"We Do Not Have a Crystal Ball": The Effect of Fear of Terror on Travel Behaviour*

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Abstract

Travelling is one of the daily practices which is influenced by the fear of terror. As grasping fear as a feeling which is rooted in the social realm, this study explores factors that shape travel fear of international tourists in the light of terrorism. The study applied content analysis using 719 original reviews on Istanbul posted on TripAdvisor since Istanbul is a popular destination which experienced recurrent terror acts. Data was gathered with the keyword of "terror" from Tripadvisor based on the date range of 2015-2018. The findings show that: (1) globalization, stereotypes, media and politics are main factors that shape international tourists' travel fear; (2) even though these structural aspects of society are same for everyone, there are differences in their interpretations and tourists' travel decisions. Some of the tourists develop behaviors to cancel or postpone the trip to a later date due to fear of terrorism, but it has also been found that there are tourists who choose to travel by taking the risk or resisting the atmosphere of fear created by terrorism. The study is important for excessing beyond the discourse of fear and yielding holistic insights into its social, cultural and political background.

INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary world, most people engage in travel, and mobility. Unpredictability is just in the middle of this mobile world (Appadurai, 1996: 4). Breaks due to unexpected and unstable global connections and unforseen events stemming from differences can halt this mobility (Tsing, 2005). Specifically, increasing terror, which peaked with the 9/11 terrorist attacks, is among the primary factors that creates a rupture. One of the factors that break mobility after a terror attack is fear.

Fear is defined "as an emotional reaction to a perceived threat that always has social meaning, and which may have a range of positive and negative effects on social and spatial relations" (Pain, 2009: 2). This reaction occurs as a response to certain events happening around the individual. However, individuals may prefer to avoid those events (Sylvers, Lilienfeld & LaPrairie, 2011).

In a broader context, terrorism can be defined as planned and organized violent acts intended to horrify the social order and public authorities, while creating a frightening and insecure environment in order to achieve some political and ideological goals. However, terrorism has gained a wider scope and potential to influence broader masses in terms of attracting supporters and creating fear in society. This era is defined as one of "new terrorism" (Laqueur, 2000). The distinctive features of the new terrorism are that it acts with few commands and has a loose network structure, has a religious and mystical motivation, adopts asymmetrical methods aimed at the death of the maximum number of people, and uses the internet and media effectively to send a message to the supporters and the wider community (Eid, 2014). In this regard, Pain (2009) claims that the new geography of fear should be examined in detail. Thus, fear should be handled in a *reflective* way, and the way it is felt and practiced in daily life should be scrutinized in a holistic pattern. Therefore, Pain (2009: 467) suggests an insightful view that considers local/global processes and geopolitics rather than an artificial scaling process. In the same manner, studies on risk perceptions in tourism are mostly criticized for not handling risk as a social phenomenon (Korstanje, 2011, 2016).

Moving from these critics and Pain's (2009) conceptualization, this study grasps fear as a feeling which is triggered by the perception of risk and has a social meaning. Moreover, this study defines fear as a social phenomenon that is developed by media, politics and social processes besides being a subjective and emotional state. Risk factors have been studied in terms of risk perception and mostly in the confines of individual psychology (Dolnicar, 2005; Walle, 1997; Yüksel & Yüksel, 2007). However, as it is suggested by the literature (Korstanje, 2011; Pain 2009; Pain & Smith, 2008), there is need for examining fear qualitatively in the context of society. Moreover, risk factors are crucial for tourism studies since disasters, virus outbreaks, and terrorist attacks bring along uncertainty and instability in tourist movements (Korstanje, 2016: 54). Therefore, this study investigates factors that shape travel fear of international tourists in the light of terrorism and its influence on tourists' travel decisions. In line with this, the study reports the results of a content analysis. The study is important in examining social, cultural and political backgrounds of travel fear triggered by terror.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Terrorist attacks create an insecure environment which has to be steered by almost all societies. The idea that terror can strike almost all places has emerged in the wake of the disastrous 9/11 attacks (Laqueur, 2000: 16). This was followed by several terror attacks such as suicide attacks, driving through crowds and bombings in several cities around the globe. These incidents included those in Madrid in 2004, London and Bali in 2005, Paris in 2015, Nice, Brussels and Berlin in 2016, Manchester, London, Barcelona, Las Vegas and Texas in 2017, and Indonesia, Pakistan and Afghanistan in 2018. These attacks have crystallized the perception of insecurity. Information technologies and globalization have facilitated the terrorist attacks while disseminating the fear globally. Therefore, the conditions that make risk globalized have also paved the way for a global fear (Pain, 2009).

