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# Dark place marketing : case study of Naples

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# Abstract

Naples is a city well-known for its history, its proximity to Pompeii and other islands, and the presence of the criminal organisation, the Camorra. Like the rest of the country, tourism is an important aspect of the city economy. This paper analyses the influence of the Camorra on tourism flow of the city to establish if dark place marketing is applicable to Naples.

The results of the paper show that tourism is not directly affected, either positively or negatively, by the presence of the mafia in the city. However, the Camorra has affected the region's image and tourists' perception, decreasing the tourist flow. There is not enough historic site linked to the Camorra to attract tourists. The continuous presence of the mafia throughout the city decreases the probability of tourists wanting to visit places known as centers of interest or importance for the Camorra.

Recommendations to increase tourism in general include keeping the city clean and orderly and keeping up with digitalisation. Other recommendations specific to Naples include continuing anti-corruption policies, encouraging locals to host more tourists, and considering the development of niche tourism to attract specific groups of tourists.

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# Acronyms

<b>NCO</b>	Nuova Camorra Organizzata
<b>UNWTO</b>	United Nations World Tourism Organization
<b>ISTAT</b>	Italian National Institute of Statistics
<b>ENIT</b>	Research Department of the Italian National Tourism Agency
<b>FIFA</b>	International Federation of Association Football
<b>DEA</b>	Drug Enforcement Administration
<b>WW2</b>	World War two
<b>BC</b>	Before Christ
<b>AC</b>	After Christ
<b>DNA</b>	Deoxyribonucleic Acid

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# Introduction

## 1.1 Context

Naples is a city of Italy situated in Campania : the middle-South region of the country next to the Tyrrhenian Sea. It has always been an important city due to its port. Many monuments are still proof of its former greatness. After the Italian unification, Naples lost its power and became a city among others. With this falling popularity, poverty and crime found their way onto the streets of this vast city [Leonardo Di Mauro, 2006, Fiore, 2021].

As other Italian cities, Naples has a history with criminal organisation, or mafia. In the Campania region, this group is called the Camorra. Like other criminal groups they are the main reason for the drug traffic, money laundering and any other dark activity present in the region. The structure of this organisation is different compared to the one of the mafia in other regions. The Camorra is constituted of different independent clans who only interact between them by convenience [Barbagallo, 2014, ?].

Italy is known for its important tourism, and Naples is not an exception. Nevertheless, to increase the tourist flow in the city, some strategies have been taken or considered by the authorities. Place marketing is a specific branch of marketing, replacing the product by a country, city or specific site [Avraham and Ketter, 2013, Warnaby and Medway, 2013]. Known marketing techniques are usually adapted to fit the place marketing needs. Among this tools, there is the dark place marketing which takes advantage of something that usually is not promoted as it is seen as negative [Brown et al., 2012].

Since the downfall of Naples, the city is trying to restore its previous greatness and it seems like dark tourism could be of interest in this situation. However, one has to assess if dark place marketing is feasible for instance by analysing the dependence between mafia events or places and tourism.

## 1.2 Master thesis objectives

The aim of this work is to determine whether dark place marketing is applicable to the city of Naples. First the city's antecedents with the mafia need to be analysed, and then it will be necessary to assess whether tourism is sufficiently affected by the presence of the mafia to be able to use it as a selling point. Throughout this work, an analysis will be made of the links between Naples and its criminal element, in order to identify recommendations for a marketing strategy.

## 1.3 Master thesis outlines

This master thesis is arranged as follows :

- **Chapter 2 : State of the art** summarises the key concepts that are important in order to have a complete understanding of this analysis.
- **Chapter 3 : Results and analysis** gathers qualitative and quantitative results which demonstrate the links between the tourism development plans and the mafia actions.
- **Chapter 4 : Discussion** is introduced to put all the results into perspective, in order to assess the extent to which the assumptions made in the analysis are relevant. It also explains the effect of the mafia on tourism and suggests a number of recommendations for a future strategy to be adopted by the city.
- **Chapter 5 : Conclusion** summarises the main results obtained in this work.

## State of the art

### **2.1 Marketing**

Marketing can be defined as a two-phased process, one technical part linked to the activities a company uses to achieve their business goal as selling a product, and another social part used to meet the responsibilities of the consumers and their social emerging interests [Liu, 2017, Bartels, 1968].

Marketing can be seen as a really powerful tool nowadays, as it can make the difference between two products almost identical. A lot of companies are putting major efforts to better sell their products, to better understand what the consumers want and to be aligned with their desires. The marketing techniques go from the conception of the product to the publicity, the location of the publicity and stores, the price, etc. Multiple strategies exist to increase the interest and to better sell or promote any product, it is the company's job to apply the strategy that better aligns with the product and their own values.

### **2.2 Place Marketing**

Place marketing can be defined as the effort and resources devoted to the strategies taken by countries, cities and even specific touristic places to attract attention to themselves and gain on notoriety [Vuignier, 2017].

The term place marketing is often confused with "place branding", even though marketing and branding are not synonyms on a strict way the meaning and analysis of both terms overlaps

continuously in literature [Skinner, 2008]. During this paper, both terms will be accepted as referring to the same phenomena.

When considering the "place" as product (to be able to apply the marketing theories as known), two elements are associated to the "place", one that announces materiality and another one with a "less concrete" realm of meaning, this being linked to how people feel about the specific location [Warnaby and Medway, 2013].

The place marketing has been used multiple times to restore the negative image/reputation of a city or country. As E. Avraham and E. Ketter, [Avraham and Ketter, 2013], explained in their paper, there exists two types of negative image. The first one caused by an unexpected crisis such as natural disaster, and the second one caused by long-lasting problems as economic crisis or criminal rates [Avraham and Ketter, 2012]. For the places with the second type of negative image, there is not enough literature and theoretical models on how to act in such crisis. Marketing strategies towards places with a long-lasting bad reputation can be categorised into three groups: focus on the source of the message, on the message itself and on the treated audience. The first group concentrates on affecting or influencing directly the source, the second group concentrates in how to deliver the message and the last group considers the target group for whom the strategy is planned, their values and perceptions.

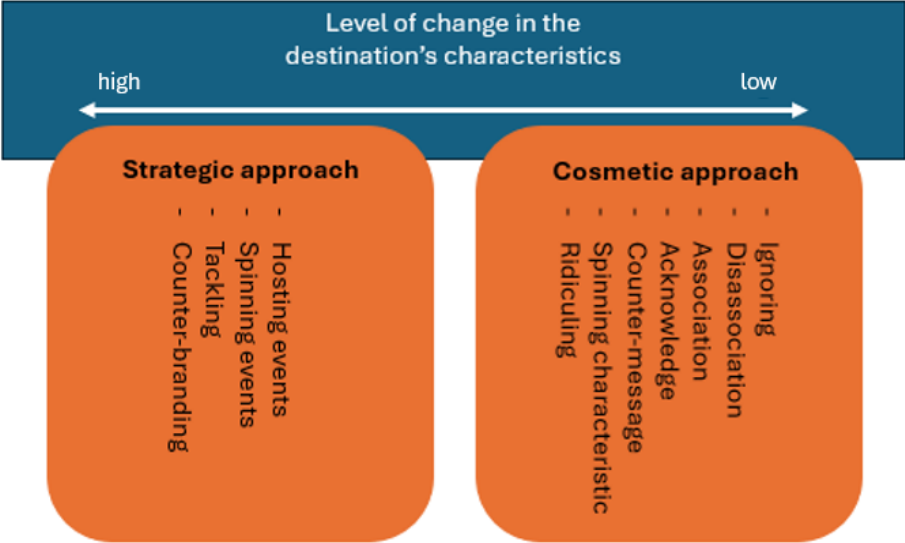


Figure 2.1: The Strategic vs. Cosmetic approach for altering prolonged negative destination image. Extracted from [Avraham and Ketter, 2013]

In the model proposed by the authors previously mentioned two approaches are considered, a cosmetic approach aiming to change the city image without changing anything in reality and a strategic approach that works with both the media and the reality of the situation [Baker, 2007, Tilson and Stacks, 1997].

It can be observed on image 2.1 the techniques used by both approaches and the importance of each one of them.

The paper concludes that the choice of strategy depends on the city, those with an already existing infrastructure tend to select the cosmetic approach, since the reality is actually in a pretty good shape but the bad image comes from stereotypes while cities that have fundamental problems will be better starting from the beginning to improve their image.

## **2.3 Dark place marketing**

In literature the term dark place marketing can be confused as the fact of brands advertising their product to a specific public (not showing it to the rest), in this case the adjective dark is understood as ghost or hidid.

Through this paper, dark place marketing is going to be defined as a synonym of dark tourism : the use of death, destruction, accidents as part of the marketing strategy for a specific place (country, city, building) [Brown et al., 2012].

The definition on dark place marketing in the literature is not precise about the timeline of the events for them to be consider as "dark place marketing". To clarify this aspect, in this paper it will only be considered as pertinent the events that are not "finished", for example the concentration camps that took place during the second world war are not taken into account as that event has already been closed and they make part of the history. The dark place marketing has three main actors that must be taken into account : the citizens, as they have to be at ease with hosting tourist for these specifically type of tourism, the city, as the dark marketing is not always well seen and sometimes they do not want to be associate with those specific sites or events and finally the tourist, as they are the consumers of the product.

D. Jahnke explains during her thesis, [Jahnke, 2013], that the dark place marketing or dark tourism has been practised already for hundred of years, when people traveled to shrines or memorials linked to their religions or to see an execution. Even though the subject has been present since a very long time it was not until 1990 that the subject was studied. Indeed, around

this date it became famous among travellers to have these new tourism experiences.

