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Maximiliano E. Korstanje [a] & Peter Tarlow [b]

[a] Department of Economics, University of Palermo, Buenos Aires, 1004, Argentina

[b] Texas A&M University, 1218 Merry Oaks, College Station, TX, 77840-2609, USA

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Being lost: tourism, risk and vulnerability in the post-'9/11' entertainment industry

Maximiliano E. Korstanje[a*] and Peter Tarlow[b]

[a]*Department of Economics, University of Palermo, Buenos Aires 1004, Argentina;* [b]*Texas A&M University, 1218 Merry Oaks, College Station, TX, 77840-2609, USA*

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This study explores the ways in which the post-'9/11' film industry employs tourism as a plot that re-creates mythical imageries of the 'West' in relation to a radical 'other'. Reflecting on sociological and psychological concepts of 'vulnerability' and 'risk', the authors undertake a content analysis of four 'horror' or 'terror' films and reveal complex discourses linked to nationalist sentiment, political ideology, the power of expertise and public insecurity in the post-'9/11' USA. One interesting feature of the current horror-movie genre is the extent of violence and sadism exerted on Western tourists going abroad. Drawing on the image of the tourist as victim, the authors further discuss the tensions between mobility, hospitality and hostility, not only as a means to create cinematic suspense, but as underlying expressions of insecurity in the currently unstable global settings.

Keywords: horror movies; terror; post-'9/11'; tourism; vulnerability; risk; hospitality

Introduction

The unpredictability of politics and governance in the world has caused some serious problems for the world's tourism industry over the past few years. This unpredictability may be one of the reasons why tourism and hospitality scholars have increasingly borrowed risk-perception theory from psychology and applied it to their research fields. The terrorist attacks against New York City some 10 years ago initiated a wave of studies that focussed on risk as their primary concern (Bianchi, 2007; Floyd, Gibson, Pennington-gray, & Thapa, 2003; Hall, Timothy, & Duval, 2003; Korstanje, 2009; Kozak, Crotts, & Law, 2007; Park & Reisinger, 2010; Qiu-Zhang, 2005; Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005; Tepelus, 2008). The importance of risk as a concept and analytical category for research paved the way for a new sub-discipline within tourism management aimed at exploring those hazards that jeopardize tourism as a growing industry and social activity.

To some extent, the concept of security in a post-'9/11' world has played a pivotal role in the cultural entertainment and motion picture industry aimed at fictionalizing the heroism of firefighters and other rescuers in movies such as *Pearl Harbour* (2001), *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), *United 93* (2006), *World Trade Center* (2006), *Stairwell* (2002), *Reign over me* (2007), *Die hard IV* (2007), *GI Joe: The rise of cobra* (2009) and others. A huge

*Corresponding author. Email: maxikorstanje@hotmail.com

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number of horror-movies based their plots on the dangers of being American abroad, for example, in the Middle East. This research explores the connection between existing narratives of risk in tourism-related literature with films such as *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre: The beginning* (2006), *Hostel* (2005) or the American TV series *Lost* (2004–2010) aired originally by the American Broadcasting Company. Although, historically, the horror movie genre has repeatedly utilized the theme of tourism and tourists' vulnerability, the authors identify changes in the plots direction within these stories, now encompassing new situations where sadism and moral relativism converge.