New terrorism and reflections of fear of terror in society have been scrutinized in several studies. Some of these studies suggest that terror is, on a wider scale, built as a discourse free from the existence of terror (Pain, 2009: 474). In a study on fear of terror in Australia, which had not previously experienced any terrorist attacks, Aly and Green (2010) report that fear of terror in this region stems from a global diffusion of fear. Similarly, Friedman (2011: 78) suggests that terrorism "takes its name not from violence but from the emotion it provokes" and explain that fear of terror may emerge free from terror itself. Other studies on fear of terror show that policies on fighting terrorism (Friedman, 2011; Ahmed, 2015) and media coverage (Gerbner, 1992; Mythen & Walklate, 2006) trigger fear of terror via terror discourse.

Some studies in the USA (May, Herbert, Cline & Nellis, 2011), Australia (Aly & Green, 2010) and Italy (Lavanco, Romano & Milio, 2008) focus on the changes in individuals' daily life practices resulting from perceived terror risks and fear of terror. A possible daily

life practice that may be influenced by fear of terror is travel behaviour (Korstanje, 2011). However, the impact of fear of terror on travel behaviour cannot be the same in each destination. For example, when terrorist attacks in Pakistan are examined with the 1980-2010 tourism statistics, it is seen that terror has a negative impact on tourism both in the short run and in the long run (Raza & Jawaid, 2013). As long as the impact of terror increases, its negative impacts on tourism also increases. Although unique, highly attractive or new and unexplored destinations experience a decline as a result of cancelled reservations, they may experience a fast recovery period compared to other destinations, and Israel, Egypt, the Republic of Cyprus, Turkey, Albania, Jordan and Mozambique are the examples of such destinations (Mansfeld, 1994).

Pizam and Smith (2000) reported in their study on significant terrorist attacks committed in the period of 1985-98 classified by date, location, victims, weapons used, severity of damage, motive, effect on tourism demand, and length of effect. Their results suggest that 79% of them caused a significant decline in tourism demand that lasted from one to six months. The delayed effects of a decline in tourist demand, occurring even six months after the terrorist acts, may possibly have been captured in the approximately 6% of the cases indicated as having 7–12 or more than 12 months' effect on tourism demand (Pizam & Smith 2000: 135–136). Referring to 9/11, Ahlfeldt and associates (2015:11) explain that the effects of terrorist acts occur with a delay of 3 to 9 months. This may be explained by the higher costs of international travel, difficulties in refunding the prepaid tickets and an expectation that the same place is not victimized for the second time (Sönmez, 1998). These factors mask the rapid decline in tourist demand (Pizam & Smith, 2000). Further, the decline in the demand and the continuity of this decline may be attributed to reccurring terrorist acts. The relation between terror and tourism demand is also subject to the influence of other factors. Acts of terrorism that victimized tourists and residents, the ones that resulted in bodily harm rather than in property loss, and the ones committed with guns rather than bombs have a stronger impact on tourism demand (Pizam & Smith, 2000). This study aims to reveal how the successive terrorist attacks in various parts of Turkey and Istanbul affect international tourist behavior, especially in Istanbul.

METHOD

This study aimed to examine factors that shape travel fear of international tourists in the light of terrorism and its influence on tourists' travel decisions. TripAdvisor was chosen as the data source since it is one of the largest travel as online community (TripAdvisor, 2017). For the purpose of the study, content analysis technique was used for analysing meanings and relationships of certain concepts within texts (Altinay, Paraskevas & Jang, 2016).

Istanbul is an important tourist destination with its cosmopolitan population, and attracts both the national and international visitors. Unfortunately, a series of terror acts occurred during the period of 2015-2017 in Turkey. Most of these acts occurred in Istanbul. These circumstances led to a significant decrease in the number of tourists visiting Istanbul. Istanbul was chosen as the study site due to these characteristics of the city. In the same vein, as Istanbul's multicultural character, TripAdvisor is an online community comprised of reviewers from a variety of countries. Consequently, it was expected that its inclusive structure would enlighten visitors' perspectives on Istanbul from many nations.

