 1994, the event – organized by the Foundation together with the City of Naples and the Campania Region – has been expanded and named *Napoli Open Doors*, reflecting the transition from an event promoted by a private Foundation to an institutional one. The so-called *May of Monuments* is still the most important event for the city at the international scale (<http://www.napolinovantanove.org>).

<sup>5</sup> I point out that *Der Spiegel* over the years has referred again on Naples but in a positive way. For example, in 2013: "Naples – writes *Der Spiegel* – it's much better than its reputation. Those who perceive it only as the city of the *Camorra*, of the organized crime and of the mountains of garbage, have no real idea of Naples. The downtown is a concentration of art and culture that rivals many other cities, not to mention what is around the metropolis".

<sup>6</sup> A very punctual discussion on this season of the Neapolitan cinema is contained, in particular, in MARLOW MANN, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Consider, for example, *Un complicato intrigo di donne vicoli e delitti* (1986), *Sabato domenica e lunedì* (1990), *Io speriamo che me la cavo* (1992) by Lina Wertmuller; *Café Express* (1980), *Mi manda Picone* (1983), *Scugnizzi* (1989) by Nanni Loy; a *Ricomincio da tre* (1981), *Scusate il ritardo* (1983), *Pensavo fosse amore e invece era un calesse* (1991) by Massimo Troisi.

<sup>8</sup> We recall, among others, Stefano Incerti, Antonietta de Lillo, Nina Di Majo, Paolo Sorrentino.

<sup>9</sup> MARLOW MANN (2011) identifies an explicit relationship between the two phenomena, not omitting that there is a dispute on the subject: while, according to some scholars, the reaffirmation of Neapolitan culture in the Nineties has been a consequence of the policies of Bassolino (including the NNC, which also has its roots in previous years the election of the mayor), for others the same Bassolino is the political expression of a wider cultural process, in which also the NNC enrolls. According to Marlow Mann, beyond the specific issue, there is no doubt that the policies of Bassolino and the broader *Neapolitan Renaissance* represent an essential context for understanding the NNC and, in this sense, the movies by Martone contain numerous references to it.

<sup>10</sup> The most significant book on the phenomenon is that of BEETON, 2005. In Italy refer to the recent volume of NICOSIA, 2012.

<sup>11</sup> For a deepening, see the third chapter of the aforementioned book by MARLOW MANN, 2011.

<sup>12</sup> The two cases are obviously very different. The TV series *Inspector Montalbano* was transmitted in many countries and helps to convey a positive image of Sicily, not exclusively linked to the Mafia. The case of the film *Benvenuti al Sud*, a remake of the original French film *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* (Down to the North), gave temporary fame to the small town of Campania where it was set.

<sup>13</sup> In this case, the question – that we have no the opportunity to deepen here – is rather related to which tourism (under the qualitative and quantitative profile) is catalyzed by the representations conveyed by the cinema and other media and the possible impact produced by flows attracted.

<sup>14</sup> In this paper, we refer to the conceptualization of the *film-induced tourism* and not of *movie-induced tourism* in order to consider the longer range of media that conveys a certain image of the places (videos, DVDs, documentaries, television), although – despite this more extensive meaning – movies continue to represent the most emblematic case (BEETON, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> The case of Barcelona is then far more significant for the ability to produce international events and to support the post-Fordist transition with the urban renewal. In Naples also the occasion constituted by the Universal Forum of Cultures is failed.

<sup>16</sup> Among the cited productions we want mention the documentary *Sul Vulcano* (On the Volcano) by Gianfranco Pannone (who faces, in an original way, the long standing relationship between Naples and

---

Vesuvius) and the animated film *L'Arte della Felicità* (The Art of Happiness) by Alessandro Rak (who won the twenty-seventh edition of the *European Film Awards*, the European Oscars).

<sup>17</sup> From a conversation with Valerio Caprara, Chairman of the CRFC.