Vulnerability and risk

The concept of vulnerability varies and may be described as a function of a particular society and/or culture. Sometimes, this state is created by previous actions that influence the control of places and persons. Marginalization and lack of assurance are two key factors that often lead lay-people to a context of vulnerability. Lewis and Kelman define vulnerability as a process that '... refers to the values, ideas, behaviors, and actions that have led to characteristics of fragility, weakness, exposure and susceptibility and that can perpetuate or absolve these issues' (Lewis & Kelman, 2010, p. 197). Heijmans (2001) adds that the concept of vulnerability is not only socially construed, but also introduced by outsiders following external interests. As can be seen from this argument, vulnerability is based on an ongoing and reciprocal relationship between the state and society that are rooted in a specific time and place. Unfortunately, the state of disaster almost always evokes a long-simmering previous situation of abandonment and fragility that is manipulated by politicians and officials (Korstanje, 2011). Therefore, some scholars considered risk an important aspect in forecasting the future in contexts of uncertainty (probability) (Anderson, Juaneda, & Sastre, 2009; Domínguez, Burguette, & Bernard, 2003; Floyd & Pennington-Gray, 2004). From this perspective, it is assumed that risk works as a mechanism to familiarize experience when travelers are away from home (Smith, Pan, Li, & Zhang, 2009). One of the aspects that characterizes risk, however, seems to be the potential of danger. In this vein, Peattie, Clarke, and Peattie (2005) call into question two different relevant aspects that determine risk research: safety and security. For this article, the authors define security as any physical harm that can be directed against tourists in accidents. When they use risk, they refer to the potential dangers in which a visitor can be involved, for example, an assault or direct onslaught. Lofstedt (2010) suggests that risk communication should be based on three relevant aspects, (a) risk should trigger initially a single factor, (b) involving multiple stakeholders or social actors and (c) transcending the boundaries of nationhood and taking international repercussions. The concept of security plays a pivotal role for expanding our existing understanding as to how risk is socially elaborated.

Even though classical sociologists argue that risk is based on expertise and scientification and resulted from advancing technology in late-modernity for stimulating the economic dependence of citizenry and mass-consumption (Beck, 2006; Castel, 2006; Giddens, 1999), Luhmann (2006) argues that this stance leads involuntarily to a state of alarmism that involves all strata of society. For Beck and Giddens, risk is a modern construct rooted in the rationale that helps people internalizing the future. In contrast to hazards and dangers experienced by pre-modern, say, medieval societies, the concept of risk rests on the principle of mutuality and reliability. Risk comes into play when people place their trust in experts so as to avoid a potential danger. This is the reason why the concept of risk became instrumental in capitalist industries such as insurance trading. Unlike the concept of 'hazard', risk surfaces as a result of a previous decision-making process where the

decision-maker has the choice to avoid the effects of his or her decision. As outlined in the previous argument, there is no necessary relationship between the decision-maker and the impacted. Thus, Luhmann adds that accidents, terrorist attacks, political instability and virus outbreaks are not risks but dangers. Travelers are not only vulnerable targets for terrorist cells, but are also unable to avoid the attack on their own behalf; they are victims. Castel (2006), however, argues that there is an inconsistency in Luhmanńs argument in that the hegemony of the market, based on the dictatorship of money, expanded the rights of consumers. Nevertheless, this policy creates a paradox: people may feel more insecure but their expectances of life are higher than in other times. One may assume that in the medieval world people built their sense of security on physical proximity, community and heritage. In the current age, however, the nation-state's multiple political, military, economic and media undulations contribute to an eternal state of fear. As in the previous argument, risk triggers mass-consumption and offers a set of different alternatives to the consumer, ranging from respirators to home alarms in order to control *angst*.

Historically, risk has always been an integral part of travel and tourism (Dolnicar, 2005; Douglas, 1997; Pearce, 1987) and the quest for excitement is a key element of every journey. Elías and Dunning (1992) explain lay-people's needs to leave their monotony behind for the experience of extraordinary and at times risky events. For example, prior to embarking on a journey, many travelers may experience an adrenaline rush when considering the possible risks and uncertainties involved in traveling. Tran and Phillipp (2010) contend that human beings are moved by three basic necessities, (a) the will for power, (b) the quest for achievements and (c) the needs of affiliation. Following this explanation, one might realize that travelers who have been socialized in an atmosphere of well-being are prone to experience more risks than others who only seek power and personal achievement. These findings are refuted by Yuan (2005), whose experiment showed the significance of social relationship and trust for reducing feelings of risks; family and relatives would confer more security to travelers than those who traveled alone. Last but not least, Lepp and Gibson (2008) argue that the journey seems to be defined by two contrasting tendencies, sensation seeking and risk aversion. As is the case with the national and cultural background of tourists, the type of psychological personality may also determine the perception of risk. Leep and Gibson's findings reveal that American students perceive substantially more risk when traveling to countries that are culturally different from the USA than to countries with a similar culture or degree of development. Secondly, Lepp and Gibson explore the existent relationship between personality, sensation seeking and risk aversion. It is important to mention in this context that interviewees who developed higher levels of sensation-seeking tend to perceive fewer risks than others who showed a lower degree of sensation-seeking (Lepp & Gibson, 2008). Undoubtedly, after 9/11, many Americans started to experience insecurity when traveling abroad. In other terms, risk mediates between the danger and self. Because of the belief that Americans are often prime targets of terrorist attacks, this sentiment engendered a feeling of nationalism that draws on a new sense of security. This sentiment seems to be exactly what horror movies illustrate in their synopses.

