

## THE ROLE OF TOURISM IN THE REGENERATION OF PERIPHERAL NEIGHBOURHOODS: A COMPARISON BETWEEN ALCÂNTARA (LISBON) AND BAGNOLI (NAPLES)

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**Abstract:** The urban geography of tourism destinations is always changing. These changes are part of a process of polarization in which some neighborhoods become increasingly popular, while others start to decline. We may observe these facts in such cities as Lisbon and Naples, two destinations that benefit from a strong tourism dynamism, mainly cultural. Despite the millions of visitors every year, both supply and demand are not homogeneous in these cities, concentrating demand in the Historical centres. It is undeniable that both Lisbon and Naples have more to offer, with a vast and differentiated heritage throughout all parts of the city. Despite being recognized as quality destinations, the polarization of supply and demand must be fought, allowing the sustainable growth of the Historic Centres and other urban areas. This paper aims to contribute to the debate on the way in which peripheral neighborhoods are transformed following the advance of tourism, in the context of the centre-periphery relationship on an urban scale and in the light of the functional rearrangement that accompanies the processes of urban regeneration. A comparison will be made between two former industrial peripheries: Alcântara (Lisbon) and Bagnoli (Naples). In addition to the bibliographic and documentary analysis, the authors have carried out an intense fieldwork, aimed at the census of the tourist facilities and their comparison. The results of the research show that Alcântara has undergone a process of urban regeneration in recent years which fostered tourist development, while Bagnoli seems to be stuck in a state of incapacity to develop a systemic regional planning, which also affects the pace of a possible tourist prospect.

**Key words:** Alcântara, Bagnoli, urban tourism, urban peripheries, urban regeneration, industrial tourism

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### INTRODUCTION

The centre-periphery dichotomy is generally interpreted in terms of economic, cultural, political, and logistic dependence of the periphery on the centre, and this is not only for reasons strictly related to the geographical distance but also on the basis of sociological and anthropological considerations (Molinari, 2021; Zorina et al., 2023). This attitude is very evident on an urban scale, not only in developing countries but also in advanced ones, which invest large resources in regeneration projects of suburban neighbourhoods (Hackworth, 2006). Besides, neighbourhood change is dynamic and can often have a process phase that is shorter than the typical decennial intervals used in analyses, meaning that many cycles are missed (Gray et al., 2023). On the other hand, urban peripheries are complex, heterogeneous, and difficult to define univocally. They can also be dynamic places capable – often more than the centres – of welcoming and even stimulating innovation, and “heritage-related initiatives should not be restricted to cultural and historical centers” (Zorina et al., 2023). This is not only because they often have the physical space necessary for planning, but because, as Petrillo argues, “the periphery produces new ideas, which break with the norms imposed by the centre and are creative, not only from an aesthetic point of view but also from a political one” (Petrillo, 2018: 91). This article aims at contributing to the debate on a specific aspect of the centre-periphery relationship: the way in which the peripheral neighbourhoods are transformed internally, but also in their relationship with the centre (Fredriksson, 2017; Moya et al., 2023), following the advance of tourism, all this in the light of the functional rearrangement that accompanies the processes of urban regeneration (Barbini and Presutti, 2014). The most suitable urban regeneration strategies can be tailored by considering the regeneration constraint factors including the requests for historical and cultural conservation, government financial capacity and previous regeneration experiences (Liu et al., 2023; Deac et al., 2019). Tourism, with its pervasive force, moving from the centre invades urban “frontiers”: areas previously considered peripheral (such as, for example, former industrial sites, degraded working-class neighbourhoods, and peri-urban areas) acquire a new centrality and are transformed into spaces for leisure, culture, advanced tertiary sector, tourism (Ashworth and Page, 2010; Berdenov et al., 2021; Gozner et al., 2021).

A comparison will therefore be made between two former industrial peripheries of two cities – Lisbon and Naples – which, despite the obvious differences, have some common features: a strong historical-cultural identity, made up of material but also

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immaterial elements, such as gastronomy and music; a scenic dimension due to the amenity of the site and the hilly orography, which in turn requires specific means of transport (funiculars, urban lifts, the *electrico* – the tramway – in the case of Lisbon); the proximity to the water – river for Lisbon, sea for Naples – which gives them a particular glow and makes them very suitable for television, cinematographic and advertising shootings, also helped in this by generally mild climatic conditions; a very lively trend of tourist development, quite recent for Naples, now consolidated for Lisbon (Barata Salgueiro et al., 2017).

In particular, Alcântara (Lisbon) and Bagnoli (Naples) neighbourhoods will be analysed. Alcântara is going through a phase of great transformation from industry to services, with good tourist prospects, whereas Bagnoli is a neighbourhood with a problematic industrial past that is struggling to start a regeneration process, which would allow it to regain its early tourist vocation. Both districts are located on the outskirts of large cities, near the coast, and in pleasant natural contexts; of the industrial past, they partially conserve the physical facilities and the social landscape; they are located between the historic centre and tourist areas that are strong or emerging: Alcântara borders the famous Belém district, where some of the most important museums and monuments of Lisbon are located; Bagnoli is located on the eastern edge of the Campi Flegrei area, which is currently undergoing a tourist growth. We will therefore try to understand the transformation process that is taking place in the two districts also through their comparison, made possible and stimulating by the remarkable similarities on the one hand and by the different rhythms and methods of implementation on the other. The above-mentioned comparison will allow the authors to suggest new paths for the two neighborhoods tourist evolution, applying to Bagnoli some ideas experienced in Alcântara and vice-versa.