### **2.3.1 Case of Mazatlan**

N. Kervyn et al, [Kervyn de Meerendré et al., 2022], treated a case of dark tourism in Mazatlan linked to the presence of drug cartels in the city. This location, besides his beautiful beaches and views, is also known for the presence of the cartel the "Guadalajara" and its important location as part of the drug traffic into the United States and all over Mexico.

Mazatlan went famous when in 2014 Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman Loera was arrested as part of a joint operation of the mexican authorities and the DEA <sup>1</sup>. At the moment El Chapo was known as one of the most famous drug trafficker in the world.

The city reputation has attracted tourists intrigued by the drug market, and some local taxis have started to profit of this interesting by promoting "Narcotours". This activity consists in a guided tour over the island, passing through various places linked to important sites or residences associated to the Mexican cartels. One of the most interesting stop being the "Hotel Miramar" where El Chapo was arrested. The narcotours are prohibited by the city, as they do not represent the fame and reputation that the Mexican government wants to be associated with. Taxi drivers have already been fined and encountered problems with the police officers by doing this type of tours.

Multiple strategies on how to upgrade the branding of the city are announced as possible leads to improve the image and reputation of Mazatlan.

During this paper it will be studied if a similar case occurs in Naples, linking the tourism with the presence of the Italian mafia "Camorra" and if any similar touristic sites and tours are present. Leading to possible recommendations on how to improve the image of the city and hence a branding strategy that could be applied.

## **2.4 Marking tools for place marketinfg**

This section introduces some marketing tools which are used to sell any type of product. However, dealing with a destination product instead of a typical product some aspects of these tools have to be adjusted to better fit the context.

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<sup>1</sup>Drug Enforcement Administration

### 2.4.1 Segmentation

One known technique used on marketing strategies is the segmentation. The consumers needs and desires are becoming extremely diverse, and it is getting harder to satisfy everybody's. To remediate this problem, certain companies associate every consumer with similar buying behaviour and group them in different segments. Once this has been done, it is easier to focus the publicity and even the products for the segment that corresponds better to it [Dibb, 1998].

Multiple criteria exist in order to have an efficient segmentation: [Lambin and de Moerloose, 2021]

- **Differentiated answer:** To have homogeneity at the inside of the segment but heterogeneity compared to the other segments.
- **Profitability for the segment:** To have enough of sells or to be big enough to sustain itself.
- **Realism:** The identification of each consumer needs to be easy to do and the size of the the segment can be easily estimated.
- **Selective accessibility:** The communication and distribution methods can be as selective as possible.

In the case of place marketing the segmentation strategy is observed as well, when the city decided to promote a visit more adequate for family fun and kids activities, for newly wed couples, or university students on spring vacations. Depending to whom the country, hotel or activity is intended, the publicity will not be addressed the same way or even at the same places. Another characteristic on which the segmentation could be applied is the interests of tourists. Some people will be more interest on visiting the historic center of a city and to see the museums and old statues representing the history of the city, while others will prefer to follow a tour of the modern places of the city, and to visit more than only the touristic well-known points, like the zones with a darker past or present [Metaxas, 2005].

### 2.4.2 Competition

In marketing, the competition can be expressed through internal and external competitive advantages. As the internal advantage is generally linked to the cost of a product, it is complicated to apply the concept to tourism except when comparing the living price between two different countries but it would not be particularly relevant in this case study. However, the external one

is centered on the distinctive qualities of a product. When considering a certain city, this could mean its history, monuments, events, quality of service, welcoming ambient etc.

In theory books [Lambin and de Moerloose, 2021], several sources of competition exist : current competitors, threat of a substitute, potential new entrants and negotiating power of customers and suppliers. Yet, not all of them are applicable to tourism. In fact, the sector's current competitors can be associated to any other tourist city in Italy, or even the world. However, there is no threat of a substitute, given that it is impossible to copy the history of tourist cities such as Naples that have existed for centuries.

As for potential new entrants, they could be seen as destinations that are only just being discovered, or areas that are just beginning to develop their tourism economy. These days, with social media, it's not uncommon for a place to go viral in a very short period of time, which can sometimes overshadow classic destinations that have been around for thousands of years.

The last two sources of competition often overlooked are the negotiating power of customers and suppliers. Tourism services must constantly evolve to meet the needs of tourists, who are the customers. As far as suppliers are concerned, one might compare this to hotels, restaurants, or any other service applicable to tourism. Coordinating all the city's establishments around a single strategy is complicated, especially if all the stakeholders are not involved in the decision-making process, they may simply refuse, thereby creating opposition to the desire for tourism development.

S. Luongo [Luongo et al., 2023] has already highlighted in his article how competition and collaboration between different cities in the tourism sector can help them to develop. In fact, by communicating their development plans and strategies with each other, each town in the Campania region pushed itself to do all it could to improve on the others, while at the same time being able to take advantage of the resources that these towns had pooled together.

In order to improve on the others as mentioned before, it is a wise strategy to differentiate yourself through inimitable qualities. This is where dark place marketing (described in the previous section) could be of interest to the city of Naples. Taking advantage of the dark side of its history could set it apart from all the other Italian cities (with the possible exception of Sicily which also suffers from a strong presence of the mafia).

# 2.5 Naples

## 2.5.1 History

Table 2.1 Timeline

8th Century BC	Greeks built Naples
	Important commercial and cultural center
Roman empire	Harbour town, trade center of Mediterranean
12th Century AC	Kingdom of Naples
Renaissance	Construction of important palaces and churches
Two Siciles	Economic and cultural growth
19th Century	Politically and culturally important city involved in independence and unification of Italy
20th Century	Social, politic and economic transformation
Fascist period	Severe repression by the regime
WW2	Heavy destructive bombs
	Reconstruction and growth of tourism
1960-70's	Political struggles with organised crime
1980's	Beginning of the waste management crisis
1990's	Illegality, Corruption and lack of public services but growth in culture (art, music, cinema)
1994-2008	Declaration of state of emergency due to the waste management crisis

Since the beginning of times, Naples has always been a city full of dualities. For instance in the eight century before Christ, the Greek built Naples as an important commercial and cultural center because of its port. Even when the Roman empire came, it always kept its greek roots while respecting the Romanian city development.

Through the years, the city became more and more powerful, especially in the 12th century where the Kingdom of Naples began and blossomed through the renaissance into becoming the kingdom of the two siciles. In the 19th century, its current political history began as Naples was very involved in the independence and unification of Italy. From these days, Naples went from a powerful city to a provincial town between others which transformed socially, economically

and politically.

The fascist period (1925-1945) came in an overcrowded Naples with severe oppression of the citizens and an economic plan that called for the destruction of the historic center to increase the number of homes. During World War II, Naples was heavily bombed by the Allies, causing the destruction of many infrastructures and the deaths of thousands of people. After the war, the city experienced a period of reconstruction and economic development, with the rebirth of the port and the growth of the tourist industry.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Naples was involved in various episodes of political violence linked to the struggle between different factions of organised crime, in particular the Camorra. This led to an increase in crime and the spread of phenomena such as assault and drug trafficking.

Since the 80's a waste management crisis began in Naples. This crisis concerns household waste and toxic products. It was due to government failure, but also to the Camorra's dumping of toxic waste. Naples suffered greatly from this crisis, not only in terms of its image, but also in terms of hygiene, as the area has since become the most cancer-affected zone in Italy [Lurillo, 2010].

In the last decades of the 20th century, Naples also faced problems of illegal building, poverty, urban decay, corruption and a lack of public services. However, the city has also experienced a period of cultural renaissance, with the growth of the contemporary art, music and film sectors. During these years several plans of development for tourism were emitted centered around the history of the city. Naples is a city that thrives on contradictions and dualities, between ancient and modern, tradition and innovation, making it a unique and fascinating place [Mazzeo, 2009], [Forte, 2008], [Leonardo Di Mauro, 2006], [Santoro and di Caramanico, 1984].

### **2.5.2 La Camorra**

The name of the mafia present in Campania (region of Italy of which Naples is the capital city) is la Camorra. It is one of the most powerful and historical criminal organisation in Italy. It is said that its story goes back to the 17th century. Nowadays, it is divided in clans with each its own boss. They are generally involved in drug traffic, racket, smuggling and prostitution. To this day, it is still active.

There are different hypothesis concerning the etymology of this name but the most common one is c' 'a-morra (in dialect) "con la morra" (in Italian) referring to a street game often leading to

battles the boss had to separate.

Everything began circa 1764 with the famine in the center of Italy. Indeed the camorristi used to hold all the food resource to distribute them as they please therefore gaining power over human lives. In 1820 they founded “La bella societa” consisting in the group of people running the Camorra. They instored the Omerta, the fact that no one could speak of the internal affairs with the police etc. When the Garibaldi era came, he used the Camorra to keep the civil peace in Naples but shortly after the Abruzzo’s minister imprisoned some of the most powerful bosses of that time. It is precisely in that period that the first scission of the Camorra happened. Indeed the imprisoned member tried to help the right party to assassinate some liberals but a few member of the Camorra were not on board with this idea. Therefore, they told the police about the plan in exchange for personal benefits. It was decided to leave the control of Naples to the Camorra during the transitional phase of the kingdom. This was also agreed by the authorities in order to avoid possible revolutions encouraged by the Bourbons in exile, resulting in the sacking of the city, as they had already happen in 1799 and 1848. The new minister of the interior in the new Lieutenancy government, Silvio Spaventa, assisted by the new prefect of police Filippo De Blasio, broke with the Camorra and tried to eradicate the phenomenon and restore legality. From there, a new repressive cycle began.