The role of expertise

As a mediator between site and time, the idea of place corresponds with the modern form of social organization intended to connect the 'where' with the 'when'. Giddens (1991) discusses how the 'disembedding mechanisms' work to articulate the surfacing signs with

expert systems that are self-oriented to separate the pre-existing daily interaction from particularities of locales.

Symbolic tokens are a media of exchange which have standard value, and these are interchangeable across a plurality of contexts. The prime example, and the most pervasively important, is money. Although the larger of pre-modern social system have all developed a monetary exchange of one form, money economy becomes vastly more sophisticated and abstract with the emergence of maturation of modernity (Giddens, 1991, p. 18).

This process accelerated not only the mobility, but also the need of risk aversion. Even though Giddens accepts the notion that modernity reduces risk to some extent, he introduces new parameters of danger in the context of a globalized world. For Giddens, this new globalized world seems to be apocalyptic because its mobility depends on risk. Unlike industrialism, early capitalism created a separation between space and time (reflexibility). Its system of experts seemed to be reduced to private life connecting the intimacies of self with others. If pre-modern societies elevated witchcraft as a form of forecasting potential threats, then statistics and its manipulation allows the nation-state to try to predict if not prevent disasters. Giddens adds, however, that this is not enough simply because reflexibility and its ongoing quest for information hinders the decision-making process of subjects. If risks are functional to complexity, the state of disaster is only a question of time.

For that reason, Bourdieu (2000) draws attention to the important role played by scientific disciplines to help enhancing subjects' well-being. The concept of the academic degree is another example. This concept deserves attention because these degrees provide laypeople with a stable framework that allows daily life to progress with a reasonable degree of certainty. Scholars have linked the process of professionalization historically to the idea of progress. The advance of technology is a function of making a more secure world, but to the same extent, technological change engenders new risks that need to be considered (Bauman, 2008; Beck, 2006; Bledstein, 1978). From its inception, specialists always have been trained to tolerate high levels of risk.

At a first glance, there are two types of roles played by experts in the process of risk-assessment, 'protector' and 'promoter'. The former refers to a proactive stance that facilitates information to the public; the latter one trivializes the concerns of the social imaginary and considers them improbable. Unlike protectors, promoter experts often consider lay people unable to judge if a risk, such as a hurricane, can affect the security of society (Sjoberg, 1999). Luhmann suggests that the task of specialists is to reduce the degree of a systeḿs complexity by decoding the linguistic signs in the decision-making process of subjects (Luhmann, 2006). In analogy to tourism, Lash and Urry (1998) explain that, historically, the role of travel agents was to reduce the degree of uncertainness before a journey. Based on the assistance of maps, technology, travel-guides, travel agents, etc., travelers are informed about the benefits and risks involved in visiting certain places and not others. By interpreting danger, these specialists communicate trust and safety to their clients, creating a circuit that splits travel space into two spheres, a harmful and a controlled one. This same sense of danger, manifested as risk, is also present in the modern horror movie genre. What horror movies suggest is that the locale is not only a dangerous place, but also that the viewer (visitor) needs experts' intellectual and technological help to be safe in a dangerous world.

In relation to recent events, Baudrillard (2006, p. 5) presented this concept perhaps most adequately, arguing that 11 September 2001 opened the door for simulacra that can be explained by the needs of understanding the event through its own effects rather than by external reasons. The World Trade Center's collapse did not appeal to the cause of terrorism, but to collateral consequences. Baudrillard argues that this concept of simulacra

transformed an event into a 'non-event'. The following paragraph is self-explanatory and synthesizes Baudrillard's train of thought:

