

Fast Tours and Short Videos. TikTok Napoli, Popular Mediatization of the City and Tourist Consumer Cultures*

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Abstract

The popular appropriation of TikTok in Naples overlaps with the city's ongoing touristification, generating distinctive mediatization forms. Within this convergence, a new phase of platformization intersects with the repositioning of micro-businesses and informal labor into tourism-driven economies, supporting 'touristification from below'. Through vernacular creativity, local actors gain representational agency and reputational capital, challenging institutional prerogatives in destination management and tourist marketing while generating new forms of visibility and value entangled with tourist consumption. Users' practices – including advertainment and local branding techniques – transform urban spaces, cultural identities and everyday life elements into semiotic resources, easily iconized and reproduced as platform content, participating in the co-production of the city's image as a tourist consumption site. Drawing on digital ethnography of 'TikTok Napoli', this article examines how grassroots platform-mediated practices engage in the spatial division of tourist consumption and what contradictions emerge. TikTok Napoli is conceptualized both as a socio-technical infrastructure and a translocal mediascape, that operates ambiguously. While it enables conventionally marginalized actors to develop creative agency and economic opportunities, it simultaneously reinforces tourist clichés, flattening urban imagery into stereotyped spectacles shaped by algorithmic distribution and market imperatives. Rather than democratizing the urban mediascape, such participatory mediatization exacerbates tourist consumerism and the commodification of urban spaces and experiences. The study contributes to debates on platformization, local branding, and spatialized consumption in urban transformations, offering critical insights into platforms' socio-spatial

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integrations and the ambivalent role of digital technologies where urban life and culture become raw material for tourist economies.

Keywords: TikTok and urban mediascape, popular mediatization, digital vernacular creativity, touristification and local branding, platformization of consumer cultures.

1. Introduction

The pervasive adoption of digital platforms has progressively enabled wider and more diverse participation in the mediatization of urban cultures and everyday life, particularly relevant for local tourist consumerism. In Naples, the recent popularization of TikTok overlaps with urban transformations fostered by touristification over the previous decade, reconfiguring local branding and city representations. Within this convergence, a distinctive phase of platformization driven by TikTok crucially intersects with the repositioning of substantial components of the urban social fabric – such as informal labor and micro-businesses – across tourism-driven economies. Contextually, peculiar grassroots appropriation practices of short-video entertainment challenge conventional – institutional and corporate – prerogatives in destination management, local branding and tourist marketing, generating new forms of visibility, meaning, and value, which affect tourist consumption.

This article investigates the relationship between popular appropriation of short-video entertainment in Naples and the city's expanding tourism industry on the ground, elaborating theoretical frameworks and proposing critical perspectives. Empirical investigation focuses on how users' practices – including local branding and advertainment techniques – interact with visual and discursive representations of the city's landscapes, cultural identity and everyday life, considering their entanglements with tourist consumption in urban spaces.

1.1 *Research questions and case study*

Empirical investigation draws on a broader case study about the socio-technical *milieu* named *TikTok Napoli*. Under this research perspective, TikTok Napoli is conceived both as an urban setting for short video production and as a translocal, platform-mediated *topos* for content circulation. The socio-cultural observation of TikTok Napoli *milieu* showed prominent grassroots participation

– concisely termed “popular” – by local actors conventionally not empowered to use the media as active players. They enact emerging forms of agency and creative appropriation of the platform’s communicative and marketing functions for local businesses, generating a diffused “neighborhood influencer” economy (Arvidsson et al., 2025a), more similar to Chinese *Wanghong* than Instagram star-system. Preliminary investigations immediately suggested its relevance for tourist consumer cultures.

The study focused on actors, practices, and content, grounded in urban spaces, interpreting their purposes, aesthetics and meanings. Drawing on qualitative approaches – encompassing digital ethnography, content analysis, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews – it examines how grassroots digital media practices affect local branding and city representation, within urban touristification.

Research addressed three interconnected questions. RQ1: What are the contributions and qualities of popular mediatization practices in the co-production of urban space as a site of tourist consumption? RQ2: How does the grassroots appropriation of TikTok alter representational agency distribution in tourist marketing and local branding practice, reconfiguring urban mediascape dynamics? RQ3: What are the socio-cultural implications and contradictions of this participatory mediatization, particularly regarding the commodification of urban experiences and the flattening of the city’s imagery into serialized tourist spectacles? Therefore, the study contributes to critically analyzing the evolution of digital popular cultures, when embedded in urban socio-economic transformations, particularly Naples’ touristification (Esposito, 2023; Sapio, 2025).

1.2 Roadmap

To contextualize the research, Section 2 introduces key conceptualizations and elaborates a consistent framework of related theoretical approaches and perspectives, by triangulating different sources. It also delineates TikTok Napoli’s genealogy, tensions and cultural traits. Finally, it engages with literature surveys to clarify the enhancing role of digital media in tourism consumption. Section 3 introduces the case study’s historical and geographical context, retracing how institutions, private investments, and creative industries concurred in reaffirming Naples’ image as a tourist destination in the last decade, preparing the ground for TikTok’s appropriation as a tool for the repositioning of grassroots economies within tourism. It foregrounds the semiotic dimension of urban fabric’s tourist transformation by introducing relevant empirical examples of locally connoted branding. Section 4 presents

the fieldwork methods and grounded observations on actors, practices and content observed across TikTok Napoli. It provides examples and categorizations that illuminate qualitative aspects and their relevance for tourist economy, consumer cultures and urban transformations, discussing resulting findings and proposing related interpretations. Drawing on Barthes' (1986) urban semiology, Section 5 concludes by resuming critical reflections about TikTok Napoli as translocal mediascape, highlighting controversial economic and cultural dynamics intensified by fast tourism consumerism. It questions common demands of representational power and business repositioning toward the contested risks of reinforcing urban commodification.

2. Conceptualizing TikTok Napoli within urban touristification

2.1 Theoretical approaches and perspectives

Mediatization has been conceptualized (Hjarvard, 2013; Hepp, 2012, 2019; Couldry & Hepp, 2013) as the long-term transformation through which media logics and infrastructures become embedded in social practices, institutions, and cultural meanings. Rather than simply referring to mediation as communication forms, mediatization implies that media formats, technologies, and practices constitute fundamental elements through which social life is organized and experienced (Lundby, 2014). The moulding forces of mediatization materialize through concrete acts of communication, contingent on how media are domesticated “as a process of cultural localization” (Hepp, 2012, pp. 54-60). The ongoing penetration of digital platforms as intermediaries of social relations, markets and everyday life, i.e. “platformization” (Poell et al., 2019), constitutes a phase of “deep mediatization” (Hepp, 2019) whose entanglements with urban fabric require further critical examination.

In this context, “popular mediatization of the city” refers to grassroots technocultural processes by which ordinary users adopt digital platforms as multi-purpose infrastructures, appropriate media formats and participate in the co-production of the urban mediascape (Appadurai, 1996). It indicates not only the distribution of representational agency but also bottom-up contribution in embedding digital platforms as mediators of social relations, markets, and cultural reproduction, within the urban fabric. Here, *popular* – as conceptualized in cultural studies (Hall, 1981; Fiske, 2010; Portanova & Terranova, 2022) – denotes a contested terrain where hegemonic meanings and representations are negotiated by subaltern and non-elite groups. But it also materially accounts for TikTok's wide adoption among “neo-plebeian” social segments (Perulli & Vettoretto, 2022; Arvidsson et al., 2025a), providing unprecedented

representational agency to economically precarious and less educated demographics with limited professional and cultural capital.