In 1911, the Cuocolo trial for the murder of Gennaro Cuocolo and Maria Cutinelli was held in Viterbo. On the evening of May 25, 1915, in the Caverne delle Fontanelle, in the popular Sanità district, the camorristi, headed by Gaetano Del Giudice, decreed the dissolution of the Bella Società Riformata; in fact, the association had already been decimated during the Cuocolo trial.

When Mussolini came with its fascist ideas he undervalued the Camorra. He asked many of the member to impose the civil peace in exchange of absolution of past crimes. The Camorra had regained some consistency in the post-war period. However, those ideas were not so popular in the Camorra. It was a very confusing time as some of the member were against the armed police and some others were in their ranks. At this point the Camorra had lost its structure and was more similar to an ensemble of families sharing a goal than an organisation.

Between the 70’s and the 90’s the “Nuova Camorra Organizzata” (new Camorra organised) began with a strong smuggling center of cigarettes. This is the mafia everyone thinks of when talking about criminality in Naples. The goal of the NCO was to restore the hierarchical structure of the mafia while exploiting the drug market. In the early 80’s, wars between smaller clans to claim

the power over the city began bringing with them a lot of violence.

The 17th of June 1983 was the “venerdì nero della Camorra” (“Black Friday of the Camorra”), after which they tried to launch the new camorra of Campania but the hierarchical structure would not develop whereas the horizontal one was growing during the 90’s. During 1982 an anticamorra movement arose led by students and it spread across Italy. To this day they still celebrate this act of courage of the students walking openly in the street saying that they chose not to live like a mole. They were expressing their desire to wonder freely in their city : an open challenge to the Camorra.

At the beginning of the 2000s, the organisation still enjoys a certain amount of power, due in part to political backing, which allow them to control the most relevant local economic activities, especially in the Neapolitan and Caserta regions. Today the Camorra has thousands of affiliates divided into more than 150 families active throughout Campania. Camorra settlements are also reported abroad, such as in the Netherlands, Spain, France and Morocco.

In the years 2004 and 2005, the so-called Scampia feud came to great prominence in Naples, when some affiliates of the Di Lauro clan decided to strike out on their own in narcotics management, causing internal conflicts in the clan. There have been numerous disputes between clans in the Naples area, including the war between the Misso clan and the split-offs led by Salvatore Torino in the Sanità feud. The central, northern, and western areas of the city are controlled by various Camorra clans, while some historic clans in the eastern area have been weakened by arrests and convictions. In Campania, the Casalesi clan is active in much of Europe and is run by the Schiavone and Bidognetti families. There were an estimated 114 clans and 4,500 affiliates in the region in 2013. Local forms of camorra are entrenched in Salerno, Avellino province, and Benevento, where various Camorra clans operate with nefarious consequences for the local population.

Criminal groups operating in the Naples area are very active in various illegal activities such as infiltration of public contracts, illegal immigration, exploitation of prostitution, money laundering, usury, and drug trafficking. There are frequent conflicts between the clans over control of territory, often leading to murders and ambushes. Recently, cigarette smuggling has made a comeback, with the Sacco-Bocchetti-Lo Russo group deciding to invest in this activity after losing space in the drug trade controlled by the Amato-Pagano. Drug trafficker Raffaele Imperiale, an ally of the Amato-Pagano, was arrested in Dubai in 2021. The Camorra has claimed the lives

of more than 3,600 people since 1979, outnumbering other criminal organizations and terrorist groups [Barbagallo, 2014], [Fiore, 2021].

### 2.5.3 La Nuova Camorra Organizzata

During the 1970 a new facet of the Camorra was born under the control of Raffaele Cutolo. This new organisation was also known under the name of NCO or "Camorra-masa" and followed an ideological framework impregnated of proletarian ideas. The center of this organisation were the prisons, where Cutolo first gained his confidence and power, and where he recruited most of the members. From every activity he made, a part of the money gained went to a fond to help inmates part of the NCO.

The recruitment strategy of Cutolo was to offer food, legal and financial help to the inmates and their families in exchange of their loyalty and help for some criminal activities.

The structure of the NCO is pretty different compared to the original Camorra, more linked to the family. Here, every body could join the organisation if they promised their loyalty to Cutolo. Two different structures existed, one inside the penitentiary and another one outside to organize the activities. Communication between both was of utmost importance for Cutolo to keep his leadership over the organisation [Pascali, 2019].

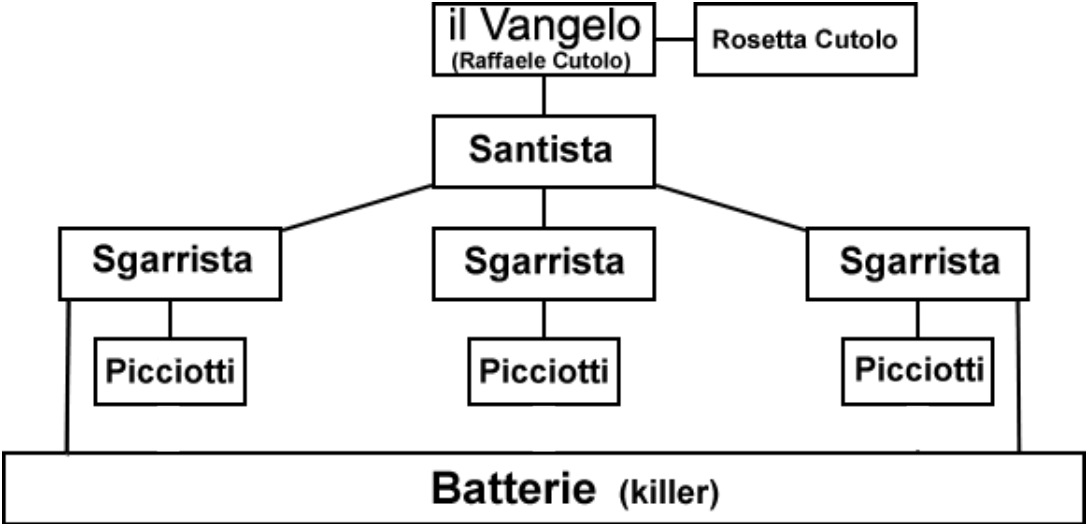


Figure 2.2: Structure of the Nuova Camorra Organizzata under the leadership of Raffaele Cutolo. Extracted from [De Guerre, 2021]

In figure 2.2 the structure of the NCO is explained where "il Vangelo" is the boss in this case Raffaele Cutolo, under him there is the second in command the "Santista". The "Sgarrista"

refers to the captains and finally the "Picciotti" are the soldiers, the young recruits.

A decade after the NCO was created a war with another camorra clan "Nuova Famiglia" started, they were an alliance of the "Cosa Nostra" and "Ndrangheta" clan, leaving multiple of deads and hurts during the ambush [Infobae, 2021]. The decline of the NCO started after the war due to their weakness, the reaction of other organized criminal groups and the repressive capacity or incapacity of the state. With their decline other criminal organisations became the main contact with businessmen and politicians and the Camorra returned to be a mixed of different groups related by convenience [Roman Lejtman, 2021].

## Results and analysis

### 3.1 Perception of Naples tourism

Tourists perception of Naples fluctuates a lot depending on what year and to who you ask about the city. As S. Schmalbruch explains on "Why no one wants to travel to Naples", [Schmalbruch, 2015], there are multiple negative points on how the city is perceived for the tourist. First, there is the competition between Naples and the other cities in Italy. Instead of working on a general tourism plan for the whole country, each city competes with the other one to attract more tourists. The second is the fact that the city was used as dumping ground for toxic wastes thanks to the Camorra, leaving zones with higher rates of cancer compared to other cities. Third, there is the crime present in the city due to the Camorra presence and control. Fourth, there is the lack of activities and sites to visit compared to other Italian cities and eventually the poverty and unemployment visible in the city.

Nevertheless, other citizens do not agree with this opinion, and find Naples to be a safe and wonderful city to visit in Italy. They remark that even if the Camorra has a strong presence in Naples, they do not have interest on harassing or hurting tourists. Based on the number of murders, Naples is safer than most of the big cities of the United States of America or other big capital city in Europe. They also explain that the problem with the trash, that gave a dirty aspect to the city, was decades ago and that nowadays the city is almost as clean as every other Italian touristic point. The locals of Naples have been working really hard on changing the reputation Naples, to attract more tourist and to regain the heart of Italy [Carlo, 2023, Frey, 2024].

When asked about the most problematic neighborhoods in Naples, citizens of the city or people who have spent a few years studying there, all answer the same thing. The district to be avoided at all costs is Secondigliano, where the mafia is actively present. The Scampia and Fuorigrotta-Bagnoli districts are also not recommended because of their crime rate (which, however, has not been fully proven to be due to the NCO). New neighborhoods are becoming increasingly unsavory, such as the Spanish quarter, Sanità, Forcella and o pallonetto probably due to their history associated with the mafia. However, these districts are part of the historic center of Naples, which Unesco and the city of Naples are doing their best to revitalize [Itabus, 2024]. Indeed since 2005, three big action plan were developed to improve the tourism situation.

The first is at national level and aims to increase the quality of tourist services in all Italian cities by 2022 [MiBACT, 2017]. The second, which had a 2020 time-frame, is specific to the city of Naples and has taken the approach of identifying the root of the problem and proposing adapted solutions [Comune di Napoli, 2017]. Finally, since 1995, Unesco has acknowledged the historic center of Naples as a world heritage site and therefore, has put in place measures to restore and maintain the infrastructures since 2005 [Comune di Napoli, 2011]. The next sections will detail each plan and its implication for Naples.