> . . . a whole strategy of deterrence that does service today for a global strategy. Steven Spielberg's recent film, minority report, provides an illustration of such a system. On the basis of brains endowed with a gift of pre-cognition (the precogs), who identify imminent crimes before they occur, squads of police (the pre-crimes) intercept and neutralize the criminal before he has committed his crime . . . ruptural events, unforeseeable events, unclassifiable in terms of history, outside of historical reasons, events which occur against their own image, against their own simulacrum. Event that breaks the tedious sequence of current events as relayed by the media, but which are not, for all that, a reappearance of history or Real irrupting in the heart of the virtual. (Baudrillard, 2006, p. 8)

The machinery of news proliferated through journalism and the mass-media elaborates a pseudo-disaster that moves the exchangeable nature of capital 24 h a day. The quest for excitement, an integral part of late-modernity, paves the ways for a new form of control emphasizing risk and mobility. This development demonstrated to some scholars the pervasive role some experts play in risk assessment and their influence of lay-people (Baral, 2008, p. 2; Baudrillard, 1989, 1995a, 1995b, 2006; Kellner, 2005; Poter, 1989). It is important not to lose sight of the fact that technological advances bring with them their own new sets of risk and unintended consequences. To some extent, one might speculate that risk communication plays a pervasive role in the process of mitigating natural disasters. Under certain conditions, it allows solving conflicts to make a coherent evacuation, but in other cases it creates panic flights that affects people's lives substantially (Gough, 2000).

Tour-guides as well as local residents play an important role in protecting tourists and help them negotiate their encounters with unfamiliar environments and cultures. Sometimes, however, the tourists' fears invert the subordination and tourists become hostages of their own fears. Classically, many guides have seen this subordination in the guide–tourist relationship in terms of obedience, transferring this changed state into a sense of control over tourists (Drew, 2011). Last but not least, and following the Swedish historian Kaiserfeld, the culture of professionalism in tourism and hospitality was historically accompanied with the advent of pre-paid tours. Referring to the case of Sweden, he considers that package tours surfaced as a form of romanticism, a manifestation of Nazism in Germany (*Kraft Durch Freude*) and fascism in Italy, respectively. From the travel agents' perspective, the agents sold all-inclusive tours not only because of security issues, but to expand the individual consumption where a contingent of tourists should share the same itineraries. Even though the paid vacation was a key factor for the success of all inclusive-tours, the ideologies of fascist tourism seemed to have nothing to do with American culture of refinement. There is one major difference here. While the *Kraft Durch Freude* efforts were created to make the 'homeland' a much more affordable place to visit (e.g. Germany), American tours envisaged a global zone including other continents. In accordance with Giddens, Kaiserfeld recognizes that there was a real effect of 'disembeding'. This term is used by Giddens to describe the dissociation between space and time. The process of 'dissembeding' is strictly determined by velocity and mobility after the Second War. According to Kaiserfeld,

> (t)here is a marked difference between post-World War Swedish package tours by bus and those organized by the Third Reich. Swedish package tour were more often organized with foreign destination, the goal and value of the trips abroad were to get exposed to foreign, albeit western, culture whether Notre Dame of Paris or the Simplon Tunnel in the Alps. In the German case, the focus was domestic package tours and the Heimat as well as to get to know Vaterland. (Kaiserfeld, 2010, p. 156)

To some degree, similar comparisons can be made whenever one places the sense of fear that gripped the USA after 9/11. It is of course highly normal for nation-states to seek constraints or limit openness in the context of political turbulence or when under attack.

Mobility and hospitality

Many psychologists and philosophers believe that human beings are the only mammals that experience the fear of death (Aries, 1987; Derrida, 1978; Haddow, 2005; Hall, 1989; Heidegger, 1997; Malinowski, 1993; Nebrada, 2009; Zubiri, 1991). One way to define humankind, then, is by its fear of risks and also by its perception of accident. The sense of insecurity leads people to look for shelter where environmental dangers can be minimized (Gebauer & Wulf, 2009). As the human ages, the desire for better protected spaces changes and increases the need for security over the years. It is worthwhile noting that etymologically, the term hospitality derives from the Latin *hospitium* meaning 'that which belongs to the master'. This term was historically employed for dissuading tribes to elaborate a covenant of defense in case of attacks from outside. With the benefits of hindsight, hospitality can be reconsidered as a psycho-sociological state necessary to intellectualize the uncertainness engendered by the act of traveling across all cultures (Balbín Chamorro, 2006; D'Ors, 1953; Huizinga, 1968; Ramos y Loscertales, 1948).