In our specific case – TikTok in Naples – popular mediatization also relies on the peculiarities of the TikTok-driven platformization wave. Smooth interface, functional versatility, and sharp algorithmic distribution of visibility recognizably underpinned its massive adoption globally, enabling heterogeneous actors to engage with digital performativity and marketing functionalities, beyond entertainment and relief. As Zhang (2020) illustrated, TikTok’s configuration as a communicative and commercial infrastructure stemmed from the alignment of the platform’s business model and narratives with local development policy’s objectives – including small-scale businesses platformization and tourism growth – initially imprinted to the platform deployment by Chinese government as both regulator and stakeholder. In “baroque” and “bazaar” economies of Global South contexts (Gago, 2017; Deka, 2023), it provided tools for marginalized actors to creatively gain access to media visibility and convert it into reputation, value and prestige, for commodities’ promotion and distribution. It established worldwide despite national bans and numerous legal and ethical controversies regarding content moderation, privacy and data regulation, corporate governance, and stack geopolitics. Being a socio-technical process, platform’s infrastructuralization – i.e., its progressive contextual naturalization and indispensability – depends on its alignment with social needs and desires, beyond platform’s governance, business model, and technical affordances (Plantin & Punathambekar, 2018). Multi-purpose widespread adoption relies on social learning and imitation streams regarding platform usage potential, alongside its fundamental capacity to capture attention and generate network effects.

2.2 TikTok (popular) culture in Naples

TikTok has played a pivotal role in the popularization of short-video entertainment, encompassing geographies, ages, classes, ethnicities and gender identities. It represents both a typical phenomenon of (digital) popular culture (Zuo & Wang, 2019) and a distinct stage in the “platformization of consumer cultures” (Caliandro et al., 2024). TikTok’s interactions with media landscape and publics follow logics of co-production, convergence, and remediation (Bolter & Grusin, 1999; Jenkins, 2006), inherent to the participatory culture of digital media. It functions “as a *memetic text* and as a *site of vernacular creativity*” (Mazumdar, 2022, p. 340), understood as “creative practices that emerge from highly particular and non-elite social contexts and communicative conventions” (Burgess, 2006, p. 206). Rather than a sophisticated ‘creative class’, such

practices rely on unlikely practitioners, enthusiastic pioneers, and imitation publics (Zulli & Zulli, 2020). Content creation blends amateur performances (De Seta, 2024) with mainstream genres, repertoires and media products, wrapped in standard formats and serialized flows as “highly creative flurries of parodies, mashups and remixes” (Burgess, 2014, p. 80). The platform’s interface facilitates recreational streamwork while algorithmic curation makes it appealing for different purposes, catalyzing a *lo-fi* and semi-automated remix culture (Delfanti & Phan, 2024; Lessig, 2008). Users’ freestyle tailored content creation and participatory culture actively shape TikTok’s technoculture, from media products circulation to marketing strategies deployment.

In Naples, the embedding of short video mediation at the micro-level of everyday practices adapts to the local socio-economic context and urban transformation processes within touristification. Short videos, livestreaming, and other formats remediate locally connoted images and narratives, becoming primary mediators of spatial meanings and tourist desires. Content combines different elements and layers, encompassing geographically identifiable (public or private) sites, everyday settings and practices, tourist sights and attractions, geo-culturally connoted brands (goods and services). These cultural assemblages (Lury, 2009) have become a peculiar and composite source of distinctiveness and value creation for tourist city branding, brand positioning, and other locally connoted branding processes (Pike, 2009). Therefore, they affect tourist consumer cultures – trends in behaviors, tastes, and perceptions – by shaping the social and symbolic context in which tourist consumption acquires meaning, and generates identity, relations, and values.

The TikTok short video content flow has been compared to an algorithmic TV (Faltsek et al., 2023). When geo-culturally anchored and referenced, it can be associated with Appadurai’s notion of mediascape (1996): a media landscape that transcends geographical - physical, administrative, and cultural - borders. As a component of this transcultural mediascape, TikTok Napoli contributes to reconfiguring the relationships between urban landscapes (understood as living places) and their representations, the ways in which they are traversed and perceived, shaping the symbolic context for the spatial division of tourist consumption.

2.3 TikTok Napoli: genealogy and physiognomy

TikTok Napoli’s anecdotal resonance has gained prominence across newspapers, blogs, television, and other media, frequently portrayed as a disturbing digital subculture (see Nativo, 2024). The emergence of #TikTokNapoli *topos* (or *side*) has been facilitated by the exposure of a plethora

of Neapolitan TikTokers (Rita De Crescenzo, Sasy Cacciatore, 'MisterPellaPazzo' among the most famous), whose representations share distinctive trivial markers and deliberately irreverent tones in their aesthetics, language, and performative styles. Such prosaicness resonates with a *plebeian* "structure of feeling" (Williams, 1977), often assigned with low status and formal education, and associated with deviance's ethnicization. Short videos, livestreams, AI-powered reels, labelling captions, and tailored filters reproduce the voices, aspirations, habits, traditions, lifestyles of subaltern social groups and geo-cultural contexts, mixed and blended with remediated elements of popular culture. This generates a peculiar expressiveness that challenges symbolic hierarchies and visibility asymmetries of mainstream popular culture. These frictions also mirror long-standing narratives of ethnicization, exoticization and inferiorization historically projected over Naples and Neapolitans (Ferraro, 2015), rooted in the Southern Question (Gramsci, 1974; Schneider, 1998) and later reframed in postcolonial theory as "internal colonialism". As audience studies have already shown, apart from being a leisure space incorporated in users' routine and intimacy (Schellewald, 2023), content creation and reception can also become an arena for representational politics, mobilizing, negotiating and contesting conventional representations, narratives and identities (Darvin, 2022).

Across TikTok Napoli, visibility attainment largely relies on "autochthony capital" (Renahy, 2010) – i.e., the ability to perform languages, gestures and behaviors rooted in shared vernacular cultural references or folk sagacity, with dramatic spontaneity markers. Vernacular creativity (Burgess, 2006; De Seta, 2024) translates popular expressiveness of everyday life, marketplaces and local traditions into platform's formats, combined with tropes, styles, genres, repertoires and techniques, borrowed from mainstream (*pop* or *trash*) cultural industries: TV, cinema, music, theatre, publishing and advertising. Rather than merely reproducing a local identity in digital folklore (Blank, 2009), it blurs conventional boundaries between subculture/mainstream, local/global, folklore/consumption, DIY/creative industries.

