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Tourism, Representations
and Preservation of Territories

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The geographic approximation on the news about the ‘Central Italy’ earthquake and its effects on tourism

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ABSTRACT

In 2016 and 2017 a series of earthquakes hit some territories of Central Italy, causing victims and damages. The news was immediately spread by social media who, along with national Institutes, adopted the broad denomination *Centro Italia* to identify the affected territory, instead of using more confined and precise toponyms. The purpose of this article is to analyse what repercussions this choice – probably unintentional – had on those territories that form part of Central Italy but were not affected by earthquakes. To do that, an analysis on a decline in tourism is presented, considering it as a fickle business that can quickly oscillate depending on the perception strangers have about a certain territory. A focus is proposed on territories of Abruzzo and Umbria that experienced a fall in presences for being perceived as unsafe.

Keywords: earthquake; Centro Italia; media; perception; tourism.

Parole chiave: terremoto; Centro Italia; media; percezione; turismo.

1. MEDIA DEVELOPMENT AND ‘SPEED-DRIVEN’ JOURNALISM

The purpose of this article is to analyse if the denomination *Centro Italia* for the series of earthquakes that hit some areas of Central Italy in 2016

and 2017 influenced the perception people have had about the territories that fall under that definition. To do that, a framework must be given first on the evolution the world of mass media has been experiencing over the past few years. The media constitutes the mean through which people mainly get to know what happens in the world. As it is a consolidated trend by now, the news is shifting from printed-paper to online pages. Digital journalism, as it has been called (Kawamoto 2003; Scott 2005), is still generating transformations – in the way news is spread and citizens get informed – that have not crystallized yet. Nonetheless, one aspect of this new paradigm that is clearly perceivable by all users and has already been analysed by researches lies in its speed, for which the expression ‘speed-driven journalism’ has been coined (Lee 2014; Lee 2015). Speed is requested since the information can nowadays be instantaneously transmitted thanks to the Internet, specifically through social networks like *Facebook*, *Instagram*, *Twitter*, *WhatsApp* and *Telegram*, just to mention the most known. The decline in sales of newspapers that most countries are experiencing¹ testifies how a news can appear as ‘old’ if it is read the following day.

The concept of ‘speed-driven journalism’ strictly links to the phenomenon of clickbaiting. Since most online press is free of charge, the only source of income for many editors is now advertising (Triani 2017). Advertisers generally pay for their banners (online advertisements) according to how many users come across the advertisements themselves; this system is known as ‘pay-per-click’, “one in which a company has adverts on someone else’s website and pays the website owner each time someone clicks on the advert” (Collins Dictionary, ‘*pay-per-click*’). This logic has strongly overturned certain professional dynamics in newsrooms across the world (Rosenberg and Feldman 2008; Lewis and Cushion 2009; Reinardy 2010).

According to Fisher (2014), quest for truth and relevance of the news no longer represent the guiding lights for the work in newsrooms in favour of quickness. Ward (2013) argues that “speed puts pressure on newsrooms to publish stories before they are adequately checked and verified as to the source of the story and the reliability of the alleged facts”. The ‘24-hour news culture’ strongly affected the way we have been informing ourselves during the last decade. Before the advent of the Internet, most people used to get informed through newspapers; newspapers were (and still are, even if their future is unsure) published

¹ For data about Italy cfr. www.adsnotizie.it.

once per day, around midnight. This means newsrooms and journalists have time to get informed better before writing about a certain happening. This time for in-depth analyses seems now to vanish in favour of quickness; rather, journalists may fine-tune the news once it has already been published (and, therefore, read by somebody) by updating it (Fisher 2014). This leads to the fact that users who read the first news flash might bear in mind wrong details that foster a wrong perception of a fact, even if they come across the following updates later.

2. ITALY 2016-2017 EARTHQUAKES

2.1. *The facts*

As it appears evident, natural events with a catastrophic effect appeal to social media (Leone 1991; Rosling 2018). The series of earthquakes that in 2016 and 2017 struck some areas of Central Italy is probably the first natural event occurred during the social media era in Italy. Social media existed also when the previous catastrophic earthquake of L'Aquila took place in 2009, but at that time, the Internet was not as pervasive as it was later².