Hedonism, sex and pleasure have been determinants of hospitality due to their capacity to introduce visitors in a new temporal world (Andrews, Roberts, & Selwyn, 2007; Quinn, 2008). In this new temporal state, the guest and host suspend their differences in a climate of friendship. Based on the assumptions that eroticism plays a crucial role for negotiating selfhood and otherness, hospitality can be redefined as a form of abeyance of hostility determined by a specific contextualization (Andrews et al., 2007, p. 255). One of the dichotomies of hospitality seems to be that either sides, hosts and guests, are unaware of the history of otherness.

Perhaps this is most clearly expressed in Chapter 19 in the Book of Genesis. Classically, non-Hebrew readers have misinterpreted the tale of Sodom and Gomorrah as being about sexual perversion. If, however, one reads this chapter in original Hebrew, it becomes clear that this is a perfect example of how hospitality was used to deal with fear and how sexuality was used to level the relationship between the host and the visitors. Thus the host, Lot, states in order to protect his guests from the crow: '*Hiney-na li shtei bnot asher lo yada ish, otzi'ah-na ethen alichem vasu lahen catov b;neichem*/Behold I have two daughters whom no man has carnally known, take them and do with them as you like' (Genesis 19:8). The Hebrew terms always refer to hospitality and the relationship of the master's property.

Like the ancient Hebrews, the ancient Greeks also realized that hospitality and hostility share similar etymological roots, as does the word hospital. Taking advantage of their vulnerabilities, guests are very well prone to become victims of hosts. With this in mind, Derrida outlines the role played by the state in overseeing the conditional hospitality of strangers. Derrida explains the dichotomy between restricted and generalized hospitality. Centered on the concept of patrimony, the state offered a restricted hospitality only to those who could pay for it. Derrida notes that people who wandered without funds and/or identity would be searched by the police and considered as 'undesired parasites'. In a similar manner, migrants or refugees asked for generalized hospitality. In their case, however, the state refused their demands and exerted over them a symbolic violence. Perhaps no modern historic example of this phenomenon exists apart from the violence that Western powers exerted on Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi Europe. The same phenomenon occurred with Rwandan refugees who were denied protection by the liberal European

powers and the United Nations. In other cases, the state may boast that migrants should be tracked and even exiled; yet in almost any case, they are of paramount importance to the informal sector of local economies. For that reason, one has to note that state and migrants engage in an informal contract where the latter are framed as 'undesired' under the logic of restricted hospitality. Tourists, who tend to pay for service at their destinations (restricted hospitality), are in contrast to migrants who seek a negated right of asylum (Derrida, 2006). This idea leads O'Gorman (2007) to acknowledge that hospitality should be deemed as a moral act rooted in the possibility of welcoming strangers and providing them with an invitation to intimacy (home). Following this idea from a historical background, France, England and other powers expanded their colonial sovereignty in former centuries colonization thanks to the unconditional hospitality offered by the periphery (local population). Ironically, today these European countries use considerable resources to prevent the migration of workers coming from the societies they had been colonizing in the past (O'Gorman, 2007). Apart from being an old social institution, hospitality suggests a sense of security by alleviating the sentiment of fear and *angst* not only among hosts, but also among guests. Mason (2011) contends that hospitality is a universal phenomenon even in places where it is part of the ethos of the functioning of nation-states. That does not mean, however, that sometimes ideologies such a pan-Arab ideology is not affected by *Realpolitik*. Hospitality seems to be closely linked to mobilities that shape the ideological worlds of societies. The way that nation-states receive others, their citizens are treated in other sites may be linked to ideology. This relationship of reciprocity appeals to the legitimacy of states to conform a sentiment of belonging that may transcend their own boundaries in forms of pan-nationalist movements. As already discussed, there are many ways to represent hospitality and its risks. The cultural entertainment industry and first and foremost the horror movies seems to reflect that the notion that the lack of hospitality is directly associated with the sentiment of panic.