2.4 Digital platforms as infrastructures for tourism marketing and local branding

The manifold relationships between the digital media landscape and tourist economy have been extensively recognized. Within tourism services' platformization, place branding and reviewing is no longer prerogative of tourism industries: tourists participate in place-making and experience evaluation (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 60), negotiating among their publics and

with single operators. Over the last decade, digital media practices like travel vlogging and livestreaming not only influenced the aesthetic experience of travel, but also transformed tourism marketing, information, and destination selection processes (Xiao & Wang, 2019; Polat et al., 2023). User-generated content fosters interest in ‘lesser-known’ and ‘exotic’ destinations through lived experiences shared by creators on social media (Martins et al., 2023; Polat et al., 2023). Short-form video, particularly through TikTok’s algorithm-driven distribution, allows enhancing destination image and orienting tourism intention through playful immersive storytelling and personalized emotional engagement (Chenchen et al., 2020; Fusté-Forné & Orea-Giner, 2024). The platform’s suitability to co-produce place representations, emphasizing local food, lifestyle, and everyday aesthetics, has made it a key tool for destination marketing and branding, especially among younger demographics.

The mediatization of urban places and activities through digital platforms, and particularly TikTok, also generates significant volumes of analytics, including engagement metrics and user profiles. These data, even without advanced analysis tools, allow tourism operators to detect trends and preferences for developing new marketing and business strategies (Sörum & Fuentes, 2023). These may include identifying lesser-known attractions and forms of tourism perceived as more authentic and embedded in local daily life, aligning with narratives promoted by TikTok itself (e.g., TikTok for Business).

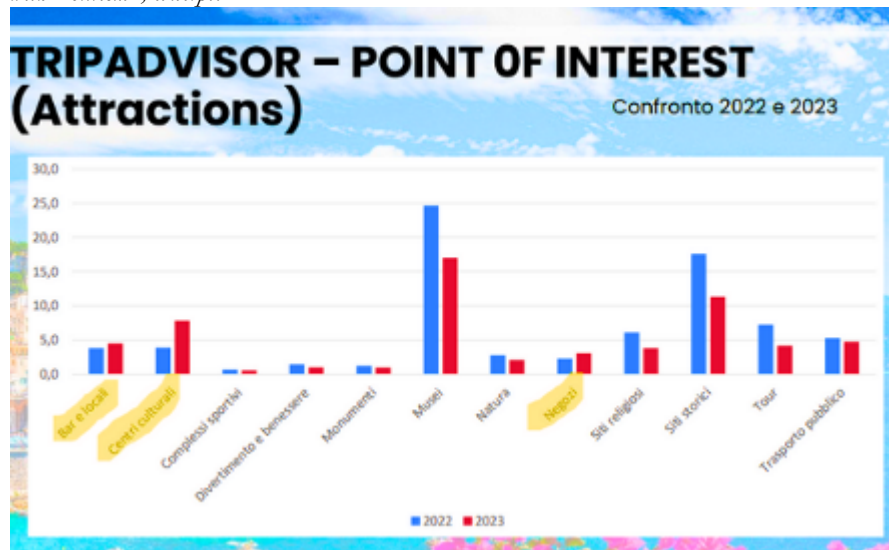
Fig. 1 digital media and booming cultural tourism in Naples, newspaper screenshot.



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As preliminary research found, the relationship between Naples-related content exposition across digital media, particularly TikTok, and Naples' growing tourist flows, has been overemphasized by newspaper and other media at least since 2023 through dozens of articles and insights (fieldwork collections). Even institutional and private reports (Randstadt 2024; Visit Italy 2023/2025) increasingly emphasize social media's impact on tourist economies. However, critical document analysis suggests that digital media are often framed as a rhetorical strategy in tourism governance and consultancy to reposition institutions and agencies within evolving markets. These dispositifs legitimize expertise and consolidate consultancy roles in governance and investment strategies, toward meso- and macro-level actors (hotel chains, tour operators, and airlines). Even when their capacity to govern or understand the phenomenon remains limited, they legitimate digital media as both indicators and vectors of transformation in tourism governance, thereby reinforcing their perceived centrality in tourism marketing and local branding. The report "Naples Grows with Tourism" by the Observatory on urban tourism (2023), for instance, highlights growth in bars, clubs, and shops based on TripAdvisor data, significantly adopting such data as explanatory sources, and testifying convergence between tourism platformization and tourist consumer cultures centred on entertainment, shopping and food.

Fig. 2 Pubs, shops, and cultural attractions' growth in POI charts. Municipality report "Naples Grows with Tourism", excerpt.



3. A decade of touristification in Naples. Urban semiotic regimes and spatial division of consumption: governance, media, and popular participation

Particularly in Naples, since the Vedutist pictorial genre flourished as an emblem of Grand Tour experience, among eighteenth-century European young aristocrats, urban semiotics and mediated representations of landscapes have been historically decisive for destination governance and the construction of tourist imaginaries. More recently, as Dines (2012) noted, the transformation of representative public spaces such as Piazza Plebiscito and Piazza Garibaldi in the 1990s marked a symbolic moment in Naples' neoliberal rebranding, rhetorically framed as civic pride and cultural renaissance. However, the current convergence of urban massive fast tourism with a peculiar technocultural approach to platformization, constitutes a substantially new phase. While traditional media and institutional actors long controlled urban representations, the advent of digital media introduced new participatory layers into the co-production of the urban visual regime. Like photography with painting, short video platforms disrupt aesthetic norms, alter technical arrangements, and change the dynamics of fruition and reproduction of contemporary urban representations. Through user-generated content, unqualified publics increasingly participate in the visual co-production of urban space as a site of tourist consumption, reshaping perceptions, meanings, expectations, and narratives through logics of entertainment, algorithmic visibility, and digital consumption.

At the close of 2000s, an exemplary postcard of Naples might be encapsulated by two iconic images, reflecting a stigmatizing, oversimplifying and vaguely racist gaze: the tenements in Scampia, which served as the stage for the Camorra's conflict in 2005-6, and the piles of rubbish that covered the facades of the historic buildings in the historic centre. However, the credibility and attractiveness of Naples as a tourist destination experienced a period of significant resurgence during the 2010s. Following the establishment of municipal administration led by Luigi de Magistris (2011) – regarded as a flagship of the water commons' movement – the resolution of the garbage crisis and the pedestrianization of the waterfront promenade with other monumental squares created the conditions for the city's commercial and tourist renaissance, albeit concentrated in the historic centre's neighborhoods. The expansion of low-cost airline routes and cruise tourism through Naples' port and airport substantiated this shift over years, underpinning the city's establishment as an international tourist destination (see Reports: Comune di Napoli 2024; ISTAT 2024; Randstad 2024; Regione Campania 2023; SRM 2023).