### MATERIALS AND METHODOLOGY

Since statistical data are not available at the neighbourhood level (except those related to accommodation facilities), we have adopted a methodological approach based on the new trends in cultural geography (direct observation, analysis and interpretation of territories and cultural landscapes. See Claval et al., 2005).

Therefore, the methodology used in this article is essentially qualitative and in the first instance is based on a bibliographic and documentary analysis. The literature on the redevelopment of urban peripheries, industrial tourism, and the evolutionary history of the two districts, with particular reference to their industrial past, was consulted (Bujok et al., 2014; Bujok et al., 2015; Chmielewska and Lamparska, 2012; Gelbman, 2007; Keil et al., 2022; Mansilla and Milano, 2019; Mazzetti, 2001; Mendes, 2013; Tallon, 2010; Tulumello, 2015; Vidal, 2014; Vidal, 2015; Xie, 2015).

The regeneration plans drawn up by the municipal governments and, in the case of Bagnoli, also by the national government were examined (Invitalia). In addition, other documents issued by the competent bodies in the field of demography, territory, and tourism were analysed, as well as statistics on existing accommodation facilities (INE, Turismo de Portugal, Comune di Napoli). Simulations were run on Internet sites dedicated to hotel reservations. Finally, intense and repeated fieldwork was carried out, aimed at the census of the tourist facilities and their comparison – natural and cultural heritage, sports, and cultural facilities, among others. Figure 1 summarizes the methodology adopted in this study.

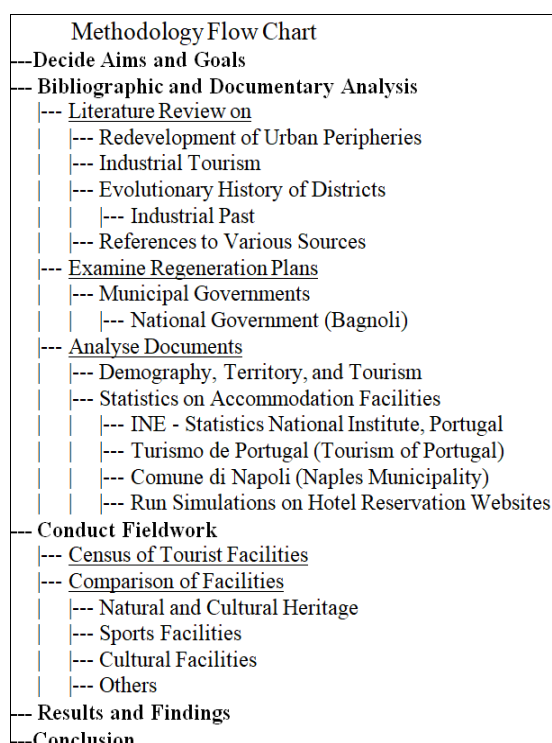


Figure 1. Research flow chart  
(Source: developed by authors, based on OpenAI, 2023)

### ADMINISTRATIVE AND HISTORICAL NOTES ON ALCÂNTARA

The *freguesia*<sup>1</sup> of Alcântara counted 13,850 inhabitants in 2021 (INE) and has an area of 5.07 sq. km (IGP). Located in the western part of Lisbon, it borders the *freguesias* of Estrela and Campo de Ourique to the east, those of Ajuda and Belém to the west, those of Benfica and Campolide to the north, while it overlooks the Tagus River to the south (Figure 2).

The origins of Alcântara date back to prehistoric times, but the first historical information refers to a Roman bridge, which in *Horta Navia* (the toponym that the Romans gave to this place) crossed a tributary of the Tagus (later called *ribeira*<sup>2</sup> *de Alcântara*). Today the stream is partially subterranean, but at that time this region of the western suburbs of Lisbon was very fertile (Freire, 1929). The name of the neighbourhood is instead of Arabic origin: *al-quantārā* meaning “the bridge”.

The first examples of industrialization in Alcântara date from the first half of the eighteenth century. Starting from 1725, in fact, the Marquis of Pombal, prime minister of King Joseph I, located various industrial activities there, such as the royal silk factory, the gunpowder factory, and the tanneries. But it was in the following century that the great industrial development of the neighborhood took place. Among the first factories of the nineteenth century were those of ceramics, but soon also cotton spinning mills, woolen mills, printing houses, foodstuffs, cereal mills and, later, even heavy industries such as chemistry and metallurgy were established (as a tall chimney still present in the neighborhood reminds us, Figure 3), the latter being transferred to the left bank of the Tagus after the construction of the 25<sup>th</sup> of April bridge, in 1966.

<sup>1</sup> Civil parish, the third level of the administrative division of Portugal

<sup>2</sup> The term *ribeira* indicates a secondary water course, a stream

In the 1980s, when the “culture of pleasure” (Zarrilli and Brito, 2013; Xie, 2015) established itself in the lifestyle of young Lisboans, Alcântara became very popular for its nightclubs, built inside old factories, far from the eyes (and the ears) of the residents. Today Alcântara is a very dynamic and fashionable district, affected by important reconversion projects of dismissed industrial and port facilities that characterize the landscape and define its identity (Figure 4).