The cultural entertainment industry under review

Movies, like many other forms of cultural expression, elaborate a specific narrative that tells us not only something about its director and actors, but also allows for insights into the audience and its social imaginary. Considered as a valid methodological way of research, the analysis of movie contents has been widely utilized by anthropologists in various ways and with intriguing results (Buchmann, 2010; Burnett, 1995). The film industry, and most prominently, the US film industry, consistently stands as a representation of the nation's sense of political power and its sense of security. For example, in the blockbuster movie *Independece day* (1996), the Alien is seen as a threat to society while in the iconic movie *ET* (1982), the alien is seen as lovable and a highly wanted being. The world 'alien', of course, has a double meaning signifying both a person from another land or a strange being from another planet. Thus, in a time when foreign labor is needed the alien is presented as very much desired, while during times of economic crises there is a fear of foreigners taking jobs away from the Americans, the alien is portrayed as dangerous, being from another planet.

The increasingly contested US-led 'War on Terror' has become evident in the cultural industry thereby confronting the cinematic space with reality. In this context, Weber states:

> The Shock many US citizens felt by the events 9/11 led to national debate about what it means to be American individually, nationally and internationally, and the terms of this debate were primarily moral. For US citizens, this debate was not just about what we ought to do in response to 9/11, it was about we are about how our responses to 9/11 morally configure us (a collective

> form of inclusion in the US nation) as individual, national and international subjects and spaces. (Weber, 2006, p. 4)

Wars produce moral concerns regarding concepts of evil and good, and the place of the 'self' in this quandary. The post-'9/11' narrative has serious impacts on cinema and the cultural industries. Mostly, these movies trigger a discourse based on four significant aspects: (1) what we think we are, (2) what we wish we were, (3) what we really are, and finally, (4) what we may become.

Following this argument, the airplanes are sometimes presented in an appropriate climate to be considered dangerous. However, the message of '9/11' is not this, but 'America is under attack'. If one replaces the belief that flying can be risky by 'America is under attack', we involuntarily preclude our safety is at stake when we fly abroad (Weber, 2006). Every movie transmits a specific discourse appealing to the cultural values of society. For that reason, the narratives of movies can be utilized to understand a certain epoch or a prevailing social sentiment. What is important or not for a certain culture is expressed in movies.

One can see this concept in the movie *Hostel* (2006) situated in Slovakia, Eastern Europe, in which a group of sadist millionaires pay considerable amounts of money to torture foreign visitors. What is indeed ironic is that the English speaker will immediately connect the word hostel to the word hostile. Thus, the viewer encounters a 'hostile hostel'. This narrative illustrates not only tourists vulnerability, but also an ethnocentric and radicalized image of Eastern European countries as a dark and dangerous place to visit. In the movie, the victims are selected according to their nationalities. Being on top of the hierarchy, Americans are paying the most expensive rates while other nationalities are paying less. Being American in Slovakia, in this movie, is more than a risk, but rather a death sentence. In the movie, tourists (victims) are invited to these places by a native who works in complicity with the criminal net that commercializes session of extreme torture to other tourists who pay for that. Captivated by sex, hedonism, landscapes and curiosity, the victims are lured into a cold mansion where they are subjected to the most terrible and disturbing acts of violence. *Hostel's* narrative can be examined following the next significant points: (a) Americans are victimized over other nationalities (ethnocentrism), (b) local prostitutes seduce tourists who are not familiar with the environment. Sex works, in this vein, as an intermediary mechanism that facilitates hospitality, (c) Slovakia is presented as a dangerous and incontrollable place to visit where hospitality can instantly turn into inhospitality and (d) there is an extreme sentiment of violence and sadism exerted against the victims.