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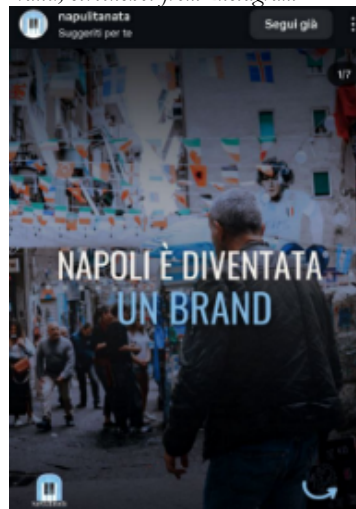
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Over the last decade, Naples evolved as a major tourist destination, city brand, and stage for cultural production. This transformation resulted from the multi-level interplay between governance strategies, global tourism trends (low-cost travel, digital accommodation platforms), and creative industries. The “production of tourist space” (Esposito, 2023) transcends infrastructures to include discursive and symbolic dimensions, where urban imaginaries configurable as city branding operate under marketing assumptions. Beyond structural interventions and conditions, changes in the city’s imaginaries – permeating the domain of visual culture across newspaper narratives, audiovisual productions, events, and digital media – undoubtedly fueled tourist flows. Major events – including the America’s Cup qualifications (2013), Napoli Teatro Festival, Dolce & Gabbana fashion showcase (2016), and numerous concerts and spectacles – testify to institutional and private commitment (though financially modest) to establish the city as a destination within entertainment and international tourism circuits. Regione Campania continuously supported local audiovisual productions through the Film Commission’s funding since 2017. In line with the cine-tourism strategy (Regione Campania, 2023), the urban landscape turned into a prestigious stage for television, cinema, and advertising, rendering city branding increasingly attractive for cultural industries, including fashion and music operators. The success of artists like Liberato and Geolier, and filmmakers such as Francesco Lettieri (linked to the former by joint ventures) – alongside mainstream directors like Paolo Sorrentino and Ferzan Ozpetek – seduced mainstream publics and grabbed market shares by reviving a mythology of local creativity. The latter leverages the aestheticization of urban space and everyday life as a semiotic, expressive, and creative resource, blending magical realism with subcultural tropes. Football also proved central to city rebranding. Napoli Calcio’s iconic popularity – echoed by diasporic Neapolitan fans communities and culminating in the 2023 Scudetto celebrations – reinforced its international visibility. While dominant institutional and economic actors retained power to shape the city’s image through urban planning, investment, and mainstream narratives, the convergence between creative industries and participatory culture of digital platforms paved the way for burgeoning grassroots participation in the co-production of digitally mediated urban culture. TikTok’s adoption particularly catalyzes and amplifies existing urban rebranding and mediatization dynamics at unprecedented scale and across diverse social sectors.

Touristification altered urban and socio-economic fabric of neighborhoods around the UNESCO-listed historic core – Quartieri Spagnoli, Rione Sanità, Tribunali – which increasingly became areas of tourist entertainment, offering accommodations, eateries, souvenir shops, and logistical services. Semiotically, urban landscape itself transformed into promotional interface. As the Naples

Strategic Marketing Plan (2017–2022) outlines, the city itself is assimilated to a tourist product, while digital transformation - anticipated by MIBACT (2017) policy documents - radically altered travel inspiration, planning, and consumption patterns. Although temporarily halted by COVID-19, these trends resumed intensely since 2022 (see Reports: Comune di Napoli 2024; ISTAT 2024; Randstad 2024; Regione Campania 2023; SRM 2023).

Fig. 3 Naples as fashionable Brand, screenshot from Instagram



Tourism in Naples has historically been emphasized as a remedy for atavistic economic stagnation and cultural degradation. This mainstream rhetoric, supported by the discourses of intellectuals and ruling classes, can be criticized as colonial and propagandistic narrative (Petrillo, 2011). However, in a regional context (Campania) marked by high poverty and social exclusion risk (46,3% in 2022, Eurostat 2026a), persistent unemployment pools (239,6 thousands in 2024, Eurostat 2026b), de-industrialization, and the abolition of key welfare measures (such as the Citizenship Income in 2022), the tourist arrivals surge was seen by many as a chance for economic survival, and by others as an opportunity for enrichment. The unplanned repositioning of low-capital and work-intensive micro-businesses, informal labor, and local markets within the booming tourist economy resorts to the “vitalistic pragmatics” and “opportunism of the masses” (Gago, 2017) which characterize the Neapolitan “popular industriousness” (Arvidsson, 2019) and everyday “making do” (Pine, 2012). The rise of TikTok during the pandemic offered an affordable tool for improvised and petty tourism businesses emerging around the tourist economy.

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The grassroots imitation-driven social learning about such forms of platform exploitation can be seen as a peculiar expression of digital hustle (Ticona, 2022). This ‘neo-plebeian creativity’ eludes codified marketing strategies and institutional coordination, and appropriates technologies and cultural forms for the needs of living labor reproduction (Arvidsson et al., 2025b).

TikTok’s adoption accelerated typical urban touristification dynamics concerning the semiotic construction of urban space, affecting what Harvey terms the “spatial division of consumption” (1989). Imaginaries and perceptions of urban places and everyday life emerge as semiotic and aesthetic resources that can be easily iconized, reproduced, and appropriated to fuel, say, a “touristification from below” (see Spinelli, 2025). The relationship between local businesses and TikTok Napoli as a *topos* manifests through the local connotations of branded products and branding processes (Pike, 2009). The promotion of local goods and services, though not always tied to tourism sectors such as hospitality or utilities, overlaps with city branding as a vehicle for tourism promotion. Hence, what is *actually* branded is the *locally connoted consumer experience*. This is coupled with a dual dynamic. First, ordinary activities originally not designed for tourist consumption can be perceived and promoted as tourist sites: neighborhood marketplaces, ordinary clothes or cosmetic shops, traditional eateries frequented by workers and students are increasingly represented and visited as attractions. Conversely, analogous businesses directly intended for tourist consumption self-advertise as ordinary places attended by locals, frequently through pretended folkloric markers. Fictional consumer rituals blossom – ‘*limonata a cosce aperte*’¹ kiosks and ‘*cuoppo fritto*’² stalls – previously irrelevant for locals, now emblematic for tourist street food. Everyday usages like the ‘*panaro*’ (breadbasket) or laundry hanging from balconies become dramatic rituals and picturesque street furniture for tourist photography. Improbable ‘typical’ accommodations or taverns, placed in despised “*vasò*” (lower-class ground apartments), are presented as ‘authentic experiences’. Informal street vendors, operating within porous boundaries between economic survival, urban folklore, and vernacular spirituality – like socks and amulets’ sellers, ‘*pazzariell*’ (barker street artists), mestizos performing salt-throwing rituals, street gamblers, charlatans and fortune-tellers – increasingly act as video performers, or become suitable characters in others’ content. An emblematic example of ‘tiktokfication’ of everyday life places is the Maradona Shrine in Quartieri Spagnoli. This improvised monument created after the footballer’s death (2020) in a formerly abandoned square has become a tourist site, surrounded by makeshift museums and stalls, destination of

¹ Fizzy lemonade drunk with open thighs to avoid spillage.

² Fried seafood-filled paper cone.

genuine pilgrimages, and iconic spot reproduced through digital media. Several similar examples extensively populate TikTok Napoli *milieu* both as mediatized content and, crucially, as commonly navigated ‘columns’.

TikTok’s appropriation substantially affects urban representation modes. Places, cultural identities, symbols, and imaginaries (including stereotypes and exoticizations), and everyday practices, become a common repertoire, readily appropriated and encapsulated into platform content, whose circulation is translated into measurable visibility, reputation, and economic value at an unprecedented scale. Consequently, businesses and operators increasingly rely on this common resource for advertising and marketing.

4. Exploring TikTok Napoli for tourism

Fieldwork on tourism-related “side” of TikTok Napoli reveals a plural and stratified landscape, fed by vernacular creativity and recursively selected by algorithmic visibility, where promotional aims intersect with performativity, and spectacularization of everyday life (Codeluppi, 2021). It examines practices and content circulation across a heterogeneous set of local actors, showing that the platform’s tourism marketing functionalities have been widely embraced by actors traditionally excluded from mainstream media.