Figure 2. Administrative division of Lisbon (Source: Our elaboration on Wikipedia Commons. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portugal\\_Lisbon\\_location\\_map.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portugal_Lisbon_location_map.svg))



Figure 3. Dismissed chimney in a new residential complex (Source: Authors)

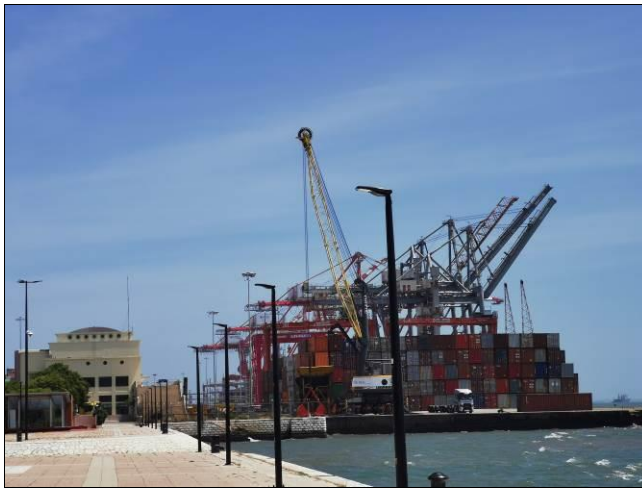


Figure 4. The commercial port of Alcântara (Source: Authors)



Figure 5. LX Factory (Source: Authors)

### TOURIST RESOURCES OF ALCÂNTARA

In the imagery of Lisbon residents, Alcântara has always been an industrial district, although there are no more factories and its appearance has changed a lot in recent years, also thanks to the construction of numerous modern buildings: the CUF 2 hospital, the Hyatt Regency hotel, several offices and apartment blocks. Unlike the nearby neighborhood of Belém, Alcântara is frequented by a type of tourist that we could define as “unconventional”, who go there, first of all, to visit the LX Factory, a successful example of reconversion of a 23,000 m<sup>2</sup> industrial complex dating back to 2008 (Zarrilli and Brito, 2021; Zarrilli et al., 2019). It is a multifunctional space aimed at a young audience, where trendy restaurants and cafés stand out, a bookshop decorated in a very original way, art studios, and shops selling design products, clothes, and shoes made by alternative designers and stylists. In addition, there is a hostel, around 200 offices, and several start-ups (Figure 5).



Figure 6. View of Alcântara from the 25<sup>th</sup> of April bridge (Source: Authors)

The LX Factory is also very popular in the evening as it hosts several nightclubs, as is indeed the tradition in the neighbourhood: as already mentioned, in Alcântara some old factories had already become famous discos, bars, and restaurants starting from the 80s, while after the 2000s the warehouses and depots located along the Tagus River, the so-called Docas, were transformed into restaurants and venues that are very popular with both Lisboans and tourists.

Near the LX Factory is the scientific and cultural centre of Macao, located in the eighteenth-century palace of the Pinto Basto family, founders of the famous Vista Alegre porcelain and glass factory, still today a producer of the best Portuguese porcelain. The building houses a specialized library and a museum that includes an exhibition of over 400 Sino-Portuguese pieces. However, the oldest museum in the neighborhood is that of Carris, the urban transport company, where the visitor can follow the history of Lisbon's trams and buses and where various events take place. In the same complex is the Village Underground, a reproduction of the English space of the same name, made up of 14 dismissed containers and two old buses transformed into offices and co-working spaces.

Not far from the Docas, in an old warehouse for storing cod, stands the Museum of the Orient, which houses permanent and temporary exhibitions of oriental art with Portuguese influence and vice versa. New museums have also been built in recent years. The Berardo museum, set up in a building with a facade covered in *azulejos*<sup>3</sup>, houses objects in Art Nouveau and Art Deco styles belonging to the private collection of the entrepreneur Berardo. The Pilar 7 (Pillar 7) is instead a small museum located in the pillar of the 25<sup>th</sup> of April bridge. An elevator takes one up to the level of the actual bridge, from which it is possible to enjoy a panoramic view of the city and the river (Figure 6).

Still speaking of urban landmarks, it must be said that Alcântara valley is crossed by the most monumental part of the eighteenth-century Aqueduct “das Águas Livres” – with a total length of 19 km – which, like the 25<sup>th</sup> of April bridge, is part of the iconography and of the cityscape of Lisbon. As far as the historical and cultural heritage is concerned, the remarkable Hermitage of Sant’Amaro should be mentioned in the first place. It is a circular chapel, unique in Lisbon, decorated with seventeenth-century tiles that tell the story of the saint (Figure 7). From the square in front, you can enjoy a beautiful view of the Tagus and of the 25<sup>th</sup> of April bridge.