### **3.1.1 "Italia paese per Viaggiatori" : Italy land of travelers.**

#### **Vision and strategy**

The idea of this action plan is to establish a united vision of the country and concentrate its development around tourism as it already is one of Europe's leader in this category. Indeed because of its history, Italy was ranked first in the country brand index 2014-15 and since 2010 an increase of 10% in the tourist influx has been noted. As each city is invited to improve it's tourism, competition arises and a virtuous circle takes place as mentioned in section 2.4.2.

There are four main goals to this strategy :

- Innovate, specialize and integrate the national offer.
- Increase the commutativity in the tourism system as a whole and between cities.
- Establish an efficient and innovative marketing.
- Achieve efficient and participatory governance in the process of elaboration and definition of the tourism plan and policies.

These goals have to be achieved while respecting three transversal principles : **Innovation, Sustainability and Accessibility.**

### **Implication**

As said before, this strategy will increase competition between cities. This does not have to be seen as negative, for instance, because of this plan and the competition it arouses, Naples is forced to implement its marketing in English instead of only Italian which increases accessibility to information for tourist [MiBACT, 2017].

### **3.1.2 "Destinazione Napoli 2020" : Destination Naples 2020**

#### **How is Naples seen?**

The vision people have of Naples generally depends if they are Italian or not. Indeed, from an Italian point of view, Naples seems to be a beautiful city to visit but from an outsider's view it is more a city of passage (to go to the Amalfitan coast for instance). However, the negative view of Naples is common to all types of tourists; it's a city of contrasts. It's full of history and beautiful monuments, but it's not a safe place, and people often find it dirty. Figure 3.1 shows the percentage of positive, neutral or negative impressions that different types of tourist had on the city. What can be concluded from this is that, for the moment, Naples is a touristic city mainly for Italians. There is still a whole market to conquer: the rest of the world.

The most recurring weaknesses mentioned in this analysis are : security, cleanliness, communication (language barrier and lack of digital presence) and infrastructure, such as public bathrooms or public transportation. The global obstacle for Naples tourism development is the citizen's will to change. Indeed, the two first weaknesses are essentially due to criminal organisation presence but communication only depends on the people's capacity and will to learn a new language.

#### **Vision and strategy**

The main idea of this plan is to use marketing strategies to sell Naples as a destination product. To do so, they want to center the strategy on the identity of the city, an unmistakable DNA. However, it is still important for the city to remain authentic thus keeping citizens living in the historic center unlike Rome or Florence.

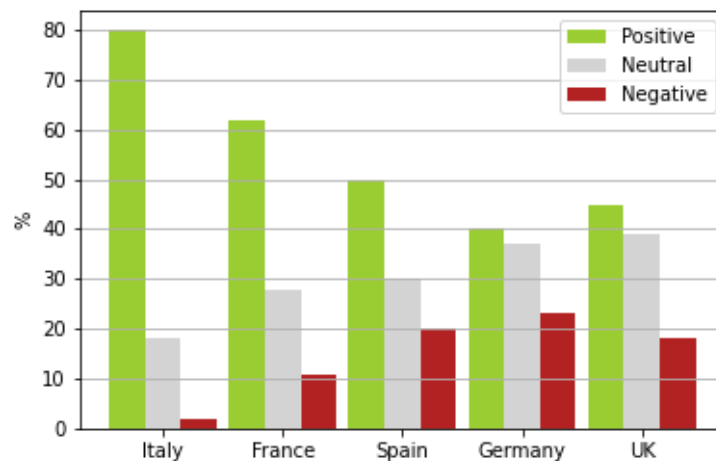


Figure 3.1: Impressions of Naples from different types of tourist. Extracted from [Comune di Napoli, 2017]

To overcome the weaknesses mentioned above, a great digital campaign has been launched. Training programs for people working in public services to learn English are implemented. Most importantly, the government has introduced an anti-corruption system where it is possible to report any criminal act anonymously to better locate the problematic areas where a reinforcement of police activity is needed [Comune di Napoli, 2017].

### Objectives

There are eight pillars to this strategy :

- The city's identity
- Growth of tourism
- Quality of the services
- Cooperation and participation
- Territorial equilibrium (the tourism can not be centered around a single location)
- Sustainability
- Innovation
- Economic efficiency

### **3.1.3 The great UNESCO plan**

In 1995, UNESCO has declared the historic center of Naples as a world heritage. In 2011 a management plan for the latter was drafted with the collaboration of local authorities, cultural associations and international institutions to ensure an integrated and participatory approach to the conservation of this site of inestimable historical and cultural value. The aim of this plan is to emphasise the beauty of this area which is between the Greek Walls and the Pendino district.

The plan includes a series of actions to protect the area from threats such as uncontrolled urbanization, lack of maintenance and environmental pollution. Among the main actions included in the management plan are constant monitoring of the site's conservation status, promotion of restoration and enhancement projects for historic monuments and buildings, establishment of contingency plans to prevent damage from natural disasters, and implementation of education and awareness programs to involve the local community in heritage preservation.

According to the report, the first neighborhoods who will benefit from this plan in terms of urbanisation should be the Spanish quarters and la Sanità. Indeed these quarters are full of historic monuments while being able to integrate modern infrastructures. Therefore the city is focusing on these areas as they are in line with the destinazione Napoli 2020 objectives [Comune di Napoli, 2011].

### **3.1.4 Comparison between perception and action plans**

Figure 3.2 represent a map of Naples. It shows the various districts known to be notoriously bad (according to the public opinion) and, in blue, the area in which the city of Naples is taking actions to improve its image by highlighting its history. It can be seen that really dangerous areas such as Secondigliano, Scampia etc. are not even considered in the plans. Probably because it is 'too late' for them, or because the NCO wields a certain amount of power there, preventing anything from progressing.

However, the districts that are further in land are not totally ill-famed, in the sense that people often say that it is best not to venture there at night or that it is wise to stay on the tourist routes, but there is no evidence that the NCO resides there. However, as said in section 2.5.2, these quarters have a certain past related to the Camorra which could explain the higher crime rates.

This overlap can be interpreted as a kind of territorial battle between tourism and organised crime, which is being waged with discretion to try and regain these areas. Knowing that if tourism is

more developed in a district, it becomes more difficult for the mafia to operate there, it becomes relevant to ask the following question: is the city trying to develop tourism to increase its income or to limit crime?

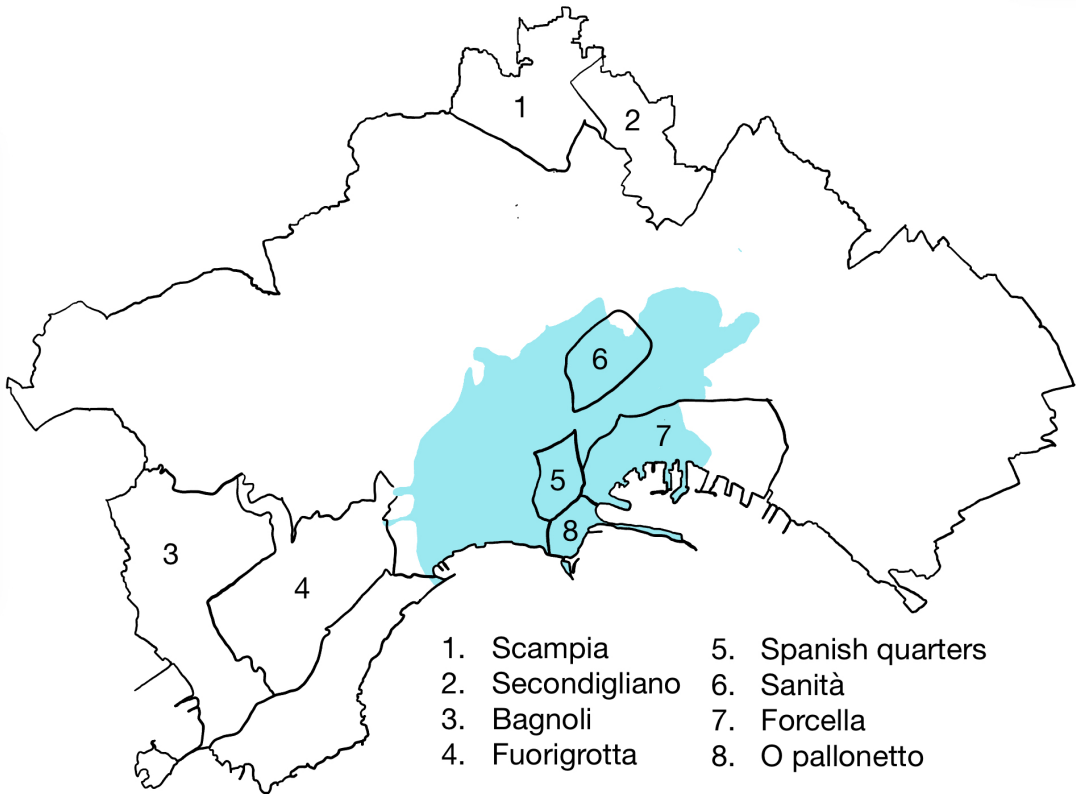


Figure 3.2: Overlap between ill-famed quarters and city’s actions area

### 3.2 Quantitative measurements of action plans efficiency

#### 3.2.1 Tourist influx

A fairly intuitive way of measuring the extent to which a tourism development plan has worked is to count the number of foreigners entering Naples each year as shown in figure 3.3. In order to do this, the statistics provided by Istat<sup>1</sup> up to 1996 were used [Istat, 1997]. For subsequent years, the article written by De Falco and Corbina [De Falco and Corbino, 2023] provides the data shown in table 6.2. All these data can be found in appendix 6.1 and 6.2.