4.1 Fieldwork and methods

Research employed qualitative digital methods, informed by an extensive review of TikTok studies, and by personal and contextual reflexivity (Caetano, 2015; Olmos-Vega et al., 2022) as an autochthonous critical observer, to examine actors, content, and practices, considering socio-cultural dynamics over metrics. Rather than a defined *corpus* or *field*, unit of analysis emerges as a technocultural *milieu* supported by the platform’s socio-technical infrastructure and implemented by the sociocultural practices traversing it. Recognizing TikTok Napoli as both digitally mediated *milieu* and assemblage of situated practices, the methodological approach complemented digital ethnography and content analysis with contextual fieldwork – through participant observation and semi-structured interviews – to focus on in vivo communicative strategies, motivations, and contextualize representational patterns, including aesthetics and meaning interpretations. Research addressed neglected qualitative aspects of grounded communicative practices, in order to identify backgrounds, purposes and motivations of involved actors and the socio-cultural implications concerning representational agency.

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TikTok Napoli scope was progressively defined through discursive and visual analysis of multiple sources – following media accounts, news, anecdotes, conversations, and multi-sited observations, about events, people, and stories - and selecting materials on exposure, relevance, intertextuality, and recurrence criteria. Walkthrough analysis of TikTok’s interface and functions, informed by literature (Zulli & Zulli, 2022; Lin et al., 2023), surveyed user experience, affordances, and constraints, and identified consequent operational challenges and epistemological aporias that hinder analytical reliability. For instance, the “For You” section basically presents decontextualized content (Bhandari & Bimo, 2022). As a geo-culturally marked ‘side’ (Maddox & Gill, 2023) TikTok Napoli constitutes technocultural collectives with blurrier boundaries than niche communities. It emerges from TikTok’s distinct socio-technical composition of clustered content and publics, shaped by algorithmic curation and audience interactions (Gerbaudo, 2024). Therefore, a platform-mediated field had to be constructed through iterative interactions with content and profiles, rather than merely accessed through standard methods based on metadata or keyword scraping (Caliandro & Gandini, 2019), which are limited by the opacity of algorithmic distribution. Training the algorithm via a curated anonymous profile allowed the observation proxy to be shaped as “machine-habitus” (Airoldi, 2024), in the form of an “algorithmized self” (Bhandari & Bimo, 2022) and enabled a snowball sampling of relevant profiles and content.

Digital ethnography and content analysis encompassed 1,510 videos and 472 profiles (March 2025), including actors and content related to Neapolitan tourism, selected through different criteria: textual markers, thematic or expressive relevance, engagement metrics, pattern reproduction or exceptionality regarding actors and content. Relevant posts and profiles have been saved and catalogued. Profiles spanned micro (<1k followers, >10k likes), meso (>10k followers, >100k likes), and macro-influencer (>100k followers, >10M likes) scales, reflecting differing levels of professionalism, stylistic curation, and audience engagement.

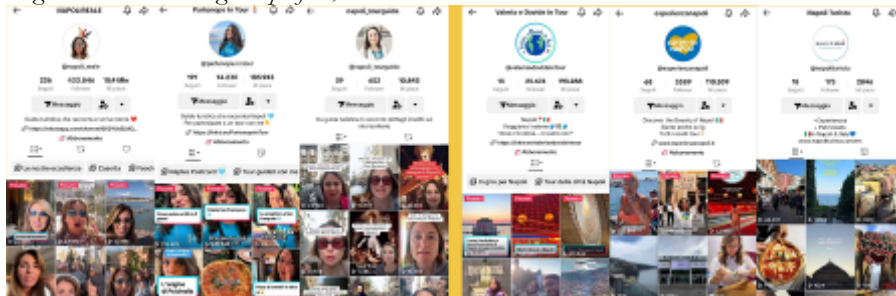
These include tourist guides (official and informal), accommodation providers, communication agencies, specialised content creators, tourist services, street food, restaurants, small shops, informal vendors, street performers, and others. Representative profiles have been observed diachronically. Relevant content have been analyzed in depth as cultural items. Conversations, place-visiting, participant observations, and interviews on the broader TikTok Napoli case study complemented fieldwork. Related materials - fieldnotes, links, screenshots, descriptions, excerpts, conversation notes, newspaper articles, pictures, curated screenshots collections and content reviews - have been recursively collected and elaborated for in-depth focuses.

Following sections offer tentative categorization and typization of identified actors and related practices emerging from fieldwork, accounting for the variety of purposes and manners. Illustrated excerpts provide empirical examples for related interpretations and reflections, pointing out inherent tensions between grassroots agency and commodification logics.

4.1.1 Travel guides and vloggers.

Tourist guides are pivotal figures in the local tourism economy. Either certified professionals or informal chaperones and promoters, they populate TikTok Napoli with dozens of accounts exhibiting intriguing practices, including “advertainment” (Musso, 1999) and “edu-tainment”. Informal guides’ presence is noteworthy, suggesting they view TikTok as a promotional channel comparably to official guides, potentially disregarding legal constraints, and reputation risks.

Fig.4. tourist guide profiles, screenshots collection



Within TikTok Napoli, local guides coexist alongside non-autochthonous travel creators producing advisory content about Naples’ travel experience, promoting, for instance, ‘what to do in 3 days...’ ‘best 10 mad activities...’. These diverse gazes offer comparative examples in the perspectives, selection and framing of places, attractions, landscapes, atmospheres, and everyday settings. Commonly, they leverage authenticity, with captions like: ‘immersion in *authentic* Neapolitan cuisine’ ... ‘stroll through the *real* Naples’.

In their pieces, observed non-local guides, travel creators and even tourists, tend to reproduce the flat representations of stereotyped atmospheres, everyday lifestyles and folklore of Neapolitan tourist sites, people, and places.

Analysis of accounts, content, and audience reception reveals that guides frequently operate beyond professional boundaries of cultural tourism. Several actors captivate audience attention through piquing sketches, gestures, slogans,

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interactive hooks like quizzes, challenges, gamified tours, and employ storytelling enriched by anecdotes and legends, humorous formats, and playful self-representations. Some propose virtual accompaniment and immersive experiences, producing entertainment-oriented presentations of local heritage and everyday places. Some reinterpret historical characters and events through irony and mimicry. Many frequently appropriate and tailor folkloric elements and reproduce local stereotypes. Apart from single ‘viral’ videos, some reach large numbers of stable followers (400K+ for the most followed) and accumulated interactions (10M+), becoming popular figures whose reputation transcends their primary occupation.

Notably, leveraging AI, the platform autonomously generates thematic directories like “Guida Turistica Napoli”, with indexed URLs, fed by related aggregated content by users.

4.1.2 *Media artists and travel creators*

Communication agencies, photo studios, drone operators, local thematic channels, and travel creators increasingly choose TikTok for the enhancement and exploitation of urban landscapes’ aesthetics. Content appears detached from creators, who remain behind the lens. Performativity shifts from persons to places and situations. Sensationalism is achieved by technical means, such as editing, framing, and effects. Footage resembles documentary, advertising, or artistic genres. Recurrent themes are iconic cityscapes, especially aerial panoramas captured by drones, and street-level shots, either in first or third person, often placed in lively situations or events.