Our focus was international mobilities and English speaking communities. The year after the incident was also included in the study to demonstrate how terrorist acts continue to have an impact. Thus, dates were defined as 2015-2018 and the data was gathered with the keyword of "terror". This enabled us to select all topic headlines related to terror. Yet some comments under these topics were unrelated to terror and, thus discarded. The final data comprised of 719 original reviews.

A grounded theory approach was adopted (Glaser & Strauss, 2017) and we did not categorize the data through previous literature. First, we analysed the 719 reviews by means of a "paper and pencil" approach. In this step, most basic concepts which reflect the main characteristics of the data were defined (Attride-Sterling, 2001:388-389) as codes. We generated 153 codes. Coding procedure was undertaken by authors together by reaching an agreement. Then, those codes were formed into "clusters of similar issues" which "summarize the principal assumptions" of basic concepts (Attride-Sterling, 2001:389) and those become categories. We used NVivo 11 for this step. Finally, categories were grouped together in a way so as to summarize the whole context of the data (Attride-Sterling, 2001:389). This process resulted in 6 categories under 2 themes. These themes were "factors influencing the travel decision process" and "individual's reactions". The categories were globalization of fear, stereotypes, politics, media, cancellation of travel, and choosing to travel. The data collection process in this study was carried out between May 1 and November 30 2019, and the Council of Higher Education Committee criteria were announced on January 1, 2020.

FINDINGS

This section presents study findings based on analyzed reviewers' online entries on fear of terror and travel. As stated earlier, user comments on TripAdvisor were grouped under two main themes: "factors influencing travel decision process" and "individual's reactions". Factors influencing travel decision process can be defined as the factors that shape fear as a social process and discourse in the user comments. These factors were categorized under the sub-themes of *globalization of fear (3 sub-themes: globalization of terror, comparison of cities, and unpredictability), stereotypes (2 sub-themes: negative associations with a particular space and negative associations with nationalities), politics (2 sub-themes: impact of diplomacy and warnings from embassies), and media. Cancellation of travel and choosing to travel* were the sub-themes under individual's reactions influencing travel decision process.

Consequences of globalization directly shape fear of terror that influences international travel behaviour. In this regard, globalization of terror, comparison of cities and unpredictability of terrorist acts were evaluated.

Globalization of terror

TripAdvisor reviewers frequently noted that terror has become global. Therefore, they underlined the fact that terror could be seen in any part of the world. However, this point of view was approached differently. According to some reviewers, terror did not select nationality, colour or belief but just innocent people and no country in the world was immune to terror. On the other hand, although they admitted that terror is global, some other reviewers discussed that some places were much more dangerous compared to other places which could be justified by statistics. They claimed that recurrent terror activities and geopolitical situations offered a base for certain predictions. Some reviewers
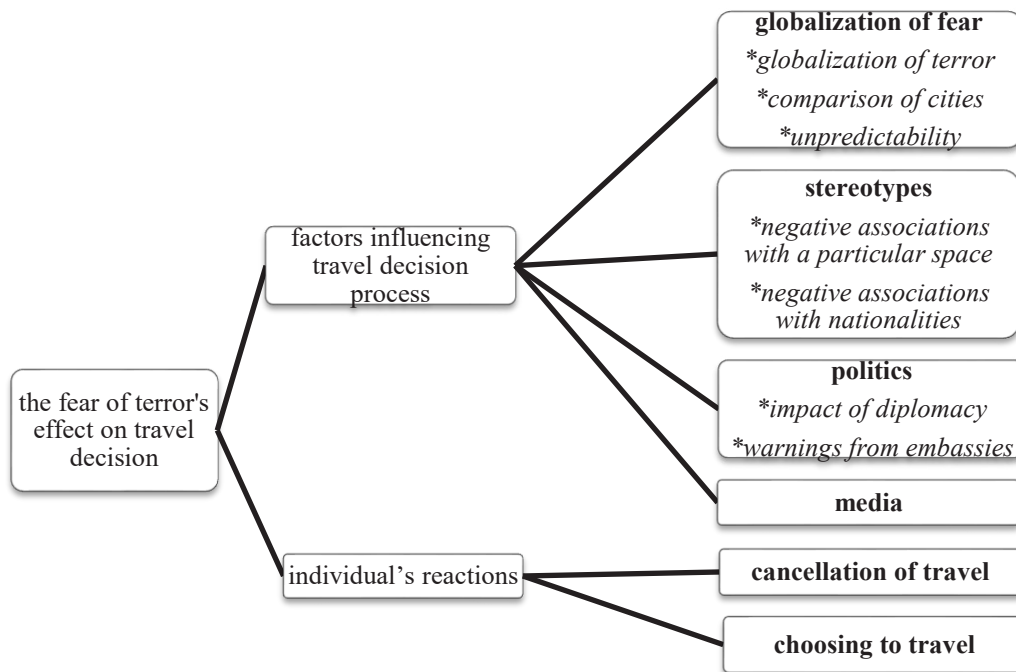