Therefore a gap can be seen immediately after 1996. In fact, for 1997 (the only year the two documents have in common), the data received from Istat is 1,75 times higher than the data in

<sup>1</sup>Istat is the Italian National Institute of Statistics which is the primary source of official statistics in Italy.

the article. However, the idea is to observe a trend, but it should not be forgotten to take this into account in the analysis. In order to do so, a corrected trend (in grey) has been calculated by multiplying the data by the factor between the two sources. Neither of these curves represent the correct data but they show a certain trend. In this paper the grey curve will be considered as the correct one because 1995 is the year Naples became a UNESCO heritage. This recognition has probably shed some light on the city and attracted tourist so the trend should be increasing.

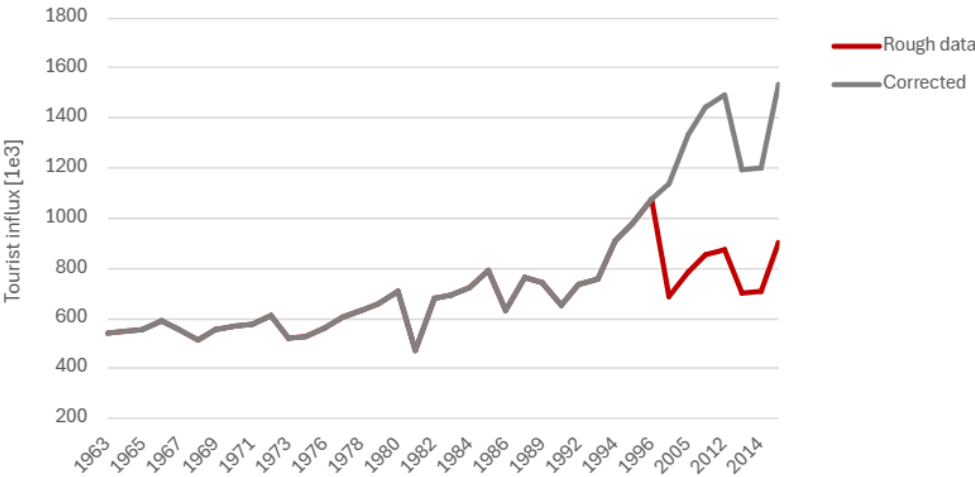


Figure 3.3: Corrected strangers flux in Naples through the years

The first observation that can be noted from this graph is that the number of tourist per year was slowly but steadily increasing up until 1980 where a downward peak can be seen. This period (1980-1982) correspond to the clans war to claim the power over the city in the organised criminality game. This could explain why people would avoid Naples as a destination knowing that these wars brought with them a lot of external criminality and gave a shady image to the city. However, as said in section 2.5.2, in 1982 citizens and more precisely students were fed up with this violence and an anti-Camorra movement began which could explain the growth in tourism influx after these years.

During the year of 1986, the trial against the Sicilian mafia began, exposing how truly dangerous any mafia can be to the world. This could explain the second decrease of tourist influx in 1986 as people knew where mafia resided but was not necessarily aware of its danger. In 1992 the trial ended but people who got away began to attack and assassinate out of revenge once again revealing how dangerous the mafia can be (in other places too).

Another observation that emerges from these data is that, from 2012 onwards, the mean length of tourist stays doubled, and the influx began to increase again demonstrating that tourists no longer see Naples as a city they just pass through but a city to visit. In fact, that year correspond to the end of the waste crisis which supports the idea that the city's image plays a major role in its attractiveness.

### 3.2.2 Specific Camorra oriented tourism points

Compared to other criminal organisations the Camorra has very few specific places or sites related directly to them (it depends on each clan). Nevertheless, Naples has some touristic sites that are known and attractive to the tourist thanks to Camorra, either by their past/present presence or because in their history, that site is considered as symbolic (like the birth locality of Raffaele Cutolo). Some of the touristic sites are:

- **Castello Mediceo in Ottaviano:** The Medici family acquired the castle around the year 1567. They renovated to use it as a residence when travelling to Campania [Gray, 2005]. During the decade between 1970 and 1980 when Raffaele Cutolo was the leader of the NCO, he bought this castle and lived there [Infobae, 2021]. Then on the year 1991 the government seized the property and gave it to the Ottaviano municipal authorities, whom with an investment of 1.5 millions € from the environment ministry, transformed it into the headquarters of the Mt. Vesuvius National Park.

The castle has over a thousand positive reviews and an average score of 4.4 on GoogleMaps and 65 reviews with an average score of 4.5 on TripAdvisor. This touristic point is also known as one of the most popular visits to do when on vacation in Naples.



Figure 3.4: Castello Mediceo in Ottaviano : "The Ottaviano's castle sold to the Camorra".Extracted from [Sannino, 2023]

As can be seen in figure 3.4, the first information on this touristic point when looking on internet is its past with the Camorra.

- Quartieri Spagnoli: a working class neighborhood in the historical center of Naples. The street network was created in the 1600 by mandate of the Spanish king, to quarter the troops. Later the neighborhood lost its military function and became a more residential and commercial environment [Laino et al., 2015]. In the following years, this zone became a popular site for the Camorra to transit or to be spotted, converting the neighborhood to a more dangerous place. Nowadays this dangerous image has not completely disappeared, even though efforts has been made from the locals and the authorities. The locals still consider the neighborhood as a known Camorra spot, and recommend to be careful when visiting this typical district

This neighborhood is in every list of things to do when visiting Naples, it presents over 750 reviews with an average score of 4 on TripAdvisor where it was awarded with "Travelers choice award" on 2023.

- Vele di Scampia: the triangular shaped buildings (figure 3.5), designed by the architect Franz Di Salvo located in Scampia are highly known thanks to series and movies made about the Camorra, especially the "Gomorra" series that were filmed there. The district peaked between 1970 to 1980 as a residential zone, and after the big earthquakes of 1980 multiple families lost their homes and started squatting the apartments in the "Vele". Afterwards the Camorra started to gain control over that territory by their drug distribution. The publicity from the modern series and films attracts tourist to visit the original spots and to admire the environment.

The monument has over one hundred of positive reviews and an average score of 4 on GoogleMaps and over thirty reviews with an average score of 4.5 on TripAdvisor.

Nowadays, the Italian government is working on a redevelopment program, having as objective to relocate the citizens living there to then destroy the building and to have a fresh start, to later introduce arcades, shops and public squares [Haak, 2023].



Figure 3.5: Vele di Scampia :scenery for the Gomorra series. Extracted from [Actualités Buzz, 2015]

### **3.2.3 Other metrics reflecting touristic flow**

#### **Number of touristic infrastructures and their capacity in Naples**

A more precise but less direct way of measuring the effects of such plans is to count the number of hotel infrastructures (hotels of different grades, campsites, youth hostels, etc.) and the number of beds available for tourists. In fact, these numbers generally reflect the demand for tourism and can therefore partially mirror its evolution.

Figure 3.6 shows how these figures ([Istat, 1997]) evolved between 1960 and 2000. It can be seen that between 1970 and 1980 the growth rate decelerated compared with its momentum in the '50s and '60s. This could be due to the emergence of the NCO in those years, as explained in section 2.5.2.

It can also be seen that from 1990 onwards the number of beds continued to increase, while infrastructure declined. This may correspond to the fact that as the cultural heritage had been protected there was no more space to build new infrastructure. Additionally, as said before, Naples wishes to avoid the "Disneylandification" and to keep citizens living in the historic center. This prevented the current house to be transformed in hotels. However, the number of beds per infrastructure apparently increased as demand for tourism continued to grow. While this may seem to be the best way of meeting everyone's needs, appearing to be continually overcrowded does not promote a positive impression.

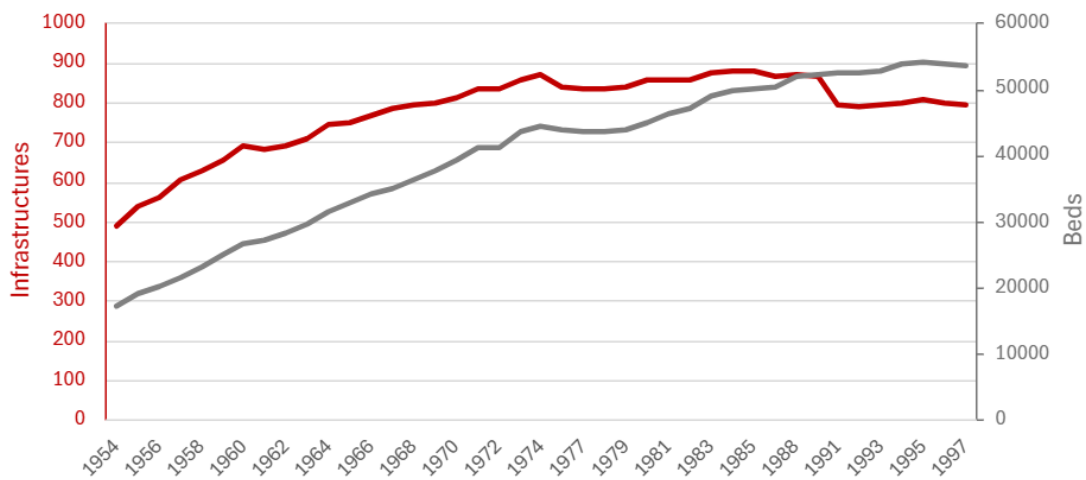


Figure 3.6: Evolution of touristic infrastructures and number of beds in Naples through the years

### Number of Airbnb in Naples

The raw data found only goes up to 2014 however in figure 3.7 taken from the article written by A. Esposito [Esposito, 2023], the evolution of Airbnb registrations in the historic centre of Naples can be observed. In the same manner as the number of infrastructures in the previous section, these figures can reflect the evolution of tourism demand. From 2015 to 2020 a very rapid growth can be seen, which could be explained by the city’s ”Destinazione Napoli 2020” strategy developed in that period. The slowdown that follows is most likely due to the covid crisis discussed in a later section.