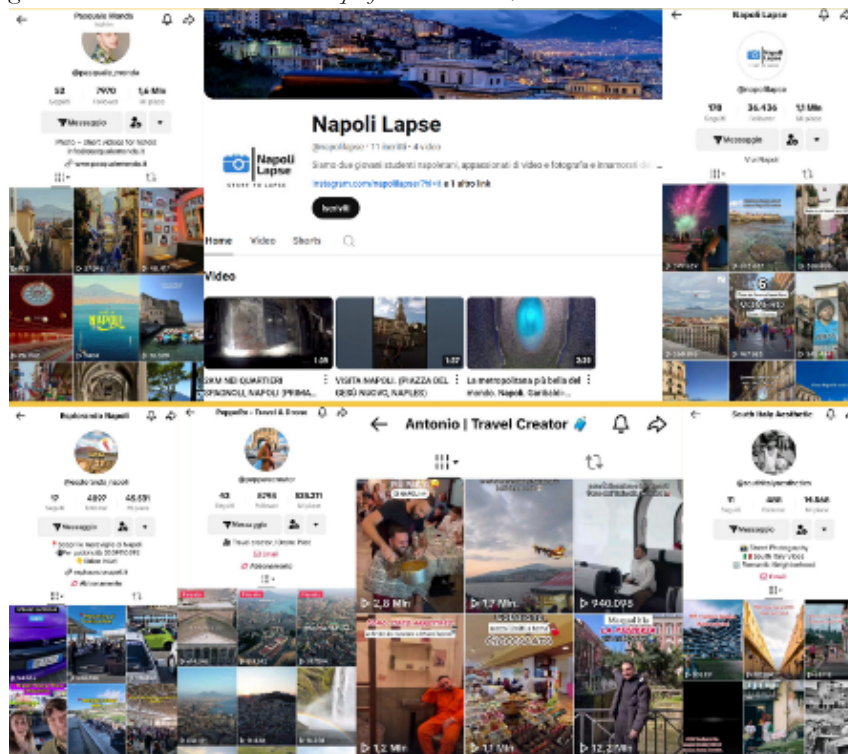
Accounts range from amateurs to professionals, functioning as business promotion, event marketing, or practitioners’ portfolios. Using TikTok to publish footage

“isn’t much different from the channels we’ve been using for longer [YouTube, Instagram] ... format changes, and above all, we get many more views.” (photography studio assistant, *fieldnotes*)

Some content exhibits codified visual languages and techniques: cinematic shots, aerial footage, evocative soundtracks contribute to spectacularizing iconic urban landscapes by emphasizing their scenic qualities and emotional appeal. Most collected videos typically celebrate the vibrant atmospheres of urban life folklore and its stereotyped street food, marketplaces, swarming alleys, children playing, elderly sunbathing, constructing stylized, picturesque, and flashy portrayals oscillating between romanticized ‘slow life’, hustle and

bustle urban traffic, exoticized everyday quirks, and oddities. This aestheticization transfigures mundane elements into desirable visual imaginaries, tending to comply with TikTok's formats and algorithmic visibility canons.

Fig. 4 media artists and travel creators' profiles and content, screenshots collection



Footage mostly integrates urban life and landscapes as symbolic capital for attention, distinction, and value, for instance: capturing sonic-visual excesses reminiscent of marketplaces boisterousness. Differing formats transform modalities and techniques of urban representation. In turn, tourist-dense urban areas increasingly adapt to this representational logic: arranged as scenographic spaces with signage, placards, installations, and street furniture, they configure media-oriented environments for content production.

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4.1.3 Businesses and/as creators

Numerous local businesses – including shops, restaurants, stalls, tourist services, and attractions – and hawkers employ TikTok for low-cost, improvised or semi-professional branding and marketing strategies. They utilize advertainment techniques and spectacularize daily routines, transforming their work and social interactions into audiovisual pieces suitable for public display and viral circulation. Beyond commercial promotion, content denotes a symbolic valuation of daily labor and a recognition of ordinary consumer cultures over elitist or distinctive consumption, integrating local economic actors into digital visibility circuits. Ordinary gestures – managing stalls, meal preparation, customer service – become performative sequences, either scripted and serialized or completely improvised, eliciting engagement through aesthetics of authenticity and proximity. Content frequently leverages the appeal and sympathy of managers and workers, reproducing face-to-face relationships with customers.

Fig. 5 Shops and business creators profiles and content, screenshots collection



Some affiliate local ‘neighborhood influencers’ (Arvidsson et al., 2025a) or contract proper media managers and agencies, which in turn, sometimes, are but professional and entrepreneurial advancements of unlikely amateur influencers. In one observed case, a restaurant owner, who became famous on TikTok (over 240K stable followers) by promoting his activities, even began to act as ‘influencer’, exploiting his popularity by making promotional videos and reviews for other businesses.

This lo-fi self-branding blurs commercial promotion, personal performance, and identity construction, and constitutes a distinctive trait of TikTok’s appropriation by conventionally underexposed economic actors. Such practices have transformed dozens of modest businesses into enticing showcases and even nationally recognised brands, capable of attracting capital investment for setting up holdings and franchising. Moreover, their shops have

become tourist attractions, whose appeal consists in theatrical consumption experiences. Exemplary well-known cases are Donato's sandwich shop (with its iconic slogan "with crumb or without") or New Martina's smartphone accessories store, whose visibility and commercial expansion started from TikTok videos shared for fun by former shop assistants.

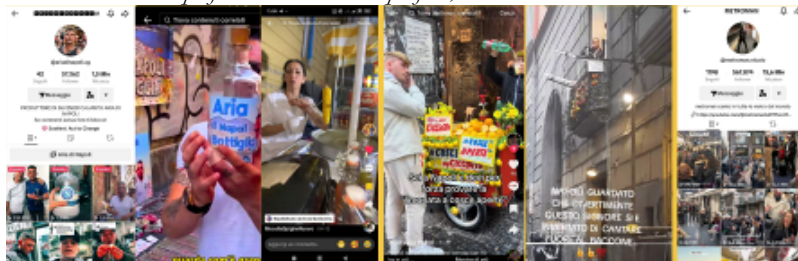
'TikTokization' of local shops' promotion reflects a broader 'becoming-attractions' trend of commercial sites, as testified by TripAdvisor, indexing places like Pignasecca, Poggioreale, and Antignano popular neighborhood markets, **Jolie clothes shop, Il Gab***no restaurant L**e Life Spa, and Cam***ta Spritz bar, in top 100 visited attractions chart (TripAdvisor, *field collection*).

Platform analytics also provide insights into marketing strategies:

"Lately, we mostly sell to tourists" ... "looking how videos are doing we figure out which items can sell most" (stallholder, *fieldnotes*).

TikTok Napoli largely incorporates communicative forms from marketplace and street culture by translating them into the communicative format of the short video: street cries, jokes, shopkeepers' product displays, vendors' gags, calls and trades, and popular spectacle.