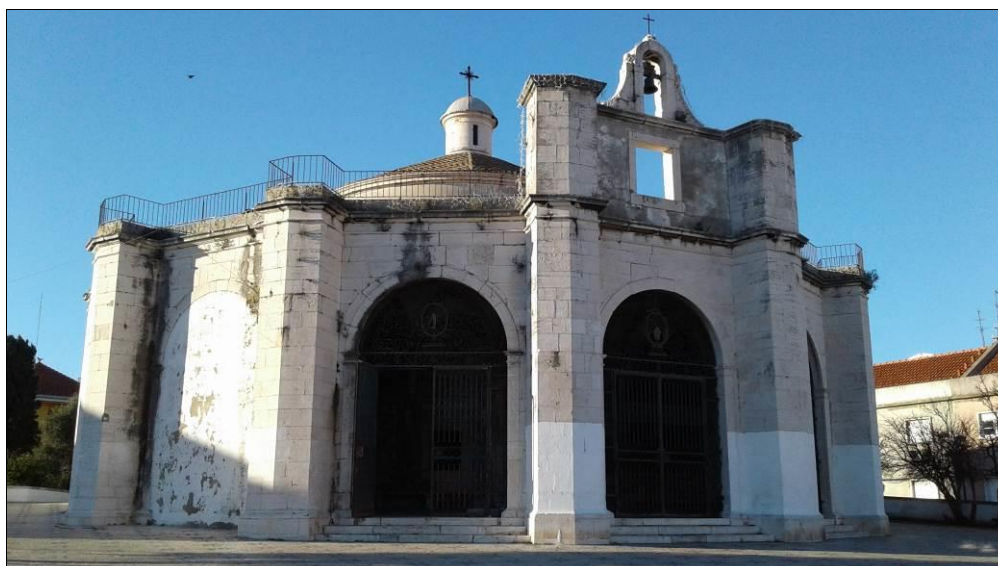


Figure 7. Sant’Amaro Chapel (Source: Authors)

The architectural heritage of Alcântara also includes ancient estates (*quintas*) and aristocratic palaces, unfortunately closed to the public. An exception is the Vale Flor Palace with its gardens, now transformed into a 5-star hotel, one of the most elegant in the city. In Alcântara there are several green and leisure spaces, such as the Tapada da Ajuda, the former royal hunting reserve now open to the public, as well as the tourist port of Sant’Amaro in the Docas area, which specialized in services for boating and water sports (Figure 8). Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the Fun Track, an open space intended for a very young audience who can practice skating or cycling and rent bicycles, skateboards, go-karts, skates, and street-surf boards.

Finally, it should be noted that Alcântara is one of the most interesting districts of Lisbon in terms of street art, which is present with various works by internationally known artists, such as AkaCorleone, Bordalo II, How and Nosm and Vhils.

From what has been described above, we can state that Alcântara has a rather diversified tourist supply, which ranges from the more traditional to the more innovative types of urban cultural tourism. They are made usable through the recovery and reuse of facilities belonging to the industrial past and are aimed above all at a young clientele looking for an alternative experience to the more usual itineraries, as evident from previous analyses (Zarrilli and Brito, 2017; Zarrilli et al., 2019; Zarrilli and Brito, 2021). From the point of view of tourist accommodation, Alcântara is emerging as a secondary nucleus with respect to the more central districts and as a valid alternative in terms of cost and logistics. In Alcântara there are three large hotels of high or very high level (one 4-star and two 5-star), for a total of 657 rooms and 1,314 beds. On the other hand, a growing part of the housing stock is now intended for tourist accommodation.

<sup>3</sup> Ceramic tiles with a glazed and decorated surface, widely used, among other things, to cover the facades of buildings

We are talking about the phenomenon known as airbnbsation (Sequera and Nofre, 2018), which we have tried to quantify using the data available in the *Registro Nacional de Turismo* (Turismo de Portugal): as of 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2022, 445 units were officially registered in Alcântara, for a total number of 1,417 beds. It should be emphasized that not all registered units are necessarily operational<sup>4</sup>: On 31<sup>st</sup> May 2023, we made an inquiry on the hotel reservation site Booking.com, from which it turned out that 106 units are effectively available for tourist accommodation.



Figure 8. Boats moored at the Docas  
(Source: Authors)

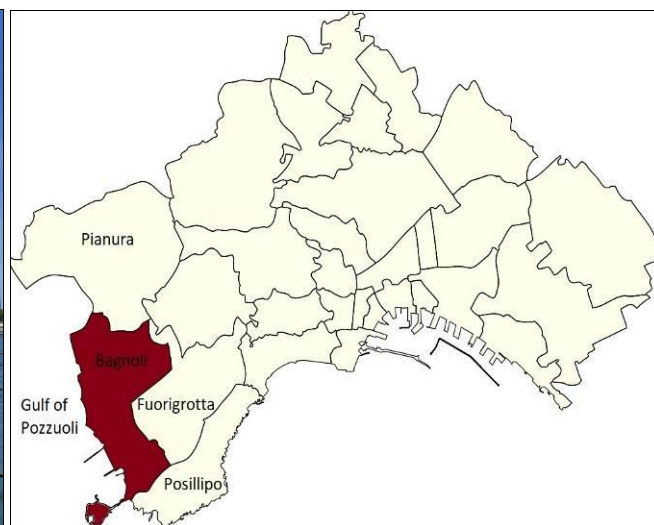


Figure 9. Administrative division of Naples (Source: Our elaboration on Wikipedia Commons. [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Quartieri\\_di\\_Napoli\\_-\\_vuoto.svg#globalusage](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Quartieri_di_Napoli_-_vuoto.svg#globalusage))