Figure 1. The Fear of Terror's Effect on Travel Decision

Factors Influencing Travel Decision Process

Globalization of fear

One of the most common themes that we came acroos was the reviewers' interpretations of travel, risk and fear on a global scale. Globalization has resulted in the blurring of national borders, risks have given rise to several social consequences beyond specific time periods.

advised not cancelling the vacation, but instead being vigilant and ignoring some places and times to visit since "there are no safe places in our world" but "only degrees of risk":

"No where is entirely safe anymore, however, in my view." (Toronto, Canada/ Dec 25, 2016)

"I look forward to our trip to Istanbul and Cappadocia in August. ... We awakened today with the sad news of

the terrorism in Orlando. It confirmed my feeling that this can happen anywhere to anyone." (Texas/ Jul 2, 2016)

"I did not state that Istanbul was safe. There are no safe places in our world. There are only degrees of risk." (Florida/ Dec 20, 2016)

Comparison of cities

While TripAdvisor reviewers compared Istanbul with their hometowns, some also compared it with world cities and airports. Most of the comments highlighted that in line with globalization, terror can happen anywhere. In these comments, security was found to be at the forefront, and certain incidents were associated with certain places. Examples from almost all the world- Europe, America, UK, Australia, and Africa- were mentioned. A reviewer noted that "the only place terror has not been seen is Antarctica." Accordingly, Istanbul was compared with several terrorist acts in France, Germany, Spain, UK and the USA. Further, the reviewers mentioned other crimes and acts such as car crashes, being shot by the police or gangs, crimes due to discrimination, theft etc. to compare risk levels of cities.

"I would like to share my experience with regard to safety in the larger cities of the world. In 1995 I was attacked and severely beaten on a London street. I was hospitalised, went through a surgery and stayed in hospital for about 7 days. I was robbed in Rome in 2016 where someone snatched my shoulder bag and ran away. I have been robbed four times at gun point in Karachi in my 55 years of life. What it means? looks like there is no ideal place. Take basic safety precautions. But don't heavily rely on safety ratings of the cities." (Karachi, Pakistan/ Mar 11, 2017)

"We have been to Istanbul and it is a fabulous city and no different from visiting Paris, New York, London where there also has been terrorist incidents." (Aberdeenshire/ United Kingdom/ Feb 22, 2018)

"Bottom line is nowhere can be guaranteed 100% safe, and Istanbul is probably as safe, if not safer, than America." (Aberdeen, Scotland/ Apr 11, 2018)

Unpredictability

Most of the reviewers responded to the security issues in Istanbul in terms of unpredictability. In this regard, several reviewers frequently used the phrase 'crystal ball'. The unpredictability of terror meant that no one knew when, where and in what way terror would occur and whom it would target. Similarly, while some reviewers were using the term 'to win the lottery' to describe being victimized by terror or having bad-

luck, some others noted that it could happen anywhere. Although some reviewers stated that they would not experience fear of terror in previously terrorized places due to increased security precautions, others underlined the unpredictability and commented that 'lightening often does strike twice in the same place'.

"Something could happen at any time any where, to be totally safe you would not step outside your door." (Kos/ Jun 5, 2016)

"We didnt have a crystal ball to confirm our "safety"... Travel involves risks, and leaving one's comfort zone. Life's a gamble and there are risks in everthing we do." (Texas/ Oct 11, 2017)

Stereotypes

Factors such as cultural background elements, geopolitics and geographical imaginary are among the factors which are influential on tourism movements and fear of terror. Notably, the news media has the power and function to create stereotypes based on the prejudices of dominant groups in society and to shape people's views on different religious, ethnic, and racial groups (Umamaheswar, 2015:179).