Fig. 6 street vendors and performers content and profiles, screenshots collection



These performative practices, strongly embedded in their original context, gain exposure to the gazes of decontextualized audiences, functioning as both creative sources and semiotic mediators. Their styles resonate with the tradition of the carnivalesque and the "grotesque realism" - i.e. the image system of popular comic culture - which Bakhtin traced in Rabelais' work (1979): where bodies and materials are presented in their universal festive aspect, and "comic, social and bodily are presented [...] as an organic and indivisible whole [...] joyful and beneficial...".

Marketplaces and informal labor platformization, spurred by tourist consumption, fosters the re-adaptation of street commerce performativity to

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the tourist gaze: this is the case of informal shopkeepers, street vendors, and performers in the historic city centre, who have gained popularity by selling packaged bottles of ‘Naples air’, lip-syncing for tourists, re-enacting historical Neapolitan characters and costumes, or chanting from balconies.

4.1.4 Accommodation facilities

The exploration also found accommodation providers (B&Bs, hotels, agencies) employing TikTok to develop dynamic promotional strategies beyond conventional advertising. Their accounts utilize advertainment techniques – integrating storytelling, musical trends, and viral references – to create hybrid content reflecting customers’ tastes and aspirations.

Observed items frequently emphasize unusual kitsch furnishings and bold accessories, such as colorful wallpapers and whirlpool bathtubs beside beds, as distinctive features. Others foreground experiential dimensions: besides the buildings’ amenities and apartments’ furniture and accessories, the focus extends to the ‘unique atmosphere’ of the surrounding neighborhoods, and relatable narratives designed to foster immersive engagement and shape tourists’ expectations. This way, content catalyzes consumers’ aspirations by shaping a lively perception of the stay experience as embedded in distinctive urban settings.

Fig. 7 accommodation profiles and content, screenshots collection



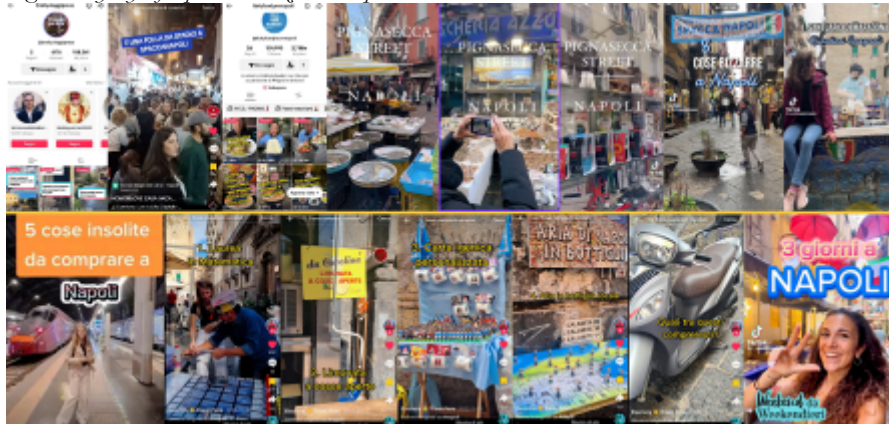
Account management – either professional or amateur – plays a strategic role in sustaining algorithmic visibility and cultivating heterogeneous audiences. Examination of comments shows many users directly interact through content asking operators about prices and reservations or reviewing their stay. TikTok functions as both an alternative and complementary channel to established booking platforms, sometimes integrated with direct communication tools (WhatsApp, private phone), even to evade platform commissions. Notably,

some accounts repurpose TikTok even for recruitment; to attract candidates, posts employ neutral and direct communication, omitting brand identity or working conditions.

4.1.5 Urban everyday life spectacularization

Algorithmic-driven aggregations of content set in the urban environment or associated with its cultural elements, multipurposely and randomly produced by both native and non-native residents, contribute to shape dynamic city representations, appealing as sightseeing previews or teasers for localized consumption.

Fig. 8 everyday life spectacularization tropes, screenshots collection



The concentration of tourists in certain areas provides occasions for humorous sketches' production. Scoffs and gags frequently employ stereotypes, and clichés as forms of reflective irony and *détournement*, either from locals toward tourists or vice versa, or captioned for instance as: 'typical Neapolitan daily' or 'how Neapolitans see tourists'. Non-local creators trigger ethnicising voyeurism of lurkers by labelling posts as – for instance – the 'incredible crowd in Naples' alleys', or exhibited 'Neapolitans' *making-do*', while autochthonous creators sometimes repurpose these caricatured representations, ironically mocking or internalizing them, unwittingly or deliberately, to produce content with high symbolic and provoking value. Tour operators, agencies and businesses, vloggers can appropriate such tropes to generate promotional content with advantageous targeting, recursively reinforcing their circulation.

4.2 Findings, observations, and discussion

Actors' variety shows a more distributed and plural representational agency, contributing to grassroots mediatization of urban space. Promotional practices foster presence and visibility of local branding within translocal circuits, aligning local offerings with diversified consumer aspirations, particularly fast tourism.

Interviews reveal that users perceive TikTok's visibility, fandoms, and trends as more fluid and ephemeral than other platforms, with recommendation criteria described as opaque or 'despotic'. Visibility attainment is often claimed as unexpected and unwitting:

"I started by chance" or "just for fun" ... "I don't think about how I'm going to make them [videos] beforehand: I turn this thing on [phone] and talk." "Suddenly, some content goes viral, and people stopped me in the street ... while others, nobody watched them, I didn't get why ..."
(restaurant-manager, *fieldnotes*)

Although techniques range from craft to professional, algorithmic uncertainty limits professional content creation advantages over accidental virality of more improvised, mundane, and lo-fi amatorial content, which leverages personal aptitudes: sympathy/provocation, coziness/rawness. For instance, some coin distinctive slogans, especially in Neapolitan. Thus, alongside practitioners, even conventionally marginal actors – belonging to lower classes or holding lesser economic, cultural, or professional capital - seem potentially able to achieve visibility, reputation, and profits.

Albeit heterogeneous, observed actors collectively present varied modalities of platform appropriation as a promotion and marketing tool. Some content typologies constitute 'platform-native' common repertoires. Similarities and recurrences emerge from analysis. Performed authenticity characterizes most content and profiles. Content creation strategies can also overlap across actor categories: for instance, food-focused content brings together guides, travel influencers, business (restaurants, bars) promoters, and shopkeepers. They emphasize the 'sensorial experience' of local gastronomy, and symbolic aspects by first-person visual storytelling, dramatizing places' authenticity, or the triviality of street-food.

Visual storytelling techniques operate as a dense narrative mode, even for the distinctive framing of landmarks. They embody cultural elements and symbols, arouse affective investments and meaning-making over local elements, and resemantizes places and figures for digital consumption.

To be noted, content also comprises livestreaming, whose systematic monitoring proves difficult owing to their ephemeral nature. Several actors use livestreaming as complementary channel for different purposes: mediating telemarketing and promotional offers; establishing two-way channel for directly engaging audiences; raising funds through digital tips; speculating on their storytelling or interactions with other creators.

Participation in urban landscape representations is increasingly widespread, disintermediated, and driven by diverse interests absorbed by the platform's versatility. Through mimetic logics of refraction and imitation (Zulli & Zulli, 2020), creators and audiences recursively contribute to modulate composite urban representations. Decontextualized from promotional purposes, these representations redefine city imaginaries in synthetic, simplified fashion. As effect, physical landscapes, media representations, and collective imaginaries continuously reshape one another. The refunctionalization of ordinary urban spaces (squares, streets, shops, houses) as scenic environments and symbolic resources, resulting from the fieldwork, is a real manifestation of this phenomenon. Although content production appears increasingly lively, flexible, and heterogeneous – reflecting the pluralization of engaged actors and voices – urban representations tend to be flattened into labeled framing centered on entertainment and consumption, recursively selected by algorithmic distribution.