The strongest shocks of this series of seismic events took place: (i) 24 August 2016 with epicenter located in Accumoli (Lazio) and magnitude 6 on the Richter scale; (ii) 26 October 2016 with epicenter located in Visso (Marche) and magnitude 5.9 on the Richter scale; (iii) 30 October 2016 with epicenter in Norcia (Umbria) and magnitude 6.5; (iv) 18 January 2017 with epicenter located in Capitignano (Abruzzo) and magnitude 5.5. Even if this sequence of earthquakes overall struck four administrative regions, each of these was not hit on its whole, since the territory interested was, overall, relatively restricted. This series of earthquakes is universally known in Italy as *terremoto del Centro Italia* (Central Italy earthquake). Before analysing how this denomination affected the perception people have had about that territory, an example is given about how newsrooms can provide wrong information about

² According to the World Bank (2019), 48% of Italians used to surf the net in 2009 compared to 61% in 2016 and 63% in 2017. Particularly, the use of social media has strongly grown after 2010.

natural events due to the ‘speed-driven’ paradigm. *Figure 1* shows a news post spread via social network *Facebook* by Italian online newspaper *The Post Internazionale* about a tremor that took place 1 January 2019.



Figure 1. – Facebook Post on TPI page spreading a wrong detail about the epicentre of a tremor that took place 1st January 2019. Source: screenshot personally taken on social network Facebook.

The news was spread a few minutes after the event occurred, but, initially, with an evident mistake. The municipality where the epicentre was located, Collelongo, is administratively part of the large province of L’Aquila, in the Abruzzo region. The capital of the province, contrary to what appears in the post description, is around 50/60 kilometres distant from the epicentre as the crow flies, not 3. It is therefore wrong to state, as it happened in the title, that the tremor took place in L’Aquila, where, actually, people did not even feel it. The reason for the mistake is obviously not demonstrable, but may concern those dynamics in newsrooms analysed at the beginning of this article; the publication of a news about a natural event whose causes still need to be ascertained, soon after it occurs, may lead to spread wrong crucial details. Indeed, the town of L’Aquila, already known for having been hit by a strong earthquake in 2009, may be perceived as a more and more unsafe place to stay. For evidence on how wrong perception of a territory affected by an earthquake can generate economic damages, the case of the ‘Central Italy’ earthquake is now analysed.

2.2. *Alternative possible toponyms*

A list of the names of the major earthquakes that hit Italy during 20th and the beginning of 21th century is here provided: Messina (1908), Marsica (1915), Belice (1968), Friuli (1976), Valnerina (1979), Irpinia (1980), Carlentini (1990), Umbria e Marche (1997), Molise (2002), L'Aquila (2009), Emilia (2012). This includes: 4 names of natural areas; 4 names of cities or towns; 2 names of historical regions; 2 names of administrative regions. In 2016, for the first time, the name of a macro area, *Italia Centrale*, was adopted to name a seismic event.

According to Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) and European Statistical Office (Eurostat), Central Italy macro area encompasses the following administrative regions: Toscana, Umbria, Marche and Lazio. Actually, only three of these were partially interested by the seismic sequence. The Abruzzo region, also partially involved, is part of Southern Italy according to these classifications, even if it can be considered as part of Central Italy for its geographical position.

When the first shock hit the territory (24 August 2016 at 3:36 am, with epicenter located in Accumoli, better known as *terremoto di Amatrice*), the news was immediately spread through social media, online newspapers and 24-hours television channels, at the same time the facts themselves were developing. Already from the first quake, when it was impossible to foresee more shocks would have occurred in that territory, the denomination *Centro Italia* was adopted to define the area. What may have happened is that journalists did not have time to get informed well on how that specific area is called, for example by contacting a geographer, before publishing the news. Let it be clear that stating that “*terremoto 6.0 devasta il centro Italia*”, as described on both *Il Corriere della Sera* (Sclaunich 2016) and *La Repubblica* (Lombardi *et al.* 2016) websites that day is not wrong. By the same token, nevertheless, an excessively broad definition was adopted to describe the area; this choice, as this article aims to analyse, has fostered a wrong perception about the wideness of the territory in question. Apart from social media, also Italian National Institute of Geophysics and Vulcanology (INGV) named it as *Terremoto del Centro Italia*, before retracting some months later. It must be said that it is not easy to identify the concerned area with a specific administrative region: this is probably the reason why *Centro Italia* was preferred, in order not to be wrong anyway. At a further level of analysis, municipalities hit by the first quake on 24 August 2016 (fundamentally Accumoli, Amatrice and Arquata del Tronto) form part of a natural area

known as *Alta Valle del Tronto*. Such a choronym probably appears to be long and not easily identifiable for the instant language of social media, yet more appropriate. In addition, the coronym *Monti della Laga*, even if slightly broader, could have been adopted in this circumstance.