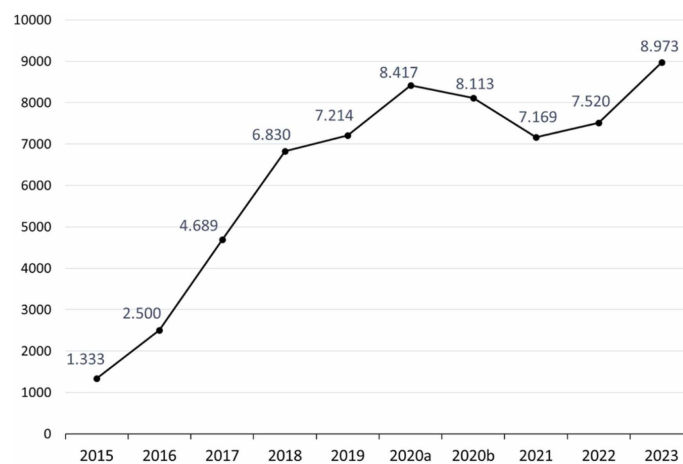


Figure 3.7: Evolution of Airbnbs in historic center of Naples. Extracted from [Esposito, 2023]

## Discussion

### **4.1 Other marking events influencing the tourism in Italy, Europe or internationally**

In the previous section, the extent to which tourism is affected by the presence of the Camorra in Naples was estimated in order to determine whether it is possible to implement dark tourism. However, it is important to always keep a critical eye on the analyses, because they are only just numbers and perceptions which could be misinterpreted without the right context. In the following section various events or factors are explained which may also have influenced the influx of tourists.

#### **4.1.1 Covid 19**

During the year 2019 the COVID-19 pandemic spread worldwide affecting almost all countries and territories. The disease is created by the virus SARS-CoV-2 and normally manifests itself on people as a respiratory disease. Nevertheless some people presented other complications and risks linked to this virus [Pokhrel and Chhetri, 2021].

During the 2019 and part of 2020 pandemic, most of the countries affected had to install rules to avoid the propagation of the disease. Theses rules included, between others, the close down of the borders, affecting directly the tourism.

As V. Poppiti described in 2022, [Poppiti, 2022] and based on information from the United Nations World Tourism Organization before the Covid-19, in 2019 tourism in the world had

generated 1460 millions international arrivals. In 2020 there were 1 billion fewer international tourist arrivals with a loss of 1.3 trillion dollars in export revenues compared to 2019. Specifically to Italy, information from the ISTAT in 2019, the arrivals to Italian accommodations resumes to 131.3 millions. For 2020, according to the Research Department of the Italian National Tourism Agency, a reduction of international visitors of 40 millions is perceived and Italian tourists present a decrease of 16 millions.

This pandemic has to be taken into account when analyzing the tourism numbers, as a big reduction will be linked most probably to this event and not to any particular action of the Camorra or other in Naples.

#### **4.1.2 Earthquakes**

Naples has been classified as a zone of medium risk of earthquake, meaning that there is a 10% chance of a devastating earthquake to destroy the city in the next 50 years. The city experience small earthquakes on a pseudo-regular basis due to its proximity to the Campanian volcanic arc and the presence of the active Mount Vesuvius volcano [Nadeau, 2023]. However, the city has also experienced really big and devastating earthquakes that have caused damage to the city as those of 1688, 1805 and 1980. The damages of these events were amplified due to the high dense population, and historical architecture [Tijis, 2024].

After a big natural disaster, a diminution of the number of tourist is expected. As the city may present as dirty and under major reparations, tourist may decide not travel there as they will not have the opportunity to enjoy the city historical sites and monuments as they would have planned. This slight decrease should be taken into account after every big earthquake that Naples has lived, especially if destruction of major buildings or historical sites have been reported.

#### **4.1.3 Football world cup**

Italy has hosted the football world cup at two opportunities, in 1934 and 1990. This two tournaments presented 358 000 and 2 516 348 spectators, respectively [Statista, 2022].

Even if these two events did not occurred directly in Naples the general flow of people in Italy increased to come watch the tournament, leading to a possible increase on the tourism of every Italian city, including Naples. A possible increase on the tourist flow could be related to these two events.

### 4.1.4 Economic crisis

In 2008 the global economic crisis affected tourism around the world. For Italy, this crisis began much earlier, in the 90s. During these years, a number of decisions were taken to turn the economy towards the market, and processes of privatisation and liberalisation began. This means that the state retreated from the economy to allow it to follow the market, but this left plenty of room for corruption and has been at the heart of Italy's economic decline ever since [Tridico, 2012].

Given that Italy has been in the midst of a crisis for longer, one might think that it would have been less affected, since it was already accustomed to it. Indeed, figure 4.1 shows a comparison of tourist arrivals in Italy and other major European tourist destinations. In 2008, although Italy was still affected, the decline seems to have been slighter than those of its competitors. However, while the latter even managed to exceed their previous records, Italy, which is still in a difficult economic situation, is struggling to return to its pre-crisis starting point.

**Receipts from international travel during the crisis in France, Italy and Spain**  
(current prices; indices, 2007=100)

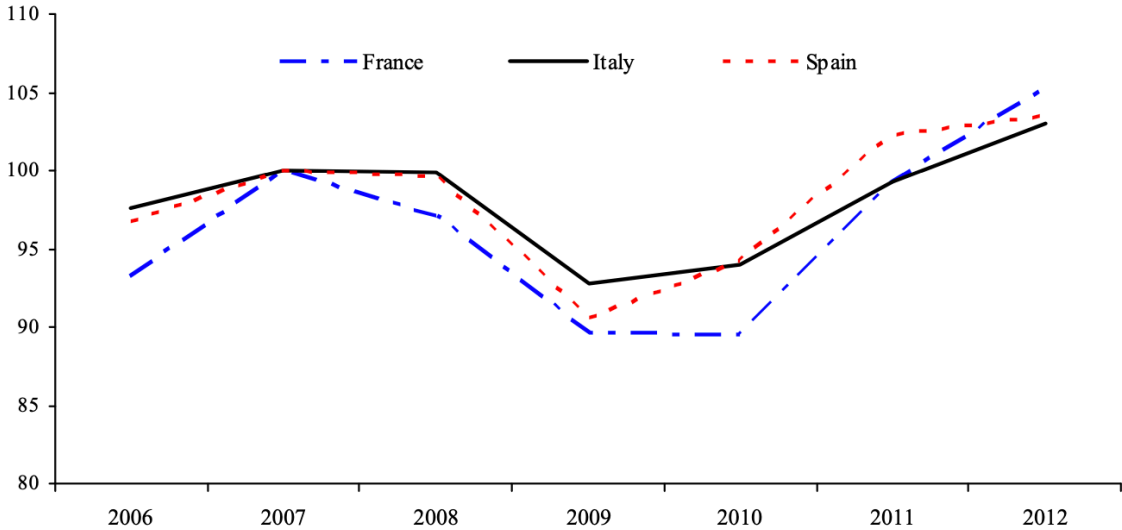


Figure 4.1: Comparison between Italy and its first European competitors. Extracted from [Alivernini et al., 2014].

#### **4.1.5 Religious events**

Every time a new pope is elected a big crowd of people goes to the Vatican city to be present for that moment, increasing the flow of visitors to the country. This increase could possibly transfer to other cities than the Vatican city such as Naples. The three most recent elections for a pope took place in 2013 for pope Francis and 2005 where Pope Benedict XVI was elected and finally in 1978 where Pope John Paul I was elected [Knight, 2013].

Except this specific moments, other religious events that happen more recurrently as the holy week every year also attracts a crowd to Italy, which could later propagate to visit other cities, having then an effect on the tourism in Naples for example.

#### **4.1.6 Near tourism development**

When it comes to tourism, a certain inertia happens. If someone takes the airplane to go visit a country they will most likely visit different cities even more so if the cities are close. In the case of Naples it is thus relevant to take into account the tourism in Pompei, Ercolano, the Amalfi coast and Rome which are the other most popular touristic destinations in the area. It is very common to visit them all when in the region.

There are plenty of shuttle buses between Naples and Pompeii, as well as Ercolano, because of their proximity. This means that as much as someone coming to Naples would think it would be a good idea to go visit Pompeii, so would someone who only dreams of visiting Pompeii think that if they're going to be there, they might as well visit Naples too. However, the case of these two sites (Pompeii and Ercolano) is very specific, because apart from the ruins and the volcano, there is nothing else to be seen or done there. This places them in the category of a one-day trip that complements the visit to Naples.

The Amalfi Coast, on the other hand, is a region along the Tyrrhenian Sea (comparable to the Cinque Terre) that has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1996. In fact, this region has seen a surge in tourism since the 90s and is becoming increasingly popular with tourists, especially with the landscapes that are going viral on social media every now and then. As explained in section 2.4.2, a little competition can go a long way. Indeed, according to S. Luongo [Luongo et al., 2023], competition combined with collaboration between the tourist sites in the Campania region encourages them to share their resources while always trying to outdo their competitors, creating a virtuous circle.