#### ADMINISTRATIVE AND HISTORICAL NOTES ON BAGNOLI

Bagnoli district is part, together with the Fuorigrotta district, of the 10<sup>o</sup> municipality of the city of Naples. Its area is 7.96 sq. km, with a population of about 28,579 inhabitants as of 2001<sup>5</sup> (Comune di Napoli). It borders with Pianura neighbourhood and the city of Pozzuoli to the north, with Posillipo neighbourhood to the south, with Fuorigrotta neighbourhood to the east and it overlooks the Gulf of Pozzuoli to the west. The islet of Nisida is part of Bagnoli and is connected to the mainland by a long pier (Figure 9). The toponym Bagnoli comes from the Latin *Balneolis* (bathing area), as in ancient times this area had several thermal springs frequented by the Greeks and the Romans. Bagnoli is in fact part of the Campi Flegrei, a vast area located in the Gulf of Pozzuoli, west of the city of Naples, that is known for its intense volcanic activity, as well as for the beauty of its landscape and for the important historical-archaeological heritage.

At the end of the 19th century, the brilliant architect Lamont Young gave Bagnoli, at the time a small village of fishermen and farmers, a central role in a futuristic urban project for the development of tourism in the western part of Naples. However, the project was never implemented. In fact, various lidos and spas were already present in Bagnoli at that time. For instance, Lido Fortuna dates back to 1891, is one of the first in Naples, and is now back in business.



Figure 10. Dismissed chimney (Source: Authors)



Figure 11. The north jetty (Source: Authors)

<sup>4</sup> However, the figure is indicative of a significant – and increasing – accommodation capacity: the same figures as of 31.12.2018 were 260 and 846 respectively (Zarrilli et al., 2019:73);

<sup>5</sup> Last available figure at neighbourhood level. Subsequent figures are aggregated at municipality level.

The industrial history of Bagnoli, characterized by the massive presence of heavy industry, especially the iron and steel one, began in the early twentieth century, underwent ups and downs and ended definitively in 1992, when Italsider, the major public company settled in 1910, ceased production. At that time environmental and landscape concerns were still very rare and limited to a few enlightened minds. Thirty years after, the identity of Bagnoli as a working-class neighbourhood is still present and can be perceived in many features of the social and cultural landscape: suffice it to say that the chimneys of the dismissed plants stand out on the margins of the urbanized area, having now almost reached the status of landmark for the neighbourhood (Figure 10). Unfortunately, very little has been achieved in terms of functional reconversion of the industrial facilities. To date, four recovery projects have been implemented: Città della Scienza (City of Science), a multifunctional cultural institution dedicated to research, technological innovation and scientific dissemination<sup>6</sup>, partially destroyed by arson in 2013; Pontile nord (north jetty), about 900 meters long, built in 1962 for the docking of large tonnage vessels, now converted into a scenic walk (Figure 11); Parco dello Sport (Sport's park), a 340,000 m<sup>2</sup> multi-sport and recreational complex, completed in 2010 and never operational (today in need of restoration); Auditorium "Porta del Parco", that reopened in December 2022 after more than a decade of inactivity.

Finally, it should be noted that in May 2021 Invitalia (the National Development Agency, responsible for implementing the revitalization of Bagnoli) published the details of the project which won the first prize in the competition it launched to transform the 250 hectares of the former industrial area in one of the largest urban parks on an international scale. The winning project, developed by a group of urban planning experts and called "*Balneolis e la nuova stagione felix*", "tells the return to the ideal of Campania Felix<sup>7</sup>, according to a contemporary interpretation of the *genius loci*, which is expressed by means of the enhancement of the natural, agricultural, chromatic, aesthetic and well-being features that are typical of this site" (<https://bagnolicontest.invitalia.it/i-progetti/primo-classificato>). This project should be realised in the next years, but at the moment the timing and methods of implementation are not clear.

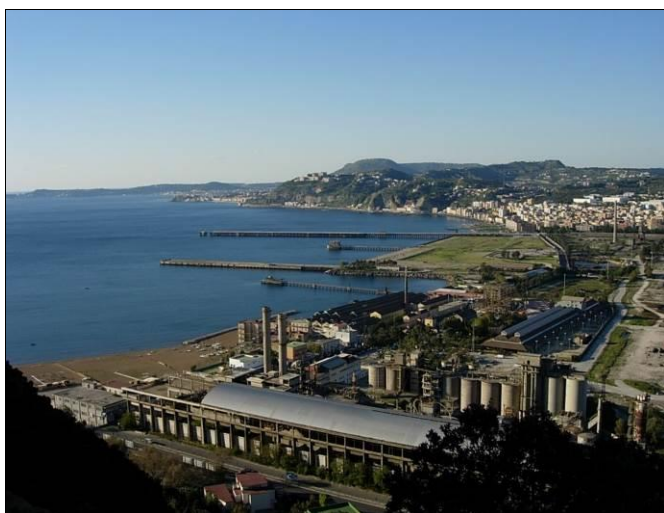


Figure 12. The former industrial area of Bagnoli (Source: Authors)



Figure 13. Free beach in Bagnoli (Source: Authors)



Figure 14. Boats moored near Nisida (Source: Authors)



Figure 15. View of Nisida from Posillipo hill (Source: Authors)

<sup>6</sup> Over the years it has received numerous awards, including those for scientific communication, the best European scientific museum, and the best new business incubator.