The influence of stereotypes on tourism movements were also apparently supported in this study. However these stereotypes were observed in the form of *negative associations with a particular space* and *negative associations with nationalities.*

Negative associations with a particular space

Travellers consubstantiate terror acts and fear with particular spaces and they planned their trips questioning the security of those places. Therefore, traveller posts remarked that "it is a fallacy to say where you least expect them". Thus, most of the reviewers noted that terror acts referred to particular spaces (i.e. the Blue Mosque, Atatürk Airport and Reina) and were accordingly mapped in the minds of people. In this regard, public transportation (metro, tram, boat, subway, bus), crowded places and "hot tourist spots" were associated with security threat. "Peak hours" of these places were marked as more dangerous and "less busy times" were recommended for visits.

"Last year I visited Istanbul for a couple of days and stayed in Old City, this time I wondered if I should stay away from the crowd in case anything might happen. Eventually I booked a hotel near Taksim as it didn't make sense to spend my precious time on the way and appearently using more public transportation is not a safer solution:)" (Berlin, Germany/ Nov 7, 2016)

"Istanbul is a bit different and then only a part of the Istanbul. If you take together the attacks of the past 2-3 years in Istanbul and map them you will see that they are concentrated in Beyoglu municipality, Besiktas municipality, and the area of the defunct Emninonu municipality which is now part of Fatih municipality (i.e. Sultanahmet). These are the core areas where tourist congregate with an added sprinkling in Kadikoy, Uskudar and the Island plus the upper Bosphorus. Add, of course, the airports." (miketravels2016/ Feb 22, 2017)

Negative associations with nationalities

Reviewers frequently expressed their curiosity about whether their nationality was under threat. In this regard, they questioned whether being blond, which marks an American look, English accent and the clothes worn were all likely to make one a target for ISIS. One of the American reviewers noted that in one of his/her trips to Europe in the past, s/he felt it necessary to hide his/her nationality, but added his/her doubt about how to achieve it. In response to posts expressing hesitation to look like an American, other reviewer including Americans commented that American tourists were not the main target. Reviewers also hesitated to be closer to the conflict area in Syria. Although they were aware of the distance to Syria, some reviewers were wary of being in Istanbul. This may be explained by the fact that Istanbul was perceived as a place which is geographically remote but culturally close to Syria.

"I find it odd that you explained that your children are blonde. I travel to Turkey occasionally with my daughter and granddaughter. They are both blonde but until you mentioned this I have never given any thought to the color of their hair. There are, as I am sure you know, Turkish people with blonde hair and blue eyes. It is not dangerous to be blonde in Turkey." (Florida/ Jun 2, 2016)

"All of us are radicals and waiting, especially the Americans, at the exit of the airport with spears and torches on our hands… The police and customs officials particularly pointing the Americans to us so we don't confuse them with others…All the kidding aside, nobody cares where you are from (American or not) or what you believe or not, what you wear or not." (Istanbul/ Jul 31, 2017)

Politics

Politics was found to be another factor that causes fear of terror. These political factors were found to arise as an impact of diplomacy and warnings from embassies.

Impact of diplomacy

The movements in the bordering countries and the activities of ISIS were evaluated as a security risk for Turkey. Turkey's border with Syria and the Syrian migrants were discussed politically, and this was noted to be a security issue for Turkey. Apart from foreign politics and the fight against terror, internal affairs and the agenda of the country were among the criteria that were considered by the reviewers. In this regard, they also suggested that internal affairs of Turkey, selections and the diplomacy of the country were the factors that would endanger travel to the country. Findings suggested that all these factors had the potential to create a security risk for tourists.

"I understand. Politics have a major role to play in all this lets stay clear of politics and lets worry about ourselves - because no one else will." (London/ Jul 26, 2015)

"I'd like to know if I it is safe stay in Turkey international airport Ataturk for layover (2 hours), since the conflict between Turkey and ISIS is getting serious. The question can seem stupid, but I'm really scared." (Portugal/ Jul 24, 2015)

On the other hand, there were also reviewers explaining that these comments were highly political and irrelevant to travel decisions.