<sup>18</sup> Among the chosen locations, we remember: the Piscina Mirabilis in the Campi Flegrei, Palazzo Donn'Anna in Posillipo, the *vicoli* ("alleys") of the historical centre, a fish market and a barber's shop. To give an idea of the immense cultural heritage still inaccessible to citizens of Naples and visitors just think that – as reported by an article in the *Corriere della Sera* at the time of the campaign – to visit the Piscina Mirabilis was necessary to "ask for the keys to a local woman". And it continued – "usually she gives them without problems, in exchange for a few Euros, assuming she does not have the pasta on the fire" (PIEDIMONTE, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> The novel of Saviano, published in 2006 and translated in 52 countries, has sold over 2,2 million copies in Italy and 10 million worldwide. The homonymous film, directed in 2008 by Matteo Garrone, was released in Italian cinemas by May 16, 2008: the first weekend it was the most watched film in Italy, with proceeds of 1,9 million euro; in March 2009, the film has reached the collection of 10,1 million euro. *Gomorra* was the most watched film in the period 2006-2010, among the Italian films distributed in European cinemas, scoring in 13 countries as many as 1,7 million audience.

<sup>20</sup> *Gomorra – The series* was produced by Sky TV in collaboration with Cattleya, Fandango and LA7. The link with the bestseller is so explicit that the director, Stefano Sollima, about the connections with the novel and the movie, said "the material for *Gomorra – The series* comes directly from the book, but these are aspects that were left out of the feature film"

([http://skyatlantic.sky.it/skyatlantic/news/2014/04/02/gomorra\\_la\\_serie\\_dal\\_6\\_maggio\\_su\\_sky\\_atlantic\\_pillola\\_video\\_presentazione.html](http://skyatlantic.sky.it/skyatlantic/news/2014/04/02/gomorra_la_serie_dal_6_maggio_su_sky_atlantic_pillola_video_presentazione.html)). On the other hand, the same Saviano is among the creators of the series, which was closed by recording, in the last episode aired in Italy on Sky, 875,000 average audience, with a share of 3% and a stay that was close to 90%. The unprecedented success of public, evidenced by the fact that – with 700,000 average audience per episode – *Gomorra* is the series by Sky more viewed in the history of the Italian pay-TV, was also accompanied by critical acclaim (which has defined it as "the best serial product ever made in Italy"). To now, the series has been sold in 60 countries around the world, as to be defined by Variety "the Italian answer to The Wire" ([http://www.ansa.it/sito/notizie/cultura/2014/06/11/tv-gomorra-chiude-con-record-serie-sky\\_418c0a35-5d50-4d72-8734-287c7e0c3065.html](http://www.ansa.it/sito/notizie/cultura/2014/06/11/tv-gomorra-chiude-con-record-serie-sky_418c0a35-5d50-4d72-8734-287c7e0c3065.html)).

<sup>21</sup> For more details, refer to [http://www.huffingtonpost.it/2013/01/05/napoli-scampia-vietate-le-riprese-gomorra\\_n\\_2415343.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.it/2013/01/05/napoli-scampia-vietate-le-riprese-gomorra_n_2415343.html). After the refusal, the filming were shot in a neighbourhood in the west area of Naples, Fuorigrotta.

<sup>22</sup> It is worth to mention an incident occurred in May 2014: 40 students from a school in Bolzano had to leave for Chiaiano in order to work in a field confiscated the Camorra but, after seeing the reality represented in fiction, parents have been afraid and have decided not to send their children in the region. The incident has caused so much fuss so that even the manager of the confiscated fund considered it appropriate to denounce "*the Gomorra effect*" (CAPUTO, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> For example in the case of New Orleans, BORDELON & DIMANCHE (2011) have shown that, at first glance, the film images of the city seemed to exert a deleterious effect on tourism (for the representation of crime and violence), but later images such "supernatural" and "mysterious" seem to have contributed to building the mystique and *allure* of New Orleans, helping to promote the city to millions of visitors.