Fieldwork illuminates different platform appropriation modes within Naples' tourism economy. Identified actors collectively contribute to co-producing urban space as consumption site (RQ1), reshaping tourist imaginaries through platform-mediated representations. By leveraging vernacular performativity, such grassroots appropriation redistributes representational agency (RQ2), enabling previously marginalized segments to access digital visibility and economic opportunities within the reputation economy. However, aspirations for visibility and income orient creative practices toward reproducible tropes serving tourist gaze expectations. Platform's opaque logics further shape content toward marketable spectacles. Urban identity negotiation risks being reduced into stereotyped folklore and fashionable brands (RQ3). Socio-cultural implications raise critical questions explored in conclusions (Section 5).

5. Conclusions

Exploring TikTok Napoli demonstrates how representational agency, urban mediascape co-production, and tourism consumer cultures represent

critical stakes for current urban transformations. It provides unique perspectives on how new social actors interpret touristification: engaging with visibility, representation, and platform-mediated practices; contributing to urban visual culture and semiotics; and establishing new economic relations. TikTok's adaptation to Neapolitan tourism economy relies on its grassroots appropriation as communicative and commercial infrastructure, where digital performativity, algorithmic logics, and economic imperatives converge.

5.1 TikTok Napoli as translocal mediascape: tourist gaze and contested urban representations.

Digital ethnography traverses TikTok Napoli as dynamic terrain where popular expressiveness flows adapt to platform logics, re-articulating identities and situated imaginaries toward the "tourist gaze". Content circulation, reproduction and recontextualization constitute a translocal and transcultural layer within the urban mediascape. Following Appadurai (1996), mediascapes

"tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality [...] they offer to those who experience and transform them [...] a series of elements ([...] characters, plots, and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own [...] as those of others living in other places. These scripts [...] get disaggregated into complex sets of metaphors (...), they help to constitute narratives of the Other and proto narratives of possible lives, fantasies, [...] prolegomena to the desire for acquisition and movement" (pp. 35-36).

Signs, audiovisual narratives and representations ensembles, replicated and reworked by *imitation publics*, transcend digital boundaries, filtering perceptions of urban landscapes and associated meanings and desires. Across the mediascape, the mobilization of signs and meanings reconfigures urban topology around consumption. Drawing on Barthes' (1986) urban semiology, the city's "semantic force" constitutes a distinct dimension beyond planning or function. Urban space operates as signifying system interpreted through everyday activities and social encounters. Urban signification functions as metaphorical process where meanings - crossing psychosocial networks - become signs for others and vice versa. Spatialized semiotics manifest particularly in the city's 'erotic' dimension, fostering desire and sociality through ordinary practices like eating or shopping. Platforms mediate and distribute urban semiotic chains for consumer publics (Arvidsson, 2013), redesigning the spatial division of consumption.

Common markers – such as languages, settings, and cultural references – as well as intersubjectivity and intertextuality characterize TikTok Napoli as a

locally-connoted *topos*. Yet, content fruition and “decoding” operate across translocal circuits and transcultural publics. Even Neapolitans constitute diasporic multitudes whose cultural reproduction exceeds the local community. TikTok Napoli also enacts that “prevailing immediacy of translocal communication by the media within the diaspora [...] based on the latest wave of mediatization” (Hepp, 2012, p. 96). Translocality (Freitag & von Oppen, 2010) accounts for subaltern and irregular mobilities which contribute to shaping socio-spatial relations. It foregrounds non-linear formations, where local identity is reinscribed and articulated even through the circulation of representations and commodities. Vernacular creations traverse geographical boundaries, producing localities through mobility rather than settlement and tradition.

Within touristification, urban mediascapes becomes contested representational spaces – transit zones and symbolic extraction sites, exposing people and places to the tourist gaze’s expectations and narratives, which in turn reflect consumer habits and aspirations. Different actors appropriate urban representations, redesigning emergent geographies of tourist consumption, while negotiating aesthetics and meanings between local identity and tourist gaze. Urban space simultaneously appears as real place, epitomized scenography, and repository of cultural products, consumed as content or as environment for tourist experiences. While autochthony³ may appear as a reactive or strategic value positioning. These contradictions create terrain for negotiating identities, representations, and narratives, as well as for exploiting and customizing experiences of knowing, visiting, and living the city. Autochthonous creators negotiate local identity across translocal publics, including tourist-targeted reception. Consequently, representational practices collide with those “imaginary geographies” (Said, 1978) which are projected over the city through exoticizing and ethnicising tropes and discourses. Both engage in a reciprocal game of exchange, recuperation, contestation, and (re)appropriation. Inferiorizing stereotypes, exoticisms and ethnicized tropes, historically assigned to Neapolitan culture and lifestyles as ‘internal Other’ of national popular culture (Schneider, 1998), are simultaneously negotiated and re-appropriated as symbolic capital. Detached from the exceptionalist, anthropological-criminal framing, these tropes circulate as innocuous, cheap spectacles for tourists, becoming the decorative backdrop for baroque consumerism that deepens tourism industry entrenchment in the urban fabric.

³ Understood as implicit assertion of belonging to a traditional local culture.

5.2 Representational agency and urban space commodification

Popular mediatization practices facilitate TikTok's bottom-up infrastructuring, embedding the platform in urban culture and markets, and engaging socially heterogeneous publics. They significantly extend representational agency to segments traditionally marginalized from media visibility and reputation economy. These dynamics challenge established hierarchies and prerogatives over local branding, providing mediation power for social actors who seek conditions of adaptation, survival, or profit-making, within the tourist economy. It also provides a mediated space where even devalued and disregarded consumer styles and trends acquire geo-culturally connoted distinctiveness across broader publics.

However, under touristification, popular mediatization also reinforces the "destination-product" logic long imposed by institutional and corporate narratives, contributing to the reconfiguration of urban space as both lived environments and platform-mediated commodified sights, where living places become sites for tourist consumption.

While TikTok's functional accessibility fosters spontaneous performativity, the aspirations to generate income – fueled by the platform's narratives – orient content production toward reproducible tropes and marketable spectacles. Vernacular creativity is largely engaged in competition over the 'spatial division of tourist consumption' in urban spaces. Therefore, the popular appropriation of short-video entertainment in Naples operates ambiguously. On the one hand, it enables conventionally marginalized actors to develop creative agency and economic power within urban transformations. On the other, it reinforces the dominant dynamics of touristification, including the flattening of urban imagery on tourist consumption and the commodification of the city's everyday life. Rather than a real democratization of the urban mediascape, this enhances phenomena of urban space commodification and urban culture extractivism, which undermine local conditions of living and labor. Such dynamics align with urban development macro-trends (Esposito, 2023) which erode conditions for social reproduction of lower classes, while issues of sustainable governance regarding the socio-spatial consequences of overtourism on the urban fabric remain disregarded (see Tavernini, 2025).

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