Warnings of embassies

Another influential factor on travel planning was the warnings made by embassies. Several reviewers stated that they consider warnings of embassies and also noted that they follow the warnings of other countries. It was understood that both warnings of embassies and the increases in risk level to travel to Turkey created an image that risky things were approaching. In the same way, closing of diplomatic representatives strengthen this point of view. Reviewers were afraid of travelling to Turkey because they thought that these warnings and closings were the results of certain intelligence about the country.

"Hi fellas, after US embassy attention, did you think it is safe to travel to Istanbul for a family with child? Anyone there feels increase of police forces in the city's crowded zones?" (Iran/ 31 Oct 2016)

"I am a little concerned about the safety while in Istanbul. The US government has some posts on its website that look scary "travel warning for American citizens from Jan to April". (Texas/ 20 Feb 2017)

Impact of Media

Reviewers commented on the information they acquired from both Turkish and foreign media. In this vein, they complained about the frequency of media coverage of terror acts. Further they commented on the contradictory arguments about the news in different media. A reviewer stated that the information on TripAdvisor eased his/her worries about traveling but added that he/she was again anxious after watching news channels continuously focusing on terror acts. On the other hand, there were reviewers thinking that events were sensationalized or the news was presented in a way as if a third world war would start. Accordingly, reviewers frequently posted comments questioning the reliability and conclusiveness of the media.

"The problem is now with the media being on full alert you cannot escape it." (Corringham, United Kingdom/ Jul 11, 2016)

"I'm a fairly experienced traveler, but even I am susceptible to the press. If you believe all we read, you'd think that hotels are quite empty and there are no lines at the major tourist sites." (San Francisco/ Jul 11, 2016)

Individual's Reactions

Studies on the influence of terror fear on travel decisions suggest that despite the terror acts, the resumption of travelling has been observed increasingly. For example, in studies after terror acts in London in 2005 (Rubin, Brewin, Greenberg, Simpson &Wessely, 2005) and Sicily in 2008 (Lavanco et al., 2008) the rate of people reducing or cancelling their trips due to terror fear are reported to be around 20%. Yet it should also be considered that required daily travels differs from touristic international travels.

Findings showed that individual's reactions were composed of two sub-themes: trip cancellation and choosing to travel.

Trip cancellation

A number of reviewers noted that they were affected, worried, scared, or afraid of the incidents, and accordingly explained that they hesitated or were confused. Some of the explorer and media follower reviewers explained that they tried to behave logically, and cancelled their trip since they wanted to be cautious. Similarly, recurrent terror acts in short intervals persuaded people to cancel their trips which seemed logical. Some reviewers who cancelled their trips re-book their travels to other places. Further, some others preferred to postpone their trips instead of cancelling. However, it should be noted that some reviewers explained their hesitation to cancel with the penalties applied by agencies and airline companies rather than low risk perception.

There were also reviewers who believed that being attentive during their trip would secure themselves. Reviewers who did not cancel their trips adopted a "life goes on" attitude. In this regard, a reviewer who was undecided for a month whether to cancel, and ultimately chose to travel, wrote: *"If I canceled, I would have regret it"*. Additionally, a reviewer commented that it would be a comfortable trip due to others' withdrawal: *"I feel bad for Turkey because of decreased tourism but glad for less crowds as in previous trips it was pretty crowded."*

"I am scheduled to arrive on Thursday and even prior to the horrific act, I had hesitations but also did not want to live my life in fear. I have always wanted to visit Istanbul and view it as a magical place, but in light of the events, should I cancel? Any advice would be appreciated." (New York / Jun 29, 2016)

"Months ago, before ANY of the attacks, I booked our trip for this year August. Then the first bomb happened and I was still determined, untouched even. The second, and I felt my anxiety rise, but my logical brain was telling me the chances were still very low, plus our holiday is still months away. The third attack made me nauseas, but I shut my eyes and avoided the media. The fourth attack has thrown me. I don't know what to do. What really freaks me out is that it is obvious tourist areas are being attacked." (Cape Town Central /Mar 22, 2016)

Choosing to travel

Reviewers who decided to continue their travel plans explained their decision with two views. The first was the fatalistic one claiming that tragic incidents might occur anytime in any place. Accordingly, several reviewers compared terror acts with traffic accidents and noted that the latter were deadlier. Other examples of tragic incidents were found to be different types of crime, being hurt by police forces, home accidents and natural disasters.