The following quakes that also caused damages and victims were still referred to as *Centro Italia* by the media³. The reasoning about the toponym to be adopted gets difficult when considering that more tremors occurred later, and all of them are considered to be part of the same seismic sequence (INGV 2018). Between 26 and 30 October 2016, a substantial number of shocks struck the municipalities of Castel Sant'Angelo sul Nera, Norcia, Pieve Torina, Preci, Ussita and Visso; these and few others villages fall within the borders of Monti Sibillini National Park (*Parco Nazionale dei Monti Sibillini*), that being the toponym that could have been adopted to describe those specific quakes. Finally, the 18 January 2017, a series of shocks were registered in the municipalities of Capitignano, Montereale and Barete; the close villages of Campotosto, Cagnano Amiterno and Pizzoli also turned out to be damaged. All these municipalities fall under the toponym *Alta Valle dell'Aterno*, a natural region that constitutes a 'district' of the Gran Sasso and Monti Della Laga National Park (*Parco Nazionale del Gran Sasso e Monti della Laga*).

Even though it is possible to find more precise and circumscribed denominations for each of these earthquakes, a problem arises if we seek for a toponym that includes the mentioned territories altogether, hit by different quakes of the same seismic sequence. Indeed, no existing toponym can be adopted to describe the whole area. The broadest name that could be related to the area is *Alta Sabina*, which would include the affected territories in the provinces of Rieti, Perugia and L'Aquila, but would also exclude Marche region and include territories in the provinces of Rieti and Rome that were not involved. Nevertheless, the wording *Centro Italia* was already adopted soon after the first shock (24 August 2016), when it was not possible to imagine that was only the beginning of a sequence, therefore the only choronym *Alta Valle del Tronto* would have suited the situation. As mentioned before, INGV too used to refer to it as "terremoto del Centro Italia" in its public announcements; how-

³ For example, the last strong tremor that hit Central Italy on 18 January 2017, was referred to as "terremoto in Centro Italia, forti scosse in Abruzzo" on *Il Corriere della Sera* webpage the same day (Geraci 2017).

ever, the Institute mended its ways on February 2018 by changing official name in “sequenza sismica di Amatrice, Norcia e Visso” (ANSA 2017).

Nonetheless, the criteria adopted for this choice do not appear clear: only two of the three mentioned villages were place of epicentres; in the first case, Accumoli, not Amatrice, was the epicentre, even though Amatrice is a more known and populated village. Furthermore, this choice includes only three of the four geographical areas hit by shocks. Adding Capitignano to the list, epicentre of three earthquakes with a magnitude higher than 5.0 Richter degrees on 18 January 2017, would not have excluded the *Alta Valle dell'Aterno* area from the denomination. Despite the official change, Italian public opinion still knows this event as *terremoto del Centro Italia*.

3. GEOGRAPHICAL PERCEPTION AND TOURISM DROP

The last purpose of this article is to analyse the repercussions of the adoption of such a broad definition on the ‘destination image’ – i.e. “the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that a person has of a destination” (Crompton 1979, 18) – of those territories that go under the wording *Centro Italia* but were not interested by earthquakes. As a matter of fact, researchers are in consensus about the importance of image for a destination’s viability and success in tourism (Tasci and Gartner 2007). To this purpose, an analysis of tourist flow through data and declarations by qualified witnesses is proposed. Tourism was chosen as a fickle business that can quickly oscillate depending on the perception and the sentiment strangers have – or the good or bad news they read – about a certain territory (for other examples, see: Mercille 2005; Castelltort and Mäder 2010). It is here necessary to clarify that the analysis concentrates on those territories that unreasonably experienced a drop in tourism since risk was not higher than it normally is; it is obvious, on the other hand, that those areas directly affected experience a drop in tourism as well as in more economic sectors, as shown by ISTAT (2017, 9).