Speaking of competition, Naples's rival has always been Rome. Indeed, they are two of Italy's greatest and most powerful cities throughout history. These days there is no such thing as real competition anymore, no greater than there is with the Amalfi Coast. However, a diametrically opposed idea separates them. While Rome has protected the historic districts to be used only for tourism, Naples refuses to prevent its citizens from living in their city and turning the historic centre into a theme park. Some will say that this is a barrier to the development of tourism, while others will say that it brings authenticity to the quarters when you visit them.

In the past, Naples was really seen as the dirty city of the region, while Rome was the dream destination portrayed in romance films etc. In recent years, however, trends have begun to change. Gangs of young delinquents are forming more and more in Rome and the problem of garbage dumping has not been solved in the last ten years, tarnishing the city's image. Naples, on the other hand, has been trying to refocus attention on its history for the last 20 years and is overcoming a similar waste crisis. As can be seen, the two cities have a lot to learn from each other. Moreover, with new high-speed train lines, more and more people are deciding to visit the two city centers rather than just one: 230 km in 1h30 is a strong argument in favour of a journey to another city steeped in history [Cascetta et al., 2011].

## **4.2 Is it just Naples?**

It is always important to question the observations that are made, because human beings often tend to see what suits them. For example, figure 4.2 shows changes in the number of foreigners staying in hotels in Italy, in the Campania region and in Naples. It can be seen quite quickly that, in fact, the curve for Naples follows those for its region and its country quite closely, thus demonstrating the potential decorrelation between major Mafia events and tourism. However, there are two things to be noted in this graph.

Firstly, the 3 peaks in '81, '86 and '91 which were also present in figure 3.3. As a reminder, in 1980, the clans war struck in Naples but apparently either this event affected the whole country or the decrease is due to another factor. It could be the terrorist attack done by the neo-fascist activist which had just taken place in Bologna. The rise of neo-fascism and particularly this terrorist attack had probably stained the country with an unsafe image which could cause a decrease in tourism attractiveness through Italy [Carballo et al., 2021, Latto, 2010]. In addition, the last big earthquake which impacted the region was in 1980 which could explain that the

peaks are more pronounced for Campania and Naples.

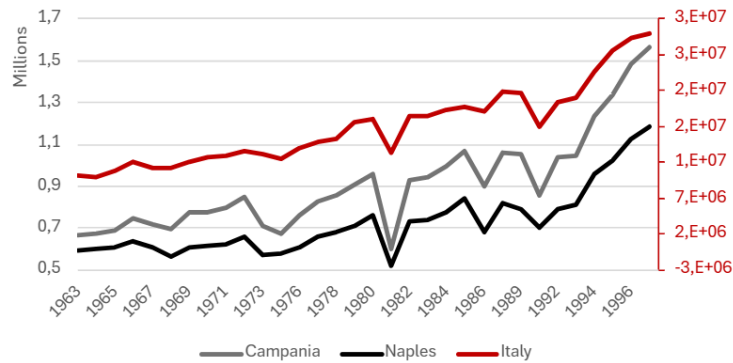


Figure 4.2: Evolution of strangers in hotel in Italy, Campania and Naples [Istat, 1997]

The hypothesis following which the decrease in 1986 is dependant of the mafia trials debut still stands as the Italian trend does not lower as much as Campania or Naples. It could be interesting to check the impact on the Sicilian region and the others to verify that the drop is more predominant only in the regions were Mafia is notoriously present. Figure 4.3 shows the evolution of strangers in hotels in Italy and in the non-mafia regions (Italy without Campania and Sicily) between 1984 and 1989. One can see that the curves are almost identical which supports the theory that the 1986 crest was attributable to the Mafia as it only occurs in these regions.

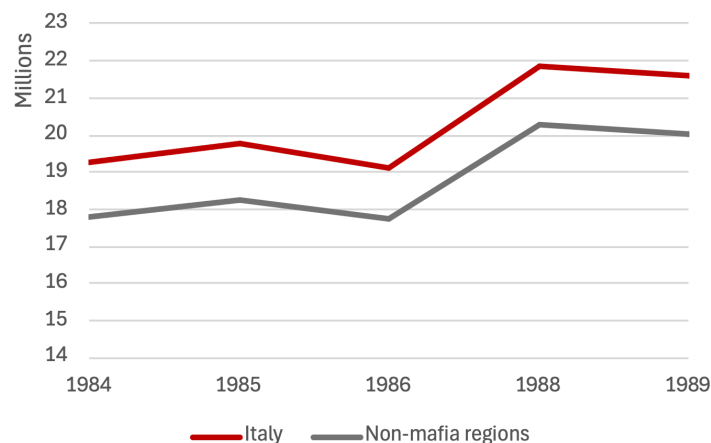


Figure 4.3: Evolution of stranger influx in Naples hotels for Italy and for the Non mafia regions ( Italy - Campania - Sicily) [Istat, 1997]

Then again, the last peak in 1992 could be explained by the actions of the Mafia as it was the year in which the trial ended but also the year in which, out of revenge, they began to carry out attacks and assassinate people, including the judges who had taken the decision. Although all this was happening in Sicily, it is possible that the entire country was affected by the consequences. However, it is very likely that the receding trend is also due to the "mani pulite" movement. Indeed, in the early 90's many powerful politicians were proven guilty of corruption which gave a bad reputation to Italy for the subsequent years. In 1992, the first actions anti-corruption began which lead to a safer image of the country. However, corruption is still a current problem in Italian politics and especially in Naples [Vannucci, 2009].

The second thing to note is that Campania has often steeper growths than Naples, even though it is the main city. This is probably due to the rise in popularity of the Amalfi Coast mentioned in the previous section.

### **4.3 Fiability of sources**

To ensure the quality of a work, it is important to use reliable sources. Therefore, a few details of this work need to be discussed.

Firstly, everything concerning perceptions (of citizens or impressions on trip advisor etc) has been collected via press articles or testimonials from people living or studying there. It's hard to ensure that these sources are 100% reliable, but since they are based on people's feelings, it is difficult to be more precise.

Secondly, all the documents provided by the local authority or the state are generally rather biased. In fact, those in charge will often tend to embellish the situation for which they are responsible. Furthermore, these documents do not list all the errors made. Take, for example, the budgets allocated by UNESCO to heritage: local residents are still wondering what happened to the 5 million euros, given that 20 years later many monuments are still in the middle of renovation or really in need of repair. Since Italy has major problems of corruption in its government, it is not impossible that this budget has disappeared, but no official government document will ever mention this explicitly.

Finally, the data founded relative to touristic sites linked to the Camorra, as the "Vele di Scampia"

and the "quartieri spagnoli" will never be confirmed by a government entity, as they would never want to admit the association of their touristic sites with the criminal organization publicly. All the data encountered, comes from internet sites, making the verification of their fiability much more complicated.

#### **4.4 Effect of Camorra presence on Naples tourism**

Overall, does the presence of the Camorra have an impact on tourism in Naples? Everything could be nuanced. In a sense, yes, because some tourists come to visit specific places because they have been frequented by well-known Mafia figures (such as the castle or the Vele mentioned in the previous sections). It is this kind of phenomenon that could be called dark place marketing in Naples. However, these sites are only visited because the mafia is no longer present there, or because they are linked to the Gomorra series (inspired by the Camorra), which makes them a second-degree cause. Nobody would go visit the Secondigliano quarter with an absolute peace of mind, even the city acknowledge its danger and does not recommend this area.

On the other hand, the Camorra cannot really be considered to have an influence on tourism, or at least not directly, which makes dark place marketing difficult to implement. In fact, the problems linked to Naples image are often linked to the mafia (for example, the waste problem) but are never a direct consequence of it. As mentioned in the previous sections, tourists do not necessarily feel insecure about the Camorra, but rather about crime in general (which is actually caused by the environment set by the mafia). Technically, visitors have no reason to find themselves in the middle of organised crime; it is the thieves, muggers etc that worry them.

It is a continuous circle that can be either virtuous or vicious, depending on who has the upper hand in the neighbourhood. If, for instance, tourism gains ground, it becomes more complicated for the mafia to operate with ease, so they will step back (at least seemingly) and it is highly likely that the general crime rate will fall, contributing to a better image of the city and therefore its attractiveness. On the other hand, if the mafia is present (openly), the areas become dangerous to live in (especially at night) and the crime rates rise, and so on.

In order to progress towards the virtuous or the vicious, it would seem that the city and the NCO are still battling it out in certain districts such as the Spanish quarters, the Sanità etc. It would

seem, though, that a discreet competition is taking place, but it is more complicated than it might seem to see all the competitors' pawns. As much as the city has defined precise plans sometimes targeting certain specific neighbourhoods, everything that belongs to the mafia is barely visible. The life of a criminal is often a life of nightlife, but on top of that it is important to realise that tourism is also a very easy way to launder money, and the NCO has understood this. In fact, according to S. Poyet [Poyet, 2019], it turns out that it is very difficult to eat a pizza in Naples without some kind of mafia activity. So it is understandable why the mafia is accommodating the city's projects (for example, solving the waste crisis, etc.), while insisting on keeping the upper hand on the situation. This also explains why none of the tourist are in direct danger when coming to Naples, they are in fact a market sector as much for the city as for the mafia.

## **4.5 Managerial recommendations**

To enhance the tourism industry in Naples and ensure sustainable growth, several key recommendations are proposed.