"We left for Turkey on the same day of the Vegas shooting. Like someone else mentioned before, we didn't have a crystal ball to confirm our "safety"... Travel involves risks, and leaving one's comfort zone. Life's a gamble and there are risks in everything we do ----Taking baths in slippery tubs, or dying of natural causes.... Fear is your worst enemy. Have fun!" (Texas/ Oct 11, 2017)

"I travel a lot, was in Istanbul last December and plan to return later this year. There is no place that is absolutely safe. Terrorism, accidents, hurricanes, earthquakes and the list goes on can happen anywhere." (Tucson, Arizona/ Jun 8, 2016)

Another view of choosing to travel was found to be developing a strong resistance to terror. A number of reviewers explained their stance with "not letting them to win". In the same manner, statements about not allowing terror to control their lives were noticeable. Further, several reviewers were aware that terror targeted directly tourism and commented that stopping travel and changing lifestyle would serve its goals. Moreover, there were reviewers noting that restraining life would mean "living like vegetables", and claimed that people should not live with fear. According to reviewers, the righteous attitude was to be cautious and have a vigilant eye rather than cancelling the travel.

"PS, regardless of the security condition in Turkey, I am not going to cancel my visit next month. If I cancel, I will be fulfilling wish of terrorists who have this aim of destabilizing Turkey by hitting their tourist industry. No sir, I won't bow in front of terrorists." (Islamabad, Pakistan/ Dec 11, 2016)

"I agree with those who wrote we shouldn't change plans. That people who sows terror, want us to hide in our houses shaking with fear. Do not give them that pleasure. Let's continue traveling without fear, but with wisdom." (Guatemala- Mar 22, 2016)

CONCLUSION

As grasping fear as a feeling which is rooted in the social realm, this study explores factors that shape travel fear of international tourists in the light of terrorism. The study supports the current literature that travel fear triggered by terror is not fully determined by terrorism acts alone. The aspects and processes underlying fear are in the centre of daily life (Pain & Smith, 2008). We aimed to reach beyond the global fear discourse and based on data from ordinary life, give a place to individual voices and thus provide agency as suggested by Pain (2009).

The study results suggest that the factors shape travel decisions are globalization, stereotypes, media and politics. Specifically, terror acts after 9/11 have taken new forms, and developed a potential to happen at any time in any place (Beck, 2002a, p. 39; 2002b: 9). The unpredictable character of terrorism has raised fear across a wider geographical area and in higher intensity. In line with Beck's (2002a) world risk society conceptualization, most of the reviewers expressed that risk and terror have become global and unpredictable, and they compare destination-specific risk perception and fear with the one in their hometowns. Although they agree with the globalization of risk, they advocate that terror risk is much more apparent and predictable in certain places. This attitude is consistent with Pain's (2010) approach of seeing "globalized fear" as a

metanarrative produced by political process and her conceptualization that fear always emerges more in certain places compared to others.

Individuals' and communities' perceptions of certain geographies and spaces are taken as stereotypes. In this regard, specific nations and places are consubstantiated with terror acts and become the source of fear, and this fear is also attributed to closer or similar geographical locales. As such, another factor that shapes fear is media. Fear created by imaginaries and the media, is dispersed in an uneven way around physical spaces, and although it is not admitted by individuals, it becomes influential in global mobility (Salazar, 2018). In general, media has a reminder effect on fear of terror. Media can also have a direct influence on destinations' image management process, policy measures of governments and security measures (Hall, 2002). Additionally, Hall argues that, despite increased airport security after the 9/11 attacks (2001), the number of passengers continued to decrease in 2004. This example demonstrates the critical importance of media management on risk perception (Korstanje & Clayton, 2012: 17).

Political factors are also influential in shaping fear. Study results reveal that embassies' warnings, politicians' attitudes and discourses and international affairs are among the factors that shape fear. As also being in line with Riti, Song, Shu andKamah's (2017) study, our results point out to the nexus between political stability, terror and international travel behaviour. Therefore, authorities must foster a positive image of safe destinations on a national and worldwide scale. Additionally, they must adopt measures aimed at preventing terrorist acts and mitigating the impact of false information and biases on this issue. This may be possible, in particular, via the efficient use of media tools.