3.1. *Consequence in Abruzzo*

A part of Central Italy that was affected by this communication includes all those territories that form part of Abruzzo but those of *Alta Valle*

dell'Aterno, clearly penalized. Public opinion still has in mind the 6.1 magnitude earthquake that in 2009 strongly affected Abruzzo's capital, L'Aquila, causing 309 victims. Tourism drop is for example recorded in a document showing a decline in revenue for tourist facilities located in Assergi, a hamlet in the municipality of L'Aquila in the National Park of Gran Sasso and Monti della Laga. *Figures 2 and 3* show an excerpt of a letter those tourist facilities sent to the city mayor and the president of the Region in which the drop in tourist presences due to nearby earthquakes is reported together with the request to intercede with the national government for a state of emergency.

The article mentioned in the letter, published on economic newspaper *Il Sole 24 Ore*, reports an investigation by trade association *Confindustria Alberghi*, according to which the wrong perception of the territory:

Arriva addirittura a lambire Roma che nella percezione degli stranieri è associata al centro Italia. E quindi al rischio terremoto. In questo quadrilatero tra Lazio del Nord, Abruzzo, Marche e Umbria, ci sono gemme come la Valnerina (da Amatrice a Norcia) investita dal sisma e ora alle prese con arrivi crollati al 90% o azzerati del tutto e mete famose in tutto il mondo come quelle dell'Umbria – da Assisi a Spoleto e Gubbio – che anche se lontane dal cratere del terremoto hanno subito cali dal 30% (a novembre) al 50% (dicembre). Numeri che hanno quasi azzerato il boom turistico che l'Umbria stava vivendo fino al 24 agosto (+11%), data della prima scossa. Anche in Abruzzo – come risulta a un primo monitoraggio di *Confindustria Alberghi* – il crollo degli arrivi rispetto al periodo agosto-dicembre 2015 è stato del 30-40%. Con le destinazioni sciistiche abruzzesi che guardano con terrore all'inizio della stagione. Mentre nelle Marche territori come l'ascolano o il maceratese registrano l'assenza quasi totale di turisti. (*Il Sole 24 Ore* 2017)

The mayor of Roccaraso, a well-known mountain village of Abruzzo located in the opposite part of the region in relation to the area where shakes were registered, complained in an article about a Rai television program in which skiers were invited to opt for the Alps rather than the Appennines in order not to hinder emergency vehicles:

Secondo il sindaco di Roccaraso “sarebbe utile [...] evitare giudizi sommari che creano enormi danni economici ai nostri operatori del turismo, proprio in un momento come questo in cui servirebbe invece buon senso e una luce positiva sempre accesa per aiutare l'Abruzzo”. Di Donato ha anche ricordato che “Roccaraso e gli impianti del suo comprensorio sciistico [...] sono aperti, sicuri, e perfettamente raggiungibili”. (AGI 2017)

Alla c.a.	Sindaco Comune dell'Aquila On. Massimo Cialente Via S. Bernardino – Palazzo Fibbioni 67100 L'AQUILA mail: sindaco@comune.laquila.gov.it Pec: protocollo@comune.laquila.postecert.it
Spett.le	Comune dell'Aquila Settore Ricostruzione Pubblica Ufficio di Protezione Civile ed Eventi d. R.T. Via Ulisse Nurzia 67100 L'AQUILA mail: protezionecivile@comune.laquila.gov.it Pec: protocollo@comune.laquila.postecert.it

Oggetto: Integrazione - Richiesta Stato di Emergenza per Calamità Naturale – Evento di Rilevanza Territoriale – Terremoto ed Intense nevicate.