<sup>7</sup> The name used during the Roman period to indicate the present region of Naples.

## TOURIST RESOURCES OF BAGNOLI

The tourist prospect of Bagnoli, very promising between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, was hindered by the industrialist choice, which handed over to posterity a territory that so far has been very difficult to recover, for a number of reasons ranging from objective difficulties to the incapacity and the corruption of the political class, from the disagreements between national, regional and municipal governments to the interference of organized crime (Figure 12). Bagnoli is above all a coastal district with a seaside vocation: in fact, it has some facilities (Lido Fortuna, which was mentioned before, and L'Arenile, a beach club with a swimming pool and a lounge bar), not to mention the stretches of free beach that could be equipped and managed by the Municipality of Naples (Figure 13). All this provided that the sea is cleaned of pollutants and officially made suitable for bathing – in fact, bathing already takes place, in spite of the prohibitions.

Boating could also be an interesting perspective for the district: the wide availability of moorings during the summer season could also be aimed at an audience of extra-regional or foreign boat owners visiting the Gulf of Naples (Figure 14).

Thermal bathing could also be enhanced. Currently, there is only one facility, Terme di Agnano, located in what was once a volcanic crater. The Romans already knew its therapeutic properties, and in fact, archaeological finds dating from the IV-III century BC are visible on the site. Bagnoli is also related to horse riding and horse racing. First of all, it houses the Agnano Racecourse, where international-level competitions are held. Furthermore, there is the Neapolitan Riding School, which has three stables, a dressage field, and a green field where, in the past and for several years, the International Show Jumping Competition was hosted. On the cultural tourism side, the City of Science should be mentioned: it was the first Italian interactive science museum, and in 2012 counted as many as 350,000 visitors (Città della Scienza).

A visit to the City of Science could be combined with that of the adjacent Pausilypon Archaeological Park, which is easily accessible from Bagnoli, even if it belongs to the Posillipo district from an administrative point of view. It is an archaeological site of great interest, that can be reached through the so-called Grotta di Seiano, a pedestrian tunnel from the Roman era more than 700 meters long which connects the Bagnoli plain to the Pausilypon villa, built in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC by the Roman patrician Publius Vedius Pollio. The Literary Park of Nisida should also be mentioned: the islet of Nisida (from the Greek νησίδον, small island) is the headquarters of the Juvenile Correctional Facility of Naples and therefore is not normally accessible by the public. Nevertheless, for some years it has hosted a Literary Park, periodically open to the public thanks to guided tours that lead visitors along ancient paths now recovered in an itinerary that is both naturalistic and cultural (Figure 15). Besides the “Porta del Parco” Auditorium, Bagnoli has other spaces and facilities suitable for international-level concerts, as happened occasionally in the past.

From the nature tourism point of view, Bagnoli hosts, together with the city of Pozzuoli, the Astroni Crater State Nature Reserve, recognized as a Special Conservation Area and Special Protection Area. Furthermore, Bagnoli has good conditions for the development of residential tourism and could turn into a peripheral tourist accommodation area for the city of Naples: the strategic position<sup>8</sup> and the easy accessibility can explain the presence of four hotels<sup>9</sup>, two of which are 4-star (Montespina Park Hotel, Hotel Nuvò) and two 3-star (Hotel Villa Maria, Hotel Taromy), for a total of 113 rooms and 236 beds. As for bed & breakfast and tourist apartments, no neighbourhood-level data are available. Therefore, as for Alcântara, on 31<sup>st</sup> May we carried out a survey on Booking.com, which revealed that there are only 22 units<sup>10</sup>.

## RESULTS AND FINDINGS: ALCÂNTARA AND BAGNOLI, TWO NEIGHBOURHOODS COMPARED

We want to underline once again that the industrial past is the aspect that most makes the two districts similar and comparable, also shaping their identity and directing their urban development. The industrial legacy is perceived above all in terms of the urban landscape, characterized by the presence of plants, chimneys, and warehouses, already converted or to be converted to new functions.

Coming instead to the central theme of our discussion, we can affirm that both Alcântara and Bagnoli have great tourist potential. These are two different realities which, as mentioned before, despite the differences, have some geographical and historical characteristics in common: In addition to sharing an industrial past, they are located on the outskirts of two tourist cities, in pleasant locations near the water (along the seashore in the case of Bagnoli, on the riverside in the case of Alcântara), have good road and railway connections, spaces suitable for hosting shows, museums and accommodation facilities sufficient to accommodate a number of guests appropriate to the current stage of their tourism development.

As far as accommodation facilities are concerned, it must be said that Alcântara's supply is more urban, considerable, widespread, and of a higher category. If Bagnoli wants to have a tourist future, investments will be needed in accommodation facilities – it must be said that the planned recovery of the Hotel Antiche Terme Tricarico goes in this direction.