There seems to appear different reactions in the face of terror triggered travel fear. The first reaction is trip cancellation. This decision stems from recurring terror acts and the idea of being more prudent as a result of high risk perception. Similarly, it is seen that individuals also choose to postpone their travel. At this point, it is understood that individuals experience hesitation and confusion about their travel decisions. Apart from individual and social factors, the hesitation and confusion may be explained by the information and recommendations attained from TripAdvisor and the financial investment made for the trip.

The second reaction to terror fear is choosing to travel. Some of the previous studies on the influence of terror fear on travel decisions report that the decision to travel has a higher preponderance. For example,

the rate of people diminishing the frequency of travel or cancelling their travels due to terror fear is found to be around 20% in studies conducted in London (Rubin et al., 2005) and Sicily (Lavanco et al., 2008). Our study showed that choosing to travel is triggered by two differing attitudes. The first one is a fatalistic attitude that persists with travel, suggesting that tragic incidents may occur at any time in any place. Thinking in this line makes perfect sense and has been shown by studies. For example, in a study conducted 18 months after 9/11, as a result of flying avoidance, it is found that deadly traffic accidents had increased almost five times from 2001 to 2002 compared to the five-year average before 9/11 (Gigerenzer, 2006). Similarly, it is reported that annually 44,000 people die in traffic accidents, and 315 people are drowned while bathing (Korstanje & Clayton, 2012: 17). The second attitude that directs people to travel is to resist terror itself. In this regard, reviewers highlight the significance of not allowing terror to win and achieve its goals, and consequently not to change their lifestyles and travel behaviour.

STUDY IMPLICATIONS

Factors such as the way news is presented, severity of the incidents, and the frequency of broadcast create an imaginary that shapes the fear. Study results showed that TripAdvisor as a medium is a significant actor that shapes individuals' fear and their travel decisions. In several comments posted on TripAdvisor, individuals decided what to do on the basis of answers to their questions, and expressed their appreciation to other reviewers. This fact supports the importance of media management in terrorism and tourism (Korstanje & Clayton, 2012: 11).

The fear that terror acts create and its repercussions on the daily life are a result of a whole chain relations which goes hand-in-hand with other elements. Those elements can be named as risks that our time holds, a highly mobile world and the metanarrative of fear constructed by politics, media and prejudices. Therefore, our findings revealed that we should scrutinize travel fear both at individual and social levels.

Qualitative studies such as that presented here are needed for understanding the underlying factors of travel fear especially at individual level. Even though culture is an effective element that shapes the fear and risk-taking behaviour (Korstanje, 2011) and cultural environments are of immense importance in the ways in which we construct states of fearfulness (Tudor, 2003), there are still some common responses which people adapt in the face of terror and death. Thus, qualitative research offer us an insight into the main response groups with their underlying viewpoints in the light of socio-cultural impacts. Further, since cultural norms and values are decisive in simultaneous decisions (Tse, Lee, Vertinsky &Wehrung, 1988), tourists' reaction to terror and elasticity varies according to cultural differences (Sönmez, 1998). Therefore, all the efforts to understand those cultural differences and the divergent interpretations they bear, are crucial to tourism marketing practices.

Moreover, these studies with their comprehensive capacity for collecting high numbers of comments, enable us to reach beyond the metanarrative of the fear as Pain (2009) suggests. 'Globalized fear' is a potent metanarrative which is widely used in the analyses of the relation of fear, terror and security (Pain, 2009). What globalizes fear is the mobility of feelings that are produced on a global scale, and they tend to be prioritized and discussed as though they apply to everyone all of the time (Pain, 2009: 468). Such an approach not only eliminates the agency of individuals, but also fixes globalization of fear in current geopolitical analysis (Pain, 2009).

This study is limited by its focus upon TripAdvisor posts related to terror fear and Istanbul. Therefore, future studies are needed on other tourist destinations. Future research may focus on the impacts of geographical and cultural climate of the destinations on the shaping of terror fear. Comparative studies dealing with attitudes towards different destinations have the potential to widen our understanding of the influence of terror fear on intention to travel. Further, along with the posts in internet channels where users share their ideas and thoughts, studies are needed to scrutinize the influence of traditional media on individuals' travel decisions.

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