La presente a supporto ed integrazione della nostra nota inviata il 15 gennaio 2017 in cui si chiedeva lo stato di emergenza per calamità naturale. Purtroppo, come tutti sappiamo, allo stato di difficoltà precedente si è aggiunta l'attuale contingenza causata dalla forte nevicata e dalle scosse di terremoto del 18 gennaio. La forte nevicata ha causato danni ingenti alla stazione che causeranno un ulteriore ritardo all'apertura degli impianti del comprensorio turistico. Ma la cosa che ci ha messo in ginocchio, crediamo definitivamente per questa stagione, è stato il ritorno del terremoto. Già adesso si lamentano disdette in massa di prenotazioni presso le nostre attività sino alla prima decade di marzo. A proposito di quanto sopra citato c'è un articolo del Sole 24 ore del 20 gennaio che dice "i danni del terremoto e della morsa del gelo non sono solo quelli drammatici dei crolli o dell'hotel Rigopiano di Farindola, nel cuore del Gran Sasso, spazzato via da una valanga di neve. Ci sono danni meno visibili, ma molto profondi che rischiano, ancora di più dopo gli ultimi giorni, di far pagare un conto salatissimo a una delle industrie più ricche di questi territori: il turismo. Che qui vale 9 miliardi l'anno (insieme alle province limitrofe di Lazio, Marche, Umbria) e ora rischia di vedere dimezzato il proprio contributo all'economia locale. In Abruzzo – come risulta a un primo monitoraggio di Confindustria Alberghi – il crollo degli arrivi rispetto al periodo agosto-dicembre 2015 è stato del 30-40%. Il rischio è che il crollo vertiginoso continui nei prossimi mesi dimezzando di fatto l'economia turistica in queste zone che tutte insieme – calcolando le 10 province più coinvolte – producono quasi 9 miliardi di Pil".

Figure 2. – Excerpt from a letter tourist facilities from Assergi sent to the mayor of L'Aquila in 2017.
Source: courtesy of tourist operators from Assergi.

negli arrivi e +6.39% nelle presenze rispetto allo stesso periodo del 2015. Dal 25 agosto al 30 ottobre in tutta la regione si registra un primo calo dei flussi turistici (-7.93% negli arrivi e -8.31% nelle presenze) [...]. Dopo la scossa del 30 ottobre e fino al 31 dicembre si registra un forte calo dei flussi che a livello regionale raggiunge il -35.44% negli arrivi e -14.49% nelle presenze [...]. (Regione Umbria 2017)

Trade association *Camera di Commercio di Perugia* commented these data in a public statement:

Il sisma del 24 agosto 2016 e quello successivo del 30 ottobre hanno provocato un calo netto degli arrivi e delle presenze anche nelle aree lontane dal cratere. [...] La Camera di Commercio di Perugia condivide e appoggia la richiesta di riconoscimento del danno indiretto avanzata dalla Presidente della Regione Umbria. [...] “Ma abbiamo bisogno – ha concluso il Presidente Mencaroni – anche di una diversa comunicazione, media e social: non si può continuare ad identificare l'intera regione come un grande ‘cratere’ sismico. È del tutto evidente che così non è, dunque servono incisive azioni promozionali che contrastino questa erronea visione”. (Camera di Commercio di Perugia)

The Umbria Region Statistics Office dedicated a detailed analysis to how the seismic events affected tourist movement in the region (Regione Umbria 2017). A general fall was observed too also in cities or villages that were not damaged by the earthquakes. *Table 1* compares monthly data from 2015 and 2016 all over the region; the second and the third part of the table respectively coincide with the 24th August and the 30th October earthquakes. Displaced persons that were hosted in hotels after the events were not included as to normalise data. Daily data from August show the decline started the week after the first earthquake of the series. What is surprising is to find a fall in areas like Trasimeno, Tuderte or Orvieto that were not affected at all. The magazine *Il Venerdì di Repubblica* was one of the few who dedicated a long reportage about this phenomenon in Assisi, world-famous for being the birthplace of Saint Francis, according to which:

Da queste parti i terremoti di agosto e di ottobre 2016 si sono sentiti, e anche bene. Ma non hanno avuto l'effetto disastroso di quello del 1997, che colpì l'Umbria e le Marche. Stavolta le scosse non hanno spostato una pietra. Non hanno rotto un vaso che sia uno. Non hanno crepato un muro. Neanche un soffitto incrinato. Niente. Danni zero. Eppure qualcosa di grave è successo. “I turisti non vengono più, ho perso il 70 per cento degli affari per colpa delle vostre etichette” si infervora Paola, che affronta i 38 gradi di mezzogiorno seduta su una sedia accanto al suo chiosco.

Table 1. – Tourism percentage variations in Umbria from 2016 compared to 2015.