The cultural heritage of the two neighbourhoods is quite dissimilar. In Alcântara there are many aristocratic palaces, especially along Rua da Junqueira, five museums with very diversified themes (transports, Orient, Macao, Art Deco, construction of the 25<sup>th</sup> of April bridge), and five religious' monuments, while in Bagnoli we find only two museums: the City of Science and the Sea Museum. On the other hand, Bagnoli has the Literary Park of Nisida, occasionally visitable by the public, while in the immediate vicinity, there is the entrance to the Pausilypon Archaeological Park, a testimony of classical antiquity of which no examples have survived in the case of Alcântara.

<sup>8</sup> Bagnoli has a central position between two areas that are growing from a tourist point of view: the Posillipo hill, an exclusive and scenic neighbourhood, and the city of Pozzuoli, the main urban centre of the Campi Flegrei.

<sup>9</sup> The re-opening of the Hotel Antiche Terme Tricarico is also planned: Active between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century and located along the scenic coastal road leading to Pozzuoli.

<sup>10</sup> The same inquiry, carried out in September 2022, gave a result of 15 units. It should be noted that, albeit limited, there has been an increase in terms of accommodation capacity.

If we talk about infrastructure, the comparison can be between the bridge over the Tagus, 2,200 meters long, accessed with a lift, and the north jetty of Bagnoli, which allows scenic walks. As far as the natural heritage is concerned, both neighbourhoods have naturalistic areas: In Bagnoli, there is the Astroni Crater State Nature Reserve, while in Alcântara it's possible to visit the Tapada da Ajuda Park and Botanical Reserve, formerly a royal family hunting ground.

There is a certain balance regarding the leisure facilities. Both districts have moorings for boating. In Bagnoli, there are many clubs, discos, lounge bars, venues for concerts and events, a cinema, social gathering centres, the seashore with a beach club, a lido, and stretches of free sandy beaches. Furthermore, it's possible to attend the Agnano thermal complex, the Agnano Racecourse, and the Neapolitan Riding School. There is no beach in Alcântara, but the nightlife is just as vibrant at LX Factory, Village Underground, Docas and other dismissed industrial facilities. Not to mention the Fun Track, where it's possible to do skating, cycling, skateboarding, driving karts, street surfing, etc.

Table 1. Comparison between the tourist facilities of Alcântara and Bagnoli (Source: Authors)

Alcântara	Bagnoli
<b>Accommodation</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 hotels (5 stars: Pestana Palace, Hyatt Regency Lisbon; 4 stars: Villa Galé Opera (total rooms – 657; total beds – 1314)</li> <li>• 106 B&amp;B and tourist apartments (including hostels). Inquiry carried out on Booking on 31<sup>st</sup> May</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 hotels (4 stars: Montespina Park Hotel, Hotel Nuvò; 3 stars: Hotel Villa Maria, Hotel Taromy)</li> <li>• 22 B&amp;B and tourist apartments. Inquiry carried out on Booking on 31<sup>st</sup> May</li> </ul>
<b>Leisure facilities</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fun Track (skating, cycling, skateboarding, karts, street surfing, etc.)</li> <li>• LX Factory (restaurants, bars, bookstore, shops, ateliers, art galleries)</li> <li>• Village Underground (co-working, restaurants, concerts, DJ set)</li> <li>• Docas de Santo Amaro (restaurants, bars, discos)</li> <li>• Night clubs (Havana Bar, Alcântara Café, Microclub, Bosq, Radio-Hotel, etc.)</li> <li>• SPEP UP – People's University of the Society for the Promotion of Popular Education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Porta del Parco Auditorium</li> <li>• La Perla Cinema</li> <li>• Discos, lounge bars, concerts and events venues (Arenile di Bagnoli, ex-base NATO, Riva club, Nevermind, Club Partenopeo, HBTOO, Post Aperitif Club, Rotonda Belvedere)</li> <li>• Community centre Villa Medusa</li> <li>• Ilva Club</li> <li>• North Jetty</li> </ul>
<b>Museums</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Carris Museum</li> <li>• Macau Museum</li> <li>• Berardo Art Deco Museum</li> <li>• Oriente Museum</li> <li>• Pilar 7 - Bridge Experience</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• City of Science</li> <li>• Sea Museum</li> </ul>
<b>Historical and cultural heritage</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flamengas Convent</li> <li>• Santo Amaro Chapel</li> <li>• S. Pedro de Alcântara Chapel</li> <li>• S. José Chapel</li> <li>• N<sup>a</sup> Sr<sup>a</sup> de Fátima Chapel</li> <li>• Many aristocratic palaces</li> <li>• Street art works</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pausilypon Archeologic Park</li> <li>• Nisida Literary Park</li> </ul>
<b>Natural parks and reserves</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tapada da Ajuda Park and Botanical Reserve</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Astroni Crater State Nature Reserve</li> </ul>
<b>Sport, beach and thermal facilities</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moorings for boating</li> <li>• Sailing school Treino de Mar</li> <li>• Padel club</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moorings for boating</li> <li>• 1 lido (Lido Fortuna)</li> <li>• 1 thermal facility (Terme di Agnano)</li> <li>• stretches of free sandy beaches</li> <li>• Agnano Racecourse</li> <li>• Neapolitan Riding School</li> <li>• Park of the Sport (not operational)</li> </ul>
<b>Academic facilities</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Higher Institute of Agronomy</li> <li>• Higher Institute of Police Sciences and Homeland Security</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 branch (out of 3) of the Polytechnic and Basic Sciences School (Engineering), University of Naples "Federico II"</li> </ul>
<b>Cultural facilities and scientific institutions</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alcântara Congress Centre</li> <li>• Historical Archive of GNR (Guarda Nacional Republicana)</li> <li>• Alcântara library</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• IDIS Foundation – City of Science</li> <li>• Business Innovation Centre</li> <li>• City of Science Congress Centre</li> <li>• City of Science Higher Education Centre</li> <li>• Turtle point (sea turtle research and rehabilitation centre)</li> </ul>
<b>Transports</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alcântara-mar station (Lisbon-Cascais suburban railway)</li> <li>• Alcântara-terra station (Linha de Cintura suburban railway)</li> <li>• Tram 15 (Lisbon centre– Algés)</li> <li>• Urban buses 724, 728, 738, 742, 751, 760</li> <li>• Subway red line (under construction till December 2026)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bagnoli station (Subway Line 2)</li> <li>• Bagnoli station (Cumana railway)</li> <li>• Urban buses R7 e C1</li> </ul>