Firstly, it is essential to invest in the city's infrastructure and maintenance. This involves allocating funds to upgrade and maintain transportation systems, public spaces, and tourist facilities. Regular cleaning and upkeep of the city should be prioritized to provide a pleasant and hygienic environment for both tourists and residents. Additionally, enhancing connectivity to major tourist attractions through improved public transport and well-maintained roadways is crucial for creating a seamless visitor experience.

Secondly, sensitizing locals to the growth in tourism is vital. Awareness campaigns should be conducted to educate residents about the benefits of tourism and their role in creating a positive image of Naples. Promoting community engagement initiatives that encourage locals to participate in and support tourism activities will foster a culture of hospitality and friendliness towards tourists. Highlighting the economic and cultural benefits of increased tourist flow can further motivate residents to contribute positively to the tourism sector.

Maintaining anti-corruption measures is another critical recommendation. It is important to

continue implementing and strengthening anti-corruption policies to ensure that government investments are effectively utilized for infrastructure and public services. Developing stringent monitoring mechanisms to prevent the misappropriation of funds and ensure transparency in all tourism-related projects is essential. Collaboration with law enforcement agencies is necessary to prevent the influence of organized crime, such as the Camorra's laundering, on the tourism sector.

Collaboration strategy on a national level can significantly benefit Naples tourism. Reducing competition among Italian cities by developing a cohesive national tourism strategy will help promote Italy as a holistic destination. Encouraging partnerships between Naples and other Italian cities to create comprehensive tour packages can showcase the diverse attractions of Italy. Sharing best practices and resources with other cities will enhance the overall tourist experience across the country. A national plan is already in action but it would be relevant to insist more on collaboration than competition.

Developing niche tourism linked to the Camorra can attract a specific group of tourists. Exploring the potential of creating specialized tours that educate visitors about the history and impact of the Camorra, while ensuring such tours are conducted responsibly and focus on historical and educational value rather than sensationalism, can be beneficial.

Finally, enhancing digitalization efforts is crucial. Investing in digital platforms to provide comprehensive and accessible information about Naples' history, attractions, and cultural heritage in multiple languages will significantly improve the visitor experience. Developing interactive and user-friendly websites and mobile applications can assist tourists in planning their visits and navigating the city. Utilizing social media and online marketing strategies to promote Naples globally. Highlighting unique experiences and attractions will further boost its appeal as a tourist destination.

By implementing these recommendations, Naples can significantly boost its appeal as a tourist destination, ensuring long-term growth and a positive impact on the local economy and community.

## Conclusion

The aim of this work was to determine whether the Camorra's influence is significant enough in Naples to be able to implement dark tourism there. Here are the key findings of the thesis:

- The influence of the mafia is only secondary. Indeed, its presence generally leads to an increase in the crime rate and a dirty image of the city. However, it is the city's image that they tarnish through their actions and stereotypes they are associated with. Consequently the perception of the city affects tourism.
- There are very few tourist spots specifically dedicated to the Camorra. This can be explained by the fact that, unlike in the past or in many other cities affected by organised crime, today's mafia is divided into several small clans that are spread throughout the city. Additionally, places where important events happened (such as the venerdì nero della Camorra) are still being used by the mafia excluding any possible visit of the massacre locations.
- The Camorra has an influence on tourism, but it's not sufficiently heavy-handed to be able to capitalise on the situation.

Unlike Mazatlan, there is no Mafia tour. The only things that come close to dark place marketing are tours linked to the Gomorra series or finished events from the past. Given that the mafia is still too present and scattered throughout Naples, it would be impossible to implement such a touristic activity.

Since dark tourism does not seem to be really feasible in Naples, the recommendations made in the previous section may seem applicable to many other Italian cities. For example, many

of them would do well to take care of their image and accessibility in and to their urban areas. Promoting collaboration between all the country's cities would benefit everyone, and obviously the digitalisation and accessibility of all information is a requirement for our times. However, anti-corruption actions and citizen awareness-raising are very important throughout the country, but all the more in Naples. In fact, it is not impossible for the mafia to gain ground in complete discretion, for example, by agreeing with certain politicians or citizens to launder their money. This might seem to be the solution for implementing dark tourism, but as well as being unethical, it is not a viable solution. The key is to ensure that everyone is involved: tourists, citizens and city officials.

Although it has been concluded that dark place marketing cannot be effectively implemented, the last recommendation to develop niche tourism to take advantage of segmentation remains pertinent, but must be taken with partiality and realism: it is not these few points of visit that will make the economy of tourism in Naples.

For future work, it would be interesting to carry out the same analysis in other cities where the mafia is much more focused, grouped and vertical in terms of hierarchy. Indeed, it seems that in Naples, the development of a strategy centered on dark tourism is prevented by the fact that the Camorra is still too present and, above all, too scattered in the city.

## Appendix

### 6.1 Strangers influx from 1953 to 1997

[Istat, 1997]

Year	Naples			Campania	Italy
	Infrastructures	Beds	Tourist influx	Tourist influx	Tourist influx
1954	492	17268		351203	4427214
1955	540	19101		374628	5210234
1956	563	20393		365927	5610597
1957	608	21731		429273	6493671
1958	631	23355			6318835
1959	657	25201		494799	6783845
1960	693	26827		487291	7030019
1961	685	27325		530102	7509825
1962	694	28287		553534	8156107
1963	711	29786	539706	614948	10137456
1964	747	31446	550670	621251	10016271
1965	752	32814	558233	637586	10866258
1966	770	34298	590522	694621	11986229
1967	786	35037	555329	670399	11254215

Year	Naples			Campania	Italy
	Infrastructures	Beds	Tourist influx	Tourist influx	Tourist influx
1968	794	36463	513918	643443	11239596
1969	799	37672	557136	728721	12086754
1970	815	39425	567862	722850	12718654
1971	837	41215	575613	751381	12936706
1972	837	41215	610933	796734	13550188
1973	859	43614	522765	657530	13157569
1974	871	44494	527695	622862	12441657
1976	839	43845	560716	709087	13929798
1977	834	43658	605608	777909	14836118
1978	834	43581	634266	809180	15321451
1979	840	43994	659496	854464	17699393
1980	857	45106	709087	908589	18121622
1981	860	46451	472356	552750	13273414
1982	859	47226	682085	878949	18459567
1983	875	48999	692447	893921	18483325
1984	879	49824	724394	947785	19279279
1985	881	50229	791271	1015490	19783976
1986	866	50507	630891	850769	19092676
1988	871	52051	766402	1013355	21851403
1989	866	52211	743477	1000722	21607711
1991	795	52529	651108	802943	17060956
1992	789	52526	738080	985848	20424982
1993	794	52957	758998	998287	21025353
1994	802	53950	907903	1188601	24663870
1995	808	54205	977323	1286450	27581077
1996	800	53844	1079020	1435445	29324237
1997	795	53541	1137328	1517853	29963670

## 6.2 Strangers influx in Naples from 1997 to 2014

[De Falco and Corbino, 2023]

year (important events)	Arrivals	Presences	Average days of presence
1997	690.290	1.395.896	2.0
2005 (secondigliano local criminal feud)	784.357	2.117.679	2.7
2007	850.643	1.946.560	2.3
2012 (end of waste crisis)	876.143	2.248.622	2.0
2013	701.869	2.979.805	4.2
2014	705.327	2.854.801	4.0
2019	903.503	3.794.716	4.1

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## Abstract :

Naples is a city well-known for its history, its proximity to Pompeii and other islands, and the presence of the criminal organisation, the Camorra. Like the rest of the country, tourism is an important aspect of the city economy. This paper analyses the influence of the Camorra on tourism flow of the city to establish if dark place marketing is applicable to Naples. The results of the paper show that tourism is not directly affected, either positively or negatively, by the presence of the mafia in the city. However, the Camorra has affected the region's image and tourists' perception, decreasing the tourist flow. There is not enough historic site linked to the Camorra to attract tourists. The continuous presence of the mafia throughout the city decreases the probability of tourists wanting to visit places known as centers of interest or importance for the Camorra. Recommendations to increase tourism in general include keeping the city clean and orderly and keeping up with digitalisation. Other recommendations specific to Naples include continuing anti-corruption policies, encouraging locals to host more tourists, and considering the development of niche tourism to attract specific groups of tourists.

## Résumé:

Naples est une ville connue pour son histoire, sa proximité avec Pompéi et d'autres îles, et la présence de l'organisation criminelle Camorra. Comme dans le reste du pays, le tourisme est un aspect important de l'économie de la ville. Cet article analyse l'influence de la Camorra sur les flux touristiques à Naples afin de déterminer si le « dark place marketing » peut y être appliqué. Les résultats de ce document montrent que le tourisme n'est pas directement affecté, que ce soit positivement ou négativement, par la présence de la mafia dans la ville. Cependant, la Camorra a affecté l'image de la région et la perception des touristes, diminuant ainsi le flux touristique. Il n'y a pas assez de sites historiques liés à la Camorra pour attirer les touristes. La présence actuelle de la mafia dans toute la ville diminue la probabilité que les touristes veuillent visiter des lieux connus comme des centres d'intérêt ou d'importance pour la Camorra. Les recommandations pour augmenter le tourisme en général comprennent le maintien de la propreté et de l'ordre dans la ville ainsi que le suivi de la digitalisation. D'autres recommandations spécifiques à Naples incluent la poursuite des politiques de lutte contre la corruption, l'encouragement des habitants à accueillir davantage les touristes et l'étude du développement d'un tourisme de niche pour attirer des groupes de touristes spécifiques.

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