PERCENTAGE VARIATIONS 2016/2015	1 JANUARY - 24 AUGUST		25 AUGUST - 30 OCTOBER		31 OCTOBER - 31 DECEMBER	
	Total		Total		Total	
	Arrivals	Presences	Arrivals	Presences	Arrivals	Presences
ASSISANO	8,00	7,30	-1,90	-2,29	-41,01	-38,44
VALNERINA	5,46	5,66	-46,28	-46,00	-96,60	-70,09
TRASIMENO	2,81	-0,43	1,45	-0,71	-32,73	-24,15
ALTA VALLE TEVERE	7,19	7,73	-3,39	-5,76	-29,84	-9,12
FOLIGNATE	12,89	10,35	0,77	-3,20	-34,76	-18,97
EUGUBINO	14,11	14,09	-17,34	-10,43	-48,30	-35,63
PERUGINO	6,32	6,13	-8,96	-8,20	-29,25	-17,99
SPOLETINO	23,90	20,45	-16,40	-12,76	-51,96	-30,74
TUDERTE	-3,60	3,78	-22,80	-21,26	-27,98	-27,85
PERUGIA PROVINCE	7,90	6,64	-10,20	-8,92	-42,01	-29,95
AMERINO	0,28	5,37	4,12	0,96	-30,06	-17,14
ORVIETANO	4,34	6,38	-6,74	-6,04	-20,75	-13,88
TERNANO	4,61	3,19	-22,79	-17,15	-28,04	-31,66
TERNI PROVINCE	4,08	4,87	-9,37	-8,74	-23,59	-20,28
REGION TOTAL	7,29	6,39	-10,08	-8,89	-39,32	-28,58

Note: When data is positive, an increase in arrivals or presences was registered in 2016 compared to 2015, as is generally happened in the first part of the year; in the second part of 2016, marked by two earthquakes, data about arrivals and presences is negative compared to 2015. *Source:* adapted from <http://www.regione.umbria.it/turismo-attivita-sportive/statistiche-turismo-2016>.

Nelle ultime due ore non si è visto un cliente. Etichette? “I giornali e le televisioni l’hanno chiamato ‘terremoto del Centro Italia’, mettendo tutti nello stesso calderone... La gente si è impaurita e va in vacanza da altre parti”. Non lo pensa solo Paola. Gli indicatori del Comune di Assisi, che misurano l’affluenza di turisti nei primi cinque mesi del 2017 paragonati allo stesso periodo del 2016, sono una collezione di segni meno: -26 per cento di arrivi, -32 per cento di biglietti staccati nei musei, -30 per cento di introiti dei parcheggi, -33 per cento di incassi per i negozi, -30 per cento del fatturato delle lavanderie industriali che lavorano con gli alberghi [...]. Solo il 5 per

cento del territorio dell'Umbria ha subito danni, concentrati a Norcia e nella Valnerina. La conclusione razionale è che non c'è motivo per non andare ad Assisi. Ma in questo pezzo d'Italia, impaurito da mesi di sciame sismico, ciò che è razionale non è detto che sia reale e la ragione talvolta sprofonda sotto una percezione errata. Con il paradosso che gli alberghi di Cortona e degli altri comuni toscani, poco oltre il confine con l'Umbria, sono invece strapieni. Assisi, insomma, è la vittima più illustre di un grande equivoco. (Tonacci 2017)

4. CONCLUSION

Scholars agree that digital journalism, with its 'speed-driven' approach, is today more concerned with quickness than with accuracy. In this analysis, it was shown how news media can happen to spread wrong or inaccurate details when they deal with latest news on natural events. This lack of precision can lead to a confusion on what territories are actually interested by the news and produce negative externalities on image-based businesses like tourism.

Before 2016, news media and national institutes were used to adopt names of natural regions (Marsica, Irpinia, Belice) or towns (Messina, L'Aquila) or – if anything – historical or administrative regions (Friuli, Umbria, Emilia) to identify the major earthquakes that hit Italy in the recent past. That year, for the first time, the name of a macro area (Central Italy) was adopted. Such denomination is not wrong, but it is too broad to identify the affected territories. Other toponyms – such as *Alta Valle del Tronto*, *Monti Sibillini* and *Alta Valle dell'Aterno* – could be used to better address each earthquake.

For this reason, territories that form part of Central Italy but were not affected by earthquakes experienced an unreasonable drop in tourism arrivals and presences up to -40% as compared to the previous year (2015). A decline in directly hit areas was to be obviously expected, but cities like Terni, Orvieto, Assisi, Assergi, Roccaraso – where no damages were recorded and hotels were regularly open – were just 'victims' of a wrong geographical perception.

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