Finally, a mention of the means of transport should be made: In both districts, there are good railway connections (two lines in both Alcântara and Bagnoli) and urban bus lines (six in Alcântara and two in Bagnoli). Alcântara, however, shows a high density of transport infrastructures (the 25<sup>th</sup> of April bridge, the railway stations and lines, the cruise terminal, the



commercial port, and the tourist port) that characterize the urban landscape, generating an image of movement and at the same time of centrality with respect to a wider regional context that can be often found in the districts of the first urban periphery, as well underlined by Salet and Savini (2004). Bagnoli, instead, is not as crucial in the transport geography of the metropolitan area of Naples, being rather a crossing neighbourhood on the Naples-Pozzuoli route.

In Table 1, the tourist facilities of the two neighbourhoods are compared in detail.

## CONCLUSIONS

Beyond the obvious differences in terms of tourist resources and accommodation facilities, the two neighbourhoods are akin enough to each other to hypothesize a similar development, from the points of view of the tourist image and of the role to play in the urban geography of the respective cities. However, it must be said that Alcântara has undergone a systematic process of urban regeneration in recent years, while in Bagnoli the interventions of this kind were sporadic and lacking an organic plan. Consequently, in Alcântara tourism has already begun to catch on for some years (Zarrilli and Brito, 2017; Zarrilli et al., 2019), while for Bagnoli it represents a sort of aspiration, often perceived and evoked as a possible panacea for the troubles of the neighbourhood. However, it should be emphasized that the industrial activity of Bagnoli was heavy and highly polluting (iron and steel, chemistry, asbestos) and the dismissed facilities, enclosed within an industrial area which is physically separated from the urban fabric, are more difficult to reconvert and make usable than in Alcântara, where heavy industry had been delocalized to the other bank of the Tagus in the 1960s and the remaining light factories were located within the inhabited area and integrated into the neighbourhood.

A good example of this is LX Factory, located a few meters from the important junction of Largo do Calvário and along the road that leads to Belém. The LX Factory is characterized by good accessibility and, consequently, by high usability. The image of an iconic and attractive place for young and unconventional tourists has been establishing itself over the years and therefore it is not surprising that it was the LX Factory that acted as a driving force for the tourist development of the whole district (Zarrilli and Brito, 2021). Unfortunately, Bagnoli does not have a tourist resource capable of playing such a catalytic role: The planned reconversion of the former industrial area will take too long and is still too uncertain to be taken into consideration here; the City of Science mostly attracts organized flows (for example school trips) aimed at visiting that specific facility regardless of the neighbourhood tourist supply; the north jetty is easily accessible, but is not attractive to this extent; the lidos are limited in their capacity, not counting the current bathing prohibition; the thermal facility is very difficult to reach by public transport. One solution could be to integrate the various sites with each other through a “hop-on hop-off” bus. In this way, it would be possible to offer tourists visiting the city of Naples a further multi-thematic itinerary, capable of combining classical archaeology, industrial tourism, edutainment, seaside resorts, and thermal bathing.

In conclusion, we believe that the two neighbourhoods are in two different development stages: While Alcântara communicates an idea of transformation and dynamism, thanks to the numerous recovery and reconversion projects already completed or in progress, which fostered an emerging tourist development, Bagnoli gives the impression to be stuck in a static condition, which over the decades has become almost emblematic of the inability to develop systemic regional planning and also hindered a possible tourist prospect. This negative impression could perhaps be softened by a new ferment – from a cultural point of view but also from that of urban planning – that seems to affect the neighbourhood in recent times and which, although embryonic, allows us to hope for a positive development.

This exploratory research can be deepened and confirmed through the adoption of appropriate methodologies, such as the assessment and the confrontation of the tourist potential of the two neighbourhoods – according to the methodology used in Iatu & Bulai (2011) – and a comparative SWOT analysis.

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