The logic of consumption, on the other hand, corresponds with the need of avoiding risks or dangers. In doing so, visitors often are moved to buy all-inclusive packages when traveling abroad. Cultural entertainment and other channels of socialization enhance this latent fear and sense of insecurity. Two key roles surface in *Hostel*, the predators and prey. The former ones pay considerable amounts of money for killing the latter. The degree of sadism displayed in *Hostel* can be associated with a concurrent moral dilemma of torture that started a heated public debate in the USA after the publication of military pictures showing tortured prisoners in Guantanamo, Cuba, or else, the torment of the *Desaparecidos* in Argentina and Chile during the 'Dirty wars'. Similar remarks can be found in other movies such as *The Texas chainsaw massacre* (a 2006 remake of the original film that premiered in 1974). In this movie, a group of youth drive toward a sparsely populated area in the USA for diversion, seeking potential new thrills. Following the movie's narrative, tourists are led toward a small town outside state control. *The Texas chainsaw massacre* had a deep impact on American society because it was strictly based on true

stories occurring in the 1970s, and in the newer version the plot was notably updated. Like the movie *Hostel* the travelers are drawn toward remote zones where they are held against their will but their ontological security does not depend on a road accident. One of the main concerns of people in modern times seems to be related to the security found among families and relatives. By leaving home, travelers often deploy an array of mechanism with the purpose of making uncertainty a secure place to be, something the authors refer to as the 'hospitality of uncertainty'. Hospitality consumes the tension between local/global, familiar/unfamiliar, self-hood/otherness. The lack of hospitality not only suggests the presence of violence and hostility, but also paves the ways for most frightful emotions. After the World Trade Center attacks, the world not only becomes a dangerous place, but also its inhabitants built their identities in relation to a radicalized 'other'.

The fear contributing to the formation of a nationalist discourse may be utilized for political control and the consequent manipulation of a nation's citizenry. Another example, perhaps more enigmatic than the earlier noted movies, is the television series *Lost* (2004–2010) which was a great international success. *Lost* is not a horror movie in the strictest sense of the term, but its elements are essential for unraveling the problem of accident, otherness, fear and torture. In a society of late-capitalism where insurances companies often override human relationships, risk can be seen as a typified form of fear that transforms the ways of productions. Traveling can involve face to face encounters with fear beyond the boundaries of certainness. Unlike nomads who only visit other lands in quest of food, sedentary societies experience the fear of traveling abroad. The fear of traveling as well as the application of hospitality is very old. One of the aspects that concern travelers is the possibility of facing a threat when the traveler is not home. This vulnerability focusses on the legitimacy of sates Kaye (2010) and Parker 2010. The groups that can bring security to the rest of the population gains further recognition and power. Risk-management, for this reason, may have had a role to play in the advent of the nation-state.

Conclusion

Movies often play on central narratives, values, concerns and dilemmas of societies and give way to forms of thinking and feeling that can be of paramount importance to social research. Visual anthropology discovered many years ago the benefits of understanding complex socio-cultural discourses woven into films. Following this approach, this article explored the root of fear in both a pre- and post-'9/11' world and its collateral effects on what can be called the 'terror' movie industry. After close examination, one may argue that terrorism not only produced a sense of isolation to and from the world, but also engendered an increasing degree of civic anger. As a form of cultural entertainment, movies may help people to re-channel these types of fear into new elaborated discourses where America (USA) is in danger. This strategy facilitates many things and allows sublimating conflicts lying at the core of society. Having examined three post-'9/11' film productions, one can identify prevailing discourses implying that (a) Americans are valued above other nationalities as the main targets of potential attacks reinforcing a covert logic of inner-consumption (America first), (b) being American abroad is presented as being dangerous, (c) hospitality and fear of traveling are inextricably intertwined, both are the core elements of any society, (d) hospitality can be warranted by the nation-state, and (e) the lack of hospitality forces us to confront a deeper sentiment of panic. Assumptions like these lead to the conclusion that risk, as a social construe, not only mediates between the ontological sense of security and uncertainness,

but also rates some commercial products over others. As a result, societies create a specific hierarchal order based on a diversity of roles and classes aimed at absorbing or mitigating the alien risks.

The web of experts, such as travel agents, plays a crucial role in framing the potential risks. For that reason, the process of reliability is of paramount importance in a modern society. The currency of risk appeals to the monopoly of expertise. On the one hand, calculated risks, as Giddens put it, opened the door for a society of insurances. On the other hand, efforts to avoid risks engender other unexpected threats or external risks. Last but not least, the terror movies presented in this article as well as other genres of the cultural entertainment industries focus on hospitality as something that is more than a covenant between two or more parties. In current global settings, the lack of hospitality seems to nourish a pervasive discourse in which boundaries are presented as a dangerous place or necessary spatial preconditions for rising ethnocentrisms.

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